

THE WORKS OF FRANCIS J. GRIMKÉ

Edited by
CARTER G. WOODSON

Volume IV

Letters

The Associated Publishers, Inc.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

COPYRIGHT, 1942
BY CARTER G. WOODSON, TRUSTEE



Printed in the United States of America

1884-1885
 1885-1886
 1886-1887
 1887-1888
 1888-1889
 1889-1890
 1890-1891

CALENDAR OF LETTERS

A Citizen in Protest to Francis J. Grimké, January 28, 1884	1
Frederick Douglass to Francis J. Grimké, November 6, 1885.....	1
Frederick Douglass to Francis J. Grimké, January 19, 1886.....	2
Frederick Douglass to Francis J. Grimké, April 24, 1886	3
Alexander Crummell to Francis J. Grimké, June 30, 1886.....	4
Frederick Douglass to Francis J. Grimké, September 1, 1887.....	6
Frederick Douglass to Charles B. Purvis, March 19, 1888	8
Frederick Douglass to Francis J. Grimké, September 24, 1889 ..	9
Frederick Douglass to Charles B. Purvis	9
Helen Douglass to Charlotte Forten Grimké	10
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, September 11, 1889 ..	11
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, October 29, 1889	14
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, November 4, 1889	15
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, November 5, 1889	16
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, December 3, 1889	17
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, December 19, 1889 ...	18
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, March 5, 1890	20
Francis J. Grimké to Edward W. Blyden, March 24, 1890	21
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, April 9, 1890	22
✓ Daniel A. Payne to Francis J. Grimké, November 1, 1890	24
Richard Theodore Greener to Francis J. Grimké, December 27, 1890	24
R. P. Wyche, Secretary, to Francis J. Grimké, June 20, 1891	27
B. A. Imes to Francis J. Grimké, March 15, 1893	27
Captain T. G. Steward to Francis J. Grimké, April 27, 1893	29
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, November 13, 1893 ..	30
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, September 24, 1894 ..	34
John Grimké to Francis J. Grimké, March 1, 1895	35
Helen Douglass to Francis J. Grimké, March 11, 1895.....	36
J. H. Binford to Francis J. Grimké March 11, 1895.....	36
John Grimké to Francis J. Grimké, March 16, 1895	37
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, May 17, 1895.....	38
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, September 5, 1895 ...	40
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, September 21, 1895 ..	44
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, October 7, 1895	45
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, October 25, 1895	45
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, October 31, 1895	46
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, December 23, 1895 ...	47
William Hayes Ward to Francis J. Grimké, February 25, 1896 ..	48
Francis J. Grimké, to William Hayes Ward, March, 1896.....	48

William Hayes Ward to Francis J. Grimké, March 24, 1896.....	49
Booker T. Washington to Francis J. Grimké, January 13, 1898	49
Henry M. Field to Francis J. Grimké, April 16, 1898	50
Booker T. Washington to Francis J. Grimké, May 8, 1898	51
Booker T. Washington to Francis J. Grimké, July 3, 1898	51
M. M. Smith to Francis J. Grimké, November 20, 1898	52
William Hayes Ward to Francis J. Grimké, February 9, 1899..	53
B. Sunderland to Francis J. Grimké, February 12, 1899.....	53
George T. Downing to Francis J. Grimké, February 22, 1899 ...	54
Caroline H. Pemberton to Francis J. Grimké, February 24, 1899	55
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, March 15, 1899	56
William H. Ferris to Francis J. Grimké, March 17, 1899	57
Caroline H. Pemberton to Francis J. Grimké, April 3, 1899...	58
Francis J. Grimké to the New York <i>Independent</i> , April 6, 1899	58
Gertrude Mossell to Francis J. Grimké, April 10, 1899	60
Major R. R. Wright to Francis J. Grimké, April 27, 1899	60
Bessie B. Boyd to Francis J. Grimké, May 15, 1899	61
Ednah D. Cheyney to Francis J. Grimké, May 18, 1899	63
W. P. Thirkield to Francis J. Grimké, April 10, 1899.....	64
F. J. Loudin to Francis J. Grimké, June 4, 1899	64
Albert E. Pillsbury to Francis J. Grimké, July 3, 1899	66
Robert Reyburn to Francis J. Grimké, September 21, 1899.....	67
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, November 22, 1899	67
Charlotte M. R. Thorn to Francis J. Grimké, January 15, 1900	68
William Ward Hayes to Francis J. Grimké, February 21, 1901	69
Booker T. Washington to Francis J. Grimké, March 23, 1901...	70
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, July 13, 1901	70
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, September 10, 1901	70
✓ J. Albert Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, October 10, 1901	72
John W. Ross to Francis J. Grimké, October 14, 1901	73
William I. Bowditch to Francis J. Grimké, November 11, 1901	74
William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., to Francis J. Grimké, November, 1901	74
Robert R. Moton to Francis J. Grimké, November 23, 1901	75
Booker T. Washington to Francis J. Grimké, April 23, 1902	75
Florence Sprague to Francis J. Grimké, June 12, 1902	76
Francis J. Grimké to Theodore Roosevelt, December 1, 1902	76
Frances Ellen Watkins Harper to Francis J. Grimké, March 20, 1903	77
R. H. Armstrong to Francis J. Grimké, June 5, 1903	77
✓ J. Albert Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, June 10, 1903	78
Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké, June 21, 1903	78

William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., to Francis J. Grimké, June 23, 1903	80
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, June 27, 1903.....	80
Frances Ellen Watkins Harper to Francis J. Grimké, June 27, 1903	81
Frances Ellen Watkins Harper to Francis J. Grimké	82
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, September 24, 1903 ..	86
Francis J. Grimké to Kelly Miller, September 26, 1903	87
John W. E. Bowen to Francis J. Grimké, October 18, 1903	87
Booker T. Washington to Francis J. Grimké, November 19, 1903	88
W. E. B. Du Bois to Francis J. Grimké, December 28, 1903	89
William Hayes Ward to Francis J. Grimké, June 7, 1904	91
F. E. Eggleston to Francis J. Grimké, June 14, 1904	91
John Timothy Stone to Frank E. Eggleston, June 11, 1904	91
Lucy C. Laney to Francis J. Grimké, October 27, 1904	92
Lucy C. Laney to Francis J. Grimké, November 30, 1904	93
Herrick Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, January 1, 1905.....	93
Francis J. Grimké to Howard Agnew Johnson, January 9, 1905	94
William Hayes Ward to Francis J. Grimké, January 11, 1905..	95
Francis J. Garrison to Francis J. Grimké, February 21, 1906....	96
Fanny Garrison Villard to Francis J. Grimké, March 1, 1906....	97
Booker T. Washington to Francis J. Grimké, October 20, 1906..	97
Caroline F. Putnam to Francis J. Grimké, October 21, 1906.....	98
William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., to Francis J. Grimké, October 30, 1906	101
Francis J. Garrison to Francis J. Grimké, November 6, 1906....	102
Herrick Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, November 7, 1906.....	102
D. Augustus Straker to Francis J. Grimké, November 18, 1906	103
Richard Theodore Greener to Francis J. Grimké, November 18, 1907	104
Richard Theodore Greener to Francis J. Grimké and Family, January 1, 1908	109
Francis J. Grimké to J. B. Foraker, April 15, 1908	112
Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké, September 7, 1908 ...	113
Francis J. Grimké to the Presbytery of Washington City, October 4, 1908	115
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, December 13, 1908	116
Francis J. Grimké to President William Howard Taft, February 19, 1909	116
J. W. Wilkinson to Francis J. Grimke, March 4, 1909	118
A. F. Beard to Francis J. Grimké, April 6, 1909	119
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, August 7, 1909	120
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, December 17, 1909.....	121

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, February 20, 1910	122
Francis J. Grimké to Joseph Benson Foraker	122
Francis J. Grimké to Wendell Phillips Stafford, November 30, 1911	124
Hamilton Holt to Francis J. Grimké, March 7, 1912	126
D. S. Kennedy to Francis J. Grimké, March 11, 1912	126
Francis J. Grimké to T. E. Davis, October 12, 1912	127
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, November 16, 1912	127
Francis J. Grimké to Woodrow Wilson, November 20, 1912	129
L. Z. Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, May 21, 1913	130
J. Milton Waldron to Francis J. Grimké, July 22, 1913	131
Stansbury Boyce to Francis J. Grimké, July, 1913	132
Francis J. Grimké to Woodrow Wilson, September 5, 1913	133
Francis J. Grimké to the Editor of <i>The Continent</i> , January 3, 1914	134
G. F. McMiller to Francis J. Grimké, November 4, 1914	136
Joel E. Spingarn to Francis J. Grimké, December 18, 1914	137
Allen Washington to Francis J. Grimké, December 22, 1914	137
J. Milton Waldron to Francis J. Grimké, December 30, 1914	138
Francis J. Grimké to Campbell Morgan, 1914	139
John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké, January 18, 1915	140
Andrew F. Hilyer to Francis J. Grimké, February 4, 1915	141
Allen Washington to Francis J. Grimké, February 8, 1915	142
W. P. Stafford to Francis J. Grimké, February 13, 1915	143
John A. Marquis to Francis J. Grimké, March 10, 1915	143
Francis J. Grimké to Ernest P. Hagan, May, 1915	144
Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké, September 11, 1915	150
Mrs. John C. Wyman to Francis J. Grimké, October 15, 1915	151
Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké, 1915	152
Hollis B. Frissell to Francis J. Grimké, November 6, 1915	153
Francis J. Grimké to Hollis B. Frissell, November 8, 1915	153
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, December 26, 1915	154
L. Z. Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, January 27, 1916	156
Charles R. Winthrop to Francis J. Grimké, February 2, 1916	157
Alice M. Dunbar to Francis J. Grimké, February 14, 1916	159
John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké, February 15, 1916	159
Andrew F. Hilyer to Francis J. Grimké, March 10, 1916	160
Francis J. Grimké to Carl Holliday, March 3, 1916	161
John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké, March 13, 1916	161
Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké, April 11, 1916	162
A. F. Beard to Francis J. Grimké, May 19, 1916	163
Andrew F. Hilyer to Francis J. Grimké, May 22, 1916	164
Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké, May 24, 1916	165

Matthew Anderson to Archibald H. and Francis J. Grimké, May 29, 1916	165
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, June 8, 1916	170
Francis J. Grimké to P. B. S. Pinchback, June 28, 1916	171
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, July 9, 1916	172
Francis J. Grimké to the National Association of Colored Women	173
Pinckney Benton Stewart Pinchback to Francis J. Grimké, July 12, 1916	179
John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké, November 15, 1916	179
Richard T. Greener to Francis J. Grimké, November 16, 1916 ...	180
Bessie Taylor Page to Francis J. Grimké, December 11, 1916...	181
Francis J. Grimké to Bessie Taylor Page, December, 1916	185
Francis J. Grimké to William Monroe Trotter, May 1, 1917.....	189
Francis J. Grimké to Allen Washington, May 12, 1917.....	190
Francis J. Grimké to the Great Commission Prayer League, July 2, 1917	191
Francis J. Grimké to the Witness Bearing Committee of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, July 19, 1917	193
W. J. Coleman to Francis J. Grimké, July 24, 1917	195
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, September 20, 1917	195
Francis J. Grimké to the U. S. Employment Service of the Department of Labor, September 24, 1917	197
Stansbury Boyce to Francis J. Grimké, November 14, 1917.....	198
Francis J. Grimké to Edward Douglass White, November, 1917	203
Raymond Vernimont to Francis J. Grimké, January 2, 1918 ..	203
Kelly Miller to H. P. Lyman, January 4, 1918	204
Edward L. Parks to Francis J. Grimké, January 26, 1918	205
J. B. Jefferson to Francis J. Grimké, February 14, 1918	206
Jesse E. Moorland to Francis J. Grimké, February 19, 1918 ...	206
Francis J. Grimké to the Editor of <i>Association Men</i> , February 26, 1918	207
Wm. Anthony Aery to Francis J. Grimké, March 9, 1918	208
Joseph H. Hannen to Francis J. Grimké, March 19, 1918	209
Francis J. Grimké to J. H. Hannen, March 22, 1918	211
J. Albert Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, April 3, 1918	211
Francis J. Grimké to Joseph H. Odell, April 13, 1918	212
Francis J. Grimké to the Members of the Class of 1878 of Princeton Theological Seminary, April 27, 1918	215
R. R. Moton to Woodrow Wilson, June 15, 1918	216
Woodrow Wilson to R. R. Moton, June 18, 1918	218
R. R. Moton to Woodrow Wilson, June 25, 1918	218

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, July 11, 1918.....	219
Francis J. Grimké to R. R. Moton, July 15, 1918.....	220
Francis J. Grimké to Ormond A. Forte, September 2, 1918	221
The College Board to Francis J. Grimké, September 16, 1918....	222
Francis J. Grimké to the College Board, September 21, 1918....	223
George G. Mahy to Francis J. Grimké, October 1, 1918.....	225
Francis J. Grimké to George G. Mahy, October 4, 1918	225
Louis R. Mehlinger to Francis J. Grimké, November 19, 1918....	226
J. Albert Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, December 4, 1918.....	231
W. R. Patterson to Francis J. Grimké, December 9, 1918.....	232
John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké, December 11, 1918	232
Francis J. Grimké to W. R. Patterson, December 12, 1918.....	235
R. T. Greener to Francis J. Grimké, December 20, 1918.....	236
John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké, January 3, 1919	237
Charles Wood to Francis J. Grimké, March 20, 1919	238
F. D. Wheelock to Francis J. Grimké, April 2, 1919	239
Francis J. Grimké to the WIN-THE-WAR Committee, May 23, 1919	239
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, June 12, 1919	240
Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké, June 18, 1919	241
Thomas Jesse Jones to Francis J. Grimké, June 25, 1919.....	242
Francis J. Grimké to the Editor of <i>The Evening Bulletin</i> , July 29, 1919.....	242
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, August 17, 1919	243
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, August 20, 1919 ...	246
W. H. Ferris to Francis J. Grimké, September 1, 1919	247
Francis J. Grimké to Nolan R. Best, the Editor of <i>The Conti-</i> <i>nent</i> , September 6, 1919	247
Nolan R. Best to Francis J. Grimké, September 15, 1919	250
F. D. Wheelock to Francis J. Grimké, September 30, 1919	251
Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké, October 11, 1919	252
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, October 19, 1919	253
Mrs. John C. Wyman to Francis J. Grimké, October 20, 1919 ...	250
Wm. Anthony Aery to Francis J. Grimké, October 20, 1919	255
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, October 21, 1919	259
Francis J. Grimké to Colonel Harvey, November 12, 1919	259
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, November 21, 1919	261
Francis J. Grimké to Jesse E. Moorland, December 22, 1919	262
J. P. Foster to Mrs. E. V. C. Williams, December 25, 1919	264
Francis J. Grimké to the Editor of the <i>Star</i> , January 11, 1920 .	265
Carter G. Woodson to Francis J. Grimké, January 18, 1920	266
Francis J. Grimké to Carter G. Woodson, January 21, 1920	267
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, January 20, 1920.....	268

Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké, January 22, 1920	270
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, January 25, 1920	272
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, February 3, 1920	275
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, February 22, 1920	277
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, April 5, 1920	278
Francis J. Grimké to M. W. Ovington, April 23, 1920	279
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, April 27, 1920	280
Francis J. Grimké to James B. Spillman, May 14, 1920	281
T. McCants Stewart to Francis J. Grimké, July 18, 1920	283
T. McCants Stewart to Francis J. Grimké, August 14, 1920	283
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, September 10, 1920	285
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, September 10, 1920	288
Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké, September 22, 1920	289
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, November 15, 1920	289
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, November 25, 1920	290
James G. Carlile to Francis J. Grimké, December 9, 1920	292
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, December 14, 1920	293
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, January 4, 1921	295
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, January 14, 1921	295
William H. Ferris to Francis J. Grimké, January 20, 1921	297
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, February 5, 1921	298
Martha A. McAdoo to Francis J. Grimké, February 14, 1921	299
Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké, March 18, 1921	300
Kelly Miller to Francis J. Grimké, March 23, 1921	301
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, March 30, 1921	302
Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, April 5, 1921	302
Walter H. Brooks to Francis J. Grimké, April 6, 1921	303
James G. Carlile to Francis J. Grimké, April 7, 1921	304
Francis J. Grimké to Colonel George Harvey, April 8, 1921	306
J. Ross Stevenson to Francis J. Grimké, April 15, 1921	307
T. S. Wynkoop to Francis J. Grimké, April 19, 1921	307
Francis J. Grimké to J. E. McCulloch, April 28, 1921	309
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, May 9, 1921	309
Emmett J. Scott to E. A. Balloch, June 7, 1921	311
Charles B. Purvis to J. Stanley Durkee, June 8, 1921	314
Charles B. Purvis to Andrew F. Hilyer, June 29, 1921	315
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, June 29, 1921	317
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, July 13, 1921	318
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, July 14, 1921	320
Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké, August 16, 1921	321
Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké, September 7, 1921	322
Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké, September 15, 1921	328
Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké and Relatives, Sep- tember 16, 1921	329

Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké, September 22, 1921.....	333
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, October 23, 1921.....	334
H. O. Cook to Francis J. Grimké, October 24, 1921	335
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, October 27, 1921.....	336
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, November 6, 1921.....	338
Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké, November 30, 1921.....	339
Robert Thomas Kerlin to Francis J. Grimké, December 27, 1921	340
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, January, 1922	341
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, January 1, 1922	343
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, January 27, 1922 ...	343
Francis J. Grimké to Miss Strain, February 27, 1922	344
Georgia Douglass Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, May 3, 1922 ...	345
Francis J. Grimké to W. E. B. DuBois, June	346
Francis J. Grimké to the Editor of <i>The Presbyterian</i>	347
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, June 14, 1922	348
T. McCants Stewart to Francis J. Grimké, July 10, 1922	350
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, August 27, 1922.....	351
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, October 9, 1922	354
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, October 29, 1922 ...	355
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, November 20, 1922	356
Ethelbert D. Warfield to Francis J. Grimké, December 11, 1922	357
Ethelbert D. Warfield to Francis J. Grimké, December 28, 1922	357
Lucy D. Slowe to Francis J. Grimké, January 8, 1923.....	359
Alice (Mrs. T.) McCants Stewart and Daughters to Francis J. Grimké, January 8, 1923	359
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, January 17, 1923	363
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, February 13, 1923.....	364
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, March 7, 1923	366
Alice McCants Stewart to Francis J. Grimké, March 16, 1923 ...	367
Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké, March 23, 1923	368
Alice McCants Stewart to Francis J. Grimké, March 30, 1923 ..	369
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, April 9, 1923	369
Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, April 13, 1923.....	372
Francis J. Grimké to Benjamin Davis, April 22, 1923	373
Emmett J. Scott to Howard University Trustees, May 15, 1923	376
Charles B. Purvis to Emmett J. Scott, May 21, 1923	377
Francis J. Grimké to William Ralph Hall, June 1, 1923	377
William Ralph Hall to Francis J. Grimké, June 4, 1923	379
Francis J. Grimké to the Presbytery of Washington City, June 11, 1923	381
Ella D. Barrier to Francis J. Grimké, June 12, 1923	382
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, July 16, 1923	382
M. Ashby Jones to William H. Crogman, May 29, 1923	384

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, October 30, 1923	384
John Brittan Clark to Francis J. Grimké, November 1, 1923.....	385
W. V. Tunnell to Francis J. Grimké, November 1, 1923	385
✓ J. Albert Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, November 1, 1923.....	386
Emmett J. Scott to Lyman Beecher Stowe, November 8, 1923..	386
R. R. Moton to Francis J. Grimké, November 9, 1923	387
J. Stanley Durkee to Francis J. Grimké, November 13, 1923.....	388
James H. N. Waring to Francis J. Grimké, November 19, 1923	389
James G. Carlile to Francis J. Grimké, December 1, 1923	390
Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké, December 5, 1923.....	391
E. L. Parks to Francis J. Grimké, December 6, 1923	391
✓ Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, December 10, 1923	392
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, January 12, 1924 ...	393
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, January 29, 1924 ...	394
✓ John Hurst to Francis J. Grimké, February 12, 1924	395
Joseph T. Kelly to Francis J. Grimké, July 8, 1924	395
Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, July 9, 1924	396
Alice McCants Stewart to Francis J. Grimké, July 26, 1924	397
Montgomery Gregory to J. Stanley Durkee, August 14, 1924....	399
Montgomery Gregory to Francis J. Grimké, August 25, 1924 ...	400
John Brittan Clark to Francis J. Grimké, March 25, 1925	401
George William Cook to Francis J. Grimké, April 4, 1925.....	401
Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, April 15, 1925.....	402
Lillie Buffum Chace (Mrs. John C.) Wyman to Francis J. Grimké, April 23, 1925.....	402
Francis J. Grimké to the Board of Trustees of Howard Univer- sity, June 2, 1925	403
D. O. W. Holmes to Francis J. Grimké, June 16, 1925	404
Francis J. Grimké to Dr. McCulloch, February 11, 1926.....	405
Francis J. Grimké to the Editor of <i>The Capital City</i> , April 2, 1926	406
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, November 5, 1926..	407
Bolton Smith to Francis J. Grimké, November 16, 1926.....	408
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, November 27, 1926	409
Bolton Smith to Francis J. Grimké, December 28, 1926	411
Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké, December 29, 1926	411
John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké, January 2, 1927.....	412
Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké, January 13, 1927.....	413
Esther C. Porter to Francis J. Grimké, March 1, 1927.....	414
Bolton Smith to Francis J. Grimké, March 19, 1927.....	415
Bolton Smith to Francis J. Grimké, April 5, 1927	415
Bolton Smith to Francis J. Grimké, April 22, 1927	416
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, May 9, 1927.....	416

William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, August 9, 1927.....	416
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, October 24, 1927....	420
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, October 28, 1927....	421
Emmett J. Scott to Francis J. Grimké, November 1, 1927.....	423
Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké, November 9, 1927.....	423
Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, November 14, 1927.....	426
Carter G. Woodson to Francis J. Grimké, November 18, 1927....	427
Lillie Buffum Chace (Mrs. John C.) Wyman to Francis J. Grimké, April 25, 1928	428
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, February 10, 1930	430
Solomon C. Fuller to Francis J. Grimké, February 26, 1930	431
Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké, February 27, 1930	432
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, February 28, 1930 ..	432
William H. Crogman to M. Ashby Jones	433
Thomas and Ann Miller to Francis J. and Angelina Grimké, March 4, 1930.....	434
John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké, March 4, 1930	435
Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké, March 4, 1930	435
John Hurst to Francis J. Grimké, March 6, 1930	436
Joseph P. Loud to Francis J. Grimké, March 9, 1930	436
Irvin W. Underhill, Jr., to Francis J. Grimké, July 24, 1930	437
Irvin W. Underhill, Jr., to Francis J. Grimké, July 24, 1930	438
D. Butler Pratt to Francis J. Grimké, December 3, 1930	440
W. L. Wright to Francis J. Grimké, December 4, 1930	441
John G. Jackson to Francis J. Grimké, December 6, 1930	441
R. D. Harlan to Francis J. Grimké, December 11, 1930	444
Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké, December 17, 1930.....	444
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, January 7, 1931	446
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, February 5, 1931..	447
William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké, April 25, 1931	448
Mordecai W. Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, April 30, 1931	449
Howard Kester to Francis J. Grimké, September 19, 1931	450
Mordecai W. Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, October 14, 1931..	450
Mordecai W. Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, October 19, 1931..	451
D. Butler Pratt to Francis J. Grimké, October 28, 1931	451
Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, October 28, 1931	452
Wilbur P. Thirkield to Francis J. Grimké, December 17, 1931..	453
W. V. Tunnell to Francis J. Grimké, December 19, 1931	453
Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké, January 28, 1932	454
Charlotte R. Thorn to Francis J. Grimké, March 10, 1932	455
Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké, March 19, 1932	456
Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké, 1932	457
Charles Edward Russell to Francis J. Grimké, May 21, 1932	458

John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké, August 16, 1932.....	459
Francis J. Grimké to Walter White, October 24, 1932.....	461
Walter White to Francis J. Grimké, October 25, 1932	462
Robert W. Bagnall to Francis J. Grimké, October 25, 1932.....	462
Francis J. Grimké to Walter White, October 27, 1932	463
Francis J. Grimké to Robert W. Bagnall, November, 1932	464
Robert W. Bagnall to Francis J. Grimké, November 7, 1932	466
Robert W. Bagnall to Francis J. Grimké, November 17, 1932 ...	466
Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké, December 5, 1932	467
Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké, December 12, 1932 ...	467
Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké, December 14, 1932 ...	468
Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, December 18, 1932	468
Clara Burrill Bruce to Francis J. Grimké, January 17, 1933 ...	469
Toyohiko Kagawa to Francis J. Grimké, January 30, 1933	469
Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, March 24, 1933	470
John Hope to Francis J. Grimké, March 25, 1933	470
Leonidas S. Coleman to Francis J. Grimké, March 27, 1933	471
Walter White to Francis J. Grimké, March 27, 1933	471
J. C. Napier to Francis J. Grimké, March 27, 1933	472
Walter H. Brooks to Francis J. Grimké, March 28, 1933.....	473
D. O. W. Holmes to Francis J. Grimké, March 29, 1933.....	473
D. Butler Pratt to Francis J. Grimké, April 3, 1933	474
John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké, April 4, 1933.....	474
Georgia Douglass Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, April 17, 1933	475
Georgia Douglass Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, April 25, 1933	476
Georgia Douglass Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, 1933	477
Charles S. Freeman to Francis J. Grimké, April 21, 1933	478
Nannie H. Burroughs to Francis J. Grimké, May 9, 1933	479
James E. Clarke to Francis J. Grimké, May 9, 1933	479
James D. Burton to Francis J. Grimké, May 9, 1933.....	481
A. C. Griggs to Francis J. Grimké, May 11, 1933.....	483
Francis J. Grimké to James D. Burton, May 13, 1933	484
Francis J. Grimké to Bolton Smith	485
J. M. Gaston to Francis J. Grimké, May 19, 1933	486
Roy W. Wilkins to Francis J. Grimké, June 7, 1933	487
John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké, June 16, 1933.....	488
Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké, July 8, 1933.....	489
J. M. Porter to Francis J. Grimké, July 25, 1933	490
John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké, August 14, 1933.....	491
Wm. Hallock Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, August 14, 1933 ..	491
Wm. Lloyd Imes to Francis J. Grimké, August 22, 1933	492
Georgia Douglass Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, September 27, 1933	492

B. F. Glasco to Francis J. Grimké September 27, 1933.....	493
Francis J. Grimké to A. C. Griggs, October 24, 1933.....	493
John H. Gross to Francis J. Grimké, November 6, 1933.....	494
C. G. Woodson to Francis J. Grimké, November 11, 1933.....	494
W. W. McCary to Francis J. Grimké, November 25, 1933.....	495
Thomas Walker to Francis J. Grimké, December 21, 1933.....	496
John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké, January 1, 1934.....	497
Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké, January 1, 1934.....	497
John H. Gross to Francis J. Grimké, January 5, 1934.....	498
Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké, January 22, 1934.....	499
Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké, February 20, 1934 ...	500
Carter G. Woodson to Francis J. Grimké, March 23, 1934.....	500
W. L. Wright to Francis J. Grimké, March 24, 1934.....	501
Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, March 28, 1934.....	501
Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké, March 29, 1934.....	502
John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké, April 7, 1934.....	503
Wm. Hallock Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, April 24, 1934.....	504
Nannie H. Burroughs to Francis J. Grimké, May 1, 1934.....	505
A. P. Holly to William V. Tunnell, May 15, 1934.....	505
John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké, May 27, 1934.....	506
Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké, May 28, 1934.....	507
W. E. B. DuBois to Francis J. Grimké, June 27, 1934.....	508
Francis J. Grimké to W. E. B. DuBois, July 13, 1934.....	511
Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké, July 31, 1934.....	511
Otelia Cromwell to Francis J. Grimké, August 7, 1934.....	512
John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké, September 22, 1934.....	512
Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, September 24.....	513
John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké, October 12, 1934.....	514
Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, November 22, 1934.....	515
John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké, November 23, 1934.....	515
John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké, 1934.....	516
Georgia Douglass Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, November 25, 1934.....	517
Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké, November 26, 1934 ...	518
W. W. McCary to Francis J. Grimké, November 27, 1934.....	519
William V. Tunnell to Francis J. Grimké, December 10, 1934 ..	520
W. W. McCary to Francis J. Grimké, December 10, 1934.....	522
J. D. Eggleston to Francis J. Grimké, December 18, 1934.....	524
Wm. Hallock Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, December 21, 1934	524
J. D. Eggleston to Francis J. Grimké, January 2, 1935.....	525
Isaac Fisher to Francis J. Grimké, January 4, 1935.....	525
Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké, January 4, 1935.....	526
Leonard Z. Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, January 13, 1935 ...	527

Thorn Dickinson to Francis J. Grimké, January 16, 1935.....	527
J. D. Eggleston to Francis J. Grimké, January 22, 1935.....	528
J. D. Eggleston to Francis J. Grimké, January 26, 1935.....	529
W. W. McCary to Francis J. Grimké, June 17, 1935	531
Albert H. Hammond to Francis J. Grimké, July 3, 1935.....	532
D. O. W. Holmes to Francis J. Grimké, August 9, 1935	533
J. D. Eggleston to Francis J. Grimké, November 25, 1935.....	534
Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké, December 2, 1935	534
D. O. W. Holmes to Francis J. Grimké, December 3, 1935	535
W. L. Wright to Francis J. Grimké, December 28, 1935	536
Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké, January 22, 1936	536
Wm. Hallock Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, January 25, 1936	537
Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, January 31, 1936	538
Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké, February 1, 1936.....	539
J. D. Eggleston to Francis J. Grimké, February 5, 1936	539
W. L. Wright to Francis J. Grimké, February 10, 1936.....	540
Linn R. Blanchard to Francis J. Grimké, February 10, 1936 ...	540
Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, February 17, 1936	541
Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké, February 25, 1936 ...	542
Walter H. Brooks to Francis J. Grimké, March 3, 1936	542
D. O. W. Holmes to Francis J. Grimké, March 4, 1936	543
Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké, March 10, 1936	544
Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké, March 18, 1936.....	545
Arthur J. Lanen to Francis J. Grimké, February 28, 1936	545
Carrie Syphax Watson to Francis J. Grimké, March 19, 1936....	548
J. Paul Slaybaugh to Francis J. Grimké, April 17, 1936	549
William V. Tunnell to Francis J. Grimké, May 9, 1936.....	550
J. C. Napier to Francis J. Grimké, May 30, 1936	551
Henry M. Edmonds to Francis J. Grimké, June 26, 1936.....	552
J. D. Eggleston to Francis J. Grimké, July 24, 1936	552
Henry Topping to Francis J. Grimké, July 27, 1936	553
Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, July, 1936.....	554
Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké, September 8, 1936	554
Frank C. Shirley to Francis J. Grimké, September 8, 1936.....	555
Walter H. Brooks to Francis J. Grimké, September 29, 1936....	556
Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké, October 16, 1936	557
Carter G. Woodson to Francis J. Grimké, November 16, 1936 ...	558
Joseph P. Holmes to Francis J. Grimké, November 30, 1930 ...	558
Madge Herndon to Francis J. Grimké, November 24, 1936	560
Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké, November 26, 1936	561
Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké, November 28, 1936 ...	562
Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, December 4, 1936	562

W. B. Sheddan to Francis J. Grimké, February 23, 1937.....	563
Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké, February 23, 1937.....	564
Anna J. Cooper to Mordecai W. Johnson, February 24, 1937....	565
Walter H. Brooks to Francis J. Grimké, February 25, 1937.....	566
Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké, February 28	566
Mordecai W. Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, March 5, 1937.....	567
Jerome F. Kidder to Francis J. Grimké, March 9, 1937.....	568
Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké, March 19, 1937.....	569
B. F. McDowell to Francis J. Grimké, March 25, 1937	570
Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké, April 1, 1937.....	571
Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké, May 26, 1937.....	571
W. L. Wright to Francis J. Grimké, May 27, 1937	572
W. L. Wright to Francis J. Grimké, June 3, 1937.....	572
Kelly Miller to Francis J. Grimké, June 3, 1937.....	573
Charles S. Freeman to Francis J. Grimké, June 3, 1937.....	573
Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké, June 19, 1937	574
William V. Tunnell to Francis J. Grimké, June 21, 1937	574
Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké, July 8, 1937.....	575
William Hallock Johnson to Francis J. Grimké, July 19, 1937..	576
G. Lake Imes to Francis J. Grimké, 1937.....	577
G. Lake Imes to Francis J. Grimké, July 11, 1937.....	578
Francis J. Grimké to W. L. Wright	578
J. W. Haywood to Francis J. Grimké	579

A Citizen in Protest to Francis J. Grimké

Atlanta, Ga., Jan. 28th, 1884.

Dr. Grimké—Pastor of Presbyterian Church,
Washington, D. C.

Sir—

Enclose you will find Notice that I cut out of Atlanta Paper, I am a Northern Man—But opposed to such Work as this, and any White Man that will Marry a White Woman to a Black Negro ought to be Damned out of Society. You must feel praud of your profession, and Little Tar and Fetters would be good for you—I am a Lover of Good society. But Not that kind And I am a Lover of my God—and I hope that time will come when such things will be fround down and punnishable for Minesters to do such thing. I do not care if it is Prison for Life that is what you de-sere—for such an act—

Fred Douglass Marries with White Female from New York

Washington, January 24.

Fred Douglass, the well known colored leader, was married in this city this evening to Helen M. Pitts, a white woman, formerly of Avon, New York. The wedding, which took place at the house of Dr. Grimké, of the Presbyterian church, was private, only two witnesses being present. The first wife of Mr. Douglass, who was a colored woman, died about a year ago. The woman he married today is about thirty-five years of age, and was employed as a copyist in his office. Douglass himself is about seventy-three years of age, and has daughters as old as his present wife.¹

Frederick Douglass to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., Nov. 6, 1885.

My dear Friend:

I was a minute or two late at the station this morning to see you off and to give you and Mrs. Grimpké my farewell and my best wishes for your health, prosperity and happiness in the new field of your labors—so I send this little note to fill up the chasm—

Yours truly always,
Fred'k. Douglass.

¹ This was an exaggeration with respect to the age of Douglass. He was probably not much beyond sixty.

Frederick Douglass to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., Jan. 19, 1886.

My dear Mr. Grimpké:

Mrs. Douglass not less than myself was made happy by your letter just to hand. Especially glad were we to learn of the improved health of Mrs. Grimpké and of the amiable conditions that surround you in your newly adopted field of labor. Though we miss you very much from the circle of our friends here and should be inexpressibly glad to see your face, hear your voice and feel the happy influence of your presence in Washington and even cherish the hope that we shall do so at no distant future, we cannot but wish you all happiness and contentment where you are. You will be glad to know that the church here through its Trustees has duly taken up the note I held for two hundred dollars loaned last summer when you were going on your summer vacation. Dr. Shadd—who I am bound to say is your true friend, has just been in my office and paid the debt. The “Land of Flowers” has not been the only witness of the unamiable behavior of the weather lately. Washington has had its share of ice and snow. Two mornings I have caught my thermometer below zero, and several times only three or four above.

In regard to the cause of the colored people of this country I am feeling as deeply concerned for the future as ever. Violence and crime seem to run riot, and the press here appear to delight in parading our offenses whenever committed or charged before the people of the Capital, thus strengthening opinion and sentiment against us as a class while our colored people instead of doing what they might to stem the torrents are engaged in discussing the question as to which party is likely to give the colored people the most offices and whether your humble servant should be removed from his office to be succeeded by they know not whom. Of course, I do not believe the half of all the charges brought against colored men. I do believe that many have suffered death for alleged crimes of which they are not guilty. The prevalence of Lynch Law is itself an evidence of the innocence of many of the victims, for, if the evidence were sufficient to convict, there would be no fear that the alleged culprits would not be convicted and punished.

The political condition is not less deplorable than our civil conditions. With seven millions of people we ought to be able and

would be able to command and compel justice from both parties. The Irish party in England is just now in a position that we ought to occupy here. That party has now both the Tory and the Liberal party at its feet, not daring to touch Ireland without consulting the wishes of the Irish leaders. Alas, our leaders have no followers, and hence are in no just sense leaders. I am looking for the consolation of Israel—that some great man will arise and do for us in this new emergency what was done against our slavery. I am consoled with the thought that God reigns in eternity—and that deliverance will yet finally come. I am writing from my office or I am sure that Mrs. D. would write with me in affectionate remembrance to you and Mrs. Grimké.

Yours sincerely,
Fred'k. Douglass.

Frederick Douglass to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., Apr. 24, 1886.

Rev. Francis Grimké

My dear Sir:

Your kind note now before me so full, so earnest and so like yourself, is a great comfort to me. While duty well done brings its own reward, and I certainly feel that I did my duty in the speech you so heartily approve, still your kind word has done me much good and I sincerely thank you for it.

It seems to me that the colored man has now almost as much need of a faithful advocate as in the time of slavery. Though no longer bought and sold in the market we are still a proscribed oppressed and maltreated race at nearly all points. I hope I am not blind to or ungrateful for the great work that has been done, but what remains to be done is so broad, comprehensive and pressing as to claim nearly all my time and attention.

It is just fifty years ago today that I was cruelly dragged behind hordes from the Bayside in Talbot County Maryland, a distance of fifteen miles to Easton Jail, there to be exposed for sale like a beast in the market. The recurrence of the anniversary of that experience renews my horror and hatred of cupidity and cruelty in every form.

Yet I thank God for the vast and wonderful changes wrought in my own condition and in that of the colored people in this

country generally. I am thankful for the past and trustful for what is to come. I cannot believe that the Almighty Power that has brought us so near the promised land will now abandon us. I hope we shall be made perfect through suffering.

Mrs. Douglass not less than myself remembers you and Mrs. Grimké affectionately. We rejoice in whatever good shall come to you and shall sorrow at any sorrow that may come to you. You will observe by the papers that I have almost as much trouble to get out of office as some men have to get into office. I had hoped that ere this, I should have been a free man and about ready to start for Europe: but the Senate is tardy. It has yet to take the first step towards the confirmation of my successor. I do not know what this delay means, but some of my friends think that it means a refusal to confirm altogether.¹

I wonder if I ever thanked Mrs. Grimké for her timely and able reply in the Commonwealth to the flippant remarks of Gail Hamilton. If not I wish to do so now.

Sincerely your friend,
Fred'k. Douglass.

Alexander Crummell² to Francis J. Grimké

1522 O St., Washington, D. C., 30th June, '86.

Dear Mr. Grimké,

I know very well the misgivings which have entered your mind at my long & seemingly rude negligence. All such misgivings are perfectly natural; & if I were you, & listening to them, how severe soever they might be, I sh'd exclaim—"Perfectly natural! perfectly natural!" Have you ever read a sonnet of Wordsworth's to a "Distant Friend"? It runs somewhat "Why art thou silent! Is thy love plant of such weak fibre that t. treacherous air of absence withers what was once so fair? Is there no debt to pay, no boon to grant? Well I am innocent of t. imputation of t. poet. I have been sorry to be so very silent, but I c'dnt help it.

¹ The Senate refused twice to confirm James C. Matthews, who was appointed by Grover Cleveland to the office of Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia to succeed Frederick Douglass, and the position had to be filled finally by appointing James M. Trotter, who was confirmed in 1887.

² Alexander Crummell was one of the most scholarly ministers of the Negro race. He was one of the three Negro students on account of whom the academy at Canaan, New Hampshire, was destroyed. He was educated later at Oneida Institute and at Cambridge in England. His chirography, however, was always a problem to others.

I have been obliged for mos. to put aside every possible duty save t imperatives of my life. & attend simply & alone to that wh. was impossible to be avoided. 1st of all my eyes have been in such a bad state that I have avoided all correspondence, & I have important letters fr. England, Africa, & West Indies, unanswered in my drawers; & 2nd I have been harassed with a special att. debt, wh. required a hundred letters to be sent out; & I had to get t. aid of an amenuensis to write those letters. My sight is going. And my oculist told me Monday that I must stand & wait; for nothing c'd be done for me, at t. present. My Oculist, by t. way is Burnett, t. husband of t. author—"That Lap o-Loune"—I presume Mrs. Grimké, if you have not, has read that clever & touching tale. I judge you are not much given to fiction; but in this case it seems to me you ought to make an exception, for it is one of the truest and most thrilling stories I have ever read. When I have been to t. house I have been struck at t. signs of taste, culture in colour, books paintings, drapery & I have kept my eyes open hoping to see Mrs. Burnett, whose profile is most striking; but I have only heard her voice & that a sweet voice. If she has only as sweet a woman's face, as her husband's is fine, elegant, & refined, she must surely be a beautiful woman. I have rarely seen such a fine face as his. Unfortunately for him he is lame.

In yr. letter you spoke of t. much questioned topic, i.e., t. use of fermented wine in Holy Communion. I apprehend we have not touched bottom in t. discussion, & I am disposed to wait. It is, first of all, a question of scholarship: 2nd an historical question.

Moses Stuart as you are aware took strong ground against fermented wine as a scholar. The battleground is 1st upon t. word tirosh; does it always mean intoxicating wine or some fruit. Nxt (2) comes the disputed question viz. whether t. prohibition of leaven at t. Jewish feasts extended to grape juice.

Now with respect to both these points I confess I am at sea, & I await more light. I read last winter a remarkably clever article in t. "Ctt. Review," an Episcopal Quarterly, by Dr. Jesup wh. scouted with great point t. anti-alcoholic position of t. Temperance men. But I have recently brought a tractate on t. same subject by Rev. P. Anstard wh. is characterized by as much learning & point, as t. article on t. other side. I send it to you by this mail. & when you have read, please return it. Have t. kindness to suggest

what you think are its weak points. I will send you t. other article in a few days. So that you compare arguments.

I have nothing of great importance to tell you. Our Democratic friends are weeding t. departments of col'd employees, both clerks & messengers: & so cold society is fading out. "Small by degrees & beautifully less." I think too that I perceive that society begins to take a "sober coloring" fr t. eliminating processes of an adverse administration. There are indeed fools, still abiding with us, who imitate t. style & fashion of 5th Av. Millionaires. But thank God there are fewer than ever. I regret that I can't say that I see any amendment of morals among our people. We have great revivals, and with them great social inebriation even in religious circles, and great scandals. I sometimes ask myself—what are our churches doing for t. salvation of men? What is my ctt. doing?

Do you take vacation this summer? And whither do you & Mrs. G. go? Shall we see you north? I am thinking of going to Newport, where domiciling & entertainment are freely offered me. But I reluctate because my wife wont go with me. She wants to send me off, for a fine jollification, because, she says I need it; but avers she doesn't need, & can't afford it. And I hesitate about obeying. 1st I hate t. seeming selfishness of personal enjoyment without her; and 2nd because I want her company amidst my own delights. Tell Mrs. Grimké that all I have written is for her, as well as you, & that Mrs. Crummell & myself send her affectionate & warm greetings.

Yr. Bro. & Friend,
Alex. Crummell.

Frederick Douglass to Francis J. Grimké

Cedar Hill, Anacostia, Sept. 1, 1887.

My dear Mr. and Mrs. Grimpké:

I was—we were happy to hear from you so soon after our coming to Cedar Hill.¹ Congratulations have been numerous—all gratefully received and none more so than yours. We have indeed had a delightful tour. We have seen persons, places and things which we did not dare to dream of seeing even when we had determined to go abroad. Egypt and Greece were not in our calcu-

¹ After being relieved of the office of Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia by the appointment and confirmation of James M. Trotter, Douglass and his wife traveled abroad.

lations when we left home—and Rome was not definitely so—but now we have as the English say, done them all—and the best of all is we are safely at home for which blessing you may well believe we both feel thankful. For after all that human skill has done to make the voyage to Europe safe the sea is still a solemn space to cross and full of dangers. Great storms come down upon its surface which at times make the strongest ships stand still and tremble. We had at one time a heavy wind that tore through our stout canvas as if it had been brown paper—and our great ship, the largest in the world except the *Great Eastern*, was tossed about as lightly as a babe in the strong arms of a mother. Perhaps, you will think I was “skeered.” Not a bit of it, for though I did not know the skill of the Captain, I did know something of the immense strength of our ship. Any man can be brave where there’s but little danger. But what am I talking about? You can read of the sea in books, but you cannot know, unless I tell you that you did not come to Washington without my knowledge although I was far away.

I thought and said to Helen how nice it would have been to have been at home during your visit. We should have been so happy to have seen you and made you at home on the hill. It would give me real pleasure to tell you something of our tour, but I cannot do it with my slow and blundering pen. Since Helen writes so well at my dictation I am parting with the little facility I once had for writing. It is surprising how soon the hand forgets its cunning.

I must not forget to tell Mrs. Grimpké that I spent a whole month with the Putnams at Rome, and may say what she may not find easy to believe, we spent it pleasantly. I was once very intimate with the Remond family, and it was pleasant to see the Rome branch of that family. Our stay there was made more pleasant than it would have been, but for the presence of Miss Sargent.

Of course, you have noticed the trouble which has come to Poor Langston. The wrath he poured upon me for the few words said at the public meeting which you remember, has put it out of my power to say one comforting word to him.

My dear wife Helen would write with me in love to you both did she know I am in the *Growlery* writing to you.

Your friend,
Frederick Douglass.

Frederick Douglass to Charles B. Purvis

Cedar Hill, Anacostia, D. C., March 19, 1888.

My dear Dr. Purvis,

I am obliged by your note. I see that you know the people with whom we have to deal. They are hardest on those who serve them best. The spiteful note of the Honorable Mrs. Smyth would never have been written if I had not been instrumental in sending her husband to Liberia where he made a little money—and had not lately refused to see the President to have him sent again to fill the place made vacant by the removal of Mr. Taylor. You and I must bear with the infirmities of this class of colored people. They are hard nuts to crack.

The woman suffrage movement has been before the country during forty years. What colored women in Washington have ever written or spoken a word in favor of it.—Yet when it is said that they do not appreciate the movement they brand the allegation as a slander. What can we do with such people? The best way I think is to go on the even tenor of our way as you have done and are doing, saying the right word and helping in every way we can to raise those above the grovelling ideas that at times seem to possess them. You perhaps, have remarked as I have, that very little is said against our friend John F. Cook. Yet he never attends their meetings and I never hear of his visiting among them. He is neither liberal with his presence nor his purse, but his path is smooth, and his good name is never dragged as mine is, in the mud of reproach.

Now a word of confession. You knew Chase better than I did when you told me to banish him from the Recorder's office.¹ I have many times since had occasion to repent my failure to follow your advice. He was the same graceless scoundrel then as he is now. How I could fail to see it then I cannot imagine. I make this confession now in justice to yourself and your father, for in keeping that fellow in office one hour after he assailed you was a sin against you both.

I shall be present tomorrow evening, the weather permitting, at

¹This reference is to William Calvin Chase, the editor of the *Washington Bee*. Throughout his life and especially during his editorship, he was in constant conflict, denouncing or flaying some one in public life. In this case he was attacking C. B. Purvis, a prominent Negro physician.

the Bethel Literary Society where the woman suffrage question is to be discussed.¹

Mrs. Douglass, dear woman, felt very grateful to you for your kind note—

Very truly yours,
Fredk. Douglass.

Frederick Douglass to F. J. Grimké

Cedar Hill, Anacostia, D. C., Sept. 24, 1889.

My dear Mr. Grimké,

Allow me to say a good word for Mr. Parker N. Bailey a graduate of Havard University who is an applicant for the place recently made vacant by the resignation of Mr. Terrell.² Mr. Bailey is a young man of irreproachable character and I believe would fill the vacancy with advantage to education and do credit to himself.

Yours truly always,
Frederick Douglass.

From Frederick Douglass to Dr. C. B. Purvis

Dear Doctor Purvis,

The cause of the failure to get the Mole St. Nicolas as a Naval Station for the U. States is very simple and readily comprehended—Haiti is black: Uncle Sam is white: Haiti was once a slave. Uncle Sam was once a slaveholder:—Haiti thinks she is as good as any body else: Uncle Sam thinks and acts otherwise: Haiti is weak: Uncle "Sam" is strong: Haiti does not wish to put herself in the power of "Uncle Sam" because she fears she will be treated by Uncle Sam just he treats black people generally. Besides she has another suitor for her hand, she likes better. France does not scorn her because of her colour—and if she should wed "Uncle

¹ This was the Bethel Literary and Historical Association of the Metropolitan African Methodist Church. This society was the outstanding Negro forum in the United States at that time. The most prominent Negro leaders and the foremost white friends of the race appeared there from time to time to discuss public questions.

² This was Robert H. Terrell who taught in the M Street High School, Washington, D. C., and later practiced law in this city. His last important service was that of Municipal Judge of Washington, D. C. Parker N. Bailey taught in this school and died while serving in this capacity.

Sam'' she would lose her French lover. Though she may not be wise, she is at least sincere. Things have reached pretty points when an American Minister is to be discredited by an American Admiral.¹ It is an outrage—but time will make all right. I still live.

I am sorry that I cannot be with you on the 4th July. I would come at once, but I do not retreat under fire. Those who think they can lie me out or lay me out do not know me. I am of those who come to stay. Mr. B. may be against me, but I do not think he will strike me without giving me a hearing—and if he does the President who is a just man will not. There seems already a difference of opinion between them as to my conduct.

I write this note for your own private eyes, and not for publication.

Mrs. Douglass was happy to receive a letter from Mrs. Purvis—and would join me in kindest regards to you both if she knew I was writing. The boys who are looking for the Haitian Mission must wait a little longer. Love to Dr. Shadd.

Yours truly always,
Frederick Douglass.

From Helen Douglass to Charlotte Forten Grimké

Cedar Hill, Monday Morning.

Dear Mrs. Grimké

Many thanks for letter and sermons. I was busy and thought I would reserve the letter for a more convenient season, but once opened I did not let them go till I had gleaned through them.

I want to send these to a lawyer friend in Boston. Can I have a couple more reserved for me and Cedar Hill? Washington seems to leave it to Dr. Grimké to blow its bugle blasts, and he can blow them good and strong.

Was it the present incumbent of Dr. Sunderland's pulpit who exhibited such courage? If so I can understand why he never acknowledged a package of Mr. Douglass' addresses I sent him, by promise, and which I can easily believe he never read.

¹ Douglass refers to the negotiations for the Mole Saint Nicolas which Admiral Gheradi sought to obtain by a naval display in Haitian waters. Douglass, as minister to Haiti, opposed such methods. When the negotiations failed Gheradi made Douglass the scapegoat.

It came to me last night how I can get you up from the cars—I think. So make your plans and I will meantime “see” and drop you a postal. Shall we name Wednesday—that will give you time and all the other affairs of the world we will settle after you get here.

With many anticipations of seeing you and with kindest regards and grateful thanks to Dr. Grimké, and best wishes and remembrances to Miss Nana,

Yours hopefully,
Helen Douglass.

Edward W. Blyden¹ to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, Sept. 11, 1889.

My dear Dr. Grimké,

I think I have heard that you had been raised to the Doctorate—a distinction which in these days is hardly a distinction,—so I address you as above, as in courtesy bound.

I write to say that I forgot to tell you that I left out for you the two volumes of Renau’s “History of the People of Israel,” also two volumes of MacMaster’s “History of the People of the United States,” and I think, (I am not quite sure) I left for Mrs. Grimké the April number of the *Edinburgh Review* containing a very interesting analysis of Bryce’s “American Commonwealth.” If you will call at Mrs. Bowen’s you will find these books on a table in the small room adjoining her parlor.

Renan, I think I said to you, is a curious book interesting chiefly for its literary merits, style, etc., but the man is entirely without spiritual insight. He tries to be smart at the expense of sacred things. But the book ought to be read carefully by the theologian and scholar, as a professional exercise.

The opinion in literary circles in England is that Bryce had not the courage to deal with many things in America which he felt to be wrong and seriously damaging to the national life. Mr. Bosworth Smith told me that he was disappointed in the book, looking at its moral side.

¹Blyden was born at St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands. In his seventeenth year he emigrated to Liberia where he was educated. He became a theologian, a linguist, and an anthropologist. He was made the Liberian minister to England. He served also as president of a college in Liberia. He spent some time, too, in the service of the British in West Africa.

One of the advantages of mingling with people of culture in Europe is that you get at their real views on the great questions which affect humanity. In this country they hide from the Negro and from themselves some of the vital issues in the relations of the races; and fancy that they hide themselves from the world because they emulate the wisdom of the ostrich.

The condition of the colored people in this country, as it appears to me now, is sad indeed. It seems to me that if I lived in this country I should scrupulously avoid politics and everything leading to politics and give myself, if I were in secular life, to the task of accumulating money by rigid industry and reasonable economy with a view of making accessible to myself all the means of comfort and enlightenment which a colored person is allowed to enjoy in this land of the free. As a professional man, whether physician, lawyer or clergyman, I should spare no pains to rise to the top of my profession. Daniel Webster used to say that there is "plenty of room at the top." This would be true if society were an inverted pyramid. The top is really the place, as the world now stands, where there is really no room, but for the exceptional in intellect and industry.

There is no political outlet for the Negro in this country, but his social advantages, if he respects himself, are quite as good as those of the whites, and in the literary atmosphere, which is as limitless as the natural atmosphere, he may rise to any height. Mrs. Herbert Spencer once said to me—a remark which I quote in the Preface to the Second Edition of my book—That "in the Republic of letters there is no such thing as caste." All genuine intellect is of the same color; and in the region where that prevails their possessors neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like the angels of God—that is to say, they mingle freely on the basis of affinity and congeniality. When mind sees mind or soul sees soul it sees it stripped of accidents.

It is for these reasons that I think you should prize the social readings of which we have had a few specimens. I wish you would try to enlarge the circle;¹ but be sure that it is composed of such as can mingle as the angels do. I think six would be quite enough for a beginning.

¹While traveling in the United States Blyden so greatly stimulated interest in scholarship that a reading circle for mutual help and edification of mind was organized in Washington, D. C.

This reading and conversing together is something like traveling. It seems to me to be in the world of character what traveling is in the world of scenery, with this charming addition, that you are in some sense aware of presenting new moral scenery to others as well as getting glimpses of new moral scenery yourself. There is something fascinating in the tasting of new minds, so to speak, in their pleasantest and most generous attitudes—like looking at a landscape on a fine day in June. The subject read is like the railway carriage, only the means of conveyance through the scenery.

This kind of exercise which I try to give to myself wherever I am (sometimes I find only one to read with) has proved most valuable to me. The only danger which I have found—and, unfortunately, in this world nearly all pleasures are attended with danger—is that if you enter upon it with your whole heart you are likely to overrate its value as a means of culture, and neglect solitary reading, by which, if you ought to read at all, your own mental resources are awakened and brought out. But I have also found that solitary reading, even where it is professional, without the stimulus of social reading, often becomes languid and superficial. Hence the value of universities.

But I must stop. I only took up my pen to write you of the books I had left for you.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Grimké,

Believe me yours sincerely,

Edwd. W. Blyden.

P. S. I forgot to say something of my journey to this point. I left Washington yesterday morning at 11.40., stopped in Baltimore to see Hon. J. H. B. Latrobe, an old friend of Liberia. He is now 85 years old, but quite as vigorous as he was ten years ago, interested in all the moving questions of the day—but says he avoids politics, though his son has been five times elected Mayor of Baltimore. He had around him all the latest papers, English and French, which are published in connection with Africa, and was when I called writing on an African subject—and he described my visit to him as an interesting coincidence. We had a long and profitable (to me) conversation—this staunch old Democrat. You see how white men study and why they excel.

I left Baltimore by the train at 7.35 p. m. and did not get here

until 11 o'clock. It was a curious though fatiguing journey. We stopped at every station between Baltimore and Philadelphia. Every five minutes the whistle blew. I am sorry it was not day light so that by a closer inspection of the landscape and people I might have been somewhat rewarded for the provoking delays.

Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

Chicago, Oct. 29, 1889.

My dear Friend,

I arrived here on Sunday morning after 48 hours tedious travel from Washington. Dr. Withrow had a man at the depot waiting for me all day Saturday as he had been notified of my visit, and a room at the house of Mr. Knox one of his Elders provided for me—but as I did not get here on Saturday he supposed that I had given up the idea, and Mr. Knox gave the room to some stranger from the West. The American Missionary Association begins its annual meeting here today and a great many strangers are in the city.

I attended the Ministers Meeting yesterday morning and listened to a paper by Rev. Thomas Hall, son of Dr. John Hall of New York. It was a review of Dr. Bragg's new book entitled "Whither!"

The paper was a most able and discriminating one, and called forth an interesting discussion from the giants present, Drs. R. W. Patterson, Herrick Johnson, M. W. Stryker, etc. I was the only visitor called upon to say something. There was a minister from the Washington Presbytery, who sat next to me. He knows you well and spoke to me highly of your work. I did not learn his name. After the meeting I was surrounded. I was urged to remain over Sunday. Out of the numerous invitations I received I agreed to preach for Dr. Stryker on Sunday morning, Dr. Withrow Sunday Evening,—to lecture to the Students at McCormick's Theological Seminary on Wednesday Evening. Dr. Breed, who wrote the criticism on "Moody in the Interior," has invited me to dine with him on Wednesday Evening. I am to lecture on the Koran for the colored people, who are getting up a meeting for Friday night.

My stay is so short that they are very much hurried. I am afraid of the cold. I don't want to be frozen up here,

My regards to Mrs. Grimké and all friends, especially the Reading Circle. My spirit is with them.

Yours faithfully,
E. W. Blyden.

Eduard W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

Chicago, Nov. 4, 1889.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

I am obliged to you for your note of the 1st inst. just received. I regret to learn of the impression which has been received from my lecture, "The Koran in Africa." I wish the gentleman who is to speak on it next Tuesday night could have reserved his paper until I could be present.

I read the same lecture last Saturday to the students of McCormick Theological Seminary, 158 in number, and their Professors—Prof. Marquis presiding. At the close Dr. Marquis expressed their interest in the paper and acknowledged the information they had received, and called upon the students to express their appreciation in some tangible form, to which they nobly responded. I subsequently dined with the Professors at Dr. Marquis' house.

Dr. Thomas H. Skinner, a great polemic, was present. He gave illustrations from his readings of many things I said as to the superiority of the Soudan or Mohammedan Negroes to others. At that dinner there was ample opportunity for the Professors to have warned me against heretical opinions, but not a single critical remark was made, except by Dr. Breed as to the slavery feature of the discussion.

Yesterday morning I preached in the Fourth Presbyterian Church (Dr. Stryker's) to a crowded house—only two colored persons present. In the evening I preached in the Third Church Dr. Withrow's to 2000 people, about half a dozen colored present. Both at the Seminary and at each of these churches the listeners assured me that they enjoyed my utterances and bought numbers of my books in order to study the question of Mohammedanism.

I think it will be found that on a closer examination of my views neither the interests of Christianity nor of the race are threatened—but there is a difference between *comprehension* and *non-comprehension*.

From the Seminary several persons have been sent to get me

to speak in schools etc.—showing that *there* at least they don't think me heterodox.

The fact is, that the white people are better able from their travels and studies to grasp religious and race problems than the colored people. Yesterday morning, after my sermon at Dr. Stryker's a Mr. Waite and his daughter, accompanied me to the house of the pastor where I dined. They had just arrived the day before from an eighteen months travel. They spent six months in Egypt and Syria. The young lady dwelt in raptures on her experiences on the Nile, at Cairo, at the Pyramids, etc.

Such persons are of course in a better position to take wide views on all questions than persons not having enjoyed their opportunities.

At all events; my rule is never to make replies or rejoinders, except where some good may be done. I hope to leave here tomorrow afternoon and may stop in Philadelphia a day or two arriving in Washington on Friday.

My regards to Mrs. Grimké.

Yours faithfully,

Ed. W. Blyden.

Edward J. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

Chicago, Nov. 5, 1889.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

That you may understand the intelligent interest which has been recently stirred up here in our church on the subject of Mohammedanism, Dr. E. M. Wherry, returned missionary from India, an able Arabic Scholar, and extensive writer on Islam read a paper yesterday morning at the Minister's meeting on the subject. It was able, discriminating, instructive. There were seventy ministers present—from neighboring districts, from the college and McCormick Seminary. The paper consumed all the time at the disposal of the meeting. At its close a vote was at once moved and unanimously carried that the time be extended ten minutes that the meeting might have the advantage of my views on the question. I spoke on the peculiar relations of Islam to Africa and the African race and commended Dr. Wherry's paper for its scholarship fairness and thorough impartiality in dealing with the question. I gave some information as to the working of the system in Africa

as supplementary to Dr. Wherry's experience in India, I also suggested in view of the vast importance of the subject in India and Africa and the general ignorance in relation to it among ministers in this country that a professorship of Arabic and Islam be established in theological Seminaries. With this idea they expressed their sympathy by hearty applause as they did at the conclusion of my remarks.

Now I observe in your letter received yesterday that you have been appointed to ask me to appear before the ministers meeting in Washington next Monday, the 11th, to explain my views. I will gladly do so: but you will understand that I must feel the change between the intellectual atmosphere of the meeting yesterday morning and that of the meeting to be on the 11th. I repeated my Lecture on the Koran at the Bethel Church last night. Dr. Waters of the *Interior* newspaper sat on the platform with me. At the close of the lecture Mr. Gaines, the pastor of the church asked the Dr. to say a few words. He replied, "Oh, no, thank you; there is nothing to be said on that subject after Dr. Blyden has spoken." Had he been a half informed Negro he would have attempted to deal with the subject. To understand these questions travel as well as reading is necessary. I feel my disadvantage among my own people in this country. They mean well: but their advantages have been limited.

Regards to Mrs. Grimké.

Yours truly,
Ed. W. Blyden.

A full account of the lectures will appear in the *Inter-Ocean*.

I leave by the 5 o'clock train this afternoon for Phila., due there Wednesday afternoon at 4.45. I have had to decline many invitations from the whites to share their hospitality on account of my brief stay here.

Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

Charleston, Dec. 3, 1889.

My dear Friend,

You will see by the papers that I send herewith that I have been kept very busy since my arrival in this city.

Your kind letter was received this morning just while I was

making up my mind whether to go to Florida or accept an invitation to Columbia to attend one of the A. M. E. Conferences to be held there this week. I have concluded that my time would be more profitably spent in Florida.

I spoke three times on Sunday. At night Lee's church was crowded—aisles and galleries crowded etc. There were, Lee says, 1300 present. Yesterday morning I addressed the students and teachers of the Avery Institute. Last night I addressed an audience at Lee's church on "Africa" and at their request I will deliver the lecture on the Koran tonight. After that I will turn my face Southward. The weather for the last two or three days has been lovely. Give my love to all the friends and say to Mrs. Grimké that I miss the Monday evenings, which I so much enjoy in your quiet & genial—congenial—circle.

Yours faithfully,
Ed. W. Blyden.

Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

Charleston, Dec. 19, 1889.

My dear Dr. Grimké,

I am still in Charleston. Many thanks for forwarding Prof. Crogman's letter. It was a cordial invitation to visit Clark University and address the students on Africa; but I doubt that I shall be able to comply, as I must be in Washington the first week in January to prepare for my engagement in the Church of the Covenant about Jan. 19th.

The city of your birth has had apparently strong attractions if not many charms for me. I went last week to Aiken, the great health resort of the State, to attend the Conference of the A. M. E. Church, Bishop Arnett presiding.

A reception was given me week before last by some of the leading colored people of Charleston of which I enclose a newspaper account. Since my return from Aiken the Workingmen's Association has invited me to a reception to be given on the evening of the 20th inst. I have been visiting Summerville, Mt. Pleasant and other suburbs of Charleston, and everywhere I have been entertained with princely hospitality. The weather is lovely. I drive around with no overcoat. The windows are all up and no fires.

Everyday is like a warm spring day in Washington. Mrs. Grimké, I am sure, would enjoy it.

I leave on the 21st for Jacksonville. I shall have but a short time there, as I must see St. Augustine. I will then go to Mobile and New Orleans.

I hope the Reading Circle continues its interesting meetings. I have heard once only and from only one lady of the Circle. "Out of sight etc"—while I have had almost voluminous and most entertaining intelligence from elsewhere: and, as you know, I always answer on the spot.

I see that Robert Browning is dead. Will any member of the Circle undertake to read a eulogy on the life and writings of the distinguished poet? I do not feel exactly like saying what Fitzgerald said when he heard of the death of the author of *Aurora Leigh*. I suppose the first thing the poet did, on his arrival on the other side, was to scold his wife for communicating with "confounded spiritualists" instead of with him.

No doubt Browning had many admirers; indeed, there are numerous Browning Societies; but I do not consider myself in any sense qualified for membership in any of these societies. They were organized, we are informed, to interpret his works. Just fancy that any man writing in the English language should need interpreters to English speaking people. But his interpreters assure us that his thoughts were so large, his fancies so far-reaching that they could not be expressed according to ordinary methods. Men have to be educated up to Browning. How different from the greatest and simplest of teachers, who brought his teachings down to the humblest! Browning is at war not only with the illustrious examples of the past, but likewise with the most noted of his contemporaries. Is it possible that he is right and they are all wrong? Emerson says:

"I looked into Pope's *Odyssey* yesterday, and it is as correct and elegant after our canon of today as if it were newly written. Shakespeare's passages of passion (for example, in *Lear* and *Hamlet*) are in the very dialect of the present year"

Please make my kindest regards to your wife and all the members of the Circle. Letters addressed to me here will be forwarded to me.

Yours faithfully,
Ed. W. Blyden.

Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

New York, March 5, 1890.

✓ My dear Friend,

This is to say a last Good bye. I write in the Library of one of the finest—perhaps the finest—steamship afloat. We sail at 3 today. I have written at length to Mrs. Smythe, as Cor. Sec. of the Reading Circle, describing the vessel, etc. I hope she will find it convenient to read it next Saturday.

I have written three times since I left Washington, but have as yet had no answer, except a line from Mrs. Cooper, which seemed to be only the latter part of what she had written, for it began thus: "And I" etc. etc. She must have forgotten to put the first, part into the envelope. Please ask her.

I addressed Mr. Anderson's congregation on Sunday night. There were several strangers present, white and colored, including Bishop Turner who delivered a characteristic speech after I was through. The morning congregation consisted of nine persons.

Monday morning I read my paper on "The Koran" before the Presbyterian Ministerial Association. There was a full attendance. Bishops Turner and Tanner, Drs. Embry and Coppin and other colored Methodist dignitaries. A vote of thanks was unanimously carried and I received several personal congratulations on the literary treat and information I had given the Association.

I am afraid if the last two or three days are to be taken as an example I shall get very little news from Washington. May I ask you to drop me a line occasionally and let me know how the Circle is getting on? Perhaps the Ladies should take it by turn to write me in answer to my letters to the Circle. The labor should not be left to one unless that one should feel herself repaid to act as Cor. Sec. and to be the first to receive the news from abroad.

My address in London, until further notice, will be as follows—
Care of the Liberian-Consul General, 15 Abchurch Lane, London,
E. C.

With kind regards to Mrs. Grimké

Believe me yours faithfully,
Edwd. W. Blyden.

Don't forget to send a copy of the sermon to my friend in Corcoran St.

Francis J. Grimké to Edward W. Blyden

Washington, D. C., March 24th, 1890.

Dear Dr. Blyden:

I need not assure you that we were very glad to receive your letter written from the "Teutonic", and to know that you were both well and happy. We followed you in thought, in your trip across the Atlantic, and have thought of you and talked of you often since your arrival. I need not assure you that you are missed by us, especially by the Reading Circle. I had the pleasure of reading your letter to Mrs. Smythe, in which you give a most interesting description of the "Teutonic". It must be simply magnificent and some day I trust we, the Circle, in company with yourself, will have the pleasure of crossing in her. You will be surprised to learn that we have not had a single meeting of the "Circle" since your departure. We have all heard your interesting letter and have seen each other, but there has been no formal meeting on Saturdays. Of course, when ever we see each other, you are never forgotten, you are always spoken of. I called on Mrs. Cooper, the other evening, and we spoke of you.

We are to have an Educational Convention in our City this week, beginning tomorrow. Mrs. Cooper is to read a paper on the "Higher Education of Women." I wish you were here to hear it. Mrs. Grimké, Mrs. Smythe, Miss Bowen, have all been on the sick list. By the by, I had a call the other day from your friend in Corcoran street. She said that you had written her that you had left a package with me for her. I suppose you had reference to the sermon on the "Conditions of Permanent Influence", and so gave her a copy. She spoke very warmly and tenderly of you, and still has for you a very warm place in her heart.

I send you in this an article of Bishop Turner, in which you will be interested and over which I know you will have a good hearty laugh. I wish while you are in London that you would try to get me a photograph of Joseph Parker. I have always had a great desire to see him.

And now with the hope of hearing from you soon, and with much love from Mrs. Grimké and myself, and best wishes for your continued health and safe return to Washington, D. C., before long.

I am as ever your sincere
friend,

Francis J. Grimké.

Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

London, E. C., April 9, 1890.

My dear Friend,

Your interesting letter of the 24th ult. was indeed a great relief to me. I felt somewhat puzzled to understand why, though I have written several letters to the Circle and to individual members thereof I have not had one line in acknowledgement. Your letter informing me that they have been sick is a great comfort and relief.

I hope when they all get back their wonted health they will resume their places on Saturday afternoons for mutual enjoyment and edification. I have been so busy that I was not able to write last Wednesday to the Circle though I wrote to the Secretary Mrs. Smythe, nor am I able to write today but I hope what I am now penning will be taken as one of the series though not from my Diary.

I have seen so much during the last two weeks that would interest the Circle that my Diary when I am able to send it I know will be eagerly read. I say when I am able to send it, because I expect to leave on Saturday next the 12th inst. from Liverpool for Africa, and next Wednesday I shall probably be in the Bay of Biscay on my way to Madeira,

I was to have left last Wednesday and then it was put off to today. Lawyer Lewis of Sierra Leone has just come in to go with me to the ship, but at a farewell dinner given to me last night, it was again put off to Saturday. Not business has postponed my departure but social obligations.

Last night Lord Raglan presided at the banquet given to me. It was a splendid affair. There was present an Austrian lady—a dramatic and art critic—dressed in the height of the evening fashions, very low neck and no sleeves at all—and with a profusion of Diamonds. This bit for the ladies—I would say more about her but I fear. A German lady whom I met last week and who will be more fully described in my Diary quoted to me these lines of Schiller, which Mrs. Grimké will translate—

Wer lieben will muss leiden

Ohne leiden liebt man nicht.

My friend Capt. Parsell, who commanded the "Teutonic" when I came over has been transferred to the new sister ship "Majestic" which sailed from Liverpool for New York on her maiden trip last

week. Remember when the Circle as a whole or any member of it comes to England, to come on the "Majestic", if they wish to form the acquaintance and enjoy the attention and courtesy of my friend, Capt. Parsell.

I have read with great interest the article you enclosed from Bishop Turner to Ex-Senator Bruce.

As you predicted it was a source, in some respects, of amusement—but it was also a cause of sadness, when I considered how much time is wasted by coloured men on your side of the Atlantic, who do not seem to grasp the providential reason for their alliance in whole or in part with Africa. The color question sinks into absolute insignificance on this side, and the stupid Americans who come over soon learn to drop or conceal their narrow mindedness.

America was discovered and everything on that side is new. On this side the different races exist in their original habitat and they are disposed to treat each other with respect according to personal qualities and position—color or race not entering at all into the estimate. They mingle freely with all races and learn from all. They are free men and ridicule the idea of being hampered in their social relations by color. They look upon the color phobia in America as the result of that system which enslaved both races and from which both races are still suffering.

Neither the Negro nor the white man can understand what true freedom is until he comes on this side, where all nations and kindreds and tongues mingle as men—not as white and black—and the infinite shades between the two which seem to be the bases among the colored people of most unseemly prejudices. No; believe me there is no real freedom and I am afraid never will be for the races in America.

Please say to Mrs. Smythe that I hope to send her a book on Cardinal Lavigerie, which I know will interest her and to Mrs. Lynch say that I will send her "The Life of Lord Lawrence" which she requested me to send and which I promised to send—I try to keep my promises—

Your letter to me was read by a lady friend here. As soon as she read it she said, "I have to do a little shopping today, so I will get a picture of Dr. Parker for your friend," She is the same lady who sends "Great Thoughts" to Miss Barrier. The picture is enclosed. With kind regards to Mrs. Grimké and the rest of the circle

I remain yours faithfully,

Ed. W. Blyden.

I have had the sermons I delivered in America printed in a little volume here, including a part of the paper on the Koran. I will send you copies.

Daniel A. Payne to Francis J. Grimké

Wilberforce, Ohio, Nov. 1, 1890.

Rev. Francis J. Grimké D. D.

My dear Friend,

Yours of the 19th came to hand by due course of mail. It refreshed my soul. I shall try one, if not both, of the remedies indicated.

Dr. I shall leave for Jacksonville Fla. next Monday night by the Queen and Crescent railway, taking the sleeper at Cincinnati. I expect at the end of 36 hours from Monday night the 29th at Squire English's.

I am too feeble to go by the way of Baltimore and Washington as formerly.

The changes I would be compelled to make at those either would do me more harm than traveling over the distance of 700 or 1000 miles in a through train. "God be with you till we meet again".

Love to all, especially your beloved Lottie.

Faternally,
Daniel A. Payne.¹

Richard Theodore Greener¹ to Francis J. Grimké

New York City, Dec. 27, 1890.

My dear Friend:-

Do not judge, I pray you, of my appreciation of your kind letter, by the tardiness of this reply.

At the office, I am so constantly interrupted that I have no time in which to write private letters, and lately as you have observed, we have had our hands full to fight Oneill of Penn, and the clique

¹Daniel A. Payne was one of the most distinguished educators and ministers of his time. He was born a free Negro in Charleston, South Carolina. He made his way north and was educated at a seminary at Gettysburg. He joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church and rose rapidly to the position of Bishop. He was the founder of Wilberforce University.

¹Greener was a well-educated man, the first Negro graduate of Harvard College. He was a professor in the University of South Carolina during the Reconstruction. Later he held other important positions, the chief of which was United States Consul at Bombay and Vladivostok.

who have sought to remove the body of Genl. Grant to Washington. While my name has not appeared, I have been as you may imagine busy furnishing the ammunition with which to fight the enemy. Now that we have routed them, I feel easier, and look forward to more vigorous work on the part our Committee and less vexatious work for myself. You cannot know how grateful your generous note was. Neither distance, nor silence nor absence, be assured, can ever dim the genuine regard I have for you and your wife: for from both of you I have always enjoyed that rare thing on this earth, unalloyed friendship.

During my sojourn in New York I have made up, somewhat the loss of years, unimproved in Washington. My only regret is I have not done more than I have been able to accomplish. I have written much anonymously—editorials, special subjects, and fugitive pieces, all tentative and, with a purpose, if I ever get the leisure and peace of mind necessary for the best work. Since the advent of the Tammany crowd, I have not been on the Civil service Board: but from my knowledge of the workings of the service I have been able to do some good tutoring work. A year ago I prepared a pupil for Columbia Coll. and from that pupil, I have gained several others. All this with my Grant work has kept me quite busy. I often hear of you from Washington friends: but nothing as satisfactory as seeing your own familiar chirography.

As far as possible, I have tried to forget the squabbles, and disappointments of my Washington experience, and, indeed, I surprise myself, at my absolute ignorance and indifference to matters formerly of such moment. I have determined now, to succeed if I may upon other lines and in other ways. Once in away I hear some criticism or ill natured reflection; but I do not mind it now. My family are improving physically and mentally—my home is more, even than it was and outside of some of the usual experiences of life we are getting along, very well. I hope you are enjoying your life work, and doing good work. Washington is a good place, I am convinced, for you, much better than a similar place south or west. I hope you are also connected with Howard Univ., since Rankin has taken hold. I consider him the grandest type of man ever connected with the Institution—Genl. Howard not excepted. Rankin by name and stock belongs to the old school of the Abolition prophets. I regret now I did not write him My good intentioned letter, on his election.

Recurring to my poem, the occasion of your letter, I think, I had read it to you some years ago, and it had the praise of true poet—Mrs. Grimké, she will remember it I am sure. I sent the piece to the *Independent* some time ago, and had really forgotten all about it. By a curious coincidence it is printed above a story of my dear friend Ed. Everett Hale. I have already received several other congratulatory letters and am told it has been copied and is to be set to music. I congratulate you on the outlook. Everywhere, I see the race is getting, at least, literary recognition. Scarborough's article, your minister's success and Fortune's dashes, all show progress. I am still pondering over the problems, and trying to see where I can use my battle axe, now somewhat rusty—with most efficacy. I have a purpose not unconnected with the race, in holding on to my present place. There are points to be made, and some lessons to be inculcated.

I am a natural born propagandist and never forget, no matter how much I may seem to lose sight of it, the end in view. My natural career would have been a political one: but the gods willed it otherwise. Now I am trying to reconcile myself to the inevitable and do my work in other channels and by other agencies.

I saw your younger brother lately and he looks well. He has developed into a fine manly looking fellow. We are in our blizzard weather for the third experience since I have been in New York, and we enjoy it. I am the same in appearance as when I saw you last, now over six years, except a generous sprinkle of gray in my moustache and beard, and a few silver threads in my hair. I am sorry I did not see either you or your wife when you were in town: but as a matter of fact, I did not know when you were here. I should have been all the happier to see you because of some absurd and silly talk which I fear has caused some of my good friends not to call on me. While the loss of the society of very many persons would never harrow up my soul nor cause me one sleepless night, there are friends whom I have known and loved, whose presence would at all times be welcome to me and mine—no matter where we were. I trust you see Mrs. Fleet often. She is a great admirer of yours. My wife joins me in warmest regard for yourself and wife, and we unite in hoping to see you when you come this way.

Cordially yours,
R. T. Greener.

R. P. Wyche to Francis J. Grimké

Charlotte, N. C., June 20, 1891.

Rev. F. J. Grimké D. D.

Dear Bro.:

This is to inform you, that you have been nominated by the Freedmen's Board and elected by the Board of Trustees, in the Theological Dept., Prof. of Christian Evidences, and in the College Dept, Prof. of Mental and Moral Sciences to take effect Oct. 1, Your Salary to be \$1200, and house.

I am directed to request, that you communicate your decision to me, at your earliest convenience.

Truly Yours,
R. P. Wyche, Sec.,
Bd. Trustees, Biddle University.

B. A. Imes to Francis J. Grimké

Knoxville, Tenn., March 15-93.

Dear Bro.

With intense interest (almost to "shouting") I have just read your valuable and much needed essay upon the general status of The Afro-American Churches and ministry. Permit me to say this word in way of response. Many of the more worthy class of the Colored Ministry have no doubt, preached this same wholesome doctrine with more or less faithfulness. Many will heartily approve your wholesome and timely declaration, but the remedy the needed reformation, what is it and how to be applied? It is clear as to what ought to be preached,—that the sad abuse of the emotional element is wicked, and wrong, but how much the evil? If bad men are in the pulpits—men who are scheming, selfish, dishonest, they will not from our chiding turn about and preach truth and righteousness.

The buffoon will not change into a sober, earnest prophet of God. Men are what they are by reason of chosen habits—associations, practices social institutions etc.—

Conferences license, ordain, commission the men who preach. Associations, have full means of knowing the character of ministers—Bishops, and Presbyteries can say who shall be authorized to teach in holy things.

Schools send out the so-called "educated" men and have means of knowing pretty well their moral qualities. If then a considerable number, or any number of men of unworthy character are kept in the Ministry somebody is to blame beside the men who are under discussion. Some authoritative hand must be laid upon the unworthy men in question.

A large class of people will follow the false prophet whose study it is to attract a following and lead them by his arts.

I beg to submit the question, as to whether the church and Ministry are not largely controlled by organizations secret and oath bound, and in which a bad man has a hiding place and friends who stand by him "through good as well as evil report?" I personally knew a pastor of a large church,—who was accused of being intoxicated in an Odd Fellows lodge room. The good "steward" who reported him to the church, was fined \$10 & suspended by the lodge, and when the Bishop came to hear the case in church no one would testify. The same pastor was made presiding elder in another district when the next conference assembled. I had the facts from a young man of same ch. and lodge. The pastor in question was a regular clown in the pulpit. Had little learning but much tact,—brass—lung power.

Close by me here, is a church whose pastor is by repute but little better than a common drunkard. Other ministers tell me that he has been seen reeling and staggering on the St. At a wedding last December he was so "overcome with wine" that he mumbled the Ceremony, almost insulting the bride by his silly deportment,—he was taken by friends & shut in a house near by until he could sober up. There was talk of a church trial—but nothing has ever come of it so far as I know. Two weeks ago at a neighboring church, by invitation of course, this same man preached the famous "Annual Sermon" to a prominent "Order" and the house would not seat the people who flocked thither—He is a "Grand" something for the State of Tennessee. Is there anything in these facts, brethren in the Ministry, to explain how and why bad men are kept in and over the churches as ministers and pastors.

Is it true or not true, that in these "orders" a considerable number of men are gamblers, saloon keepers etc. and the minister in the "order" is a "brother" and he brothers them all when the grip or the sign is given. They gather in a band at the funeral

and the same ritual service is said, consigning the departed member, Christian or not Christian to the same blessed destiny in the spirit world. Thus, it would seem, religion is made a mockery and men who know better, assent to the hypocrisy practiced in these things. There are many who will sanction your sad but true charges touching the unhappy condition of the Negro minister and Churches, but who will bravely join in an open movement of reform and lay the ax at the root of the tree? I do not hesitate to aver that the educating influence of organizations which rival the churches, demanding with "Supreme" Authority the time, money and influence of their adherents, has much to do with the low moral standard—the conscienceless condition of so large a part of the Colored ministry. I find men who are selfish & scheming—laughing in their sleeve over the success of their arts in managing the people—to excite them, and get money out of them. In some cases they scruple not at all either as to ends or means.

My inquiry is, brethren—where and what is the remedy? A serious evil like this calls loudly for a remedy. I undertake to explain, or give one of the reasons why in many cases, smart bad men are kept in the ministry. Is there not a great demand for separation of the church from these influences of the world and intimate associations with ungodly men who are in position to exert great influence in managing the affairs of the churches?

Most truly yours for the Reform that is needed

B. A. Imes.

Captain T. G. Steward to Francis J. Grimké

Fort Missoula, Mont., April 27, 1893.

My dear Doctor Grimké:

Your valuable essay on "The Afro-American Pulpit" reached me some weeks ago. I have carefully read—studied—it, and I wish 20,000 copies of it might be printed and circulated free. Every colored preacher in the country ought to have it. My name goes with the Minister's Union in that Endorsement.

Sincerely yours,

T. G. Steward,
Chaplain U. S. A.

Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

Sierra Leone, November 13, 1893.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

I sit down at once to reply to your welcome letter of October 11th, just received.

I am delighted to hear from the Saturday "Circle". I think I could be reconciled to a permanent residence in America, if I could be sure of having the pleasure of meeting the ladies of the Circle (and the gentleman) at least once a week. Our meetings in the winter of 1889-90 furnish the only exhilarating reminiscences of my last visit to the States.

I intended to send you extracts from my Diary in England in 1892. But soon after my return to Africa I was laid up with nervous prostration, and your amiable Secretary cut short her correspondence after furnishing me with her new address in Fifteenth St. I should like to know whether she is still at the same place. To me there is pathos in her silence. I always have an irrepressible suspicion that there is something of ill-health connected with it. I hope in this instance my suspicion is not justified. Her pertinacious silence may be thoroughly conscientious, due to other than physical difficulties.

I thank you for kind inquiries after my health. I am thankful to say it is much improved. The fact is, I hardly have time to be sick. You would be astonished at the amount of work I have to do and get through with in this hot climate which some foreigners think is second in temperature only to Nebuchadnezzar's furnace.

Our hot season is now coming on. We have had a protracted rainy season. Now is the time I should like to be on the St. Paul River.

I always have a number of letters to answer and original ones to write to Europe, the U. S. and other parts of Africa. I will give you samples of those before me to be answered by the steamer due today.

1st one from Rev. W. H. Ingersoll of Brooklyn (I wonder if he is a relative of the great agnostic) in which he says (date Sept. 13):

"I have written a book on "The Christ-Ideal in Sacred Art," and should be glad if you could tell me how I can obtain a copy of one of the black pictures of Christ which I learn are to be found in Africa. Mr. F. P. Noble Sec. of the recent African Congress thought you might be able to assist me."

The next is from a gentleman in London introducing to me a friend who has come out to do business in Africa, and desiring information as to the best locality etc. etc.

Two others are from Lagos—two from Monrovia, requiring immediate answers.

(By the way, I have just received news of the death of Charles McGill, a son of Dr. McGill. He with some others attempting to load a cannon in the war now unhappily being waged by the Liberians against the Greboes was blown to pieces. Mr. Moses Ricks of Clay-Ashland, brother-in-law of Mrs. Martha Ricks is also just dead. These are persons known to Mrs. Smythe.)

This only by way. The other letters I have to answer today are from ladies in England, most exacting correspondents, for they write frequently.

One is the lady editor of the *Liverpool Courier*, a sprightly young lady not long out of her teens, the daughter of an English clergyman. I had written her extolling country life—

She says—

“I suppose you do get weary and worn and tired out of Sierra Leone. I rather enjoy the rush of the world, and were I forced to return to the quiet rectory where I was born and educated I am sure I should die of inanition.

“I have not seen Captain Walsh (of one of the West African Steamers) since the day he extolled you to the high heavens as a chief of men—a very archangel (fancy!). I reverence a man who bows down to the good qualities of another. In my brief experience of journalism, I have found that men are as unjust to each other as women are to their sisters. They depreciate what they do not understand with quite a petticoated spite. Are you a woman suffragist? I have known nothing of the tyranny or oppression of man, therefore it beseems me to remain silent on the subject.”

She is still in the enjoyment of single blessedness.

My next correspondent writes for the *London Standard* and other periodicals. In her letter before me, (and she writes every week, with most stimulating regularity) she says—

“I can only write a short letter today. Next week I am to return home (she lives in London but has been spending a few weeks at Brighton) but would like to spend the winter here. Give me a list of subjects you would like me to write on. I do not like those wretched words of Browning—they sound so hopeless—I mean those you quote about time, place, etc.

"I have delivered six addresses here. Tonight I am to speak on the "Tabernacle and its teachings" to an enlightened and critical audience.

"If I write to the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* as you desire, I suppose I must give my real name to the Editor, and trust he will not repeat it. For other reasons than the following, I desire at present to be incognita; but it is certain that words often impress people better if not known to emanate from my sex—so much harm has been done by the suppression and over ruling by man of those faculties originally entrusted to his intended best earthly companion—whose perceptive powers were given to her at first in brilliance on purpose to sustain and sharpen all the most delicate feelings of the whole human unit.

"I am reading a book much run after just now called 'The Heavenly Twins' by Mdme. Grand. I wish you could see it. There is so much in it on social questions which I have said in almost the same words.

"I hope you like "Zoroaster" which I sent two weeks ago and that you will mark passages that strike you and return the book to me. I will send it back.

"I have discovered here a very old Hebrew Bible interlined and with copious notes in red ink. The latter of date 1738—the book of 1699. I am going to show it to a good Hebrew Scholar here.

The title is printed thus—

Biblia Hebraica

Cum Notes Hebraicis, etc——

I wish you were here to look over it with me."

(My fair correspondent is a very learned person, quite a linguist. Her letters are often polyglottic. She is the sister of a prominent English Bishop.)

She proceeds—

"I wish you could have witnessed what I did last Sunday in Hyde Park—a sight never to be forgotten as recurring in the midst of a city like London. A lady and I determined to take some bread and cheese for the actually starving among the crowds, as on a previous occasion we were sick at heart when speaking to see positive hunger in the faces near us. It was necessary to use great discrimination, for we only wished to feed the genuinely poverty-stricken, So I whispered to a man to tell me where I should find the real cases. He said, "Beyond the multitudes lying on the

grass''. So I went and found a seat crammed with the off-scouring humanity—filthy, dirty, ragged. At a little distance, I said, 'Is any one desperately hungry among you?' Never shall I forget the answer. Never have I seen anything like it, but when I have fed ravenous birds. The whole form of people rushed at me. I for a moment thought I should have been knocked down; and some one said, 'Don't treat the lady like that.' It was an awful sight, but I felt ready to weep. Did I know not that all the ills of suffering humanity are to be set right, I would ask to die at once."

But enough of extracts from other people's letters. They might tire you, though there are numerous other passages written with the freedom and freshness of private correspondence such as we never meet in printed works.

If I had the privilege of meeting the "Circle" now, I could interest you for weeks from instructive and entertaining letters from Stopford Brooke, Bosworth Smith and ladies whose names of course must not be mentioned, as some of them you have seen in print.

Your terrible indictment against the colored clergy of the U. S. reached me as I lay prostrate in bed, forbidden to touch a book.

The Doctor attending me, himself a minister, took it away and read it himself. When I recovered I read it, and I could only deplore the condition of my race of whom such a picture could be truthfully drawn. It reminded me of one of Theodore Parker's truthful fulminations in the Boston Music Hall against the sainted upholders of slavery from 1850 to 1860.

But those who trained our people in the South taught them to worship God and serve graven images. And who can contemplate without a shudder the horrible concomitants of the worship—the defiance of every command in the decalogue which marked its whole history—the swinish mire of political dishonesty and social demoralization in which it delighted to wallow! But enough. I am tired at this sitting and you must be tired reading—so I say good bye for the present until you are moved—or rather until the Circle is moved after another six months, to shift the burden of correspondence on to your willing and obliging shoulders.

With kind regards to all.

Ever faithfully yours,

Ed. W. Blyden.

I send a few Sierra Leone Papers.

William H. Croghan¹ to Francis J. Grimké

Clark University, Atlanta, Ga., Sept. 24, 1894.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

I have made several attempts within the last week to write you, but have so far failed. It was my intention to correspond with you more fully, in the summer vacation, with reference to that society. Shortly after the close of school, however, I was sent off on a mission through the southern and southwestern states in the interest of the proposed "Cotton States and International Exposition" to be held in this city in the fall of '95. I was absent from home very nearly two months, and since my return have been very busy.

Now, let us talk a little on the matter. I wrote to Dr. Crummell last winter, as you suggested. The old gentleman was pleased with the idea, and thought, if realized, it would result in much good to the race. He apprehends serious difficulty, however, in securing and maintaining of proper personnel. He would like to see an "African Institute composed of say fifty colored scholars, the best we have; devoted to literary, statistical, ethnographical, folk-lore investigation, pertaining wholly and entirely to Africa and to the world wide Negro race. It should be both inclusive and exclusive; inclusive of real thoughtful reading men who have done something; exclusive of all mere talkers and screamers. Its work should be so real and thorough that it would be an object of ambition to secure membership; so thorough that it would command the respect of the scholarly element outside. I think we have a few ministers, college professors, teachers, artists, writers, fitted for such an organization; many of whom would be glad to undertake the great work."²

I have taken pains to write out in full this very suggestive paragraph from the letter of our worthy and venerable scholar—the Nestor of our literati. I have written it *verbatim et literatim*, with his own emphasis. For reasons, some of which are apparent to me, he did not wish the contents of his letter to be made public. For equally good reasons, I have ventured to give you so much of

¹ William H. Croghan was a professor and for a number of years president of Clark University in Atlanta. Like Dr. Grimké, Dr. Croghan was a scholarly man of high ideals; in fact, puritanic. He and Dr. Grimké were close friends throughout their lives.

² This was the beginning of the American Negro Academy of which Dr. Alexander Crummell was the founder.

it, *inter nos*, and hope it may suggest to you some thoughts along the line in which we are mutually interested.

Now, "won't" you, using your discretion, of course, write to gentlemen of your acquaintance, and see what they have to say on the matter, and whether they would be willing to become members of such an organization. I will do the same, and, in this way, we may secure a nucleus, around which to gather other forces. I suggest that, for one, you write to your brother. Again, there is Dr. Reeve, of Philadelphia, my old friend. He is of the same religious denomination as yourself. Tell him I suggested his name.

It occurred to me that, by correspondence, we might secure a suitable number for organization, and that next fall such organization might be permanently effected at the time of the exposition here in this city. There are to be here at that time several colored organizations, as, for instance, a convention of colored physicians etc. etc.

Write me at your leisure. Regards to Mrs. Grimké.

Yours truly,
W. H. Crogman.

John Grimké to Francis J. Grimké

Tampa, Fla., March 1st, 1895.

Dear Frank:

Your letter received. I hardly know what to write, for little did I think that mother would be taken from me so sudden. I was just planning to myself that I would come down to Washington this spring and spend a week or so with her and was just on the eve of writing you to that effect. Frank I would have come down to Washington in November as I told Archie, but circumstances which I had no control over prevented me from so doing. I can assure you that I cannot express my feelings, and therefore do not know whether my grief, at mother's sudden demise is more poignant or not. But this I do know that though time may soften my grief and assuage my sorrow, I will ever think of her with a tender and deep regret and a loving remembrance which shall stay with me until I too shall follow her. Frank I plead guilty to all the charges that you have accused me of, and throw myself on the mercy of our father and yourself and ask forgiveness.

I am your repentant and sorrowing brother,

John.

Helen Douglass to Francis J. Grimké

Cedar Hill, Anacostia, D. C., March 11, 1895.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

and Mrs. Grimké:

I cannot worthily express my gratitude and profound admiration for your noble discourse of yesterday, and its splendid vindication of the character of Frederick Douglass.¹ That character is the crowning lesson of his life, and into it, as in a sheaf, are gathered all his other shining powers. There are very many well meaning persons whom I tremble to see touch the subject—but not you. I could confine the precious task to you under any and all circumstances.

I used to tell Mr. Douglass that nothing in his later life was to me more wonderful than his character as a child, and it does seem as if the flaming sword of an archangel had been about him from his birth to his death.

My heart lies broken in his grave, but may my right hand wither if I am ever false to the great cause to which his life was by God consecrated.

I have not been out of the house since I returned from Rochester, but shall come to you just as soon as I can. I want to confer with you about a little Memorial Volume in which I hope you will allow your sermon to appear, and I shall want to know if you will be willing for me to get five hundred copies printed for distribution. Besides being such a noble tribute, it answers completely the frequent assertion that Mr. Douglass grew self-seeking in later years: as if, after giving all, that noble soul should not have had whereon to rest his head.

Ever gratefully and affectionately yours,
Helen Douglass.

J. H. Bindford to Francis J. Grimké

904 M St., N. W., March 11, 1895.

Dear Bro. Grimké,

I listened with intense interest to your address yesterday on the life of Fred Douglass. I thoroughly endorse all you said. I was not aware that the Y. M. C. A. actually excluded men with

¹ This was the eulogy found elsewhere in the first volume of these works. Douglass died February 20, 1895.

more or less dark blood in their veins from their sacred precincts. Of course, such conduct is not up to the highest standard, but that is also the case with various other things which might be mentioned in connection with churches and even ministers. As your view of Douglass showed how such prejudices had yielded to the clearer light of Christian sense in the last 40 years, so let us hope this also may yield.

But what a view such a history gives us of the on marching of the Great Spirit of God in human relations. It certainly seemed marvelous to me to sit in such an assembly and listen to such a discourse in contrast with life in Charleston, S. C. where I used to see slaves sold almost every Wednesday & Saturday and when I used to hear the bells ring at 9 o'clock in Winter & 10 in Summer beyond which time all colored persons found upon the street without a pass were liable to arrest.

The story of Joseph has always seemed to me the most marvelous in human history but the day in which we live and the things we see with our own eyes seem to show "God in history" equally plainly to those who look for Him.

I hope many of your audience received the same impression that I did. Of the majestic power behind all these human instrumentalities marching on through life, changing the opinions and conduct of men, and preparing for the Kingdom of Our Dear Lord.

Yrs. truly,

J. H. Bindford (Bradford(?)).

John Grimké to Francis J. Grimké

Tampa, Fla., March 16, 1895.

Dear Frank:

Your very kind letter was received on the morning of the 10th was truly glad to hear from you, accept my sincere thanks for the tract and the good advice. I shall endeavor to try and live an upright and honest life in order that I might be able when the end comes to be prepared to meet dear mother. Now Frank in regards to assisting in defraying the funeral expenses of dear mother I can assure you that I will only be too glad to do so, for I think it nothing more than right and just. So when you write you can tell me the amount. Frank, I won't be able to do anything in that

line before next Summer, for I am head over heels in debt and it will take all of my winter's earnings to pay them off. But you can be assured that I will forward you some money this coming summer. I will keep sending you small amounts until I have done my part. When have you heard from Archie and how is he getting along? Well I trust.

Hoping these few lines will find you and Lottie in the enjoyment of good health, I remain as ever your Brother
John.

Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

Sierra Leone, May 17, 1895.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

I have just been reading with great interest your touching letter, disclosing "A Passing Thought," published in the *New York Independent* for April 25th. Mrs. Grimké's *Reminiscences of the South*, published in the same paper some time ago, I cut out for preservation: also Mrs. Cooper's "Do two and two make four"?

I take the principal American papers, white and colored, and study closely the progress or retrogression of American public opinion on the great question of the Negro race—the only subject to which I devote undivided and unremitting attention.

From my point of view, I do not think that the spirit which controls the *Independent* is a bit more friendly to the Negro than that of many other Northern papers, which makes less pretension to racial impartiality and patriotic liberality.

It contains articles at times which are—well, very "nice," as English women say—very ingenuous and rather philanthropic; it admits letters of earnest friends of the race, but it also admits letters of its enemies. Its Symposium on the South in its issue of March 7th and that of Lincoln, April 4th, are very interesting and helpful. But it appears to me, on the whole, that the controlling spirit of the paper is not one endowed with any remarkable faculty of insight or any capacity for getting away from its own subjective line of vision—from the standpoint of the white man.

The *Independent* was started at a time when the anti-slavery excitement was most active, as one of its exponents; and its ut-

terances were then distinct and unambiguous. It rebuked with unwavering faithfulness the proslavery propagandists of that day. Slavery, proscription, prejudice, discrimination were the subjects of its most fervent and strenuous remonstrance. But it seems to me that years and world prosperity have "choked the word." It was, of course, kind in the Editor to admit your "Passing Thought" but in his off hand comment upon it, in his "Editorial Notes," he not only misses the point—not inadvertently, I think—but narrows and lessens the force and importance of the subject by the remark—"Francis J. Grimké, D.D., makes some suggestions as to what our young people may do for the elevation of the Negro."

Your article clearly points out the evils and grievances, social and political, which affect the Negro both North and South—grievances not to be dealt with by "our Young people" only, but demanding the serious attention of our grown people, if they are Christians and in earnest in their sympathy with the oppressed and outraged in Armenia. Can't you preach a sermon on "The Mission of Christianity" from Luke IV-18, and point out the barbarisms in Armenia as well as those in America?

The Editor is bold enough in his discussion of abstract principles, but he shuns their application. He has in the same paper an article on "Business *versus* Religion," which is a clear exposition of Christian doctrine. But I am informed that no colored man is admitted as printer into the office of the paper. The proprietor, Mr. Bowen, has for more than forty years been holding annual celebrations of the 4th of July at his place at Woodstock, and he has never considered any of his colored fellowcitizens good enough to be honored with an invitation. Yet his paper is loud in its condemnation of the South for its discriminations. Is not this laying heavy burdens upon other men's shoulders—. The fact is, your "Passing Thought" touched the *Independent* on a very sore spot and you could not expect hearty response to your unmerciful thrust.

But I do not think that the colored papers—at least those that I see—are helping to mend matters much. They seem, as a rule, unable to discriminate between sense and sound. Honest indignation is a good thing—a great thing, but it loses its influence and has an effect the reverse of what is intended when it pleads its cause in violent, undignified and extravagant phraseology. Ad-

vertisements, too, that they admit to their columns—I suppose suited to the tastes of their subscribers—are not, of the most elevating kind and do not reflect much credit on the race whose organs such papers profess to be. Perhaps time and a deeper culture may correct those crudities and impart more character and a higher tone in Negro journalism.

I hope the Circle still meet occasionally and unimpaired numerically,—not a link missing in the chain. Present my kindest remembrances.

I expect to leave here in a few days for England and may probably visit the United States during the summer. Any letter sent to me care of Messrs. Elder, Dempster, and Co., 5 Castle St., Liverpool, will reach me.

Believe me, as ever

Faithfully yours,
Edwd. W. Blyden.

Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

New York, Sept. 5, 1895.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

Many thanks for your esteemed favor of the 3rd inst. enclosing the very interesting letter you sent to me under July 12th. I sailed from London for the U. S. several days before that letter was written. I am glad to receive the account you give of the work done by the Saturday Afternoon Club.

I am thankful not only that continued life has been vouchsafed to the members, but that in spite of drawbacks from sickness, they have been able to do so much work—pleasant and profitable work.

One coming to this country from abroad realizes far more than he could by reading at a distance the unsatisfactory condition intellectual and spiritual of the American people, both white and black. One is struck by the almost entire absence of the ideal and spiritual, owing to the overwhelming influence of the material. The great statesmen, scholars and poets of the past—the Websters, Sumners, Emersons, Bryants, Longfellows, Holmes, Lowells etc. have given place to the Vanderbilts, Astors and Goulds. The originators of thought and the prophets of the unseen are succeeded or superseded by the Standard Oil and railroad magnates.

These men of wealth, after spending a few millions in the construction and equipment of palaces for the instruction of youth, think very little of the moral greatness of their country—the elevation of its ideals—the purification of its politics, the establishment of justice and the diffusion of truth and righteousness. They spend most of their time in Europe where the great race to which they belong are still fresh in the vigor of intellect and in the care with which they cherish the ideal and the assiduity with which they are laying the foundations of a literary—a critical and ethical—future for their children.

The present generation of white Americans seems to be used up. It has lost its appetite for true greatness and great achievements. It cherishes no desire apparently to transmit to the future its impression of the ideal because no stress is laid on such impressions. Everything seems intended for show—to reproduce—and often spoil in the reproduction—what they see in Europe. The houses which they call “Sky-scrapers” are absurd in their vulgarity. One or two visits to Central Park showed me a creditable imitation of Hyde Park, larger of course in area as America is larger than Europe. But I was filled with amazement and amusement where I saw some of the carriages affecting the European coat-of-arms—their owners fearing, probably, that the gazing and admiring multitude might not, without such display, recognize their direct descent from William the Conqueror!!—a display which only money, not time or achievement enables them to make. Hence the power to get on and acquire money—and no doubt it is a valuable power—is the main thing sought after, even though it be unaccompanied and unsupported by any other great quality whatever. Everything is dwarfed to suit the present and the materially profitable. The millionaires are the prophets, priests and kings. The meat is more than life and the raiment than the body. Every morning paper furnishes evidence of the contempt of life among the people by the accounts they give of the crowds who rush into suicide because the meat is scarce and the raiment is scanty.

Record-breaking steamships, fast sailing yachts, swift horses, political bossism, these are now the objects which American great men set before themselves; and success in their attainment begets nothing but enormous vanity and inordinate egotism.

I asked the captain of one of the largest and swiftest English steamers which now cross the Atlantic in five or six days why so

much attention is given to costly decorations and expensive furniture, which add nothing to the strength or speed of the vessel. He replied, "The Americans are our biggest customers, and we indulge in this meaningless luxury and extravagance to please them. They stare at them and are satisfied."

The generality of Americans who visit the picture galleries of Europe and other public places of interest display the most absolute ignorance of the rudiments of history and of the veriest elements of painting or sculpture, and yet they sometimes attempt to give their opinions in the hearing of European visitors who understand the subjects before them. In traveling one hears all sorts of ridiculous stories about their *gaucherie*. My friend—shall I say our friend?—Mr. Stopford Brooke, who now resides at Venice the greater part of each year, has often amused me with stories of the innocence of Western travelers. Though the following is not from him: In the great church of St. George at Venice, there is one of the pictures of Tintoret, which it is said he conceived rapidly and painted with passionate speed. It is his picture of the Martyrdom of St. Stephen. It is of course entirely ideal. An American lady (?) standing before this wonderful picture, so full of suggestiveness even to the most superficial, exclaimed, "What has that poor man done? but what a mercy not one of the stones seems to touch him!"

A few weeks ago—and I have noted this incident in my diary—I was accompanying an English lady, who writes for magazines and is a general literary critic and an artist herself, through Westminster Abbey. We went specially to see an object of which we had conversed the day before. She was positive that she was right in her opinion of the object, and I was equally positive that she was mistaken. It was in one of the small and remote chapels. But as we were leaving the nave to go towards the chapel a crowd of Americans rushed in before us following one of the Vergers. On seeing them, my friend said to me, "Let us go away now and come back some other time. Those Americans will not let us see anything." I was sorry for this interruption, for I lost the quiet and inspiration under her suggestive companionship which I had hoped to receive. We had no other opportunity to return to the Abbey during my brief stay in England, or I might have had something more of interest to tell the Club about that great "Temple of silence."

Now to all this American superficiality—this pretentious and restless egotism—the Negro is allowed to sustain the relation only of imitator—an imitator of imitators. On my arrival here in July I saw accounts in the papers of a convention of colored women in session at Boston. This was in imitation of what white women do. Of course if an object is commendable there can be no harm in imitation. No one can look with indifference upon such a movement among “Afro-American” Women or what ever else they choose to call themselves in this land of conglomerate nationalities. No good deed is ever lost. Some good must be done, but I venture to think that the success they achieve will not come in the form they imagine.

If they are under the impression that the colored women of this country are prepared to work effectively in an organized National capacity, then I am afraid that they are pursuing an *ignis fatuus*—an illusion that may allure but will be sure to elude. It is clear that the Negro must for a long time continue to have unlovely remnants of the mental and moral characteristics that were ground into him as he lay under the iron heel of slavery. He has been given his freedom, but he has not yet found a way to clothe his naked liberty with the habiliments of self-respect, good judgment and moderation, so as to make himself presentable and acceptable not only to his former guardians but to himself.

Such organizations as the Woman’s Federation proposes do not come from the desires of individuals, however pure or ardent those desires may be. They must develop themselves with the natural growth of the forces of the people and be the expression of their wants. I have had the opportunity of seeing most of the leading colored papers since the convention adjourned; but with one or two exceptions, I have not seen a line which showed even a glimmer of intelligent and cordial manliness of sympathy with the work which the women have set before themselves. Is it that their editors are too vain, too envious or too dishonest to take a comprehensive view of the subject? All the heartfelt and instructive commendation I have seen came from white papers. Little minds are unable to pay respect or deference to their contemporary superiors—and little minds among our people are the rule not the exception. Therefore, while the effort of the women is most commendable, I venture to think that it is premature, though good may be done, by this attempt at organization, in certain directions.

I turn from all these things with pleasure to your account of the work—solid work done by the Saturday Club, and wish you God-speed in your quiet, unobtrusive efforts for individual and social culture.

The race question does not trouble me. Mind and education are solving it. Both white and black need light on the subject. I recognize as healthful and encouraging elements in the condition of the Negro in the South his increasing desire for material and intellectual improvement—his thirst for physical comfort, his craving for justice, etc.

Perhaps the Club might take some interest in reading my article on "The African Problem", just published in the *North American Review* for this month. I hope to be in Washington some time next week or the week after, when I shall be happy to comply with your invitation to address your people.

Present my kindest regards to Mrs. Grimké and the rest of the circle. Please notify Mrs. F. E. Smythe of my change of address.

Very faithfully yours,
Edwd. W. Blyden.

Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

New York, Sept. 21, 1895.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

It is probable that I shall visit Chicago before proceeding South, taking advantage of an invitation. I have to visit that city before the cold weather sets in.

I have never felt the heat—such heat—as I have experienced in America this time. We have nothing like it in Africa. It has entirely unfitted me for work and thrown me back in my literary preparation. What I write I have to write *calomo currente*, with no power to think or deliberate.

If I go to Chicago I shall not be able to be in Washington before the middle of next month when I hope the weather will be more comfortable.

Regards to Mrs. Grimké,

Yours faithfully,
Ed. W. Blyden.

Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

New York, Oct. 7, 1895.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

I find that my stay in America will be much shorter than I expected as I am summoned suddenly to England on important matters. I will leave here for Washington on Thursday morning touching on New Brunswick and reaching Washington on Friday. Will telegraph train I leave New Brunswick in.

Please ask Mr. Smith, president of Literary, to let me lecture for them some day early next week, as otherwise I shall not be able to meet their expectations. I am sorry I am so hurried. I had thought to have a pleasant sojourn this winter among you. But it seems Providentially otherwise ordered.

Regards to Mrs. G. and the other friends

Yours faithfully,

Ed. W. Blyden.

Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

New York, Oct. 25, 1895.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

This is to say farewell to you and Mrs. Grimké and the rest of the Saturday Circle. I go on board tomorrow morning. I found Mrs. Grimké's Magazine and have sent it to her by mail. I hope it will arrive all right. Shall be anxious to hear from you all. My address in London will be 3 Coleman St., E. C.

A Reporter of the *Mail and Express* has just left here after sitting for an hour. He said he had seen in some of the papers that I would leave tomorrow and he came to get my impression of America during my visit. I thought it very strange that the opinion of a Negro should be sought on American social and political life. The interview will appear tomorrow, he says. I should like to see how he has represented me. I spoke to him very much on the line on which I spoke to the "Star" Reporter.

It is now after nine p. m. and I am quite tired. So I must retire to be in readiness for tomorrow I embark at 9:30. The steamer sails at 10:30.

Farewell.

Yours faithfully,

Ed. W. Blyden.

Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

Off Queenstown, Thursday, R. M. S. *CAMPANIA*, Oct. 31, 1895.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

I remember that two weeks ago today we were together in Washington, perplexed, beyond measure, as to what was to be the character of the meeting to take place on the following evening at 1706 Seventeenth St. I suppose, if matters of vast importance have any weight with you, you recall the circumstance. The meeting however proved to be a most interesting one, owing to the graceful hospitality of our thoughtful hostess, or should I say hostesses?

An incident in connection with the article on Keats will probably interest you. On my arrival in New York I found a letter from my friend who has a lovely home at Hampstead, offering me a room in her house, and assuring me of pleasant leisurely walks round about Hampstead Heath when my time will allow. Her husband is a literary character who takes a particular interest in London antiquities. As an illustration of his most loyal devotion to everything about the Heath and at all seasons of the year, he told me once that on the coldest winter mornings it is his habit not only to walk over the grounds but to break the ice and plunge into one of the ponds for a refreshing bath. These are strong people—these Englishmen; but they are at home in their climate.

I am afraid that prior arrangements will deprive me of the privilege which my friend has so kindly proffered. If, however, I find myself able to accept her invitation, I will gladly do so and write you from Hampstead. All this has come from the meeting in 17th St.

I am pleased to be able to announce that I have never enjoyed a more delightful passage across the ocean—so far as weather goes—than the one which is now drawing to a close.

Old Ocean for the entire distance was on his (or is it her) best behavior—not a ripple on the surface for several days. They have been altogether only five days. And when the calmness was disturbed it was only by a gentle north-easterly breeze, which brought health and vigor.

But poor me! I was confined to my stateroom under medical advice the whole distance until today. The trouble was a severe

sore throat which has not entirely left me, attended by physical prostration—The result of the severe strain I put upon myself to think and speak, owing to my sudden call from the country. My system was in no condition, the Doctor says, to stand the strain.

My voice was not intended by nature for large halls or open air declamation, but for the classroom or the Washington Saturday Circle, where, it can be used *ad libitum* without inconvenience. I have often wished when on the platform or in the pulpit before a large audience for the stentorian gift of that eminent colossus of theology who presides with such dignity, learning and affection over the illustrious congregation which think they worship in Vermont Avenue. Is that the name of the Avenue? I have however heard the locality described by a far less elegant and inviting appellation. Let us hope that this description arose from the ancient reputation of the place but that now under the enlightened leadership of its spiritual Falstaff it is worthy of a better classification.¹

In a few hours more I hope to be in London, and if I find my health improved and time at my disposal, will from that city drop a line to the Saturday Circle from time to time, but I will not continue these notes, if I find them received with the same admiring and suggestive silence with which the Circle has, as a rule, so enthusiastically welcomed my humble efforts to amuse them.

I hope, dear Dr. Grimké you will see that each member of the Circle, including the Secretary whom I left at Richmond, is made acquainted with the contents of this letter, and assure them one and all of the unswerving affection and respect with which I continue, as ever, their devoted Friend and Servant,

Edwd. W. Blyden.

London, Dec. 23, 1895.

My dear Dr. Grimké,

Your very interesting letter of Nov. 13th was duly received, but soon after its receipt I was laid up with rheumatic fever and continued in bed under strict medical treatment for four weeks. I am just now getting better. I needed rest, and God said "Come into the wilderness and rest awhile." I had planned to do a great many things in England but have been forbidden.

¹ Reference to the Rev. Dr. George W. Lee, for many years the pastor of a large popular Baptist Church on Vermont Avenue in Washington, D. C.

I sail tomorrow for Grand Canary whence I hope to write you a letter about my visit to Hampstead and Keats's house.

With kind regards to Mrs. Grimké and the rest of the Saturday Circle

Believe me

Yours faithfully,

Edwd. W. Blyden.

P. S. I shall probably spend a week at Canary and then go on to Africa. Letters addressed to Sierra Leone will reach me

William Hayes Ward to Francis J. Grimké

New York, Feb. 25, 1896 (?).

My dear Sir—

I thank you for your very kind words of approval. Your subject is deep in my heart. When I was an infant George Thompson, M. P., was mobbed in my father's church in Abington, Mass., and he came out of the church with my mother, twenty years old, on one side of him, and my aged minister grandfather on the other, and a ring of stout young defenders surrounding him. They went with my father to a house near my father's church, where my father took Mr. Thompson to our home through the fields. Then Mr. Thompson hung on my neck a medal in honor of the abolition of slavery in the West Indies. I believe in equal justice for all, and try to keep *The Independent* right.

Sincerely yours,

William Hayes Ward,
Editor (*The Independent*).

Francis J. Grimké to William Hayes Ward

Washington, D. C., March, 1896.

Dear Dr. Ward:

I read last night your sermon before the American Missionary Society, and take this opportunity of sending you my sincere thanks for it. It is a magnificent utterance,—magnificent in the clearness with which it sets forth the real issue,—magnificent in the sublime courage which it displays, and magnificent in the purpose and determination which it expresses of hewing to the line of right and justice and humanity. God bless you for it. I hope there are

others who see and feel as you do, or, at least, that the appeal may succeed in awaking in others a similar spirit. Sometimes I have been inclined to become a little discouraged in view of the constant efforts on the part of our enemies to keep us down, and the growing indifference on the part of those who were once friendly and active in our cause; but your noble words have given me new hope and inspiration. I am reminded also of a line of Lowell that I have often thought of in my hours of despondency, beginning, "I watch the circle of the eternal years."

Again thanking you for myself and in behalf of the millions of my race, I am,

Gratefully yours,
Francis J. Grimké.

William Hayes Ward to Francis J. Grimké

March 24, 1896.

My dear Dr. Grimké:-

For I believe I am addressing Dr. Grimké, certainly one of a famous family. I thank you very much indeed for your very appreciative and kind expression about my sermon at Detroit. I spoke it out of the fullness of my heart, what I believed from the depth of my nature. I was brought up among abolitionists and the fire still burns; and I regret to see that there are so many who forget that the great work which abolition began to do is yet unfinished.

Yours very sincerely,
Wm. Hayes Ward,
Editor of (*The Independent*).

Booker T. Washington to Francis J. Grimké

Tuskegee, Ala., Jan. 13, 1898.

My dear Dr. Grimké:-

I write to know whether or not it would be possible for you to visit us again this year, say during the first week in May? We can provide for your traveling expenses. You cannot realize how very helpful and inspiring your visits are to us, we all feel better because of them.

I have seen something of a very foolish discussion carried on in Washington concerning a visit I am described as making to the President. I have not visited the President since he has been in

Washington and have purposely refrained from taking active part in politics and intend to do so in the future. The whole discussion is based upon an absolute falsehood.

Yours truly,
Booker T. Washington.

Henry M. Field to Francis J. Grimké

New York, April 16th, 1898.

My dear Dr. Grimké,

When your letter came this morning I was talking with Booker Washington, for whom I have a great respect and affection, as a man who, with yourself and a few others, are doing so much for your race. Not only do I respect him as much as any full blooded white man, I respect him a great deal more because he has made his position against all race prejudice. And has done it, not by demanding recognition but by compelling it by his genius and his character.

Thanks to him and to you, our colored brothers will not long need to claim the position which will be accorded to them by all their countrymen. Booker Washington told me that four regiments of colored troops had been ordered to the South on the way to Cuba. He thinks they will distinguish themselves. If they do, they will receive on their return an ovation that will satisfy their highest ambition. That, in my poor judgment, is the way to solve the race problem, not by discussions in the papers.

I had not the slightest objection to publishing your article, except that it might provoke replies, and so stir up prejudice on both sides. But nobody loves the African race more than I do. I believe in its future as a great one, though I may die without the sight.

Your article lay on my table for a week or two, while I doubted whether to print it or no. If I can lay my hand upon it, I will return it, or print it, if you think it is not too late and will do any good.

With my kind regards to Mrs. Grimké, I am

Your friend and brother,

Henry M. Field.¹

¹Henry M. Field was an editor who, like others, had freely published the articles submitted by Dr. Grimké. At this time he had begun to grow cold toward the bold defenders of the race.

Booker T. Washington to Francis J. Grimké

Grand Union Hotel, New York, May 8th, 1898.

My dear Doctor Grimké:-

Your kind letter of the fifth is received. I am very glad that both you and Prof. Tunnell went to Tuskegee and that you were pleased with your trip. I have had numerous letters, from Mrs. Washington and others, speaking of the good results of your visit, and I assure you that you have helped us all.

I very much hope that the "Independent" will publish your article though I have some fear about it. Personally, Dr. Ward is all right but the paper is very much under the influence of the American Missionary Association, whose officers do everything in a sly way to hinder the work at Tuskegee, and I very much fear that this influence will prevent the publication of the article bearing upon Tuskegee. One of the things that has disappointed me most in connection with our work is that the very class of white people who ought to be in favor of pushing forward work under the auspices of Negro teachers are the very ones who, in many cases, do all they can to hold it back.

If the "Independent" does not publish it, I feel sure that the "Evangelist" will. I thank you very much for your thoughtfulness and kindness in writing this article. I shall try to call at the "Independent" office early next week.

Please remember me kindly to Mrs. Grimké who, I hope, is much better than when you last wrote.

Yours truly,
Booker T. Washington.

Booker T. Washington to Francis J. Grimké

Crawford House, Boston, Mass., July 3, 1898.

My dear Dr. Grimké:-

I thank you very much for your letter and for the article enclosed. I too have been watching the "Outlook" and have been disappointed that your article has not appeared. I think you state the explanation properly. There are certain influences all through this country at work to prevent institutions under the control of colored men being made too prominent. I am in constant contacts with this influence and it is one of the most discouraging things that I have to meet, still we are going to conquer.

I have just sent your article to the "Christian Register," published here in Boston, and I believe the editor will use it. Your deep and unselfish interest in our work at Tuskegee is most encouraging I assure you.

Please remember me kindly to Mrs. Grimké. Mrs. Washington and the children are quite well.

Yours truly,
Booker T. Washington.

M. M. Smith to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., 2216 12th St., N. W., Nov. 20, '98.

Reverend and Dear Sir:

I attended your church this A. M. and was very much impressed by your able, eloquent, and patriotic discourse upon the outrages which were perpetrated upon the colored people in the Carolinas during the recent campaign. I was deeply thrilled by your vigorous, courageous and manly denunciation of the many wrongs which have been inflicted upon our people by lawless southern ruffians. Your cogent utterance against these evils is especially timely, for in my humble opinion the time has arrived for a united and vigorous effort on the part of the intelligent members of the colored race, in all parts of the country, with a view to arousing in the best element of the white people, especially in the northern, eastern, and western states, a strong public sentiment against the continued commission of outrages upon the colored people in the southern states. If by means of thorough organization, and persistent effort, the colored people can prevail upon the press and the pulpit throughout the country, to take up the discussion of this vexatious question, I believe that a tidal wave of public opinion would sweep over the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, which would cause a permanent cessation of the reign of terrible outlawing in all the southern states.

It may be that some of the issues of the Rebellion period will have to be fought over again, and the questions of civil and political liberty will again be submitted to the bar of public opinion, to be settled not by the arbitrament of the rifle and the sword, but by a calm, dispassionate appeal to the sense of reason, right, and justice of an enlightened people, and the help of an all wise God.

Yours truly,
M. M. Smith.

William Hayes Ward to Francis J. Grimké

New York, Feb. 9, 1899.

My dear Sir:-

I have just returned from a month's absence visiting Porto Rico, with a view to a study of its educational and religious needs.

I find on my desk your brochure with its very kind reference to myself. I thank you very heartily for it. You do not mistake the purpose which I have at heart, and I hope THE INDEPENDENT will always maintain the position which it has held.

Ever sincerely yours,
Wm. Hayes Ward,
Editor.

P. S.—I have been reading your sermons and I like them much, especially the note of courage and the hope for the future that runs through them.

W. H. W.

B. Sunderland to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., 2-12-99.

Rev. Mr. Grimké—

Dear Bro. I have read your sermons recently delivered on "The Negro" with the deepest interest—They are very able and put the case in the strongest light as I am sorry to say there is too much truth in the grave charge founded on the present attitude of the American church—No troops fought better before Santiago than our colored Regiments. In some respects they excelled all others. In a memorial, service which I preached here in my church on the 27th of November last I made this allusion to them—"But to call them all by names—those splendid heroes both White and Black would require a volume. Suffice it to say that no such martial array has been seen any where on earth in this generation. They were not mere mechanics but thinking men knowing what they were to do and how and why they did it."

Perhaps you may have seen the address which Andrew Jackson made to his colored troops before the battle of New Orleans in 1815—"Soldiers," said he, "From the shores of Mobile I collected you to arms * * * I expected much from you * * * but you surpass

my hopes. I have found in you that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds''.

I think your sermons should be scattered broad-cast through the land—and that they will do much good—especially if they stimulate the present and rising colored generation to be more anxious for education and the possession of property than for political office and party success—These honors will come later on when a race of opulent and cultured Negroes shall adorn the land.

Fraternally,
B. Sunderland.

George T. Downing to Francis J. Grimké

New Port, February 22, 1899.

Rev. Francis J. Grimké D. D., Dear Sir:

I acknowledge the receipt of your four Sermons in pamphlet form. I would have you know of the great pleasure it gave me and my daughter Rebecca to read them. They bristle all over with the needful, with truth, with proper denunciation, with encouragement. I have admired you ever since I first became acquainted. I could now use warmer terms in expressing my admiration. If our pulpits were occupied by such manly speakers, a revolution could soon be brought about in our country. I have had in my mind for some time the query whether the propounding influence of our ministry with the ecclesiastical management of most of our churches has not to a considerable extent hindered progress among us. I would like to talk the matter over with you.

Cannot the means be obtained to print a sufficient number of copies of your sermons to put a copy in the hands of every minister white and colored in the United States? I will contribute a reasonable sum.

Allow me to refer to a kindred subject. I was invited to write a paper by a Historical Society of the City of Providence. I accepted. The Society was very much pleased with it. I was invited to read the paper before The N. E. Historic Genealogical Society in Boston. It passed a vote of thanks and asked for a copy to be placed in its archives. I read it in Columbia University of the city of New York where it was applauded. I also read it before the Brooklyn Academy of Arts and Sciences where it was applauded. I thought our people would be proud of the honor conferred

through one of them. The subject of the paper is—That God designs to have on this continent a composite man, including the Negro with certain happy requisites etc.—men to be true of him. My design is to force the inevitable upon prejudiced Americans. The matter is treated in a novel manner, the facts and argument are overwhelming but so presented as not to anger.

I desired to read it in Washington. I asked for the return to me of the amount of my traveling expenses. I asked for no more. I wanted an effort made to have a mixed audience, to have some leading whites present.

I am sorry to inform you that I was not encouraged. This does not look well in the light of the encouragement my paper received at the hands of so many learned and I may say distinguished whites.

My family join me in sending kind regards to you and your good wife.

Respectfully,
Geo. T. Downing.¹

I write hurriedly—excuse interlineations etc.

Caroline H. Pemberton to Francis J. Grimké

1947 Locust Street, Phila., Pa., February 24th, 1899.

Dear Sir,

I have just read your pamphlet on "The Negro, His Rights and Wrongs,"—at a moment when my heart was already wrung with the unspeakable iniquity of our treatment of the Filipinos, by which we are disgraced and dishonored before our consciences, if not before the eyes of the world. The "world" may excuse such deeds: God never will.

May I ask if you have any number of these pamphlets on hand, and what price would cover the cost of their publication per copy?

To begin with, I should like to ask you to send me half a dozen copies for which I shall be glad to pay a moderate price & postage. I had the pleasure of meeting you at Hampton, Va.,—and sat next to you at table I think once, during the conference at the Institute.

¹ George T. Downing was a member of the well known Brooklyn family of caterers who made a favorable impression on the public. He lived in New England where he was active in behalf of his race. He came to Washington and ran a restaurant for the Senate.

I cannot begin to tell how deeply I feel on the subject of this cruel race prejudice, or how helpless I feel in the presence of such wide spread apathy, and such vain glorious and wicked assertion of the right of the Anglo-Saxon to trample on all weaker than himself. What will be the end of the present-movement against freedom of thought, justice and the right of man?

Sincerely yours,
Caroline H. Pemberton.

W. H. Croghan to Francis J. Grimké

South Atlanta, Ga., March 15, 1899.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

I trust you and Mrs. Grimké are well. I have just finished reading your sermons. Oh, how I have enjoyed them, and in my heart of hearts, have responded to your manly sentiments! May the blessed God grant you yet many years and much strength to serve a needy people. How much I should like to see those sermons, especially the last one, published in every great daily in the land, for I believe that the white brother would blush for once.

“With that dull, rooted, callous impudence,
Which, dead to shame and every nicer sense,
Ne'er blush'd,”

But alas, we have no organ to represent us. The white press, as you have shown, is either indifferent or in sympathy with the enemy, and the black press has not intellectual strength enough to command a respectful hearing. I had a very sympathetic letter from Dr. Ward a day or two ago. Send him a copy of those sermons, and trust to the Spirit to move him to publish some extracts from them.

Many passages found an echo in my heart, because I have passed through, and am still passing through, many of the experiences you alluded to. On the 29th page of your pamphlet, towards the bottom, the sentence beginning with “The aspiring Negro” etc was like holding up a mirror to me. Verily such a Negro is unpopular. It is only the one who will cringe and “toady” that receives, either in church or state, the white man's smile and favor. This of itself retards the progress of the race; for it keeps to the front, under the guise of leaders, a class of sycophantic self-seekers. Inter nos, I

am obliged to see just now a great deal of that disgusting servility on the part of black men who want something from the General Conference which is to meet at Chicago in May 1900.

Well, let us fight on, possessing our souls in patience. We'll reach something or somewhere by and by.

Enclosed please find some stamps. Send me another copy of your sermons, if you have one to spare.

Are you coming South this spring? If so, don't fail to pull the latch string at the door of your poor "Cullud relative".

Yours truly,
W. H. Croghan.

P. S. Somewhere in your pamphlet you spoke of B. P. Dudley as writing the "Silent South". Cable wrote that. I have the book. So much by way of correction. W. H. C.

William H. Ferris to Francis J. Grimké

Cambridge, Mass., March 17, 1899.

My Dear Dr. Grimké:

I received your four published sermons a few days ago and I take this opportunity of expressing my admiration for them.

At a time when some of the leaders of our race are not as bold as they might be these sermons seem to me to fill a long felt need. They will open the eyes of the white people and will strengthen the faith and inspire the hearts of the colored people. I think that there is a rare combination of clear insight and rugged heroism in them.

I shall hand the book around to a few Harvard professors and a few of my friends here and the Editor of the *Transcript* may be induced to make a review of it.

Remember me to Mrs. Grimké and to your brother,

Very truly yours,
Wm. H. Ferris.¹

¹ William H. Ferris, was a graduate of both Harvard and Yale. He spent much time teaching, preaching and editing, but did not greatly succeed in any field. He died in 1941.

Caroline H. Pemberton to Dr. Francis J. Grimké

1947 Locust St., Phila., Pa., April 3rd, 1899.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

Thank you very much for the pamphlets and for your kind letter. It is some time since I wrote in the "Age" and have almost forgotten just what I said. Mr. Fortune said he would send me a copy so I suppose it will come soon.

About the same time, I wrote also a short letter in the "Springfield Republican" in answer to remarks of Chas. Francis Adams on the superior way the Anglo Saxon keeps his race pure from inferior race mixture in all his colonizing efforts. I denied that the Anglo Saxon did any thing of the kind—the only difference between his method & that of the Latin races was that he cast out his own children & threw the burden of them on the "inferior" race, but the mixture of blood went on just the same. The "Republican" published this & I sent a copy of it (a cutting) to Mr. Fortune, but he does not seem to have printed it. I should like you to have seen that, because it was something that needs to be said in connection with the "White Man's Burden."

The outlook gets worse & worse for those who want to have faith in the administration & the destiny of this country. Still, I believe there is a ruling hand,—but is it planning our punishment or downfall?

Yours Cordially,
C. H. Pemberton.

I will gladly distribute the sermons.

Francis J. Grimké to the New York Independent

Washington, D. C., April 6, 1899.

Sometime ago I had brought to me a document with the request that I present it to the Session of my church for its endorsement; and that I also read it to the congregation on Sabbath morning and ask that it be endorsed by a rising vote. What was this document? It was a petition to the National House of Representatives asking that the polygamous Roberts be not admitted to membership in that body. The lady who brought it expatiated most eloquently on the evils of polygamy, and its threatened danger to our country socially and politically. All the Presbyterian churches in this city joined in this petition, and the churches of other denom-

inations were also stirred up on the subject. The movement was not confined to the churches of Washington, but similar petitions were also circulated in other parts of the country. I have no objection, of course, to these petitions. I am heartily in favor of the object which they seek to accomplish. I hope the time will never come when our National Legislature will be disgraced by the presence of a polygamist. Polygamy is an evil that ought to be stamped out, an iniquity that ought not to be tolerated. The interest that the church has taken in this matter is very commendable. As I listened to the earnest words of the bearer of this petition, and as I read it over and saw the long list of churches appended to it, I could not help thinking of the foul murders that have been perpetrated in the South on innocent and defenseless Negroes, of the subversion of the properly constituted government at Wilmington, N. C., by a band of lawless ruffians, and of the fact that at the very Congress at which this man Roberts will knock for admission there will be others also knocking who have won their seats by fraud, by intimidation, by murder. I was also led to think of the comparatively little interest which these things have excited in our churches. I find no petitions in circulation protesting against these wrongs, and asking for the non-admission of these men to the National House of Representatives. The bloody crimes that were perpetrated at Wilmington and Phoenix, have not created so much as a ripple of indignation in the churches, so far as we are able to discover from any action which they have taken. What is the matter with our churches, with the millions of professing Christians in this land? Is murder, is mob violence, is the subversion of law and order at the muzzle of the shot gun less heinous in their sight than polygamy? Why this difference in sentiment, in feeling? Why is it that the church waxes warm in the one case voicing its protest in the form of petitions for redress, and in the other is as silent as the grave? It is difficult not to feel contempt for such a church,—a church that can work itself up into such a spasm of indignation in the one case, and can look on with such seeming indifference in the other. Here is matter for serious thought and reflection. Can the church consistently set itself against the one evil and ignore the other? Can it consistently fight polygamy, and have nothing to say against murder, against the subversion of law and order, though the victims be of a despised race? The time has come for the church to wake up to a sense of its duty in this matter.

It cannot much longer continue to occupy the position which it has occupied and which it still occupies without forfeiting the respect of all honest, fair-minded men and women. If it is right to be silent on these wrongs on what possible ground can it justify itself in speaking against polygamy and the admission of a polygamist to the National House of Representatives, or against any other evil? If duty requires silence in the one case, it requires it equally in the other; and vice versa, if it is right to speak in the one case, it is equally right to speak in the other.

Francis J. Grimké.

Gertrude Mossell to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, April 10th, 1899.

Esteemed Sir.

Let me return thanks for a copy of your recent publication and thank you for your able defense of our long suffering race. My greatest hope for our future and the belief of our final success lies in the fact that we have such characters as yourself among us. I have a little article in the present week's issue of *Christian Recorder* which also bears witness to the point of view as far as yourself is concerned. I believe in honor to whom honor is due. We have always as a family as members of a denomination and of a race expected much of you and never been disappointed. I have many duties to perform and because of the many fail to perform any as I would wish but hope in these words however badly expressed to show you what is in my heart and how much I appreciate you personally and every effort you are making.

May you live long and meet with even greater success in the future than in the past.

Very respectfully yours,
Gertrude Mossell.

Major R. R. Wright to Francis J. Grimké

Industrial College, Ga., April 27, 1899.

My dear Sir:—

Through the kindness of Prof. Crogman, I have just had the pleasure of reading your very excellent sermons on "The Negro: His Rights and Wrongs, the Forces For Him and Against Him."

I must say that I am very much pleased with the manner in which you handle the subjects discussed. I read your first sermon directly after I had read the news with reference to Sam Hose who was recently burned in this state. The first word in this sermon, "Despondency," is the word which seems to fill my whole being. You quote the oft-quoted saying, "Right is right, since God is God, And Right the day must win." I trust that we may believe as firmly in the latter part of this aphorism as we are supposed to believe in the former part. I, myself, am very discouraged. In fact, the colored people all over the state are greatly depressed. We stand almost appalled at what our ears hear and what our eyes see. Our only hope is in God. To Him let the prayers of the untrammelled and the righteous ever ascend, and perhaps, He will not leave us altogether comfortless.

I should be pleased at any time to hear from you. I send you by this mail one of our catalogues.

With the greatest respect,

Very truly yours,

R. R. Wright.¹

Bessie B. Boyd to Francis J. Grimké

Edinburgh, Scotland, May 15th, '99.

My dear Friend—

Mr. Loudon gave me your most touching pamphlet, which has made a deep impression on me.

I cannot express to you, how truly I abhor the devilish conduct of those Southerners. They show very unmistakably who is their Father, for the devil's deeds are all in their line.

For twenty seven years Mr. & Mrs. Loudon have been my dear valued, & respected friends. Were they Scotch I could not love them more, nor can I ever see what difference a nationality makes. To me it is a most unspeakable comfort to know God sees.

His mills grind slowly but they grind exceeding small, & one would think—after the fine grinding the South has had, they

¹ At this writing R. R. Wright, Sr., was the head of the Georgia State Industrial College. He served in the army during the Spanish-American War. His latest service is that of a banker in Philadelphia. He devoted some of his time and means to the general advancement of his people.

might have learned a lesson, but it only illustrates the wisdom of Solomon. "Though thou bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his folly depart from him". The next grinding they get will be to dust & ashes,— & they deserve it.

I admire in you the spirit of our dear Jesus. Yet He said strong things about evildoers & I can never forget He must as a God of justice render to every unrepentant man, according to his works.

When I read of all those atrocities in the States & in Armenia, I get hold of my Bible & read the 10th of Isaiah—the woe of tyrants—do you know it comforts me.

It stands to reason, that men "who draw iniquity with cords of vanity, & sin as it were with a coil-rope, who justify the wicked for a reward, & take away the righteousness of the righteous from him," should tremble at the woe, our Lord promises to all such.

Fight my dear brother in Christ for your just rights,—do not let them go. I too have come of a fighting race, for my ancestors were Scotch Covenanters, who bled for life & liberty, which alone makes life worthwhile. We conquered—for we got all we fought for, with prelacy & priestly arrogance & so will you too.

Hold on, Cheer up, the God of battles, & the God of righteousness is on your side. Do not even give in one jot or tittle. Assert your claims to every legal right of citizens. Where are our oppressors now? The Stuarts—bloody claverhouse—Grierson & McKenzie!—Gone to their own place, & their memories execrated, while we are free from their abominable cruelty & injustice. All that is truly worth having & holding must be contended for.

The Gospel of many is, "I would thou wert lukewarm"—any thing for peace, but I have not so learned Christ.

In the meantime, it is the church militant; & the faith, & liberty once committed to the Saints, must be kept & held, at any costs.

May God bless you and keep you, & your beloved people, whom I do love. There is no height they are not capable of rising to, as I have seen.

Yours very affly—

Bessie B. Boyd.¹

¹ This writer represented the sympathetic group in the British Empire in the struggle against the destructive forces of imperialism.

Ednah D. Cheyney to Francis J. Grimké

Jamaica Plain, May 18, 1899.

Dear Mr. Grimké,

I have taken the precious hours of the morning to sit down and read your sermons, and now to thank you with a full heart for sending them to me. You have treated the whole subject strongly, temperately, nobly. You have known how to speak firmly, bravely, plainly, without violence or flippancy and I wish that your words might be heard throughout the land.

I am especially glad personally to have them at this moment because on Saturday there is to be a Woman's Meeting on the subject. I have been longing for an opportunity to use whatever little influence I could in this cause.

Oh! how it recalls the days before the war, when we had all the same miserable fallacies and falsehoods to contend with. My heart ached that McKinley should cater to Southern prejudice, and I was glad that his unmanly proposal to take Confederate graves unto National care was flung back with scorn.¹ No wonder that they will not trust their graves to a man or a party who cannot protect its living wards. I think the Republican party sealed its doom when by the nomination of Blaine it put the Tariff before the Rights of American citizens. And the Mugwumps forsook their great opportunity when they nominated a Democrat who could be elected instead of a true representative of the moral truth they ought to stand for. Still more indignant was I that Mr. Hoar should call Mr. Webster the representative of the North.

I am called away and must close but I did want to say thank you. No one can do more in this crisis than the educated colored clergy if they are true. I cannot but believe that Charlotte is a strength and help to you, to you and her my fervent God Blessing, for all you are doing and I share with you your confidence and hope as well as your indignation.

Yours very truly,

Ednah D. Cheyney.

¹ The writer of this communication stood with those Negroes and ardent Republicans who did not want their party to forget the bitterness of the Civil War and heal the breach which had made politics sectional—the Democratic party in control of the “Solid South” and the Republican party in control of the “Solid North.”

W. P. Thirkield to Francis J. Grimké

Atlanta, Ga., April 10, 1899.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I beg to thank you for a copy of your strong and timely sermons on the Rights and Wrongs of the Negro. You have spoken with genuine wisdom, courage, and discretion. It is just the word that is needed from a representative brother of the race. To yield in the matter of principle, is, in the end, to lose all. To stand in the right as God gives you to see the right, will hasten the coronation of righteousness and the overthrow of wrong. Again I thank you and want to assure you of my high appreciation of your work.

As ever,

Sincerely your brother,

W. P. Thirkield.¹

F. J. Loudin to Francis J. Grimké

27 Paternoster Row, Edinburgh, Scotland, June 4th, 1899.

My Dear Brother,

I have been thinking very much about you and our people today. I have been often in prayer that the God of justice and mercy would hear the prayers of the faithful and I may tell you that on this side of the water many an earnest Christian has lifted up his or her voice in response to the call sent out by our people and the last week's *Christian*, one of the leading Christian papers, published it last week. Mr. Morgan one of the editors is either now in America or recently returned and knows much about our persecution. I am hoping, nay I feel sure, that God will listen to the prayers that go up today from the various quarters of the globe.

Mr. Charles Guthrie, a son of the great Rev. Thomas Guthrie D. D., will soon be coming to America to attend the Pan Presbyterian Council to be held in Washington in Sept. He is a lawyer of great prominence here. I have been talking much with him about our people, and he is very anxious to meet some of our best people and has asked me for letters of introduction. I shall give him one to you among others if you will allow me and I want you and others to let him see that there is another side to the Negro

¹Thirkield was president of Gammon Theological Seminary at that time. He was later called to serve Howard University in the same capacity. He became a bishop of the Methodist Church and thus served until retired.

other than the loud mouthed obtrusive ignorant one who attracts attention by his or her vulgarity. I want him not only to meet our superior men but our still more superior women and visit some of our homes as well, for that is what he wants to do.

I was told that when the Press Association visited New Orleans the citizens banqueted them and took them out for a drive. They had also arranged that some of their number should go into the Negro slums with money and whiskey get them drunk and out in the streets dancing and acting as only the low of our people will act for money and whiskey, for they have a humor on which they have a copyright. It was to be so timed as to be at its best from their point of view as certain hours and at that hour they had finished showing their guests the fine parts of the City and said now we will show you our colored people and they drove slowly through the tumultuous, drunken dancing crowd. "These are our colored people who want to make our laws and govern our state and city. How would you gentlemen like to be ruled by such people." You can perhaps imagine the kind of letters they would send to their papers, but you nor I can estimate the harm they would do us.

I hope you and others will profit by their lessons and be in readiness to show the other side of the Negro. I shall feel so deeply indebted if you send me any papers which may have any account of the exercises in various parts of the country among our people. I will send you a copy of last weeks *Christian*. I may say that I take the colored *American* the *Freeman* and the *Gazette* of Cleveland. So you need not send any of them. I trust that God in His infinite mercy will listen to the prayers of His people this day.

I am having my vacation just now, it began near two weeks ago. I shall go to London this week (D. V.) for the rest of the summer. I hope to run over to Holland for a week or ten days soon after I go to London.

With every good wish Believe me Yours for the uplifting of our oppressed people

F. J. Loudin.¹

Write me when you have the time.

¹ Loudin at that time was conducting the Fisk Jubilee Singers on a tour around the world.

Albert E. Pillsbury to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Mass., July 3, 1899.

My dear Sir:—

I received and read with great interest, and ought long ago to have acknowledged, your sermons upon the great question of the position and prospects of your race in this country. I also loaned them to the Rev. Dr. J. L. Seward, whom I happened to meet, and who spoke of knowing your brother Archibald while he was in the law school at Cambridge, and who expresses his high appreciation of the sermons, though he, like most of the clergy, has hitherto been dumb upon this great subject. That the Christian pulpit does not with one voice and accord protest against the outrages upon the negro in the South is to my view one of the most discouraging features of the situation. But we well know that the Church was dumb and subservient in the fight against slavery, and in view of my abolition training, I have never looked to it to lead in any great reform. It is the most important question before the American people today, not even excepting the question of imperialism, with which indeed it is nearly allied, as, if the American people take up the policy of subjugating black men abroad, there will be no chance for the black man at home. You are not likely to lose sight of this important fact, and I trust that you will omit no opportunity of enforcing it upon white men as well as black, whose liberties, as well as those of your race, may be staked upon it. It is idle to believe that the rights of white men are safe under a government which permits the denial of his rights to any man.

With my best wishes for your success in the work of arousing the American conscience, I remain,

Respectfully,
A. E. Pillsbury.¹

¹A. E. Pillsbury was a lawyer of wealth and influence in Boston, Massachusetts. He stood with Moorfield Storey and others who connected the imperialism of the United States with the denial of civil rights to Negroes and their persecution as a despised people. This same policy of dominating the weak, these anti-imperialists believed, accounted for our failure to grant the Filipinos their independence. The clergy, however, as the writer discloses, were not much concerned about the rights of Filipinos and Negroes.

Archibald H. Grimké, the brother of Francis J. Grimké, herein referred to, studied law at Harvard and was graduated in the class of 1869 with Henry Cabot Lodge. This contact did not mean much, for although Lodge occasionally spoke out for equality and justice in the beginning of his career, he tended later to abandon this theme.

Robert Reyburn to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., September 21, 1899.

Dear Friend,

I need sincerely say how heartily I agree with the noble sentiments of your Sermons on "Lynching of Negroes in the South" "Its Causes & Remedy".

My heart grows heavy when I think of the horror of retribution, that the people of the South will surely reap for the dreadful deeds of blood and violence they have committed.

"To do justice & have mercy" to all alike, white & black, seems to me to be the solution of this problem.

I wish your sermons could reach every minister, & every editor of the newspapers in the South, for I am sure they would do good.

It is my earnest hope & prayer that an enlightened & Christian spirit will be developed among our Southern people, that will remedy this fearful condition of things.

With warmest regards, I remain

Yours respectfully,
Robert Reyburn, M. D.¹

William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké

South Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 22, 1899.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

I hope you are well this evening—you and yours. Many thanks for that last pamphlet containing three sermons on "The Lynching of Negroes in the South." Brave, strong words, as usual, and well suited to the times. You don't know how much I always enjoy reading anything you have written. I lay aside very readily whatever I am reading, when a production of yours or of Blyden's makes its appearance. If I lived nearer, I would be a thorn in your flesh until you gave a substantial volume to the race to guide and inspire them when you are gone. But you are doing noble work, and your life is an epistle known and read of all men. Would that we had many more such lives!

I received this afternoon, in pamphlet form, the "open letter"

¹One of the faithful white friends of the medical education of Negroes. See W. Montague Cobb's *First Negro Medical Society*, pages, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 24, 26, 41, 42, 50, 68, 103, 137, 138, 139, 149.

from the colored people of Massachusetts to the president. On the envelope were written the compliments of your brother. Please express to him my thanks for the kindness. There are several here who would like to have a copy of the pamphlet. If they are for sale, I can dispose of at least a dozen.

I suppose you have noticed the doings of the present Georgia Legislature. Today the house passed the prohibition bill. Next Tuesday the bill to disfranchise Negroes will come up. It may pass, although many of the legislators are opposed to it, at least, in its present form.

I send you a copy of the memorial which we laid before these Solons. The names of the committee who drafted it are marked with blue pencil.

Give my regards to Mrs. Grimké.

Yours as ever,
W. H. Crogman.

P. S. Next Thursday (Thanksgiving) I leave here to attend our University Senate, that sits in Indianapolis. I wish I were coming East instead of going West; for I could then make you a pop call.

W. H. C.

Charlotte M. R. Thorn to Francis J. Grimké

Calhoun, Ala., Jan. 15, 1900.

Dear Dr. Grimké

I regret that my acknowledgement should be so tardy for the little book of your sermons you sent me. I waited in the hope that in a few days I should have a chance to read them before writing you, and the opportunity came so late that I am almost ashamed to write now.

First let me thank you for remembering me and sending the book.

I cannot tell you how much interested I was in reading it yesterday. I only wish I could have heard it from you in your own church. You have given the plain unvarnished facts and while it makes my heart ache to read I am filled with thankfulness that you have given them to the public for they must do good.

I often think of the Hampton days, "Between the Lines" and

of the pleasure I felt in meeting so many new people who are so vitally interested in the same things that make my life worth living. I do wish it were possible (for you) to come to Calhoun and have a personal knowledge of what we are trying to do and of our people here with their hardships, their needs and their hopes. Perhaps some time you can come, and I can assure you that the very warmest welcome will await you here whenever you can come to receive it.

I regretted that I did not see you the day that I spent with Miss Shadd. She has very kindly asked me to visit her again and I hope later to do so and then to meet more of the friends.

With best New Year's wishes

Very sincerely,
Charle M. R. Thorn.

William Hayes Ward to Francis J. Grimké

New York, Feb. 21, 1901.

My dear Dr. Grimké:—

I thank you for your very kind notice of my review of Mr. Thomas's book. No severity can be too great for it.

I doubt whether we should be able or should really need to print a defense by the officers of our benevolent societies against that book. It appears to me that it is not worth it and that our readers would not need the contradiction. Those who are interested in benevolent work know better and the statistics of negro workers are constantly being printed. It would be well, however, for the benevolent societies in their magazines or papers to make such publication as you suggest, and I should like to see one hundred such articles sent to the daily papers. The space that we can give to the subject is limited. I wish it were less so.

I have a communication this morning from Dr. Johnson, editor of the A. M. E. Review, and from Booker T. Washington thanking me for the review. I hope that some of the negro papers in Washington or elsewhere will look up pretty carefully Mr. Thomas's record and give it as far as they can. I am getting a good many hints on the subject.

Yours very truly,
William Hayes Ward,
(Editor of the *Independent*).

Booker T. Washington to Francis J. Grimké

Grand Union Hotel, New York, March 23, 1901.

My dear Dr. Grimké:—

I am very glad that you are pleased with "Up from Slavery," and when you have time to read it carefully I shall be glad to get your further opinion of the book. I have had wholly in view the accomplishment of some good for the race in the writing of this book.

I am very sorry that of recent years I have not been able to see much of you in Washington, it has been however, almost wholly owing to the fact that in some way I cannot stand the atmosphere of Washington and always get out just as quickly as I can. I think I never was in a place where there are so many people that are continually after one to secure them a place of some kind as is true of Washington and the office seeking atmosphere which seems to pervade the whole city disgusts me so very much that I can rarely stay there longer than I am absolutely compelled to do so.

I hope at some time that we can have you at Tuskegee again and that Mrs. Grimké can accompany you. I want you to see something of the improvements that have been made there, not only in physical directions but I believe in real life.

Yours very truly,
Booker T. Washington.

William H. Croghan to Francis J. Grimké

South Atlanta, Ga., July 13, 1901.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

Yours of the 26th ult. reached me in good season; but I have been too weak and exhausted to pay proper attention to correspondence. In my last letter to you I informed you that I was just recovering from "grippe." Shortly after that I was taken down again, and the second stage of the man was worse than the first; for I was stretched upon my bed seven solid days, just before school closed, with what so resembled appendicitis that the physician could hardly distinguish. I have been weak and thin ever since, and everything I have to do now is a physical burden.

As to my experience in the work among my people during

thirty-one years, I may say I have found them "intensely human", with all the frailties and all the virtues of our common humanity. They are neither better nor worse than other people. Certainly, too, their elevation would be greatly accelerated by a general recognition of the fact, that they have virtues as well as vices. "There is strength in your virtues", said Cicero to the Roman people, "arouse them."

Much has been done in late years to cast contempt upon our schools, indeed, upon Negro education in general. Every thoughtful and observant person, however, knows that the salvation and prosperity of the South since the War are very largely due to the influence of the Bible and the spelling book. No one of the graduates of our school or sister schools has been found in the chain-gang or prison. All of them have found honest employment, and many of them are filling positions of responsibility and trust. This is true of both sexes.

We have a "Model Home" at Clark University, for the training of girls in domestic science and the various industries, in connection with their literary work. From this home eighty-three have gone forth. Of these thirty-one are wives of reputable ministers; four are wives of physicians; fourteen are wives of men of trades or professions; thirty-four unmarried are teachers. Several of them are teaching in the city schools of Atlanta. One of them has been for years principal of one of these schools. Against these young women no charge has ever been made directly or indirectly for flagrant violation of the moral law. Of the whole number only three have by injudicious conduct and a disregard for strict social propriety provoked criticism and comment.

Yours etc.,
W. H. Crogman.

William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké

Austell, Ga., Sept. 10, 1901.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

How are you and Mrs. Grimké today? I have been spending a few weeks here "rusticating," drinking Lithia water from the Spring. I hope it may benefit me. At any rate, I do not feel worse for the drinking thereof.

I drop you these lines simply to call your attention to what

seems a reaction now taking place in the South. But a few months ago, in an adjoining county, several white men were sentenced for life for killing an old colored man. Others were given ten, and others two years. About two weeks ago similar action was taken in Alabama. One or two Georgia sheriffs, too, have shown themselves brave enough to protect their prisoners, even by the killing of some of the white mob. The most significant occurrence, however, is the preaching of that sermon on lynching by a Mississippi clergyman. Wendell Phillips could not have done better. If you haven't read the sermon, you will find it in the *New York Sun*, for Aug. 25. Let us take courage. I have always felt that God had not left himself without witnesses even in this slave-cursed country, and that Southern white men, yea, and white women, too, would in time rise up in protest against the prevalent barbarism.

Give my regards to Mrs. Grimké, and ask her when is she coming to Atlanta to visit us. Tell her, if she knew what a pleasure it would be to entertain her, she would not deprive her friends of that pleasure.

I return to Atlanta tomorrow to prepare for another year's work.

Yours truly,
W. H. Crogman.

J. Albert Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Balto., 10-10-01.

My dear old Friend:

I sincerely trust you are in good health, and that your dear wife is in improved health. I have thought of you much and often, this summer, especially, when we were sailing up the Rhine, crossing the Alps, and tramping about in Rome. I do earnestly hope, you both, may yet cross the Atlantic, and wander through Europe.

I want, especially to thank you, for sending me a copy of the sermon: "Some lessons from the Assassination of President McKinley". I read it through from text, to "Lest we forget". A sermon, I am sure, I shall not soon forget. So profoundly did it move me, that I read it again to my family, and will read it still again to a larger audience. Famous as you are for good sermon work, this timely, well conceived, well developed, honest, patriotic, and withal loyal christian production, excels you for elo-

quence that reaches the heart and conscience. I do hope a copy of it will get into President Roosevelt's hands, and the members of the House and Senate. You have put us under tribute, as a race.

As you know, I was not in the country, when the sad and shocking event transpired. Since my return, however, at a meeting in Bethel Church here, where Mr. Parker was to tell his story, I took occasion to say, on being asked to speak, substantially what you say in that noble sermon, as to Parker, our race, and the white people of this country. Of course I could not say it in your matchless way, but I insist, that this nation is in danger, not so much from its riches, its commerce, its industry, its expansion, etc. as from its permission to ignore the laws of justice, and righteousness.

God bless you, and give more power, and greater opportunity to your voice, and typewriter.

Give our love to dear sister Grimké.

Accept the same for yourself.

And believe me to be Your

Friend and Bro.,

J. A. Johnson.¹

John W. Ross to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, October 14, 1901.

My dear Dr. Grimké:—

I have secured through your courtesy a copy of the pamphlet containing your sermon delivered September 22, 1901, entitled "Some Lessons from the Assassination of President William McKinley."

I have read the sermon with deep interest, and was profoundly impressed by the masterly manner in which you have referred to the dreadful calamity.

Please accept my grateful thanks for your courteous remembrance of me.

Very sincerely yours,

John W. Ross

Commissioner (of the District of Columbia)

¹ J. Albert Johnson was a scholarly preacher of great power. He became a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

William I. Bowditch to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Nov. 11, 1901.

Dear Sir:—

Please accept my thanks for your two sermons which I have read with interest.

Garrison had the notion that the abolition of slavery ended a great wrong, but it was only one step in the right direction. It will take a century or more to end the iniquity. Perhaps blood alone will settle it.

Respectfully yours,
William I. Bowditch.

William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Nov. 1901.

My dear Mr. Grimké:—

I desire to thank you for the copies of your addresses on "The Roosevelt-Washington Episode" and the "Assassination of President McKinley." Both subjects are admirably and skilfully presented.

Bad as the times are for the colored people of the South, I feel confident that we shall find the caste question still more acute as the negroes gain in education and self-respect. A long and bitter struggle is in progress and complicated as it is with foreign aggression and empire making, the national caldron bids fair to reach boiling point in the near future.

It is a time for plain and emphatic speaking, not only for the spread of the truth, but in order to preserve free speech. I hope you will continue to preach the gospel of justice and righteousness.

Very truly yours,
Wm. Lloyd Garrison.¹

¹ Son of the founder of the *Liberator*.

Robert R. Moton to Francis J. Grimké

Hampton, Va., November 23, 1901.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I wish to thank you for the copies of those two most beautiful Sermons—on President McKinley and the Roosevelt-Washington, Episode.

I have read them both with much pleasure and profit. I might have said we read them together as some of us did.

I agree with every sentence uttered in both.

The work of the year here has opened up very pleasantly.

We miss Prof. Browne very much indeed, but our loss is others' gain.

With best wishes,

Yours very truly,
R. R. Moton.

Booker T. Washington to Francis J. Grimké

Tuskegee, Ala., April 23, 1902.

My dear Dr. Grimké:-

I am very glad to have your kind letter of April 19th and to have your expression as to the pleasure found in the visit to Tuskegee. Our teachers and students were greatly helped by your coming. I am very sorry that you could not see your way clear to accept the honorarium sent you; we feel that we were due you more generous recognition of your valuable services.¹

I am sending you by express today your umbrella which was left at my house.

Yours truly,
Booker T. Washington.

¹ This refusal of Dr. Grimké to accept of Tuskegee a fee for his services was characteristic of the man. During the first years of his career he often addressed student bodies and lectured at educational centers when he could spare time from his religious work at home, but he had no thought of profiting by such extra efforts and often refused reimbursement for actual expenses thereby incurred. He had the utmost contempt for anyone who used his talent to exploit the public.

Florence Sprague to Francis J. Grimké

Tuskegee, Ala., June 12, 1902.

My dear Sir:-

A number of our teachers are very much interested to know if the series of talks delivered by you while here are to be published in book form? They were so elevating they are anxious to secure them in a more permanent form. The last talk made by you especially reached them, and we should like to have the whole series if there is any possibility of their being published.

Hoping to hear from you in the matter, I am,

Very truly yours,
(Miss) Florence Sprague.

Francis J. Grimké to Theodore Roosevelt

Washington, D. C., December 1st, 1902.

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt,

President of the United States:

Dear Sir:

I desire to thank you for your letter defining your attitude towards the Negro. It is refreshing to read such strong earnest words in these degenerate times, when to discredit the Negro is the rule. That the Negro as an American citizen, when he is worthy, should receive the same consideration as other citizens of the Republic, is a lesson that is very much needed just now: and one of the most effective ways of teaching that lesson is by men of such high character and wide influence as yourself, saying so publicly. There is not enough of that kind of protest heard in high places. I rejoice that we have in the White House a man of your courage and convictions. If we had more men like yourself the future would not seem so dark, as it often does, to the poor, struggling Negro.

Again thanking you, I am

Very respectfully yours,
Francis J. Grimké.

Frances Ellen Watkins Harper to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, 1006 Bainbridge St., March 20th, 1903.

Rev. Mr. Grimké

Respected friend, permit me to thank you for the strong, brave words you have spoken, in your pamphlet of sermons and to ask you if you can furnish me with one or two of those pramplets and at what price can they be obtained? I like your idea of suggesting a day of praying. What sight would be more impressive than a race upon its knees appealing from the injustice of man to the everlasting justice of God. Well although the shadows of the past are still projected into the life of the race, there is sunshine still mingled with the shadows when you and others are able to present our cause as you can at the present times. May God bless you and strengthen you to do valiant work for those whose feebleness should be their best defence, their weakness an ensign of protection

Remember me to Mrs. Grimké,

Yours respectfully,
Frances E. W. Harper.

R. H. Armstrong to Francis J. Grimké

Balto., Md., June 5th, 1903.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Your two most thoughtful sermons reached me this A. M. and I have read them with much pleasure, profit and interest. They have the manly ring which always suits me. I do hope they may fall into the hands of a few weak cringing Negroes, and a number of white men who need to know just how we are thinking and are also daring to express ourselves.

I was glad to note in one of the sermons that you had read the late book of Prof. Du Bois. It is certainly one of the best books that has come from the pen of Negro Americans. I hope it may have a large circulation. Please accept my thanks for the sermons.

Hoping that you are well, with kind remembrance to your wife and niece I am,

Yours truly,
R. H. Armstrong.

J. Albert Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., June 10th, 1903.

My dear Grimké,

It was so kind in you to send me those two excellent, soul-stirring sermons; "A Resemblance and A Contrast," and "God and the Race Problem." I cannot say how very much I appreciate the splendid contributions you are making to the help and salvation of our unfortunate people in this country. However unhappy the times, however the persistent enemies of the Negro increase; whatever they may say, or try to do; there cannot, must not be any sign of acquiescence, or surrender. The ringing tones in those sermons are as clear as a bell in the frosty air. How I wish they might be read by the "press" of this country, they would be sure to touch some consciences. And the ministry, North and South, need them. That is a splendid propagandism for the present situation.

I am to go to Wilberforce next week, to attend the Trustee meeting, and the Commencement exercises.

We all send much love to you and dear Sister Grimké, I hope she is fairly well.

God bless you and continue to use your voice and pen for righteousness and truth.

Yours affectionately,
J. Albert Johnson.

Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, June 21st, 1903.

My Dear Grimké,

I have just finished reading your most excellent sermon on "God and the Race Problem," and while it is fresh in my mind will give you briefly my impressions of it as a whole and of some of the points in particular.

The sermon is a most forceful presentation of the condition of the colored people in their relation to the whites in this country, and it ought to be circulated widely throughout the country among both white and colored. There is nothing to be found in it which savours of that cringing, fawning apologetic spirit which is so sickening often in sermons or writings of the kind. Neither is there to be seen in it a spirit of arrogance.

I wish you were so circumstanced that you could devote six months in the year to preaching just such sermons to both white and colored all over the country, for I believe that you could alone bring about an entire change of sentiment in regard to the Negro in less than five years.

Something must be done, for the country North and South has gone mad in its craze for gold, and to gain its selfish end it is willing to sacrifice principle, the Negro, the Bible yea, God himself—I speak it with awe and reverence. But God is our refuge. That is if we honor and serve Him. Are we as a people doing it? I exceedingly fear and quake for the generations of Negroes which are coming up. It is very evident that God is not in their thoughts. If God be against us who can be for us? Let us arouse if possible our people to a realizing sense of the impending danger.

I read with interest the points advanced and the examples referred to. But I am not sure that I can agree with you in reference to Mr. Ogden. I have had several interviews recently with him in his office in New York concerning his Union League Speech. If his motive for laying on the table the proposition to limit the Southern representation to their white constituency was because he feared it would increase the outrages in the South, intensify the bitterness between the two people I think he was justified in making the motion, though his position was wrong. I believe at heart Mr. Ogden is right towards the Negro. I know of no man who has been more pronounced in his advocacy of the rights of the Negro: I have known him for years, and he always expressed himself as being in favor of granting the Negro all the rights belonging to him. I can not therefore believe that he is at heart the Negro's enemy. What you say in your sermon about the disposition of the white people to slur every manly Negro was shown the other day at the commencement at Bordentown, Gregory's School. The chief speaker, outside of the speeches by the graduating class was the State Superintendent of Education who took occasion to warn his audience against allowing the Boston *Guardian* to enter their homes because it was a most pernicious paper, and he was hardly through with his denunciation before two leading colored men in my presence approved of all he said.

Grimké, I expect to leave for Europe in company with my wife sometime next month, after the middle. I am coming to Washington the last of this or the first of next week.

When can I see you? Arrange to accompany us. We will not return before the middle or last of September.

Yours in haste,
Matthew Anderson.

P. S. Mrs. Jeffers is very sick at my house, not expected to live.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Jr., to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, June 23, 1903.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I beg to thank you for your discourses on "God and the Race Problem" and "A Resemblance and a Contrast," both of which I have read with interest and thorough approval.

We are in the midst of a world-wide struggle of democracy against privilege and the Negro question is an inseparable part of it. Unless justice is done to all, regardless of race, color or sex, there will be no peace for whites or blacks, and in whatever part of the field the battle rages that is the place for the lovers of truth and freedom to stand.

I note with regret the recantation of Governor Chamberlain, which has given much aid and comfort to the enemy. No man can hold close friendly relations with southern respectability and keep his testimony clear on controverted subjects.

With much regard,

Sincerely yours,
William Lloyd Garrison.

Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

London, June 27, 1903.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Dr. R. B. Richardson, the bearer of this, is a former pupil and friend of mine. I wish to commend him to your courtesy and kindness. The doctor is president of Liberia College and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. He is also a minister of the Gospel and a popular preacher.

He is known to Mrs. John H. Smythe who, I hope, is with your family and the other members of the Saturday Circle, in the enjoyment of good health.

I arrived in England on furlough on the first of this month. I delivered yesterday before the African Society an address. I enclose copy of a brief report of an address I delivered in Liverpool.

Dr. Richardson will hand you a copy of the *West African Mail*, containing a full report, and he will also give you the *Journal of the African Society* for October, containing an article of mine. I am afraid I am in for a great deal of work during the few weeks I shall remain here. Kind regards to Mrs. Grimké.

Yours faithfully,
E. W. Blyden.

Frances Ellen Watkins Harper to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, June 27, 1903.

My dear friend and brother:

You do not know how grateful and pleased I am to receive your welcome and timely sermons. Oh if they could only be scattered broadcast through the whole country, to open the eyes of this generation to the duties and dangers of the hour, and create within them an earnest desire to create and develop within the race the most precious thing that a man or woman can possess, and that is good character. "And who will harm us if we follow that which is good." I do not think there has been an hour since the surrender that there has been more need of the wisest counsels, the warmest hearts, the holiest influences, and the most Christ-like endeavors. When the race produces many men like you, so able to understand, and so ready to bestow such instruction as is contained in your sermons, we may thank God and take courage, and look beyond the present pain with hope for a better and brighter future, in which love shall conquer hate, and both branches of the human family in this country realize that their interests and duties all lie in one direction, and that we cannot violate the one without dis severing the other. Please accept these lines which I send you as the expiring flicker of a lamp whose earthly light is well nigh spent, whose span of life may very soon be done. May God bless you and your wife, and keep you both as the apple of His eye and beneath the hollow of His hand.

Yours gratefully,
Francis E. W. Harper.

Respectfully dedicated to Rev. Francis J. Grimké.

Thank God that thou hast spoken
 Those earnest lines and brave
 That point us to the mighty arm
 All powerful to save.
 Thy words were no faint echoes,
 Thy plea no Syren song.
 They fall as battle axes
 Against gigantic wrong.
 Though crime may seem to prosper
 And evil men grow strong,
 God cannot side with error
 And compromise with wrong.
 May He who guided Moses
 Mid pain and sorrow's night
 Gird you in the darkest hours
 With a panoply of light.
 And give you power to strengthen
 The heart of age and youth
 To hold aloft the banners
 Of Freedom, Love, and Truth.
 Though hosts of sin may trample
 Love and justice in the dust
 And the gloomy shadows deepen
 In God shall be our trust.

Francis Ellen W. Harper.¹

Frances Ellen Watkins Harper to Francis J. Grimké

Dear Sir:

I received your sermons on lynching for which accept my
 thanks for your remembrance of me. And also permit me to
 emphasize my gratitude to you especially for your manly refusal
 to accept the verdict of the mob, in the cases of lynching. I hold
 that as long as there are such things as mental imbecility, mistaken
 identity, as long as Potiphar's wife stands in the world's pillory
 of shame that no man however guilty should be deprived of life,
 or liberty without due process of law. I saw some time since in
 the *Voice of Missions* what seemed was a fatal admission of the
 criminality of a victim of lynching by a very prominent man of

¹ Francis Ellen Watkins Harper was one of the outstanding Negro writers of verse even before the Civil War. During that ante-bellum period she served as a teacher. She was also a lecturer for the American Anti Slavery Society. She read her own poems to great effect. She was born in 1825 and died in 1911.

our race. I suppose he meant Hale. I do not believe that Hale was guilty of all alleged against him, and we do not know who murdered that woman in Kentucky.

We do not know whether she fell by the hand of the colored man, or by some one who had sufficient reason to hide his own crime by imputing it to another, and so I sincerely thank you for the stand you have taken on this subject. Do these sermons have a circulation outside of our people? Could there not be some contrivance planned by which your sermons would reach larger audiences than they do now? Could not the council plan for their circulation, and the women's clubs be induced to scatter them among the white people in different localities? * * *

I would so like to be able to have an opportunity to give at least one to Rev. Joseph May, whose wife informs me as though he has this subject under consideration, if I understood her aright.

Perhaps after New Year's day I will get a few from you to distribute. The first Thursday in next month I expect to read a paper on personal religion. Please if you are selling them send me the price. Please remember me to Mrs. Grimké. And if you have one more that you can spare send it to me. If at any time there is any movement to circulate these sermons, although my means are limited, count on me as a subscriber. Oh my friend, when we have among us such men as you, who can handle our cause as you can, we have reached the place where we can "Thank God and take courage," And instead of only looking "Gloomily to the past, we should learn to look more hopefully to the future. Oh there is a field before us which well might fill an angels hand, and thrill an angels heart. Is there not an amount of unused power among us? A lack of Christly consecration to the attainment of life's highest excellence and beauty? Oh that God may ever help you to help others, and teach you to teach others. I am an old woman, whose span of life may soon, very soon be done. I belong to a generation whose ranks are thinner and whose graves are thicker, but upon you my younger brother has not God himself laid a burden of loving service? Oh thanks, many thanks to you for sending the sermons, and pardon my delay in acknowledging them.

Well in life perhaps you will sometimes meet with coldness where you might hope for cooperation, and true sympathy in your work, but if your life is in harmony with God and Christly sympathy for man, take it for granted that for such a life there is no such word as fail.

F. E. W. Harper.

SIMON'S COUNTRYMEN

They took away his seamless robe,
With thorns they crowned his head,
As harshly, fiercely cried his foes
Barrabas in his stead.
The friends he loved unto the end,
Who shared his daily bread
Before the storms of wrath and hate
Forsook their Lord and fled.

To rescue men from sin and death
He knew the awful cost
As he wearily bent beneath
The burden of the cross.
When Pilate had decreed his fate,
And Jesus withheld their aid,
Then Simon the Cyrenian came;
On him the cross was laid.

Not his to smite with cruel smile
Nor mock the dying one,
That helpful man came from the land
Kissed by the ardent sun.
The land within whose sheltering arms
The infant Jesus lay
When Herod vainly bared his sword
And sought the child to slay.

(2)

Amid the calendar of Saints
The Simon's name may trace
On history's page, through every age,
He bears an honored place.
He little knew that cross would change
Into a throne of light,
That crown of thorns upon Christ's brow
Would be forever bright.

Beneath the shadow of that cross,
Brave men with outstretched hands
Have told the wondrous tale of love
In distant heathen lands.

And yet within our favored lands,
Where Christian churches rise,
The dark browed souls of Africa
Are hated and dispised.

Can they who speak of Christ as King
And glory in his name
Forget that Simon's countrymen
Still bear a cross a shame?
Can they forget the cruel scorn
Men shower on a race
Who treat the hues their Father gives
As emblems of disgrace?

(3)

Will they erect to God their fanes
And Christ with honor crown
And then with cruel weights of pain
The African press down?
Oh Christians when we faint and bleed
In this our native land,
Reach out to us when felt opprest
A kindly helpful hand.

And hold aloft that Sacred cross
Bright from the distant years
And say for Christ's and Simon's sake
We'll wipe away your tears;
For years of sorrow toil and pain
We'll bring you love and light
And in the name of Christ our Lord
We'll make your pathway bright.

That seamless robe shall yet unfold
The children of the sun
Till rich and poor, and bond and free
In Christ shall all be one.
And for his sake from pride and hate
Our spirits shall be free
Till through our souls shall sound the words
Ye did it unto me.

Frances E. W. Harper.

Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

London, W., Sept. 24, 1903.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I have been delighted and "thoughts of other years" have overflowed me like the perfumes of Arabia by the kind letter which you have sent me with your interesting and thoughtful addresses by Dr. Richardson.

I never lose sight of you and Mrs. Grimké and the charming Saturday Circle, composed as it was, or as you assure me it is, of the choicest spirits in Washington. There is often in my musings an under current of regret that I am not privileged to be with you, and like the diligent bee gather from the opening flowers of conversation, or rather from the sweet intercommunion of souls, that stimulus and inspiration of which you can imagine I often feel the need when at my work in Africa. Here, of course, I live in an atmosphere—ravishing in its intellectual brightness—which brings to me recollections of the Washington Circle, with every member of which I felt myself in complete rapport and absolute content.

"On every height there is repose." I think it is Goethe who says this, and was not the society of the softer sex agreeable to him?

I hope I shall be able some day—before long—to come to you and be again refreshed. Meantime be good enough to convey to Mrs. Grimké and the rest of the class the expression of my sweetest remembrances and believe me, my dear Dr.

Always yours faithfully.

Ed. W. Blyden.

P. S. I am sending you an address delivered at the Annual meeting of the African Society June 26, 1903 and two other pamphlets. Perhaps you would like to read them to the class.

P. S. I notice that the late Dr. Gray of Chicago in his "Camp fires" etc. classifies you with Bishop Turner, in political rancour and bitterness. I am sure this is not true. By the way, this book is worth reading in the Circle. I wish I were with you to emphasize the parts I admire. I have begun reading them to some ladies here, who enjoy them very much.

Francis J. Grimké to Kelly Miller

Washington, D. C., September 26, 1903.

Dear Prof. Miller:

Please accept my thanks for the papers containing the article on Prof. Washington. It is well and ably done. Like all of your productions it is scholarly, discriminating, and shows a thorough grasp of the subject. I don't know whether Prof. Washington will be pleased with your representation of him or not, but you have certainly, in some particulars, at least, given a pretty accurate description of him. He doubtless has the good of the race at heart, but seems to be afraid, in the presence of Southern prejudice, or out of deference to Southern sentiment, to claim for the Negro all that belongs to him as a man and as an American citizen. Whether he really believes it or not he seems to accept the doctrine of the natural inferiority of the Negro, and to strengthen our enemies in their efforts to limit our aspirations and to deny to us rights which are accorded to white men. It is unfortunate, to say the least, for any Negro however good his intentions may be so to act and speak himself as to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the race. And this is unquestionably true of Mr. Washington. I am glad to know that you are working on your projected volume.

I hope you will be able to talk for our Young People's Society on the 4th Sabbath in October.

Very truly yours,
Francis J. Grimké.

John W. E. Bowen to Francis J. Grimké

South Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 18th, 1903.

My Dear Brother:

I wrote you in the summer an opinion on your two great sermons on the race-issue from the west. I am so impressed with the fullness and accuracy of your reasoning, that I wish to add this additional word. I suggest that you would serve the cause of truth in a wider sense, were you to send a copy of each of those sermons to each of the great 'Dailies' in the great centers. I also suggest that you furnish each speaker to the forth-coming "Sociological Association" that is to meet in Washington. Your love of truth and fearlessness in stating in the same would be the most valuable contribution to that important gathering. Mrs. Bowen and myself

have arranged for your comfort while you are here attending the convention of Y. M. C. A. workers. We also want Mrs. Grimké. Bring her along that she may have the outing. Mother is here. Croghan and the rest of us can keep you busy and thus save you from getting lonely.

Yours sincerely,
J. W. E. Bowen.¹

Booker T. Washington to Francis J. Grimké

Hotel Manhattan, New York City, November 19th, 1903.

Dear Sir:

More than a year ago, after consultation with Dr. Du Bois and others, it was determined to hold in New York City a private conference, to last three days, and to consist of from eighteen to twenty members of the race, who should represent, so far as possible, its leading thought and achievements in all directions, and seek to devise, if possible, through free and frank discussion, such measures as would improve conditions among our people.

New York was selected as the place of meeting for the reason that it is possibly the only city in the country in which so large a number of colored men could assemble without attracting the attention of the newspapers, and other agents of publicity. It was also felt that persons coming to this city could be free there from other responsibilities, and be able to devote three quiet days to serious study of the needs and conditions of the Negro.

As the funds necessary to pay the expenses of the conference could not be collected in time to hold it last year, it has been decided that the conference will meet in the city of New York, during January 6th, 7th, and 8th, 1904. I am asked to invite you to be present, and to participate in our deliberations.

In case you so desire, all your expenses of travel and board will be defrayed, and the money for this purpose has been so provided that no member of the conference can feel under obligations to any individual or organization.

I greatly hope that you can see your way toward accepting this invitation. Should you desire it, I will send you the names of the

¹ John W. E. Bowen was one of the most distinguished ministers and educators of his day. He was educated at New Orleans University and Boston University. He taught Historical Theology at Gammon Theological Seminary. He served it as president for a few years.

other men who have received invitations to the meeting. I feel that our present condition as a race in this country demands that we should make every sacrifice, and put forth every effort, to attend this conference, as the matters to be discussed are of the greatest importance to our future. I do not believe that there has ever been a race gathering so fraught with seriousness and value as the one will be concerning which I am writing.

I hardly need add, since I have said that the conference is to be private, that the whole matter should be held absolutely confidential. Each one who has been asked to attend, has been requested to speak on the subject to no one else.¹

Very truly yours,
Booker T. Washington.

W. E. B. Du Bois to Francis J. Grimké

Atlanta, Ga., December 28, 1903.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Here is my platform. I hope it is broad enough for you. We are a small band but staunch. Bring all Washington literature you can find and let me know immediately if you'll be in New York Tuesday night.

Sincerely yours,
W. E. B. Du Bois.

(Confidential.) Memoranda on the Washington Meeting

Those invited to the meeting may be roughly classified as follows: Unscrupulously for Washington,

Lewis, Fortune, Stewart, McKinley, Smith, Knox, and Washington, without enthusiasm or with scruples:

Moton, Anderson, Walker, Proctor, Napier, Grant, H. C. Morris, Williams, Taylor.

Uncertain, leaning to Washington.

Walters, Hayes, Trower.

Uncertain, possibly against Washington.

Kealing, Scott, Lyons.

¹This was the beginning of the split between the two factions of Negro leaders, one following Booker T. Washington and his adherents who accepted the policy of conservatism—of educating the Negro practically and increasing his economic efficiency—while another faction of leaders, with W. E. B. Du Bois and William Monroe Trotter as spokesmen, insisted that agitation for abstract rights was the duty of the hour. Francis J. Grimké and his brother Archibald broke with Booker T. Washington with whom they had been friendly and stood with the militant faction.

Anti-Washington.

Miller.

Uncompromisingly Anti-Washington.

Morgan, E. H. Morris, McGhee, Grimké, Du Bois.

Principles of Anti-Washington men.

1. Opposition to any organization or person which does not stand for:

- a. The right of Negroes to vote on exactly the same terms as other citizens vote.
- b. Equal civil rights.
- c. Educational opportunities according to ability, including college, normal industrial and common school training.

2. Full, candid and open criticism of Mr. Washington's attitude on:

- a. The suffrage and office holding.
- b. Civil rights.
- c. College and industrial training.

3. Refusal to take part in this meeting or any meeting or any organization where the right of free discussion of Mr. Washington's attitude and the attitude of other influential men is not allowed.

Notes

1. The tactics of the pro-Washington men will take one or more of the following forms:

- a. Conciliation and compromise.
- b. Irritation and brow-beating.
- c. Silent shutting off of discussion by closure methods. Come prepared therefore, in case of
 - a. to be firm and hammer at the principles and Washington's record.
 - b. to keep good temper and insist on free speech.
 - c. to protest against closure or underhand methods even to the extent of leaving the meeting.

Bring every speech or letter or record of Washington you can lay hands on so that he can face his record in print.

The main issue of this meeting is *Washington*, refuse to be side-tracked.

Anti-Washington men will please be in New York Tuesday night. Arrangements will be made for a supper and conference in a private dining room during the hours of 7-10 or later. Kindly write Mr. Du Bois immediately as to your presence.

William Hayes Ward to Francis J. Grimké

New York, June 7, 1904.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I have just read through with great interest your argument against the union of the two Presbyterian churches. It is an admirable statement and I hope that you were able to get the affected part of it into your address, altho I have only seen a very brief report that you spoke. It is an amazement to me that the unanimous protest of the colored members of the assembly should have gone unheeded. Now we must appeal to the Presbyteries and I trust that your address may have a wide circulation. I note with pleasure your quotation from *The Independent*.

Very truly yours,
William Hayes Ward,
Editor, *THE INDEPENDENT*.

E. F. Eggleston to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., June 14, 1904.

My Dear Bro.:

I enclosed you this personal letter that you may see what the brother says.

May God bless this effort. I hope you will see that the gentlemen of whom I have written may get one of your articles.

With best wishes,
I am yours in Christ,
F. E. Eggleston.

P. S. You can reply (?) when you have the opportunity.

John Timothy Stone to Frank E. Eggleston

Baltimore, Md., June 11, 1904.

Rev. Frank E. Eggleston,
Baltimore, Md.

My dear Mr. Eggleston:

The address by the Rev. Dr. Grimké is one of the best I have ever read. I am almost at a loss to know just how I feel as to union. I am not in favor of union from the standpoint of the con-

ditions emphasized in this paper. On the other hand, I feel that the whole Presbyterian Church ought to get together. I can but feel that God will work out this entire matter, if we are patient and faith filled. Please congratulate Dr. Grimké for me upon this paper.¹

Cordially,
J. T. Stone.

Lucy C. Laney to Francis J. Grimké

Haines Normal and Industrial School
Augusta, Ga., Oct. 27, 1904.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I write to ask when can we have you at Augusta? We are very anxious to have you come, also bring Mrs. Grimké. It is so seldom that we can have real men upon whom the race has no claim visit this section of the country, that we feel that we are almost outside of the "pale of civilization"—certainly out of touch with the progressive, thoughtful world. If it is possible for you to come to us, we hope that you will do so. Kindly let us know what will be the charge.

What of Dr. Du Bois' "Credo"? Is there any man who cannot subscribe to it? What do you say to sending it to a number of clergymen, who seem to feel that negroes have no soul, and hence no rights—spiritual nor otherwise.

Again let me thank you for the brave fight you made for all of us.¹ Surely such efforts cannot be lost. We do grow so impatient because the "Mills of the Gods" grind so slowly; but at sometime if we keep up the brave fight and efforts made by you and the few others, I see no reason that we should stand defeat. I only wish I could stay here long enough to see the victory.

Yours truly,
L. C. Laney,
Prin.

¹Stone was the pastor of the Brown Memorial Presbyterian Church in Baltimore.

¹Reference here is to the proposal to reunite the Northern and Southern Presbyterians on terms prejudicial to the interests of their Negro communicants. Grimké opposed this measure.

Lucy C. Laney to Francis J. Grimké

Haines Normal and Industrial School

Augusta, Ga., Nov. 30, 1904.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I thank you for your kind letter and kindly consideration of us. We could not think of having you come to see us and have you meet your own expenses. I am afraid that you do not realize the benefit it is to us and this community. It is our plan to charge for the lecture and thus make the people bear this burden. It is our way to help to educate the people. The school must mean something, and it should mean much to the community. The people of Augusta turn here for intellectual food, and we are trying to provide wholesome food. I trust that you can see your way clear to come to us sometime during the winter or early spring, and we would be glad if you could let us know early, that we might have time to make ample and proper arrangements.

The action of the New York and Chicago Presbyteries, I am sure, was gratifying to you. I am still hoping that there is sufficient honor and grace in the Church to vote down that "iniquitous overture," and that in the spring we shall be able to see the Church which we love and of whose record we have been proud coming forth with clean garments, rejoicing because she has done the right thing. No doubt we are living in troublous times, but, as you say, it will be all right after a time. I am sure there will be utterly a triumph of right.

Yours truly,

L. C. Laney,

Principal.

Herrick Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

The Plaza, Chicago, Jan. 1, '05.

My Dear Bro.

Your letter of Dec. 11th came duly to hand, and be assured its words of hearty appreciation were grateful. But I do not feel that the mere discharge of a simple duty which carries with it so much enjoyment as my espousal of the equal rights of all in our beloved church to whatever is embraced in its doctrine and life have given to me, furnishes any occasion for special mention.

But I confess to amazement at the apparent willingness of so many in the communion to abandon our historic position on the negro question and in the interest of expediency to yield a fundamental principle. It looks as if concession to a wicked race prejudice were about to be made that will carry us bodily over to the position taken by the Southern Whites. I send you my article in *The Interior* written out of my heart, deprecating the proposed surrender of a fundamental principle in the interest of a supposed expediency. I do not believe the Master can smile upon it. He did not treat the spirit of caste in His day in this way.

Most Cordially yours,

Herrick Johnson.

Francis J. Grimké to Howard Agnew Johnson

Washington, D. C., January 9th, 1905.

Dear Sir;

I received a few days ago, through the Evangelistic Committee of the Assembly, a copy of your work, "Studies for Personal Workers." In running over the table of contents my attention was arrested by the heading, "The Weak Brother's Conscience," Study XIV, Fourth Day. I turned to it and read your enthusiastic commendation of the great principle of Christian love as set forth by the apostle Paul. And then I remembered, that at the meeting of our Assembly at Buffalo, you were one of the men who were especially conspicuous for their advocacy of union with the Cumberland Church, although one of the conditions was the setting apart of colored Presbyterian ministers and elders into separate Presbyteries and synods, out of deference to a wicked and unchristian Negro-hating sentiment in the South. The apostle Paul was willing to give up eating meat offered to idols out of deference to the feelings of weaker Christians, and for this you heartily commend him; and yet you did not hesitate to help rush through the Assembly a measure which was a virtual insult to the more than twenty thousand colored communicants in our Church. Would the apostle Paul, whom you commend, have been guilty of such conduct? You white men are an enigma to me. Sometimes you seem very religious, especially when you are talking about Home Missions, and Foreign Missions, and about the advancement of the Master's Kingdom in general; but when it comes to the con-

crete test of your religion, as seen in your dealing with the vexed race question in this country, you seem to be nothing but a set of hypocrites, utterly destitute of the spirit of Christ, without which, according to his own statement, you are none of his. There is such a thing as honoring Christ with the lip, honoring him in the printed page, while the heart is far from him: and this I am afraid is true of many of you white professors, and many of you white ministers who occupy prominent pulpits.

Personally, I want to say, that nothing that you might utter or publish on Christianity would have the slightest effect upon me; for I do not believe in receiving instructions from men who teach one thing and live another. No man who had the spirit of Paul,—his beautiful courtesy, his noble generosity, his regard for the weak, as well as his strong sense of right, could have thrown his influence, as you did yours, in favor of setting up the color line in the church, in humiliating a poor, struggling race, in helping to swell the ignoble sentiment that is demanding that the Negro shall be kept in his place. And you, a Christian minister, a representative of the meek and lowly Jesus! It seems to me, you ought to be ashamed of yourself, you ought not so to misrepresent the religion which you profess to accept and believe.

I shall return your book to the Committee, and state my reason for so doing. I don't want that Committee, or any other committee to send me any documents touching religion from any man whose religion justifies him in voting to set up the color line in the Church.

I am yours, for a true, not a spurious Christianity,

Francis J. Grimké.

William Hayes Ward to Francis J. Grimké

New York, Jan. 11, 1905.

My dear Sir:—

I have your favor of January 10th. I did not preserve any copy of the paragraph which I wrote, and I reply from your quotation. When I used the words "so far as it can be done without giving too much offense" I simply meant to recognize that even in demanding one's rights there must be prudence used. Where persons are defenseless as is the case in a large part of the South,

or as is the case with the Armenians in Turkey, and where the methods of education and growing culture are sure in the end to reach results desired, it is certainly not well to provoke opposition which will lead to violence, from which your people could only suffer. Some offence has to be given, but a wise steady pressure in claiming of rights is a duty, as well as a privilege, especially desirable that every negro should seek to register, and should seek to cast his ballot, and yet this should be done without bravado, quietly, steadily, in such a way as will gain the approval and support of the better element of the white people of the South. That is all I meant, I presume, but I think you agree with it. We want no race war and we want the good will of the better element. The good will of the worse element we cannot expect.

Very truly yours,
William Hayes Ward.

Francis J. Garrison to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Feb. 21, 1906.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I am greatly obliged to you for the copy of your centennial address which you kindly sent me, and which I have read with much pleasure. Indeed, it seems to me the best of all the addresses inspired by the anniversary. I am glad that you recall James Forten's great service at the beginning of the *Liberator* in sending such a generous remittance.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Grimké, believe me

Yours very truly,
Francis J. Garrison.¹

¹ He was a son of William Lloyd Garrison. James Forten, the grandfather of Charlotte Forten Grimké, gave the first sum of as much as fifty dollars to finance the *Liberator*. Forten was otherwise helpful in advancing generally the anti-slavery efforts made by Garrison and his coworkers. Forten was usually called upon to participate in the launching of such movements, and they depended much upon his purse. With the exception of the Tappans in New York City, Forten was probably the wealthiest man in the forefront of abolitionism, and Garrison never forgot to call on this well-to-do Negro, rated as being worth \$100,000 in 1832.

Fanny Garrison Villard to Francis J. Grimké

New York City, 145 West 58th Street, March 1st, 1906.

Dear Mr. Grimké:—

I asked my brother William to thank you in Washington for your kind letter and the copy of your address on the occasion of my dear Father's Centennial, but he may have forgotten to do so. It would be impossible for me to express the deep feelings of emotion that were mine at that time.

My Father never looked for the slightest recognition for having done his simple duty, nor did he crave it. Nevertheless, it has been given to him in full measure and, most of all, by those whose welfare was so dear to him. Were he living to-day his hands would be full, but he would never despair & still believe: That "Ever the Right comes uppermost and ever is justice done".

Yours with grateful thanks,

Fanny Garrison Villard.¹

Booker T. Washington to Francis J. Grimké

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, October 20, 1906.

Dear Doctor Grimké:—

I have just received a copy of your sermon on Atlanta, and have read it with interest. I am very glad for one paragraph which teaches our people not to become discouraged.

We must keep that thought before the masses of our people and one way to do it is to show that the leaders themselves are not discouraged.

Very truly yours,

Booker T. Washington.

¹ She was a daughter of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, the abolitionist. Her son, Oswald Garrison Villard, who became the editor of the *Nation*, took up the cause of the Negro academically and at times participated in the popular movement to right the wrongs of the Negro through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Occasionally he assisted the race here and there in other efforts to rise.

Caroline F. Putnam to Francis J. Grimké

Halley School, Lottsburg, Va., Oct. 21st, '06.

My dear Dr. Grimké—

Your sermon of two weeks ago is fresh in our ears that listened to its every word, at our little S. S., this morning, read by my "Cora", with sympathy & intelligence—as I myself read it, Friday when it came.

While you were preaching it to your congregation, I was getting the first & best account of the awful Atlanta story that I have seen, read at a colored church, up in Westmoreland, Washington's native county. It was in the *Voice* a week—*Baltimore American*, Tuesday's Sept. 23—of nearly three columns, and have no ear marks of the lying *Associated Press*. Next came the N. Y. *Times* with the diabolical acts of Sunday night, & Monday & lo! the Friday's *American* had fallen into line & almost word for word told the usual talk of "Negroes killing whites" with a noteworthy significant omission that Brownsville was considered "a model Negro settlement"—

No mention either was made of "Clark University" in the *American* as the *Times* made. This is most aggravating of all to see the N. Y. *Tribune*, & Springfield *Republican* echoing the Ass'd Press collusions.

The *Nation* tells of the Atlanta *News'* offer of "\$1000, for the killing of the first Negro accused of Assault"! & "that no one need be surprised at the Riot".

The *Republican* printed a woman's letter, yes, two letters ominously threatening such an outbreak a week or ten days before.

Why didn't these papers give a fitting alarm? When I read your advice to shoot a mob, I said "Why! They went about disarming every body, took up 3 wagon-loads of arms"— & they had nothing to shoot with." Cora said "they ought to have fired first!"

But then, see! How swift the U. S. troops were hurried to the scene! Whose side were they to help!—

Sunday night, Oct. 28. I meant to have had you reading my poor scrawl early last week, but failed, more for having so much to say!

Miss Howland sends me the Woman's *Tribune* & *Unity* papers.

Neither paper has noticed the Atlanta atrocity! I am sending to Jenkin Lloyd Jones, this card:

"I look in vain for your comment on the atrocious onslaught by 10,000 white savage mobiles upon innocent colored people in Atlanta, a month ago.

You should not follow the gloss of the *Associated Press*—to palliate the horror.

The Associated Press is an adept of nearly 40 years service in that foul act, heralding as "Negro Riots" these law defying murders, & Ku Klux Assaults".

It is the XVth Amendment—the Vote—that maddens the whole South! Equality of citizenship!—

The Ku Klux mob fell on our men after the Election in 1869 the first court Day—& one colored man was killed—The Asso. Press sent the lying—"Negro Riot—at Heaths ville, Va." to the Northern papers—

I wrote the truth how innocent as farmers—the colored people were (at Mr. Rooker's request); but Whitelaw Reid presented the correction in the *Tribune* and, so I have found, how evil & that continually—the Power of the Associated Press—has been—in this matter.

I am glad you included Clark Howell—of the Atlanta *Constitution*—I regard that sheet as of the worst influence! Ever since it paraded the facsimile of the \$500 check—reward—paid to the deliverer of poor Sam Hose to the blood-thirsty fiends & the stake! commenting with sardonic grin—"Now, we suppose Boston will howl" etc—Then the utterly false witness tale by ex Gov. Northern of Georgia! to which the *Congregational Banquet*,—in *Boston* gave welcome ear to him as its honored guest. Against that poor victim—of our American Moloch. The *Baltimore Sun*—had a column reporting the foul & slanderous address under the head "Boston Impressed." So The Atlanta Constitution instigated the Wilmington Massacre—& the Winchester rifles, & Red Shirt Campaign—that put Simmons into the U. S. Senate!

I should like to know what the Government has done about the Brownsville colored front Master!

It is evident the mob worked its vengeance on that "Model Negro settlement" with its Clark University.

By the omission in the Balto. *American*—I really supposed it was a place of 'dives', & being curious to compare the N. Y.

Times' report, was led to the discovery of what seemed a purposed misheading by the *American's* manipulation!

I thank you for the Sermon with all my heart of 80 years! Didn't you get my Birth-Day card with Mrs. Mary Lowell Putnam's lines?—

I thought dear Mrs. Grimké and you would be pleased for her sake too. May you all keep well, rejoice that God keeps watch over his own!

Caroline F. Putnam.¹

¹ Of this woman Dr. Grimké later wrote the following:

"On Friday, January 19, 1917, in the city of Baltimore, at one of the cemeteries, was cremated the body of Miss Caroline Putnam who died at Lottsburg, Va., where she had been laboring among the colored people for upwards of 40 yrs. She was a New England woman, educated, refined, highly cultivated, with a taste for all the best things in literature, in art, in life. And yet, such was her interest in the uplift of a newly emancipated, a poor struggling race, that she left her home and friends and all the delightful associations which contact with them meant, and went down to a section of Virginia that was greatly in need of help. And there she remained, living in the simplest way, content with the privations, the hardships which necessarily went along with the work which she had undertaken, for forty years, with never a word of complaint, but with only a great joy filling her heart that she was able to be of help to them. Even when age began to creep upon her, and it seemed best for her to get into more comfortable surroundings, still she preferred to remain at the old post of duty. There she had given the best days of her life, and there she was happiest, and there she wanted to remain. And it was there, in the providence of God, that she was permitted to end her days. It was there that the great silence fell upon her, and she passed out and up to her reward.

"I knew her well. She was often in our home and at our table, and many many delightful moments we have spent together. She was one of the saints of God, one of the noblest of womankind. Utterly forgetful of self, with one great desire filling her soul, and that was to be of service to this poor struggling race. Everything that she had she gladly laid on the altar of her devotion. She not only gave herself absolutely to the uplift of this race, but she also burned with righteous indignation at every act of injustice and oppression from which they were suffering. So completely had she identified herself with us, that when tidings of her death reached me, I said, 'Well, we have lost one of our noblest women,' forgetting entirely that she was white.

"In Lottsburg, before the body was removed to Baltimore to be cremated, the simple people that she had served so well, met and paid the last tribute of respect to her memory—a memory that will ever be precious to them.

"In contrast with these simple services, on Saturday, following the cremation ceremonies in Baltimore, another funeral took place in the City of Washington—the funeral of Admiral Dewey. The services were held in the rotunda of the Capitol. It was attended by the President of the United States, the members of his Cabinet, both houses of Congress, the judges of the Supreme Court, the great officials of the army and navy, by foreign ambassadors, and other celebrities, and the body was escorted to its last resting place by a great procession, and the Avenue was thronged by thousands of citizens. It was a most magnificent and impressive display. And all to do honor to a man, whose most conspicuous service, the thing that stands out most prominently in his career, is that he sent to the bottom of the Bay of Manilla a few wooden boats belonging to Spain with which we were then at war. As between the

William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Oct. 30, 1906.

Dear Mr. Grimké.

I thank you for sending me a copy of your able discourse on the Atlanta Riot. I read it with deep interest and sympathy. I liked especially your repudiation of responsibility for criminal negroes, which rests upon white men who deny them equal rights and opportunities. I hold that any charge of rape, or attempted rape, that excludes the victim from proving his innocence before a jury of his peers, bears *prima facie* evidence of its falseness.

The necessity of suffrage, the only effective weapon of defense under a democratic form of government, I place before book learning. The validity and enforcement of the antislavery amendments make the strongest issue that can be presented. The crime of state nullification must be fought to the end.

I am not so sure of your advice to meet force with force, having no faith in the constructive power of violence, but on the plane of Bunker Hill and Gettysburg no one can gainsay it. The conflict must increase in intensity in proportion to the education of the colored people and the growing caste feeling of the nation. In the end the righteous law will triumph, but O the long and suffering path!

With Kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Wm. Lloyd Garrison.¹

services rendered by the great Admiral and this humble, self-sacrificing, self-effacing, God fearing and man-loving worker at Lottsburg, as looked at from the Divine standpoint, as measured by the higher standard of service as set forth in the life and character of Jesus, who went about doing good, who was the friend of publicans and sinners, and who came not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give himself for others, there is no comparison. She was laid to rest very sweetly, very simply, with no outward display of pomp and power. But on the other side, we may be sure, all the saints of God, angels and arch angels, cherubim and seraphim, were there to greet her. She may have occupied a very humble place in the estimation of the great ones of earth, but very different was the estimate put upon her by the great Father of our spirits.

"One by one the old true friends of the race are dying out. There are not a great many of the stamp of Caroline Putnam left. Let us cherish the memories; let us hold them ever in grateful remembrance."

¹ Son of the founder of the *Liberator*.

Francis J. Garrison to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Nov. 6, 1906.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I must apologize for not having sooner acknowledged and thanked you for the copy of your admirable sermon on the Atlanta riot, which you were so good as to send me. I was especially pleased with the passage in which you indignantly denied the responsibility of any law-abiding colored people for the misdeeds of black criminals. It is a point which cannot be too strongly made, and no one ever thinks of blaming respectable whites for the deeds of white criminals.

There is only one point on which I must enter criticism, and that is your attitude as a Christian minister in advising the colored people to arm themselves in self-defence, and to protect themselves with the rifle if necessary. I cannot see how any man who undertakes weekly to preach the gospel of Christ, to teach forgiveness of enemies, and hold up his sublime example of non-resistance, can consistently approve, much less urge, his hearers to resist evil with evil, and disregard the supreme example of the Master when he preferred to give up His own life to rallying his own followers to defend Him by violence, as He might have, had he chosen so to do.

Yours very truly,
Francis J. Garrison.

Herrick Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

The Plaza, Chicago, Nov. 7th, '06.

My Dear Dr. Grimké,

Yours is a noble utterance, rational, strong, impassioned, yet judicial. No man can challenge either its spirit or form, who is sane and sober. I thank you for giving me the pleasure of reading it. It ought to be widely circulated, and so greatly instrumental for good.

Very Sincerely yours,
Herrick Johnson.

P. S. I enclose my check for five dollars to help circulate "The Atlanta Riot". H. J.

D. Augustus Straker to Francis J. Grimké

Detroit, Mich., Nov., 1906.

Rev. Francis J. Grimké

Dear Sir:

I have this day received by mail copy of your recent address on "The Atlanta Riot", and hastened to read same. It is a most manly, truthful and courageous utterance. I thank you personally for same and in the name of a persecuted class of four millions of people in our midst whose chief offense against their persecutors is a dark skin. I am glad you are a minister of the gospel and not one whose mouth is filled with gold and whose speech is trammelled by love of fame and the dollar. "We must need have offense" we are taught, but we are taught also "Woe to them by whom offence cometh." The Atlanta riot will bring woe to its authors. God is not asleep as you well know. The propaganda of Negro Inferiority has been planted. Some say and watered by our own hands. The doctrine of Negro inferiority is at the root of all our troubles and no doctrine of industrial habits will kill it. It is psychological and must be removed by other teachings. The American sentiment towards the Negro, North and South must be changed, and I know of no more potent force than the pulpit.

I lay at the door of the pulpit of the colored race, the negligence which produces and sustains the damage. A subsidized pulpit is worse in effect than a subsidized press. Of course there are noble exceptions. Thank God for these. I endorse your method of the Negro's self defense. Let him say as Luther of old "Here I stand I can do no other" and a new reformation will spring up.

If you desire you may publish these sentiments so that others may know where I stand. Peace is surely needed between the black and white races and I shall do all in my power to promote it. But peace with honor or I am no more than a dog. The dog will not lick the hand that smites it. I hope your pamphlet will reach millions upon this and upon the cis-Atlantic shores.¹

Yours truly,
D. Augustus Straker.

¹ D. Augustus Straker was born in Barbados and was educated there at Codrington College. He came to this country after the Civil War to participate in the education of the freedmen. He was induced to study for the ministry in the Episcopal Church, but abandoned the idea because of segregation and general hostility toward the Negro. Straker took up law.

Richard Theodore Greener to Francis J. Grimké

Orangeburg, S. C.,
Nov. 18th, 1907.

My dear Frank:

I rec'd Mrs. G's letter at Greenville, where it had been forwarded. My last visit to G. had been in 1876, during the Hayes-Tilden campaign, when our party rode in three carriages up the mountain to Pickens Court House, escorted all the way by a double line of red-shirted horsemen, rifles across the pommel. I was the only speaker at that gathering. I have a very distinct impression that I scored Tilden and Hendricks; but touched lightly on General Hampton, candidate for Gov. My speech took so well, I was invited to the Red-shirt camp and, against the remonstrances of my associates, went. Many changes I found at G's new stores, fine residences, costly modern villas, from \$20,000 to \$50,000 in cost, with spacious grounds—many the residences of the new factory magnates, who are revolutionizing the South. For everywhere along the line south, are the new factory buildings, and their accompanying houses, neat, well painted. I did not see Prof. Cooke's sisters: but met, and was entertained by Dr. Smith, a Columbia boy of the old days.¹ His wife, a Scotia graduate, and beautiful, precocious little girl of five, made me much at home. Dr. Purvis' ears must have tingled during the evening as the Dr. talked over so pathetically and gratefully, of Dr. Purvis' sympathy, and assistance, at the time Smith's father died, and the young student was at the end of the rope. He is not the only one, I have heard speak of the kindness and helpfulness of my aged friend Dr. P. Dr. Shadd is often open, emphatic and demonstrative of the brotherly encouragement, and keen business advice he used to receive. "So shines a good deed, in a naughty world".

At Spartanburg, I met some of my old scholars, one Kenneth Young, whose father died recently aged nearly 90. The daily press, had excellent obituary notices of him. Kenneth had written a novel, which he sent me years ago, founded upon the experience of himself and others of the old Columbia boys at Atlanta Univ. One of the young ladies mentioned in the book was now his wife, and Mrs. Euretha Matthews that was married her brother

¹ The writer, Richard T. Greener, had been a great figure in South Carolina during the reconstruction. He had been professor and librarian at the State University. This was a visit to the scenes of his earlier activities.

at Macon, Ga. I also met Lonnie Barnett's sister, now a Mrs.—husband and baby girl. Young has several brothers, all expert artisans—two bricklayers, one an architect and expert tile layer, whose services, are called for all over the state, and from Ga. and N. C.

Indeed I am surprised at the number of artisans, and the fact that whites and blacks often work in company, without serious friction. Outwardly, the relations of the races seem friendly enough, but there is the air of superiority on the one side, and the quiescent acceptance of inferiority on the other, which irritates and galls one. As usual, we leave towns on "the jim-crow" and come in on the "white car." Even where the signs of caste appear, "colored lunch" "white lunch"—"waiting room for colored." Inside the cars, "white" stares at you from the one; "Colored" grins at you in the other. At times you can imagine my feelings. Always I am ruminating on the problem. At Salisbury, Concord, and thus far in So. Car. I have noticed the absence of log cabins. Have seen only three. In Siberia and throughout Russia, they are the rule, among the lately emancipated serfs.

I have many, interesting incidents and character sketches I have noted down and stored in memory for future use. Thursday, we reached Columbia, to find the arrangements for our meeting unattended to!! Philosophically, we set out to see and enjoy the dear old spot for a day. Prof. Morris heard we were coming, and went to meet us. We must have passed each other on the road. At "Allen" we met your Dr. Johnson, the first Lincoln graduate, I believe. He showed us over the new building Coppin Hall, only begun, when I was here last year, now complete. Pres. Johnson, was resolved we should not be disappointed; he said we must dedicate the new hall with the first performance in it, and went to work at once. It was now nearly five p. m. By next morning, notice had been sent out, the morning paper had it. At 8:45, I was at "Benedict" with Pres. Johnson; addressed the students, a fine body; at 9:25 was at "Allen," where we had an hour and a half of speech making; met Miss Fagelia Campbell, my fellow teacher 1872 at Phila.; then came attendance on recitations at Allen until 12 m. At 1 was at Benedict again to hear a class in Psychology by invitation of Prof. Valentine. On opening, the Prof. blandly said "Prof. G. I open my recitations with prayer. Will you please pray!" What could I do! I think for five minutes, I really

wrestled with the Lord. But the time seemed fifty minutes, and it required all my age, experience, and self composure, not to break down. Luckily no one seemed to note my inward embarrassment. Evidently the Prof. had some evil designs on me: for after opening his book, he benignly turned his class over to me, and for an hour I talked for the first time in nearly thirty years Metaphysics, and yet had an interesting time. Afterwards, I was taken to the assembly room, where a spelling match was on, and I had an opportunity to see another ocular and audible demonstration of the utter absurdity of the spelling of this language, which is said to be destined for world supremacy. It only made me long more for the coming of Esperanto. I had, as usual, to speak again, and spoke my mind on the eccentricities, and "antiquities" of "English as she is spoke", and spelled. By evening, Friday, we had been so advertised that an audience of over 460 had assembled in the Coppin Hall, all the girls from both schools, dressed in their best, bedecked with ribbons and presenting almost an operatic appearance. Many old friends were on hand. Rarely have I had such an ovation, real heart-felt greetings. In the interval between 3 o'clock and the entertainment Mrs. Conley and I visited the University grounds: made the turn beginning at my old home, and around to the Library. We entered, and were cordially rec'd. The asst. librarian, a young lady, recently returned from abroad, asked if we were Americans. "Oh! Yes."—"Have you been a professor; you look like one?" "Yes, a long time ago."—While we were talking, a black man, up on a ladder replacing books spied me, and hastened down to shake my hand. Before he could speak, I greeted him cordially, turned him away from the young lady whispered, "No names! Glad to see you; remember you very well."—He shook my hand again smiled and departed. He was the same "Robert" who used to help me at the Library. As I turned back to the young lady, she said, "So you know Robert?"—"Yes, I met him when I visited the library years ago. He evidently has a good memory!"—Then she requested us to sign our names in the register, which I calmly did, while she told us of her trip abroad last year: she was delighted when I asked to see some rare old volumes, said to be in the library, and brought me a recent publication, the only one in the library at present—just the book I wanted to supplement my own monograph which I recently got from the Bureau of Education, where it has remained for eight

years. Saturday, P. M. we left C. and six o'clock, were rec'd. by Mr. Whittaker, Rev. Nix and Prof.—and soon were esconced in Pres. Miller's new residence, and cared for by his brainy daughters, since Tom and wife, were with you all at Washington, "assisting" at Howard's double event, and the new grandchild's advent. We are afraid, we shall not see them, as they are due on Wed. morning, after our time for leaving.

Since we are here more strenuous times are seen. Yesterday, I addressed the "State Boys," Whittaker presiding—After Sunday school I went to the Baptist Church. Brother Nix, and he blandly also turned the pulpit over to me, to preach the sermon! Again, I had to do it. Another ten minutes talk after dinner, and an hour's talk at 8 p. m. at Claflin, where President Dunton & wife & faculty received me, and a reception afterwards, at the house of my old pupil Prof. Ed. Wallace, completed a busy Sabbath at 11:30 p. m.

Orangeburg & Claflin situated as they are side by side, form a grand student community, and industrial centre, from which only good must radiate with ever increasing strength.

As I walked over the broad acres, looked at the imposing buildings (for the "state" boys' hall is very large—one of the largest I have seen at the South) saw the industrial part: the stock cattle, pigs etc, even the braying mules, I realized, how great a work is here going on.

Monday 2 p. m. I have just rec'd a copy of today's Columbia paper, *The State*, Imagine my surprise:- "A Negro who has done Well. Richard Theodore Greener, who has received a fine education—Has made fine use of his training:

A man walked into the library of the University of South Carolina Saturday and though none present knew him he seemed to be acquainted with the surroundings. Finally 'Literary Robert,' the ambitious library man went to the visitor and having engaged him in conversation found that the stranger was Richard Theodore Greener, a colored man, who was formerly one of the professors at the University during radical times. While at the University Greener had done work in the very building in which he was then standing, having helped (?) to arrange the books in the library. He also wrote some accounts of the library which have proved of much value for investigation'. Then follows an account of me taken from "Who's Who in America." "Of Greener's work at the

University library an article in the *News & Courier*, Nov. 1, 1875, says in part I have just paid a visit to the library of the Univ. of South Carolina and find a marked change from the dust, chaos of books, and confusion of the vacation when I mentioned Prof. Greener, and his assistants as engaged in the work of re-arranging the books preparing for a new catalogue and general renovating of the library. All the books, over 25,000 volumes have been moved and in many instances placed under the new classification. The writer goes on to compliment Prof. Greener on the work he had done at the University, especially as to the library and speaks of the various books that he notes on the shelves and of the portraits and visits around the room. He speaks of the beautiful chair of state used by the Provincial Governor of the state and donated to the library by the Hon. William C. Preston. This chair was repaired by order of the Board of Trustees in 1905. The article has also something of the work of the University at the time:- "There are now on the rolls of the University and in actual attendance more than 200 students representing nearly every county in the state. Of this number 70 are scholarship and the remainder are self supporting. The faculty of the University is now complete—I examined the schedule of recitations for the week and find the time filled up on all the studies of the regular collegiate curriculum."—

There is a remarkable coincidence here. The article in the *News and Courier* was written by the same Gonzales, then a correspondent, who afterwards as editor, of *The State*, was shot down in cold blood by Tilman's nephew, and acquitted by a jury of his peers. Gonzales Monument in granite is just one square from the Univ. It tells his services, birth and death, and has at length that famous verse "God grant us men" etc.

Tonight, we are at the State School; tomorrow evening at Claflin. A storm from the Gulf blew over us last night, "with surges of the warm southwest" as Lowell says in the Cathedral, "and formed intermittent"—It rained steadily all night, but cleared up this morning, and the deep sands of Carolina's shores so recently covered by the ocean, have now at 3 p. m. drunk it nearly all up, while bright sun streams over the stately buildings, lights up the distant pines, silhouetted against the flashy sky, and presage, at least, a pleasant evening for us. The trip continues one of infinite rest, relaxation, enjoyment, and just the things calculated to

rest and relieve the tension of mind, and the unrest which all of us "mixed bloods" must necessarily feel, at the anamolous conditions, and disgraceful truculency of the people who are supposed to love righteousness, fear God, and honor the true. From out this hot air furnace of half crushed rebellion, I am really drinking in gallons of the exhilarating draughts of Freedom's ozone, changing and rechanging myself with it.

Kindest regards to all. I suppose Archie is back by this time. I often think of you in connection with a church or school here or somewhere, where Mrs. G. could get her southern tonic. I thought of you at Concord, where Carr's church joins Scotia Cemetery, a fine church it is too. There certainly ought to be other churches of your denomination farther South, opening larger spheres of usefulness than Washington. But you have, doubtless, canvassed all these things.

Sincerely yours,

R. T. G.

Richard Theodore Greener to Francis J. Grimké and Family

New Orleans, January 1, 1908.

My dear friends:

With the traditional whistles, tooting of horns, fire-crackers, etc., the New Year was ushered in here, as in Washington, New York and elsewhere. I was busy reading, "The France of Today," which you so kindly sent me, and was in the most interesting part on French Home Life—foyer—when I heard most dire voices, clanging of bells, car-bells, at that, and wild voices. I was quite alone. Mr. Maxwell, was at a New Year party, and the other occupants had gone on various quests.

I thought some noisy street gamins, seeing my midnight oil, burning, had determined to give me a serenade, and a din of greetings. So persistent were they, I at last, "opened wide the door"—where stood and rang and shouted, Mrs. Clarke, a Miss Harris—and "nothing more." They had their fire works with them. They knew, it seems, I was alone, and came to give me the first new year Greetings. So I joined in! We fired off the Roman candles, the Chinese crackers, the squibs etc. and after the porch was filled with debris and no accident ensued, we came inside, and drank to the New Year 1908, with hearty wishes, hopes and aspirations. To tell

the truth, poor 1907, seems to have had few real friends. Everyone seems pleased to see him go. I cannot remember greeting his advent, too hopefully. His cause has been mixed with all sorts of dire disasters, social, political, and at last, financial. Hence, there seems a genuine joy at his demise, at least, no vain regrets. But Hope, buoyant as ever, as expectant, drives away the dull cares, the disappointments, the unfulfilled ambitions, and renews her eternal youth. How beautiful the legend that she alone was found at the depth of Pandora's box, when all the Ills of Life, flew wide over the frightened earth, hurrying everywhere over the vasty deep. If you could only know, how sincerely and heartily I am penning this screed, and wishing you all that is best—not all that we wish, so selfish and short-sighted are we, but all that is best for you, during this another round of seasons, and praying we may all be there to see and greet the next—you would know that there are some friendships that are not sordid—some affections that are deep.

Well, the ladies came and went! I sat up waiting for Mr. Maxwell, meanwhile I called over the phone to a family of La Pierre's, whose daughter of 20 has been seriously ill: but thank God is now better. Miss Edna Clarke was there—they are great chums, and a number of friends trying to enliven the sick girl. This family has given me a glimpse into the creole life, which is so marked or was in this vicinity: but even N. O. is changing. In this household (Catholic) all the old traditions are preserved. Yet they sit in the rear pews, with their pious Negro co-religionists, apparently quite satisfied, at least, not rebellious, as I do. The husband has a typical French face, dark-brown skin. The mother light, matronly, blue eyes, frank, hearty in manner. The children, as in all such unions vary. The home, however, is a happy one, the mother brooding over her flock, the father, earnest, intense, even the children happy, unrestrained, natural. The house itself is a model, inside, of adornment and comfort, the dining room ample, wide fireplace, high wood-work surroundings, and artistic carvings. The bath room, with tiled floor, shower, and all the modern appliances appealed to my travel worn frame. It is delightful to meet such people.

At 2:30 a. m. Mr. Maxwell came back from the second party he has superintended today. I had awaited him, and we drank and smoked and discussed the absent friends. I told him of my book, and from that we talked of you all. To my surprise, he spoke of

Nina and told of his appreciation of her. I was quite jealous, as I told him, she always sat apart analyzing the ex-professor and ex-consul: but I liked her, just the same, because she has an individuality: but come to think of it, she could not well help that. Quite 4 a. m. was it when we two old grey beards turned in. Yes, we really have had two more fairly warm days, and today promises to be another—not bad for the “sunny south”. When in Vladivostok on Jan. 1: I have sat at noon, with windows open, the bright Siberian sun streaming in, half the harbor frozen over, and feet warmer than I have, at any time since I have been on this southern trip. Each night I sleep, under a heavier weight of covering than I did, while abroad. Perhaps, the houses there are warmer, heavier material, windows doubled, doors padded. I have attended the Phyllis Wheatley Club, a social ladies club, as an invited guest, and got my name in the papers. Last Friday I attended their dancing reception, and you would have been surprised to see me, taking part in every dance, exhibiting my side training at N. Y., in the Army and Navy balls. There was a fine company of young people and some like myself, not so young in body as in mind. I have been about the city, and viewed most of its salient features. I do not find them very salient, at all; nothing scarcely resembling my early impressions, which are still vivid. The architecture in the old French quarter, of course, presents peculiarities which time can only effect by destruction—quaint, two or three story balconies—stone entry ways, stone inner, and hall steps—heavy doors shutting out the profane-vast chambers, gloomy, funereal—high, old fashioned French bedsteads, with elaborate tops, reaching to the ceiling, with silk linings for the overhanging top boards. You may see them from N. O. to St. Louis, even to Detroit, old heirlooms, and still cherished prayerfully by their descendants. I am still going thro my street car experience. Invariably, I boldly walk up front, and avoid the screen, which reserves eight seats out of 24 for “colored patrons.”

The dodging, subterfuges, and evident quiet, contented complaisance of Negroes and mixed bloods, fill me with indignation. Only three times have I condescended to take the rear; twice I stood up; once sat down. My note book is filling up with many facts, and my blood kindles every day, at this persistent, petty degradation of race, while all the American praters of Liberty and Freedom are walking by on the other side.

I hope you are all well. Many thanks for your present, which I am enjoying. Kindest regards to all friends, who may by chance, recall my existence. We are planning to run out from here, as a central point for a week or two, and may strike off into vast Texas, a state I am anxious to see.

Long life, happiness and all God's blessings, is the wish of, and ever,

Your affectionate friend,
R. T. Greener

Francis J. Grimké to J. B. Foraker

Washington, D. C., April 15, 1908.

Dear Senator Foraker:

Again you have placed the whole colored race under an additional debt of gratitude to you for your masterly defense of the colored soldiers in your great speech before the Senate yesterday. As a race we can never forget you. Whatever may be the final outcome, you have done your part, and have done it in a way that leaves nothing more to be desired, in trying to right a great wrong to these discharged colored soldiers. In the splendid fight that you have made you have not only won the gratitude of an oppressed and struggling race, but you have made a record for yourself of unselfish devotion to principle that will live, and that will have its influence in the future life of the Republic. The real value of all such struggles, as the one in which you have been engaged, in your effort to see that justice is done to these colored soldiers is found in the noble spirit which they reveal, in the disposition which they show in the willingness, on the part of those who inaugurate them, to risk everything for the sake of principle. The memory of the men, who, regardless of personal consequences to themselves, are willing to stand up for what they feel to be right is the noblest heritage which one generation can send down to another. The spirit of such men lives on and continues to make its influence felt. This is evidently what Lowell had in mind when he wrote,—

No power can die that ever wrought for Truth;
Thereby a law of Nature it became,
And lives unwithered in its sinewy youth,
When he who called it forth is but a name.

So that though your enemies and the enemies of the Negro race may succeed in retiring you from public, official life, as is threatened, they can never wipe out the great record that you have made, they cannot lessen in the least the weight of your great example. The real victor in every struggle is the man who fights on the side of right, and who comes out of it still fighting for the right, with a clear conscience and with the approbation of God resting upon him. It doesn't make any difference if his enemies triumph, the victory is his.¹

My brother A. H. Grimké, is not in the city or else I am sure he would join me in this letter.

With highest sentiments of regard, I am,

Yours very truly,

Francis J. Grimké.

Edward W. Blyden to Francis J. Grimké

Sierra Leone, W. A., September 7, 1908.

My dear Dr. Grimké,

I received while in England a few weeks ago, through Rev. E. D. L. Thompson, your very interesting letter. I am much obliged to you for it. You then informed me, in a sad sentence, of the severe illness of Mrs. Fannie S. Smythe.¹ I was very much pained by this piece of information. I hope she has rallied and is herself again. If so please convey to her my congratulations. She has been a very dear friend of mine; and if she has been taken away an irreparable element has been taken out of my life—friend, counselor and inspirer. Though I rarely heard from her she was a subtle and pervading influence in my career since I first had the good fortune to meet her in 1880. Had I followed her advice in two or three important movements I should have been saved much time and trouble. God bless her if she is alive, and God bless her, if she is not.

Rev. E. D. L. Thompson whom I introduced to her and who spent some time at her home in Virginia where, he gratefully informed

¹Reference is made here to Foraker's defense of the Negro soldiers whom President Theodore Roosevelt dishonorably dismissed from the United States Army because they would not disclose who "shot up" Brownsville, Texas.

¹Mrs. Fannie S. Smythe was the wife of J. H. Smythe who was the United States Minister to Liberia when Blyden was settled there.

me, he received much kindness and attention, told me that when he left her she seemed in the best of health and was surprised and grieved to hear the announcement you made.

I am glad to hear that the Saturday Circle continues to meet occasionally. I often think of the happy times I spent in Washington in the winter of 1889-90. If I could I would spend every winter in Washington. With all its drawbacks the intelligent Negro has greater social and literary advantages there than he has any where else. I remember Ella Somerville that was, full of energy, mental alertness and information and a charming companion, in spite of her eccentricities. Can you give me any information of her? I can never forget Anna J. Cooper, brilliant, thoughtful, entertaining. Ella Barrier, modest, gentle, winning, tantalizing but with all of sound judgment; and, towering above all, with her brilliant genius, Mrs. Grimké, scholar, teacher, adviser. I wish it were my privilege to hear from each individually, but perhaps you will be good enough, at your leisure, to tell me something of each.¹

I have been thinking that some time next year I may be able to visit Washington, but for goodness' sake, don't mention it, for I should be deluged with requests to lecture, write articles etc. and at my age with the particular work which I have set before myself I have a horror of the platform etc. etc.

If I come to Washington it would be for study. I am now engaged on a work on Comparative Theology with a discussion on "Yahveh" and "Elohem" of the Old Testament, words much misunderstood by the generality of theologians. They ought to have been introduced into the English version as they stand in the Hebrew text and ought never to have been translated.

I am sending for your kind acceptance two of my recent works and a few to be kindly forwarded to friends whose names are inscribed in them. Cannot write more now, wish I were near you. Kind regards to Mrs. G. and the rest of the Circle.

Yours faithfully,

Edwd. W. Blyden.

¹ These persons herein mentioned lived in Washington, D. C., and took rank among its best citizens. Miss Ella Barrier and Mrs. Anna J. Cooper were teachers in the District of Columbia Public Schools. Ella W. Somerville married in 1884 John R. Lynch who served in Congress as a representative from Mississippi and served later as Fourth Auditor of the Treasury of the United States and as Paymaster in the United States Army during the Spanish American War. She died early and Lynch married Cora E. Williamson of Chicago in 1911.

Francis J. Grimké to the Presbytery of Washington City

Washington, D. C., October 4, 1908.

I have visited Fairmount Heights, and highly approve of the work as projected by Mr. Louistal. The field, it seems to me, is a good one. It is a growing settlement, and promises much. The Fifteenth Street Church is in hearty sympathy with the work, and stands ready to do what it can to lend a hand. I am glad that the Presbytery is taking an interest in the work. It is high time, it seems to me, for the Presbytery of Washington City, as such, to begin to take some interest in the colored people of the District of Columbia and the regions adjacent to it. It has given a great deal of attention to the whites, but little or no attention to the colored people within its jurisdiction. It has acted on the assumption, it has seemed to me, that its mission was to white people and not to colored people. I confess, I have looked on in amazement during all these years at the apparent apathy, in regard to this work, on the part of this Presbytery. I am sorry that I shall not be able personally to attend this meeting. I have not been able, for years, to bring myself to attend one of these country meetings of the Presbytery. There doesn't seem to be Christianity enough in most of our white churches, especially, in the southern section of our country, to make it possible to give decent entertainment to a colored gentleman, especially if he wishes to remain over night, or finds it necessary to do so. And since this Presbytery was one of the Presbyteries that voted for separate presbyteries, in deference to a Negro-hating sentiment, I feel that it would be still more hazardous to attempt to attend one of these meetings now. This is why I am not present, and why I have not been present for a number of years. It is high time, for people who claim to be Christians, to understand that God attaches no importance whatever to the color of a man's skin, and that there is nothing in the Christian religion that justifies any discrimination against a man on account of his race or color. If there is any one thing that the religion of Jesus Christ stands for more than another, it is the fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man; if there is any one thing that Jesus himself desired to accomplish, more than others it was to break down these artificial and anti-christian walls of separation. When will the church of Jesus Christ cease its hypocritical cant about religion, and begin to live it, in spirit and in truth?

I am, Yours, for a Christianity that stands for "the new man, that is being renewed unto knowledge after the image of Him that created him: where there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman; but Christ is all, and in all."

Francis J. Grimké,
Washington, D. C.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Dec. 13th, 1908.

Friend Grimké:

Inclosed please find a Christmas thought. I do not know the name of the Matron at the University. Will you write to her for me & see whether Howard girls need any warm underclothing?

I have no wish to make an unnecessary outlay, but if the girls are in need I will do the best I can for them. Everyone was so full of the Trustee Meeting I forgot to ask the Matron about the girls.

Sincerely yours,
C. B. Purvis.¹

Jennie hopes the unfortunate bird will find a willing Christmas broth.

Francis J. Grimké to President William Howard Taft

Washington, D. C., February 19, 1909.

Dear Sir;

I take the liberty of addressing you, not because I think my words will have any special weight, but because as an humble representative of the colored people I feel that it is my duty to do so. I greatly regret to see from the *Washington Post* this morning, that it is your purpose to appoint no colored men to Federal offices

¹Charles B. Purvis was one of the first successful Negro physicians. He was educated at the Western Reserve Medical School, served in the United States Army Medical Corps about the close of the Civil War, and became an influential factor in the development of the Howard Medical School. After serving the institution as an instructor many years, he was retired on a pension. He was made a member of the Howard University Board of Trustees, and expressed interest in its progress down to his death. His father, Robert Purvis, a free Negro of Philadelphia, was an ardent abolitionist, associated with James Forten, whose granddaughter Francis J. Grimké married. These two families maintained close relations for many years.

in any part of the South where such appointments are objectionable to the white people of such communities. This I think is a most serious mistake. The principle underlying it is wrong, and will be sure to affect injuriously the colored people who are citizens and who are entitled to the same consideration as other citizens.

(1). The principle underlying it is wrong. To make the wishes of the white people of the South the determining factor as to whether colored persons shall or shall not hold office in the South is obviously unfair. If this principle be carried to its legitimate consequences it would deprive us of every right as citizens. For if it is right not to permit colored men to hold Federal offices, because the Southern white people object to it, then it is also right to take away the franchise from them for the same reason, and also refuse to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which the Southern people say is a mistake, and ought to be repealed. It is never safe in politics or out of it, to make the prejudices or the animosities of one class the measure of the rights of another class. The South does not believe in the civil and political equality of the Negro; and may therefore consistently with its belief oppose his appointment to federal offices within its limits; but how can those who believe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, which confer upon him all the rights of citizenship, join hands with the Southern people in carrying out their ideas in regard to this matter? I was glad to read in your address in New York the statement,—“The proposal to repeal the fifteenth amendment is utterly impracticable and should be relegated to the limbo of forgotten issues.” There is practically however no difference, so far as I can see, between repealing this amendment and carrying out the wishes of those who desire its repeal. It virtually gives the South just what it is asking for, and with which it will be perfectly satisfied.

(2). To accede to the wishes of the Southern people in this respect would be most discouraging to the colored people and would greatly strengthen the white people in their opposition to the civil and political rights of the colored people. The presence of representatives of our race in Federal offices in the South is very important. It is important for the race. It is the only thing that remains in the South to remind us of our citizenship, and to encourage us to feel that we still have some political rights remaining to us. It is important also for the Southern white man. It is a reminder to him that the Government has not entirely abandoned us to his

tender mercies, that it still recognizes us as citizens. The Federal Government owes it to the race, especially as it has connived at its disfranchisement in the South, to see to it as a matter of principle, that this evidence of our citizenship is never wanting in the South.

I have spoken plainly because I feel strongly about the matter, and feel that much, very much will depend upon the attitude of the General Government. The elimination of the colored man from all Federal offices is the last thing, in the Southern programme on the race issue within its own territory, that remains to be carried out. It is to be hoped that in this respect it will find an ally in the General Government itself. So far, be it said to the credit of the Government, it has withstood this unrighteous demand; and I trust it always will. Lowell has well said,

“They enslave their children’s children,
Who make compromise with sin.”

Trusting that my appeal may not be unavailing, I am,

Yours very truly,
Francis J. Grimké,
Washington, D. C.

J. W. Wilkinson to Francis J. Grimké

Morris Road, Anacostia, D. C., Mch. 4, '09.

Dear Frank:

I received yesterday a copy of Address you delivered before the A. M. A. last Oct. also your kind invitation to hear you next Sunday morning on “The Race Question.”

I can’t see, at present, how I can attend, as some friends from our old home sent word of coming over here to see us during that day. If, however, a chance offers itself, I shall be pleased to hear you, as I know that you are fully equipped (no one more so) to do justice to the subject.

I read with delight your exceedingly able address delivered before the A. M. A. last October.

If I were you, I would send President Taft a copy. Your statement of the question is so clear, argument so convincing, he might be induced to modify even if he does not entirely change his views about leaving the solution of the Race Question in the hands of the hostile White South.

To my mind, there is as much sanity or wisdom in the alleged Taft scheme, as there would be in turning over a flock of sheep to the tender mercy of a pack of ravenous wolves, or the placing of a band of earnest Christians, for treatment, in the loving hands of the Devil and his Imps.

The sending of your Oct. address to the President will accomplish one thing, at least, it will convince him that there are broader, deeper, and wiser thinkers and leaders of the race than the Pug-nose Philosopher of Tuskegee who preached at Atlanta, Ga., some years ago, the Gospel of the Five Fingers.

So far, I have 19 subscribers \$100 each to the Douglass Mem'l Fund, hope to get a few more during the weeks. Subscribers must pay before signing.

All join me in sending sincere regards to you and all members of your household.

Sincerely yours.

J. W. Wilkinson.¹

A. F. Beard to Francis J. Grimké

New York, April 6th, 1909.

Dear Dr. Grimké:—

I thank you for your sermon on the Equality of Rights for all Citizens. I wish that every man of your race in the country who can read might read and ponder this discourse. I wish that all the people North of my race might do the same. Those who propose to rob your people of citizenship are not silent and do not propose to remain silent. For your people to be silent under these conditions is simply to consent to the fact that Southern Bourbonism shall have its way. I am glad that you have spoken so clearly and so plainly. I shall avail myself of the opportunity to quote from your discourse in the American Missionary pretty soon.¹

Yours sincerely,

A. F. Beard.

¹J. W. Wilkinson was a government worker in Washington, D. C. He was an uncompromising foe of Booker T. Washington. Wilkinson was the father of Garnet C. Wilkinson, who became First Assistant Superintendent of Public Schools of Washington, and of Frederick D. Wilkinson, whose important service was as Registrar of Howard University.

¹A. F. Beard was for a long time the director of educational work among Negroes, undertaken by the American Missionary Association.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Bethlehem, New Hampshire, August 7th, 1909.

Friend Grimké:

As you have been in my mind often within the past few days, I will relieve it by scribbling you a line.

How are you these warm summer days? I hope the heat has not done you up. I have been in this delightful mountain town for five weeks. I left home June 22nd. I ran to Providence to take tea with some friends; from there I took a Sound Steamer to N. Y., from there I sailed up the Hudson to Albany, it took from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M. It was hot, coat had to come off not-with-standing, the sail was delightful. I remained in Albany an hour. I trained it to Glens Falls, there I put in the night. A trolley ride was indulged in to Lake George, it was a great ride, the swift moving car "banisht" the heat. 9 miles were covered in 20 minutes, two stops were made.

At Lake George I took a steamer for a sail half way up the lake where we remained a week. The hotel was poor, but the view of the lake was beautiful.

When the week was up we continued our journey up the lake & thru Lake Champlain to Burlington. A night was spent there; the next morning we sailed across the state to this spot.

I like Bethlehem. The mountain views, the hotels, the people, and the air, one and all make it most desirable. There is something tonic, bracing in the air. My time has been employed as most idlers employ time. I read some, talk a plenty, dance occasionally. One meets all sorts of people in a place such as this. Many phases of character are always passing in view. Most of the people you meet are church members. I have had many amusing discussions with these church going people. I have made it a point to show that obeying church forms was not religion. This hotel turns down the Jew, it once admitted him; the treatment of the Jew has always given me an opportunity to show up the absurdity of American Christianity. The poor Chinaman comes in for a raking down. The legal murder has aroused much feeling. It was "discusst" at my cotte. I took the position that the case did not differ from any other. The murdering of girls in the resorts was nothing uncommon. A nice lady said, "but a Chinaman is so repulsive." I replied, "I cannot see how you can entertain such an opinion and belong to the church. God made the Chinaman, he cannot help his

peculiar physical form, no more than the extremely homely women who parade the streets here can help their appearance—I notice from a paper sent to me that Senator Stone of Mo. has sought to immortalize himself by assaulting a Negro porter. The *Star* did well in its criticism—I notice too that you are having your annual stir in the colored schools. I think Bruce's right.—I understand from Dr. Balloch that Lofford will not return to the University, he says there would be too much friction. I shall have my letter ready for the meeting. I am opposed to Park's or to any personal friend, to my mind it would be very unwise to allow personal considerations to enter into selection of treasurers. I feel that Cook can fill both positions. We do not need so many executive officers. I will send you a copy of my letter. Mr. Baker will present it. If he should not be present, it can be read by the Secretary. I will make several suggestions which I think are important.—I am in good condition for me. I have lost some weight. I do not know why—I was at a fine ball on Thursday of this week. I did some fine dancing of course. I was well “dressed” and seemed to be much admired. I presume the usual question who is he went around. I was amused. I did not confine my foot movements to Jennie by any means. If it were not for these side shows life would be full of the blue. I know you are not a dancer; What a lot of fun & real pleasure you have mist. You had better reform before it is too late, before your muscles have lost their cunning. How is Lottie? Better I hope.

Sincerely Yours,

C. B. Purvis.

Poor Taft! he is too fat to stand up for the right.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Brookline, Mass., Dec. 17th, 1909.

Friend Grimké:

Christmas will soon be with us. Turkeys have to be selected early if one is to secure a desirable one.

Do not send us any present.

You have always been very kind.

We will take the will for the deed. I hope Lottie is feeling more comfortable.

Sincerely yours,

C. B. Purvis.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Feb. 20th, 1910.

Friend Grimké:

Yrs. just recd. I am pleased to hear from you. I am sorry you could not attend the trustee meeting. Cook sent me an account of what was done. I see Terrell was recommended as a lecturer in the Law Dept. I am opposed to it & will oppose it at the next meeting. Several poor sticks were nominated to succeed Cook.

I am opposed to the whole crowd. The University must have trustees of known ability & standing if it is to prosper, & have peace. I will confer with you. You should in the meantime see some of the trustees.

I have detectives at work on my losses. It was an expert. It is too bad, but I take such matters coolly.

I do not think there is a thing in William S. Purvis' discovery. If it requires experience, machinery to do the trick how does he know what he can do? He has no machinery. Imagination, delusion.

How are your sick folks? I am still suffering from my rheumatic neuritis. If it keeps on I may lose my religion. I am thinking of spending the summer in Colorado Springs. Give my best to each member of your household.

Sincerely yours,
C. B. Purvis.

Francis J. Grimké to Joseph Benson Foraker

Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Foraker:

It fills me with sadness to think that with the close of this Session of Congress you are to have no longer any official connection with the Government for a while, at least. It makes me sad, not only because the country loses in you its ablest public representative, but also because it leaves us as a race without a single friend in Congress, so far as I know, to whom we can look with any degree of assurance in the hour of our need. Your last speech on the Brownsville affair increases our debt of gratitude to you. Whether you succeed in carrying through the measure which you have in hand for the relief of the discharged soldiers, who have been so deeply wronged by the President, or not, what you have done in this whole matter will stand as a monument to you more enduring than marble or bronze. In going out of public official life, you

carry with you the gratitude of the whole Negro race in this country for even the office holders, and those who have been silent or who have seemed to be on the side of the President, in their heart of hearts honor you for the noble stand which you have taken for the right, and for the invaluable services that you have rendered in this whole matter. Personally I want to thank you for what you have done. You have fought nobly. No one could have done better; no one else could have done as well, so far as I know. And though you have stood almost alone you have never seemed discouraged, you have never faltered in the least. The other day I was reading a little poem, and as I read it, it brought you to my mind, it seemed to represent so fully and completely the noble spirit and determination that have animated you throughout this whole affair.

Before the monstrous wrong he sits him down—
One man against a stone-walled city of sin.
For centuries those walls have been a building;
Smooth porphyry, they slope and coldly glass
The flying storm and wheeling sun.

No chink, no crevice, lets the thinnest arrow in.
He fights alone, and from the cloudy ramparts
A thousand evil faces gibe and jeer him.
Let him lie down and die; what is the right
And where is justice in a world like this?

But by and by the earth shakes herself, impatient;
And down, in one great roar of ruin, crash
Watch-tower and citadel and battlements.
When the red dust has cleared, the lonely soldier
Stands with strange thoughts beneath the friendly stars.

The reckoning time is coming some day; your labors have not been in vain. The right for which you have so nobly contended will yet triumph.

However the battle is ended,
Though proudly the victor comes
With fluttering flags and prancing nags
And echoing roll of drums,
Still truth proclaims this motto
In letters of living light—
No question is ever settled
Until it is settled right.

With best wishes, and with the highest sentiments of regard, I am,
Respectfully yours,
Francis J. Grimké.

Francis J. Grimké to Wendell Phillips Stafford

Washington, D. C., Nov. 30, 1911.

Dear Judge Stafford:

I want to thank you again for your splendid address last night. It is not often, in a life time, that one is permitted to listen to an address so finely conceived, couched in such perfect English, dominated by such lofty sentiments, and so eloquently delivered. It was masterly in every respect. It was worthy of yourself, and worthy of the great pure soul of whom you spoke. I have always had the greatest admiration for Mr. Phillips, but never before, it seemed to me, did he appear so transcendently glorious as he did last night as you lifted him up before us. He was one of the rarest, purest, noblest spirits that God ever sent into this world. And all who heard you last night must have felt as never before the spell of his great personality, the singular beauty and nobility of his great soul.

The value of an address such as you gave last night is to be found in the clearness with which the truth is seen—the truth as to God, as to pure undefiled Christianity, the truth as to the brotherhood of man, as to the great foundation principles of democracy—the right of all men, regardless of race or color, to an equal participation in all civil and political privileges; and the fearlessness with which the truth is proclaimed. I do not believe for fifty years any such utterance as you gave last night has been heard in this city, certainly not since the days when Sumner thundered in the Senate and the voice of Thaddeus Stevens was heard in the House of Representatives. I believe further, that there isn't a white man living in this city to-day aside from yourself who would have had the courage to have spoken as you did even if he shared your sentiment. Saddest of all, I do not believe there is another white man in this city that has even the desire to say what you said. The case is even worse than that, I do not believe there are two dozen white men in this city, who, if they knew before hand that such an address was to be delivered, would not only, not wish to be present, but would purposely stay away. Your attitude is rendered all the more conspicuous and commendable therefore. I thank God that the spirit that was in Wendell Phillips, and Garrison, and the other choice spirits of the days that are gone, still lives. It will be a sad day for the Republic when men like yourself—men who have faith in God, and faith in man, and faith in the right, though right be upon the scaf-

fold, shall be no longer found in it; it will be a sad day for the Republic when conscience, the voice of God within the soul, no longer is able to find a voice through which to express itself; it will be a sad day for the Republic when race hatred and the lust of gold shall so take possession of the nation as to make moral cowards of men who ought to stand for God and right.

Addresses, like the one delivered by you last night, are needed all over this land—addresses that shall clear away the mist and lift men to where they can see with undimmed vision the eternal verities of God. I liked, especially, the high ground which you took, the consciousness which seemed to lie back of all that you said, that you were, like one of the old prophets, divinely commissioned to say what you were saying. I seemed, as I listened to you, to hear as it were, the words of the great apostle to the Gentile, saying "Necessity is laid upon me, yea, woe is me if I preach not the gospel." Every man who heard you must have felt that what you said were not mere words, but that back of the words were great convictions that were deeply rooted in the very centre of your being. And this is why the address fell upon us with such force, such power, such illumination. I believe that every man went away from that house with a new vision of truth, and with a song of praise upon his lips that God still had a prophet in the land through whom he could speak. The old battle for freedom in this country, as you said last night, has to be fought over again. The nation, absorbed in the pursuit of gold and the lust of power, has drifted far away from the great principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence, and the principles for which Mr. Phillips and others with him, contended. There is need for a new awakening. And I am glad that such an association as The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has come into existence. The task before it is a stupendous one, greater even than the one which aimed at the overthrow of slavery: But God is still God, and right is still right, and with such men as yourself through whom to speak, there is no need to fear. A better day must come, will surely come.

I was glad to meet your son last night; I am glad to know that you have a son. I hope that the spirit of the father lives in the son, so that when you are gone, he will be able to take up the fight and carry it on. May a double portion of the spirit of Elijah rest upon him, may the still small voice that was heard by you, years ago, be also heard by him. God bless you, Judge Stafford; may you

long live to stand as a witness for truth and right in this degenerate age, and in this land that needs so much the quickening life-giving power of the truth.

Again thanking you, and with kindest regards,
I am, Yours very truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

Hamilton Holt to Francis J. Grimké

New York, March 7, 1912.

My dear Sir:

There is a difference of opinion in our editorial board about this article. Some of us want to print it and some do not. When in doubt, we must give ourselves the benefit and I therefore reluctantly return it.

Very truly yours,
Hamilton Holt,
Managing Editor (of the *Independent*).

D. S. Kennedy to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, March 11, 1912.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

There are many good things in your article and with which I am in hearty accord, especially in regard to a thorough revival coming down from above through the spirit of God, but your remarks in regard to the race prejudice defeats its own purpose and is calculated to bring about variance rather than a spirit of harmony. I therefore return your article as you request.¹

Yours sincerely,
D. S. Kennedy.

¹D. S. Kennedy was the editor of *The Presbyterian*.

From Francis J. Grimké to T. E. Davis

Washington, D. C., Oct. 12, 1912.

Dear Brother;

Your printed circular for Pulpit Exchanges has just reached me. I hope that hereafter my name will not be considered in any such arrangement. The spirit underlying the men who have it in charge, who formulated the programme, is so utterly anti-Christian, is so chock full of the detestable spirit of race prejudice, that I for one will have nothing to do with it, and will not be bound by any arrangement which they may make. I notice every time there is an exchange of pulpits, I am always assigned to the same church, and for the simple and obvious reason, because I am colored, and the church to which I am assigned is colored. If that is the spirit of Christianity, then the sooner the Christian church was at the bottom of the sea, the better it would be. I am free to confess, I have absolutely no patience with the hypocrisy that is so widely prevalent among our white brethren, our so-called Christian ministers.

In the hope that some day the Spirit of God may be sufficiently powerful to break down this narrow Negro-hating spirit in the churches, I am, with sorrow for my brethren.

Yours in Christ,
Francis J. Grimké.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Brookline, Mass., Nov. 16, 1912.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I am too far away to select a "turk" for you; I, therefore, ask you to choose one of the slaughtered for yourself.

We are called upon by the President of the Country to offer up thanks for what has come to us during the year. While I, in common with the masses, will observe Thanksgiving Day, by stuffing into my stomach a dinner that is not conducive to health, I must confess that the call of the President to offer up prayers of thanks, is a stereotype procedure; I do not know of a more absurd observance. As a rule, very little serious attention is paid to it. Men by nature are mere animals, gluttony suits them. Taking a retrospective view of the past year, a thinking person will ask himself what is there to be thankful for? Why should I offer up thanks to the unknown, and unknowable? To do so means self-stultification, the

mouthings of hypocritical words. The past year will be recorded as one filled with disorder, and discontent. The spirit of the mob has been strongly in evidence, revolutionary methods have been put into motion, society has been infected by a dangerous germ, business stability has been assaulted, organized labor has made murderous attacks upon unorganized labor, the exploits of dynamiters have shaken the country from its centre to its circumference. Man's brutality to man has been pronounced. The strong have tightened their grasp upon the weak. A serious political struggle has just ended. What a picture did it present to the thinking and loyal citizens! A great party, one that has served the country better than any other since its birth, one that cleaned the National escutcheon of the disgrace and stain of slavery, that has so altered the national constitution as to make all classes of men born upon American soil citizens, has been defeated. The defeat of this great party is due to the diabolical ambition of a man who had been covered with honor by it, who, finding he could no longer use it as a personal asset; sought to destroy it; to accomplish his nefarious purpose, he created dissensions, abandoned principles, condoned the ill-treatment that the ex-slave-holder has subjected the colored citizen to. As the result of the act of this impious man, we see rushed into power a party (the Democratic party) whose history is black with crime, for it has ever stood as a defender of the institution of human slavery; it opposed every measure that looked towards the elevation of the newly enfranchised citizen; it applauds the solidarity of its Southern supporters, whose ranks are closed because it batters upon the spirit of slavery, because it keeps in subjugation those whom the nation under Lincoln made free. The spirit of the pro-slavery South is more pronounced than it was 20 years ago. What will be the result of the Democratic Victory? Will it develop a Moses to lead the oppressed of our Country out of bondage, free it from persecution and abuse? Will it tighten the bonds of the oppressor? Or will it relegate, banish from its ranks the Tillmans, Vardamans, Smiths and Williams? Will it look upon them as the representatives of a degenerated past? Will Wilson, its captain, become the Lincoln of the hour? Will a fiat go forth in the interest of the outraged Jew, Chinaman, and Japanese? Crops have been abundant, but what matters the yield of the earth, when man is unjust to man? When we cannot read upon the wall the evidence of a radical change for the better; I cannot offer up thanks for the unreal, for that which

is not true; I cannot be thankful for that I do not know, I cannot be thankful for wise schemes that have borne no fruit, I cannot be thankful because knaves and fools were permitted to identify themselves with those whose perfidy, and dishonor have placed in power a party that creates grave apprehensions. I would that I could see the coming of a new birth, I would hale it as the harbinger of peace, as the brightest epoch of our national life. If such a birth was in view, who is there among us who could not, and would not offer up from his soul thanks?

Yours very truly,
C. B. Purvis.

Francis J. Grimké to Woodrow Wilson

Washington, D. C., November 20, 1912.

Dear Sir :

I am a colored man. I am a graduate of the Princeton Theological Seminary. I am pastor of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church of Washington City where I came immediately after my graduation in 1878.

You may not know it, but the triumph of the Democratic Party has always been attended, more or less, with a sense of uneasiness on the part of the colored people for fear lest their rights might be interfered with. It is unfortunate that the ascendancy of any party in this country should seem to any class of citizens to imperil their rights. But such, unquestionably, is the feeling on the part of the great majority of the colored people, induced by what has been the general attitude of the Democratic Party towards their rights as citizens. I have shared, somewhat, this feeling myself. I have just finished reading, however, an address by you, made, I should judge, to a body of Sunday school teachers, on the "Importance of Bible Study", and printed in the November number of the *Expositor*, and cannot tell you how greatly it has relieved my mind as to the treatment which the colored people are likely to receive from you and your Administration. I said to myself, No American citizen, white or black, need have any reasonable grounds of fear from the Administration of a man who feels as he does, who believes as he does in the Word of God, and who accepts as he does, without any reservation, the great, eternal, and immutable principles of righteousness for which that Word stands.

This impression, in the light of that address, was so strongly borne in upon my mind, that I felt that I would like to have you know it. The simple fact is, the only hope which the colored man has of fair treatment in this country, is to be found in men, who like yourself, believe in God and in his Son, Jesus Christ, and who feel that the greatest service they can render to their fellow men is to square their lives with the principles of the Christian religion, and to bear about with them ever the noble and beautiful spirit of the Man of Nazareth.

With a man of your known Christian character at the head of affairs, I am sure that the race with which I am identified will have no just grounds for complaint. It is a comforting thought, especially, to those who are struggling against great odds, to know that the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob—the God that the Bible reveals, is on the throne, and that under Him, as His vice-regent, will be a man who has the courage of his convictions, and who will not falter where duty calls.

You have my best wishes, and the earnest prayer that you may be guided by Divine wisdom in the arduous duties and responsibilities that are so soon to devolve upon you as the Chief Executive of this great nation.

I am,
Very truly yours,
Francis J. Grimké.

L. Z. Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., May 21, 1913.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Your pamphlet came to hand. I have so long delayed acknowledging its receipt that I might have the chance to read it and express my appreciation of it as of the kindness of its gift. I have done so, and find it what I expected it, a clear, just, fearless presentation of a vital issue, and the only practical and final solution of its problem. I stand with you heart to heart and tongue with tongue in advocacy of such policy, with you above all things laying stress upon the supreme need of the religious factor in the case in order to a real, adequate, permanent solution.

I am advanced enough, I take it, to be able to see and appreciate the elements of value in modern thought and movements; but one

cannot shut his eyes to the manifest "unfaith" and the implicit sneer at the old orthodoxy of faith and prayer and the self-denying life of the spirit. It makes one look askance at the "Leaders" of the day—the "best" of them—and hope for but little from them after all. Whence the "imperative" need of such ringing appeals as this of yours for Gideon Bands. I do not hope for much until that appeal is heard and answered.

I trust the Madam is as well as may be expected—my respects and good wishes. I thank you for the pamphlet.

Fraternally yours,

L. Z. Johnson.¹

J. Milton Waldron to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., July 22, 1913.

Dear Comrade:

I have asked my friends, who have been urging my appointment to a position under the present administration, to withdraw the application they were kind enough to make on my behalf. And in the interest of the Church which I have the honor to serve as pastor, and which has ever stood heroically by me and is loyally standing by me now, and in order that I may give more attention to my church work and to my own personal affairs, I have decided to discontinue my work for the Race along political lines, and to sever my official relation with the National Independent Political League, both as National Organizer and President of the Local Branch.

Although I am getting out of politics, I believe as firmly as ever that our people will never come into the full enjoyment of their political, civil, social, industrial and manhood rights in this Country until they become strong factors in municipal, state and national politics. It is true now as ever, that the ballot, in a republic, is the citizen's strongest offensive and defensive weapon. Instead of disbanding the political organizations of the race, I believe every possible effort should be made by our people to strengthen and enlarge these organizations, be they Republican, Democratic, Independent or those of any other shade of political belief. The race needs political organizations and political leaders as much as it

¹ At this time Dr. L. Z. Johnson was the pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Baltimore. He finished his career, however, as a professor of English at Howard University.

needs any other kind of secular organizations and secular leaders. I am of the opinion now, as I have always been, that eventually those who head our political organizations and take the most active part in promoting and directing them ought to be laymen rather than clergymen.

Politics has never been my calling; I have never had any special liking for this kind of work; I entered this field of endeavor because it seemed at the time to be a call to duty. I have done what I feel I was called to do along political lines, and am now ready to turn over this work into other hands—preferably the hands of laymen—and I ask that you attend a called meeting of the D. of C. Branch of The National Independent Political League at the League Headquarters in the Lewis Building (Cor. 6th St. & La. Ave., N. W.) at eight o'clock, Friday night, July 25th, and elect a president in my place, who shall take up the work and push it on to success.

In order that all who desire the perpetuity of our League may have the opportunity of manifesting that interest I am sending a copy of this notice to all members of the League in good standing, who are in or near this city and I assure all who may attend this meeting a hearty welcome and the uttermost consideration by the retiring president.

And I beg to remain,

Yours very truly,

J. Milton Waldron,

President, D. of C. Branch,

The National Independent Political League.

Stansbury Boyce to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., July, 1913.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I fail to realize that in the circular I have read a conversion of principles from Democracy. On the contrary they are an echo of those expressed by Patterson of Oklahoma who requested the withdrawal of his candidacy by the President whereas this individual requests his friends to withhold their further recommendation in his behalf simply from the same cause that influenced Patterson, that he cannot land his fish.

That this belief is fully and unmistakably indicated by the following extract of his circular "Instead of disbanding the political organizations of the Race I believe every possible effort should be made by our people to strengthen and enlarge those organizations be they Republican, Democratic, etc." Why this element of rottenness?

The Scriptures say, "Can any good come out of Israel?" The Democratic Party I think to all sane colored men ought to have proven rotten, corrupt, inhuman and disloyal, and brutally hostile to a loyal and inoffensive portion of American citizens. Their members have heard each other iterate their bitter unyielding outrageousness and determination to oppose us in the enjoyment of not only citizenship but even of rights of humanity by placing us in the same condition of the brute. They emulate and encourage each other, men and women, in their fell purpose.

The manifest cold blooded treachery and hypocrisy of Wilson have failed to awaken manhood in this cowardly and selfish leader's breast.

A woman (and equally so a man) convinced against his will is of the same opinion still.

Yours sincerely,
Stansbury Boyce.

P. S. His very apparent lack of candor to say the least even after the encouragement of others who made similar mistakes to make an honest patriotic and manly repudiation of Democracy show that it is time that he should step down and out for he has not sense enough to lead a cat.¹

S. B.

Francis J. Grimké to Woodrow Wilson

Washington, D. C., September 5, 1913.

Dear Sir:

As an American citizen I desire to enter my earnest protest against the disposition, under your Administration, to segregate colored people in the various departments of the Government. To do so is undemocratic, is un-American, is un-Christian, is needlessly

¹ Stansbury Boyce was a retired merchant living in Washington after having accumulated a fortune in business in Jacksonville, Florida.

to offend the self-respect of the loyal black citizens of the Republic. We constitute one tenth of the population, and, under the Constitution, have the same rights and are entitled to the same consideration as other citizens. We had every reason to hope, from your high Christian character, and from your avowal of lofty principles prior to your election, that your accession to power would act as a check upon the brutal and insane spirit of race hatred that characterizes certain portions of the white people of the country. As American citizens we have a right to expect the President of the United States to stand between us and those who are bent on forcing us into a position of inferiority. Under the Constitution, resting upon the broad foundation of democratic principles as embodied in the Declaration of Independence, there are no superiors and inferiors. Before the law all citizens are equal, and are entitled to the same consideration. May we not expect,—have we not the right to expect, that your personal influence, as well as the great influence which comes from your commanding official position, will be thrown against what is clearly, is distinctly not in accordance with the spirit of free institutions? All class distinctions among citizens are un-American, and the sooner every vestige of it is stamped out the better it will be for the Republic.

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

Francis J. Grimké to the Editor of THE CONTINENT

Washington, D. C., Jan. 3, 1914.

Editor of *The Continent*:

In your last issue, Jan. 1st, in the "Balance Sheet for 1914," one paragraph reads as follows—"What gigantic men they will have to be in the ministry and laity who command the heedless, sensual throngs of the cities for Christ, who persuade the myriads of selfish Christians to surrender totally to their Master, who shame bigotry, injustice and avarice out of the church!"

I notice that while desiring to drive out of the church, bigotry, injustice and avarice, you have not one word to say about race prejudice, which is as great an evil as any of those that you have mentioned and with which the church in the United States is tainted almost to rottenness. What is the matter with the men in our pulpits? what is the matter with the men who sit in the edi-

torial chairs of our religious papers and magazines? why is it that they ignore this subject entirely, or when they touch it at all touch it in such a way as to reveal the craven, cowardly spirit that lurks behind it? Race prejudice is one of the greatest evils that curses America today, and one of the evils that runs directly against every principle of the religion which we profess to accept as the rule of our lives: and yet the church is so full of the world-spirit, and made up so largely of moral cowards, that it is the rarest thing to hear one word in condemnation of it, either from the pulpit or the pew. Yes, we need "gigantic men" in the ministry and in the laity—not necessarily intellectual giants, but moral and spiritual giants—men of conviction, men of courage, men who are not afraid to be true to Jesus Christ—true to the great principles of his holy religion. As long as the men in the pulpit and in the pew are more concerned about what men think of them rather than what God thinks of them and of their actions, things will never be better. The first great requisite on the part of the church—on the part of the pulpit and the pew, is obedience to Jesus Christ,—is loyalty to Christian principles whatever the consequences personally may be. Whenever the church reaches the place where it is willing to say, and say truthfully, with Peter and the apostles of old, "We must obey God rather than man," there will be no lack of power. The evils of which you complain—bigotry, injustice, avarice—and the evil of which I complain will be driven out of it entirely, or be greatly reduced in their power and influence in it. What our lamented Maltbie Babcock says in his little poem, "Be Strong," is well worth reading:

"We are not here to play, to dream, to drift.

We have hard work to do, and loads to lift.

Shun not the struggle; face it. 'Tis God's gift.

Say not the days are evil,—Who's to blame?

And fold the hands and acquiesce—O shame!

Stand up, speak out, and bravely, in God's name."

I hope that the cowardly silence on the part of the pulpit and the religious press on this subject of race prejudice will some day have an end.

Respectfully yours,

Francis J. Grimké.

G. F. McMiller to Francis J. Grimké

Princeton, N. J., November 4, '14.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I am now here. I came here on the 25th of September. I find Princeton to be a nice little town although it is rather expensive. I am pleased with the Seminary. It has many facilities. But this I regret more than anything and that is the segregation. Before I came they decided to put me in a room in the Gymnasium Building and although I "kicked" it is of no avail. I presented the case to the President, but he has taken no action, at least, as yet. I was told by the man who has charge of the rooms—the Treasurer—that the Faculty has decided for my staying in my "segregated home." Well, Dr., this is hard to bear as it crushes as it were, the very life out of me. I want to report it to the Society for the Advancement of Colored People, but I don't know if it would be expedient. Anyway if the president does not seek my removal which I am sure he will not, I will have to refer the matter to the Trustees. Well, I don't know what you think.¹

I am very sorry to learn of the death of your wife. My sympathy goes with you in your having received so great a blow. But this I know, a man as you, so fully founded in the faith and the hope of the resurrection, will overcome the grief. I hope the Church is flourishing as usual.

I take my Major in the Department of Systematic Theology and my Minor in the Departments of Old Testament and Practical Theology. The hardest work comes in the theses.

With the hope that you are well and that you will furnish me with some advice on the matter

I am, dear Dr.,
Yours Respectfully,
G. F. McMiller.

¹ Although Princeton does not have Negro students in its College Department it has accepted Negroes in its Theological Department from time to time. Dr. F. J. Grimké himself was graduated there in Theology. The treatment of such Negro students has varied according to the prejudices of the day at hand, inasmuch as the custom of the country rather than the principles of Jesus has had sway there. The Rev. Mr. Underhill who recently served as a missionary in Africa, lived in one of the dormitories along with other students of Theology when he pursued that course at Princeton.

Joel E. Spingarn to Francis J. Grimké

New York City, December 18, 1914.

My dear Mr. Grimké:

Miss Nerney has just forwarded the excerpt from your Thanksgiving Sermon which you have been kind enough to send me. I have read every word of it with the deepest interest, and I want to thank you for your brave words. We must keep on with the good fight until what is now merely a voice in the wilderness becomes the universal conscience of men.¹

Faithfully yours,
J. E. Spingarn.

Allen Washington to Francis J. Grimké

Hampton, Virginia, Dec. 22, 1914.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Please accept my very sincere thanks for extracts from the Thanksgiving sermon by yourself. The sermon is fine and the spirit all through it is real and a source of great inspiration. I have read it several times as well as the letters you wrote to the President. We can always count on you as taking high ground and saying the thing that is absolutely right at the right time. You and your brother have done nobly in championing the Negroes' cause in the last few years, especially. You have been able to let the administration know first-hand how you feel and how millions of Negroes in the South feel toward the most subtle-foe of ours, race prejudice. I hope the time will come when all men shall be treated as men, be they white or be they black.

The Trotter incident has done us good, for it has made the President say exactly what he feels in regard to segregation in this country. We hope that things will be better some day and that some day some one will succeed in converting him and let him know that the Negro ought to be treated as well as any one else.²

Major Moton has been ill for several days with an infected eye. He feels as you do and has expressed himself as being very much

¹ Major Joel E. Spingarn was once a professor of English at Columbia. He withdrew from this position to fight for human rights. For a long time he was the moving spirit and the head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

² He refers herein to a conference at which Woodrow Wilson discussed segregation. The President took umbrage at Trotter's bold utterance and left the conference.

pleased with your sermon and will I am sure write you expressing his feelings, when he is better.

I saw you last August in the station at Trenton, N. J. while I was on a through train from Philadelphia to New York and I regretted very much that I did not get a chance to shake your hand but I could not stop.

With kindest regards for yourself, I am,

Yours very very sincerely,

Allen Washington,
Associate Commandant.

J. Milton Waldron to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., 30 December 1914.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I have just had the opportunity of reading "Excerpts" from your "Thanksgiving Sermon" delivered November 28th last, before the 15th St. Presbyterian Church in this city. The statements contained in that pamphlet are to the point, and while they are strong, they are not too severe when we take into consideration the great wrongs they seek to correct.

At various times during the past five or six years I have received copies of special sermons by you in condemnation of race prejudice on the part of Christians and I have enjoyed reading each one of them. I believe you will do the Cause of Christ and humanity generally a permanent and effective service in holding up this sin on the part of professing Christians to ridicule and condemnation. I hope you will keep at the good work, for the people in this country who speak out in public against race prejudice in religion and injustice to the weak are far too few, and these sins are so popular that only here and there do we find even a Christian minister who is willing to denounce them and who dares to believe fully in, and to preach fearlessly, the Christian Doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of all believers in Christ Jesus.

I trust that you may live long to preach the Gospel and to champion the Cause of the oppressed, and I trust that your health is good and that you may have a very Happy and Prosperous New Year. I am,

Yours fraternally,
J. Milton Waldron.

Francis J. Grimké to Campbell Morgan

Washington, D. C., 1914.

Dear Dr. Campbell Morgan :

I read with very great interest the report of your address in the *Post* this morning. All that you say, as to the value of the Bible, is true. It is God's Word and the gates of hell will never be able to prevail against it. The thing that we need to concern ourselves about more than anything else is not with what infidels, atheists, a godless world think of the Bible, but what the millions of professed followers of Jesus Christ think of it. We talk a good deal about the beauty of it, the value of it, about what it has done and is able to do as an uplifting and ennobling influence; but something more is needed than talk. What is needed is a living faith in the Word of God—a hearty acceptance of the great principles enunciated in the Bible—faith enough in it to lead us to live according to its teachings. The great majority of the men and women in our churches, while professing to accept the Bible as the rule of faith and practice, show by their lives they live, by their persistent violation of its simplest principles not ignorantly but knowingly, that the faith which they express in it is only on the lips, is merely academic, with no earnest purpose back of it, with no deep heart-felt conviction that the course mapped out in it is the right course to pursue. The evidences of Christianity that are needed today—evidences in proof of its power, of its divine origin, are not such as are to be found in books, or in platform utterances, however eloquent, but in the lives of the men and women who make up our so-called Christian churches. It is the living epistle, seen and read of all men that is needed. Mr. Bryan yesterday spoke eloquently of Christianity, and has been doing so right along. There is no more eloquent eulogist of Christianity in the country than Mr. Bryan. He is all the time booming it, all the time speaking in praise of it. And yet in the midst of this great Republic there are ten millions of Negroes, who are everywhere discriminated against, treated as if they were less than human beings, with no rights which white men are bound to respect, and shut out of almost all kinds of employment except the most menial, and yet I have the first time to hear one word from the lips of this eloquent champion of Christianity expressing any concern or a desire in any way to play the part of the good Samaritan to these struggling millions right in his midst.

It is that kind of evidence of a lack of faith in Christianity—faith enough in it to live it, to be true to its principles, however unpopular it might be, however it may run counter to the natural impulses of our hearts, that is doing more to discredit Christianity than anything else. Eloquent addresses such as are delivered by Mr. Bryan from time to time are of no real help in buttressing up Christianity, in giving it a more commanding position among men unless back of them is a consistent Christian life.

I hope that sometime before you leave this city, during the discourses that you are to make, that you will take the opportunity of calling attention to the importance of the individual life witnessing for Christ—living the Christ-life, letting their light shine—shine so that others will see in them what Christianity means,—what it stands for, what kind of character and life it represents.

Witnessing in the only effective way by consistently following, whether it is popular to do so or not. We hear a great deal nowadays about Christianity losing its power: it never can lose its power as long as men live it, as long as the individual life witnesses to the truth of it, is being transformed by it.

Francis J. Grimké.

John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké

Kansas City, Missouri, January 18, 1915.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

This is a very belated acknowledgement of thanks for the copy of that splendid Thanksgiving address of yours. The lateness of the acknowledgement by no means measures my appreciation of your thoughtfulness and kindness in sending me a copy. I don't think I have read anything bearing upon our problem with greater zest and emotion. The words are so timely, so strong and so courageous and I thank God that there is at the Nation's capital a man like yourself who dares to speak out so bravely and so effectively. The power of your words gives a silver lining to otherwise dark and hopeless clouds.

I have passed my copy around to several persons and one or two have expressed a desire to possess a copy of their own.

If it is not too late, I will be very glad to have you send a copy to each of the following persons:

Mr. J. M. Wright, 623 Western Avenue, Topeka, Kansas.

Miss Anna H. Jones, 2444 Montgall Ave., Kansas City, Mo

Miss Maud V. Thornton, 2418 Montgall Ave., Kansas City, Mo.

On behalf of Mrs. Love and myself, I wish to thank you for your very beautiful New Year's remembrance and to wish for you God's richest blessings during the year.

Very sincerely yours,

John L. Love.

Andrew F. Hilyer to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., Febry. 4, 1915.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

When I arrived home tonight I found Mrs. Hilyer all aglow over your letters, copies of which you so kindly sent me. I am very glad you wrote them and more glad that you have had them printed.

I have often thought that if we would get the letter writing habit and many of us write personal letters about our wrongs, that it would be a great force. I write quite a number of letters myself.

Your letters are forceful beyond any human power to estimate, and I thank you for them.

I do not think you ought to be allowed to bear the whole expense of printing, after you have done the great service of writing them, hence enclose \$1.00 to help. If it is convenient when you come to the Board meeting Friday, I will be much obliged to you if you will bring me a few additional copies as I have a regular "mailing list."

While I have your attention let me say that I value your good opinion very highly, hence am anxious that you should thoroughly understand my position in opposing the proposition to endow the medical school with the land S. of W St. etc. There are 24 teachers on the Hill. All of them College graduates getting Salaries of \$1000.00 or less and I think we ought first do something to remedy this condition before we endow one of our Dept.—a step that is I believe unusual.

I have made a very careful search among the early records of the U., the Freedmen's Bureau & the District Records and can find no warrant whatever for the claim or Statement that, that land came into the possession of the U for or on Account of the Medical School. The land was bought with University funds and was

deeded to John A. Cole as trustee for Howard Univ. The Buildings were constructed upon this land by the Freedmen's Bureau and when its affairs were closed up, turned over to Howard Univ. without any other condition than that they should be used for educational purposes from which colored people should never be excluded.

I shall present a minority report.

Very respectfully,
Andrew F. Hilyer.¹

Dear Mr. Grimké, this is the letter I spoke to you about. I now send it. A. F. H.

Allen Washington to Francis J. Grimké

Hampton, Va., February 8, 1915.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Thanks for your letter of a few days ago telling me of the three letters addressed to the New York *Independent*, Winston Churchill and Billy Sunday. The letters came and I read them with care. I want to thank you very much for them, and I want to thank you for sending the three letters to these three parties. I am glad that Winston Churchill had the grace to answer your letter and had hoped the *Independent* would publish it. I want to congratulate you on what you said in regard to the way he spoke of the Negro in his book. I think you put it very well, indeed. I think Billy Sunday could have been a great help to the Negroes, especially in Washington, had he the moral courage to have spoken on race prejudice. I am sure you gave him a chance and he may do it sometime later. Let us hope so, anyway.

These letters of yours cannot help but do good, and I hope you will continue to let them know just how we feel. I have just handed one to Major Moton and he is very much pleased with it. Poor fellow; I am very sorry for him, as his baby boy, fifteen months old, is terribly ill with pneumonia, and at this very moment his temperature is 105 1/5 and he is about as ill as he can be. I hope you will pray that he may be spared to Major and Mrs. Moton, for both are very much borne down.

¹A. F. Hilyer was an employee of the United States Government and a business man who served along with Dr. Grimké as a member of the Howard University Board of Trustees.

Mr. Banks was just in this morning and spoke to me about your letters, and told me to say to you that you are a man after his own heart and that he congratulates you.

Yours very truly,
Allen Washington.

W. P. Stafford to Francis J. Grimké
Supreme Court of the District of Columbia
Justice's Chambers

February 13, 1915.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I received your two pamphlets and read them all through carefully, and thank you for sending them to me. All you have written herein is straightforward and sound. I specially admired the tone of your letter to Winston Churchill, and I think better of him that he answered you, as you say he did. As to Billy Sunday, I have some doubt whether there is not in him a considerable element of the fakir. I hope we shall be rid of Southern domination in the administration of this government after a couple of years or so.

Very cordially yours,
W. P. Stafford.

John A. Marquis to Francis J. Grimké

Grand Rapids, Iowa, March 10, 1915.

Dear Rev. Grimke:

I have received your pamphlets containing your letters addressed to the *Independent*, and have read them with great interest. I am writing to say that I think your criticism of my comments in the Adult Bible Class Magazine is well taken. I do not think, however, that you do me justice when you say I left it out because I was afraid to mention it. Those who know me, I think, will agree that I have never in pulpit or press consciously evaded the race question. I agree with your letters very heartily, and regret that the *Independent* did not see fit to publish them. My fault was entirely an oversight, and had I thought of race prejudice I surely would have mentioned it.

I thank you for calling my attention to it.

Very truly yours,
John A. Marquis,
President of Coe College

Francis J. Grimké to Ernest P. Hagan

Washington, D. C., May, 1915.

Dear Sir:

Your note requesting me to write an article for your magazine on some phase of the race question has been received. I am sorry that I am so busy at this time that it will not be possible for me just now to comply with your request. I have recently, however, had a little correspondence with a white Presbyterian minister in this city, growing out of three letters which I published in a circular, and which were sent to all, or nearly all, of the white ministers in this city, which you may be able to use instead. Among the letters was the one to which you refer, addressed to Rev. "Billy" Sunday. The other two were addressed to the *New York Independent* and Mr. Winston Churchill. A Presbyterian minister of this city was so wrought up by these letters that he publicly took them up and discussed them at his Sunday evening services following their publication. In the course of his address, as published in one of the daily papers here, he said, among other things: "God never intended white and colored people to live together. Colored people make a great mistake when they intrude themselves where they are not wanted."

The week after this criticism of my letters I happened to be passing his church, and saw on the front of it a placard with this inscription: "Let us live the poetry we sing."

On reaching home I sat down and wrote him a letter, calling his attention to this placard, and also to a hymn which, I said, I am sure you have often sung. The hymn was:

"Blest be the tie that binds
Our hearts in Christian love."

Do you, I said, live the poetry you sing? It is difficult for me to reconcile the sentiment on this placard with what you said in regard to the colored people on last Sunday evening. If the tie that binds all believers together is Christian love, what place is there in the Christian's philosophy of life for such sentiments as were expressed by you? How can a Christian believe that God never intended white and colored people to live together? How can a Christian hold to the view that any human being may be regarded as an intruder, and treated as an intruder, solely on the basis of his race or color?

In response to this letter, I received the following:

Washington, D. C., February 26, 1915.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Your favor of yesterday is at hand and I thank you for the opportunity you afforded me to give you my authority for my pulpit remarks of February 7.

I do verily believe that God never intended that whites and blacks should live together. He put them on great continents far apart, and then I have the Scriptures for it—Acts 17-26: "And God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation." The first part of this text is often quoted by people of your race, but the latter part is evidently overlooked. It is not my plan; it is the Lord's!

My remarks upon "Race Prejudice" were approved by some of your race in the congregation and regarded as fair. They were spoken in answer to your circular sheet to your white brethren. I fear it is leaders like you who are doing great harm to your people by the bitter attitude you assume.

I try also to live the poetry I sing and I try also to obey the Scriptures.

With Christian regards,

C. Everest Granger.

To this letter I made the following reply:

1415 Corcoran St., N. W., March 2, 1915.

Dear Dr. Granger:

Your letter, in response to mine, has been received, and, in the reply which I am about to make, it is not with any intention of keeping up the discussion, but after reading your letter and the passage of Scripture quoted by you in justification of your position on the race issues, certain questions presented themselves to my mind which I thought it might be well for you to consider:

If what you say be true as to the metes and bounds of races, what is the white man doing in South Africa and in other parts of Africa? What is the white man doing in China? in India? in Australia? in the Sandwich Islands? What is he doing in North and South America? If you believe what you say you do, how can you and your white brethren consistently continue to live on this continent, which is by nature the home of the Redman? Why

don't you and white men all over the globe get back to Europe, which is the natural habitat of the white race? If God has fixed the bounds of the habitation of each race, and it is the duty of each race to keep within the bounds fixed by God, how is it that your race has never hesitated to break over all bounds when it suited its convenience in pursuit of its selfish aims and purposes? If it is wrong, as you allege, contrary to the Divine purpose, for the members of one race to intrude into the habitat of another race, then your race has been the greatest of sinners, for it has never respected the bounds of other races. Its whole history has been one of steady aggression upon the domain of other races. It ill befits white men to talk about "God never intended the whites and blacks to live together." If such is the Divine intention, and you say it is, the white man certainly has never respected that intention very much. On the contrary, in every possible way he has disregarded it when it suited his purpose to do so.

If you really believe that this passage of Scripture teaches what you say it does, how can you remain longer on this continent? How can you refrain from telling your white brethren at once what their duty is in this particular? You ought to tell them plainly that it is wrong for them to remain here; that this is the home of the Redman, and that it is their duty to get back to their own home in Europe, where they belong, under the Divine arrangement of things, as you see it. This, I say, is what you ought, in consistency, to do; but I have never heard of your doing it, and I am confident that I never will. It is a very easy thing to interpret the Scriptures to suit our prejudices, but we are not always ready to do what our prejudiced interpretation requires us, in consistency, to do.

You say "my remarks upon race prejudice were approved by some of your race in the congregation and regarded as fair." You certainly cannot mean by this statement that they approved of what you said about God never intending the whites and blacks to live together and about colored people intruding themselves where they are not wanted. I am sure that not one colored person in that audience approved of any such sentiment. The colored people are not so sadly deficient in self-respect (I am sure those who were present were not) as to have given their approval to any such statements.

You say also "I fear it is leaders like you who are doing

great harm to your people by the bitter attitude that you assume." I think I know the colored people pretty well and, so far as my knowledge goes, the only leaders that they endorse, that they are willing to follow and for whom they have any real regard are those who stand up squarely and uncompromisingly for equality of rights for their race as men and as citizens. They have no patience with time-servers and trucklers—with those who accept the white man's estimate of the Negro.

You think I am bitter. I am not conscious of any bitterness. I am in earnest, intensely in earnest. I feel keenly in regard to this matter; I feel that the silence, the cowardly silence of the white pulpit in the presence of the treatment to which colored people are subjected in this country is a disgrace to the ministry and a standing reproach to white American Christianity. Mr. Garrison, in beginning his great fight against slavery, said: "I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard." That was the spirit in which he wrought—a spirit of intense earnestness, based upon the conviction that slavery was wrong. Men charged him with bitterness, just as you are charging me, but there was nothing farther from the truth. There was no bitterness whatever in his makeup. His was a most gentle and loving spirit. Bitter? No, only intensely in earnest. And as long as I live I shall never allow an opportunity to pass of bringing to the attention of my ministerial brethren among the whites the reprehensibleness, in my judgment, of their cowardly silence in the presence of the wrongs that are being inflicted upon ten millions of colored people in this country. I am,

Yours truly,

Francis J. Grimké.

I sent a copy of the tract, "Evangelism and Institutes on Evangelism," to the Rev. Sol. C. Dickey, of Winona Lake. I had had some correspondence with him before in regard to a previous publication of his to which he took exceptions. After reading this tract, the Rev. Mr. Dickey sent the following letter in which he takes the position that social inequality is preferable to Christianity.

Winona Lake, Ind., February 7, 1916.

Rev. F. J. Grimké,
Pastor, 15th St. Presbyterian Church,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Your pamphlet received and carefully read. I have also noticed editorials in *Herald-Presbyter* and other papers. I wish you would let me know what you consider the Negro problem, and if you really insist on social equality, by which is meant intermarriage of the races. I simply write this to ask for your frank statement.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours truly,
Sol. C. Dickey.

To this letter I made the following reply:

1415 Corcoran Street, N. W.,

Washington, D. C., February 11, 1916.

Rev. Sol. C. Dickey.

Dear Sir:

Your letter has just been received. I am glad that my tract, "Evangelism and Institutes on Evangelism," reached you, and that you have carefully read it. In dealing with you white people—not all—but certainly with a very large proportion of you—I often feel as God felt when He directed the prophet to say: "Ephraim is joined to his idols: let him alone." You seem, for some reason, determined not to see the truth—determined to make Christianity conform to your notions rather than make your notions and prejudices conform to its teachings. You seem to be dreadfully afraid of social equality—of the inter-marriage of the races. What about the illicit intercourse between the races, which has gone on for centuries, and still goes on? Judge John M. Harlan, once of the Supreme Court of the United States, and one of the truest, squarest, noblest types of a Christian that the Presbyterian Church has produced in this country, said in an address which he made here some years ago: "In Kentucky, when I began insisting upon according to colored men the same treatment, civilly and politically, that was accorded to other men, I was charged with encouraging and teaching social equality with Negroes. The man who made the charge was, at the very time, living with a colored woman." The Judge then asked the question: "If that isn't

social equality, what is it? and followed with the remark: "If I was teaching social equality, he certainly was practicing it." What Judge Harlan was insisting upon, in regard to the treatment of colored people, had no more to do with the question of social equality than the position which I am taking in regard to the Church's treatment of colored people has to do with it.

You ask, "What do you consider the Negro problem, and if you really insist on social equality, by which is meant inter-marriage of the races?" Why do you ask that question? Have you ever seen any statement of mine, in any shape or form, intimating in any way that such a thought was even remotely in my mind? You seem to be entirely unconscious of the fact that colored people have some self-respect; you seem to be possessed with the idea that they are extremely anxious to be affiliated socially with white people. In this you are entirely mistaken. The colored people have no desire to force themselves socially upon anybody. Social intercourse is a matter to be determined entirely by the individual choice. Each one is left free to choose his own associates. That is in accordance with reason and common sense. The wayfaring man, though a fool, ought to be able to see that. All white people are not on terms of social equality, as you well know, and it is a mere subterfuge, a mere dodging of the question, touching the treatment of colored people, to lug it in here. It has absolutely nothing to do with it, as you well know.

What do I mean by the Negro problem?

In the last analysis, I mean that the colored man, and that men of every race, every kindred and tribe and tongue shall be treated in accordance with Christian principles—shall be treated as Jesus Christ would treat them if He were here and were dealing with them. Whatever view the world may take of the so-called Negro problem, you men who call yourselves Christians are bound, if you are consistent, if you are honest, if you are sincere, and if you are not moral cowards, to be true to Jesus Christ and His principles in this matter. "We must obey God rather than man," was the noble declaration of Peter as he stood in the presence of a hostile tribunal. He was not afraid to do what he knew to be the will of God, although it was unpopular to do so, and although it exposed him to insult and injury. It is the lack of courage to stand with Jesus Christ and upon Christian principles in this evil and adulterous generation that is the curse of the Church today.

Instead of facing the issue squarely that is involved in this so-called Negro question and handling it fearlessly in the light of Christian principles, the whole tendency is to evade the question, to dodge the issue, as you are doing by mixing it up with the matter of social equality and the inter-marriage of the races. A Christian man ought to be ashamed to deal with a great issue like this in the pusillanimous spirit in which you are attempting to deal with it. Isn't it time to end this pitiable exhibition of weakness and cowardice? I commend to you, and to all men like you, the words of the apostle Paul:

"Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong."

I am, yours

For a real, not a sham Christianity,
Francis J. Grimké.

Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké

Dr. F. J. Grimké:

September 11, 1915.

The Birth of a Nation is being exhibited here in the Forrest Theatre, to crowded houses, I am told, and there is a growing feeling of hatred toward the Negro caused by it. I was talking to Dr. Scott, who went to see it after he had been persuaded, and says it is an outrage and a complete lie, and would not go again for anything. The colored people are having indignation meetings. I was at one yesterday afternoon in one of the Methodist churches. They have decided to form at 19th & Christian Streets, at a very early date, and march down Christian to 7th up 7th to Chestnut and up Chestnut to Broad, and to be led by Major Andrew Stevens, on a white horse, I presume. The Major is very much delighted with the honor conferred upon him. Banners are to be flying and a great display is anticipated. I hardly believe, however, the authorities will allow them to parade. For one time in my life I am not to be in the rank and file. You know I am past the age limit. I am afraid the dear brothers are not going about the matter right, at all.

I send you the narrative you asked for about Mr. Huston at Coatesville.¹

Best regards.

Yours very sincerely,
Matthew Anderson.

¹ This was an account of Anderson's cool reception by Charles L. Huston, a most distinguished layman of the Presbyterian Church. Anderson visited him at Coatesville, seeking funds for his work, the Berean School, in Philadelphia, but when Anderson presented himself as "Mr. Anderson" Huston reprimanded him and Negroes in general for referring to themselves with the title "Mister."

Mrs. John C. Wyman to Francis J. Grimké

Newtonville, Mass., October 15, 1915.

My dear Mr. Grimké:

I remember Lottie as I write your name. She personified Wordsworth's verse describing his ideal Lucy as

"A violet by a mossy stone.
Half hidden from the eye;
Fair as a star when only one
Is shining in the sky."

Thank you for sending me your pamphlet which is admirable as literature and even better still in its moral quality. I wish it might be widely circulated. Will you kindly tell me how (as to expense) it was printed and whether any method for its circulation has been devised? White people ought to see it. Perhaps I could help a little, if I knew a few details as to its present management.

Mr. Butler Wilson told me last Saturday that he had that day received a letter from Henry Cabot Lodge saying that the Senate was (individually I suppose to some extent) very much stirred by all these race riots and murders, and that probably something would be done to stop them.

May I ask you to note particularly the tone of George Harvey's recent editorials in *The North American Review* and in his weekly editorials on what he calls "Our Own Race War." They do not go quite so far as you and I would, in inculcating the duty of white Americans, as to both social and political equality,—but they go pretty far in that direction. He takes the guilt of the Omaha Negro for granted, but he does not balk at saying that there are probably no more scoundrels proportionately in the darker than in the lighter races, and he throws the blame on the whites for the lynching and the massacres. These, he plainly intimates are the result of the subjective effect on the whites of laws and customs which train the whites to look upon themselves as belonging to a superior caste.

I think, all things considered, Col. Harvey has got far along on the right road as to "our own race" troubles. Of course he clinches everything he says by offering up our American sins against our American colored citizens as a reason why we should not join The League. But I think, unless you have already done so, it would do good for you or your brother or some other properly inspired person to write him a very brief letter thanking him for

having the vision to see the political fault of degrading the colored people, and the resulting crimes committed by the white race. I must suggest, however, that the writer of the letter should utter no revolutionary or Soviet principles. Col. Harvey hates them. He may not publish a letter written on the lines of moral and personal appreciation such as I have indicated, but he would probably read it, and even that would stimulate his nobler purpose. He is, above everything else, an American patriot. I can't myself be quite so much an American above everything else, as he is. But he, being what he is, the more colored Americans are loyalized, the more sedulous will George Harvey be that they should have all desirable things that white citizens have! At least that is my opinion, and the power of his pen is worth the effort to get it moving against race prejudice and its uglier and wicked manifestations.

Do you ever come North? If you do, I believe your brother has hidden the fact from me. Any way if and when you do come, I should consider it a real kindness if you could, without incommoding yourself, come to see me, or write to arrange for a visit.

With sincere regards I am

Your friend,
Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman.¹

Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké

1200 K Street, 1915.

My dear Brother:

I was glad to read your paper on "The Birth of a Nation." I saw it and endorse your protest.

It is false and pernicious and should be suppressed.

I said "Amen" when Chaplain Robinson denounced it in Presbytery.

Success to you and your work.

Cordially,
Wallace Radcliffe.

¹ This woman was of Quaker and abolition origin—one of the few to stand up always for equality and justice. She wrote frequently on matters of interest to the descendants of abolitionists and the Negroes whom they befriended. She was very much stirred up by the effort of so-called historians who have engaged in whitewashing slavery and slaveholders.

Hollis B. Frissell to Francis J. Grimké

Hampton, Virginia, November 6, 1915.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Your pamphlet in regard to "The Birth of a Nation" is at hand. I wonder if it occurred to you to give a little more charitable interpretation to my action concerning the Hampton pictures.

The question came to me in New York as to what could be done about the play. I saw the censors and expressed my strong disapprobation of it, and they told me it would be impossible to discontinue it and that no court would take action against it. Mr. Wilcox, one of the Tuskegee trustees, felt that if it could not be suppressed that it ought to be improved, and that the other side could best be shown by giving some idea of the great advance made by the race in education and industry through the Hampton moving pictures. I consulted with some of my trustees and they approved the suggestion.

I wonder if you have not felt that if you can not alter unfortunate conditions it is wise to attempt to improve them. It seemed to me that here was a chance to show to many thousands of people another side of the colored race than that set forth by this play which is so unfair not only to the Negro but to the white man as well, and I embraced this opportunity with the best of motives. I appreciate how strongly you feel but I want you to see the other side of the affair.

Sincerely yours,
H. B. Frissell.

Francis J. Grimké to Hollis B. Frissell

Washington, D. C., November 8, 1915.

Dear Dr. Frissell:

I am glad to get your letter, and to have your explanation as to why you allowed your name and the name of Hampton Institute to be associated with the Photo-play, "The Birth of a Nation." I think I fully appreciate your motive, but still think it was a mistake to have allowed your name and the name of the Institution over which you preside to be in any way connected with a play which is so manifestly hostile to the Negro race. The drama occupies nearly three hours, and only after everything has been done to blacken the character of the Negro, to set him forth in the most repulsive light,

is this little annex, consisting of the pictures of Hampton, with your permission to present them blazoned in large letters, tagged on, and tagged on in such a way as to make them of no value in counteracting the bad impression already made against the race,—of no value in accomplishing what you hoped to accomplish by it. The play is bad, and only bad in its aims and purposes. What you say in reference to “unfortunate conditions which cannot be changed,” may be true; but in our attempt to improve such conditions we ought to be very careful that what we do is not construed into an endorsement of the very conditions which we are seeking to improve. The great majority of persons who witness this Photo-drama and these pictures and your permission to present them in connection with it, will not think of them as indicating a better outlook for the Negro, but only of them as showing that you do not feel about the drama as others do; that you see nothing particularly objectionable about it. The pictures are presented in such a way as not only to destroy their value, from your standpoint, but as to make them a positive aid in breaking down the opposition against the drama that is felt by the colored people, and by some of the whites. It seems to me, under the circumstances, permission to parade your name, and the pictures of Hampton Institute in connection with it, ought to be withdrawn. If you were a private individual, and if it had been an institution, not identified as Hampton has been with the best interest of the colored people, it would be different. Your name, as a known friend of the Negro, and Hampton Institute, ought not to be used to popularize on, to break down the opposition to this deliberate attempt to destroy the good name of a race. And one of the things that surprised me was that you did not see that such would be the effect.

Sincerely yours,
Francis J. Grimké.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Brookline, Mass., December 26, 1915

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Tho the sun is virtually eclipsed by the gathering clouds which indicate a storm, and darkness reigns, I shall attempt to write you a line to thank you for your kind remembrance which came as a Christmas souvenir. I was quite interested in the little sketch of

Lincoln. I have read a number of books portraying his life. He was a remarkable man, all the more so when we consider what he sprang from, and what were his early environments. There is a sadness in every line of his history. His early life fettered as it was, made him his country's president; his tragic death made him the nation's martyr. While we heap oftentimes, words of praise upon the dead, we cannot fill their hearts with gladness or bathe their brows in garlands of smiles; their names if they were noted for noble deeds live. Students of history read of them as the moulders of the ideas, and principles, that made the country in which they lived. Lincoln was called from this, into a new life, at an opportune moment; his tragic death accentuates in the minds of those who read his biography, his greatness and goodness. If he had lived to administer his term of office, I fear he would have left the presidency without honor, bearing with him the execrations of those who believed that the war should not only have destroyed slavery, but the spirit of the institution. In the final, Lincoln, the emancipator, would have been found wanting. His climb was marvelous as it was; taken all in all it has its counterpart in the growth and development of Booker T. Washington. If Washington could have shed his color, and "stept" into the political arena, he would have made a mark as a keen observer, a man born to win by conservative policy, rather than by radical utterances. I see a new man has been selected to fill the vacant chair at Tuskegee. Will he make good? He has a difficult task before him. I wish him success. I have a sense of fear however. I trust he will remember that he is at first an American citizen, secondly a colored one, that as a citizen he should have, and must have, all that the title calls for. Higher education, civil rights, political rights, the right to enter into all the avenues that lead to success, that while being diplomatic he will put behind him subserviency. The Trustees of Howard will meet in February. I cannot attend the meeting. I wish you would see that all matters relating to the Medical Department are layed over to the annual meeting. At that meeting I have some matters to submit that might conflict with any action taken at the February meeting. I think what I have in mind should be acted upon for the good of the department. I am sure the board will, as an act of courtesy, defer all matters. I presume I know more than any other member what is best for the school.

I leave for California the 19th of the month. I think the mild

climate of Southern California will serve me well. My throat is better, but not well. I have considerable rheumatism. I look better than I am. If I were in voice and free from feelings of tire, I would be heard upon a number of matters. I have never recovered from the prostration that brought me to the brink fifteen years ago. Care has kept me afloat, quiet has played its part. I think my mind has not lost its activity. This may be the delusion that afflicts all antiques.

Wishing you all the encouragement a New Year can bring

I remain yours sincerely,

Chas. B. Purvis.

P. S.—I enclose two clippings. One is from the *Boston Globe*, the other I cut from the *Morning Herald*. Mrs. Purvis wishes to be remembered.

L. Z. Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., January 27, 1916.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I received your tract, and read it with the liveliest interest and heartiest approval. You may judge how particularly interested in it I was from the following copy of a letter I received from Dr. Mahy, corresponding secretary of the Permanent Committee on Evangelism, through his secretary, anent the recent Evangelism Institute in your city:

“My dear Dr. Johnson:

“Dr. Mahy directs me to write to you and say that for your convenience the Assembly’s Committee will arrange to entertain you at luncheon, on Thursday, January 13th.

“He hopes that you will be able to attend the Institute on Wednesday afternoon and evening, and to be present in Washington on Thursday also.

Sincerely yours,

(Miss) A. Theodora Nixon.”

I did not like the look of things, neither the wording of the letter nor its sending in what could not but appear as special to me because colored. The luncheon was one of the regular items on the program, presumably for “all.” Why “special” message to me beforehand? In the nature of the case, I concluded Jim Crow

was hiding around the corner. I acted accordingly. This was my answer :

"Please convey to Dr. Mahy the assurance of my due appreciation of the gracious offer to arrange for my convenience at the coming luncheon. I had not expected such special consideration, only just the general chance of all. In the present uncertainty of my attendance, he will permit me to suggest that he put himself to no pains of special effort, for fear my possible absence might make it labor lost: should I come, I shall content myself to abide the common lot."

I have received no answer. If I mistook the spirit, there has not been, as to be expected, any disclaimer of such intention of discrimination as I judged. The silence is ominous. I "wanted" to draw him out, else I had paid no attention to the matter. With you, I do not intend to suffer such a thing, but to the last shall stand out against it. Such Xianity is a farce. In the forceful, if inelegant parlance of the street: "Hit 'em again!" Do send the dear Dr. Mahy one of your tracts for me: 612 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia.

Fraternally yours,
L. Z. Johnson.

Charles R. Winthrop to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, February 2, 1916.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I have just read your "Evangelism and Institutes on Evangelism" and would like to express to you my deep gratitude for this clear, forceful and all too true presentation of a matter that has already confronted me as a student in preparation for the Presbyterian Ministry. If this article can be instrumental in awakening the Church to a sense of the great wrong which she is doing consciously or unconsciously, not solely to the Negro but to the cause of Christianity itself you will have done much for the Negro but more for the Church. For while the Negro is hindered by race-prejudice wherever he attempts to rise, the Church is failing to reach her fullest possible development by overlooking or avoiding the sequence to the Fatherhood of God,—the Brotherhood of man—the other fundamental principle in the kingdom of God.

Personally I must confess that, while I have been undaunted by the evidences of race-prejudice in the ordinary walks of life, the unmistakable presence of this evil in the Church has caused me no little concern, both for myself and the younger generation of the Negro of which I am a part. Its presence in the midst of Christian groups is a strong stimulus of doubt. The younger generation of the Negro has not the faith of their fathers, the unquestioning minds and unlimited patience with which to endure proscription and persecution for no default or crime other than its color. I talk often with young Negroes—many of them college and university graduates—and it is hard to persuade many of them that they can hope for much from Christianity.¹ They point too easily to the hedgings or compromises of individual Christians or the policy of Christian institutions. They unhesitatingly point to the fact that it has had nineteen centuries and is not yet a “practical” working force for establishing right relations among men in order that they may be fit for right relations with God. If only professing Christians showed the marks of the Christ Spirit these who question could be led to hope for much and inspired to do more. Thus I say again that both for her sake and for ours I hope that your article will rouse the Church to undertake her full mission.

I say the above in spite of the fact that I am the only colored student in McCormick Theological Seminary where a truly Christian and democratic spirit holds sway among both faculty and student body. And though in my experience McCormick is an exception to the rule yet my very residence here among the students and faculty has given me more hope and inspired more faith in Christianity than many other things calculated to cultivate and develop the spiritual life. For it has been impossible to live here, now near two years, without recognizing the power of the Spirit of Christ when it is given a chance.

With hopes for much good as a result of your effort.

I am sincerely,
Charles R. Winthrop.

(Howard University, “14”)

¹ The Negro ministry has had much difficulty in holding their congregations during the last quarter of a century, inasmuch as young people question the Church because of its shortcomings.

Alice M. Dunbar to Francis J. Grimké.

Wilmington, Delaware, February 14, 1916.

My dear Mr. Grimké:

I want to thank you most sincerely for the two pamphlets I received from you yesterday. I want to thank you first for remembering me, and next for the noble sentiments contained in the Thanksgiving sermon and the letters. We need now, as never before, not even in the days of slavery, voices like yours, raised ever in a manly protest against cant, hypocrisy and smug indifference to the evils perpetrated against our race. Personally, I find it increasingly hard to hold to the church! It seems so hollow. I find myself listening with a sneer to Billy Sunday and other Caucasian divines as they proclaim the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man. "Who can be wise, temperate, loyal and neutral" in such a time?

Again I thank you, especially for the sermon. I shall have it learned and delivered from our school platform by one of our students so that the young people whom I try to teach may be inspired.

Very sincerely yours,

Alice M. Dunbar.¹

I am sending you a little booklet in this mail.

John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké

Kansas City, Mo., February 15, 1916.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I have just read your "Evangelism and Institutes of Evangelism" which you were kind enough to send me. Surely it is a strong and proper arraignment of the hypocrisy of current religious endeavor as carried on by the American White church.

In this city last week, we had an illustration of it in a general meeting of Episcopal clergy of the southwest. The major portion of those attending were from Texas, Arkansas and Oklahoma. Of course the civilization, if the term is permissible, of those states has in general nothing in common with the teachings or the example of Christ and hence nothing expressive of real Christian life was to be expected from the meeting.

¹ She was the widow of Paul Laurence Dunbar.

We are to have next spring Billy Sunday. You know better than I what an arrant coward and hypocrite he is. I do not wish to tax you too much but I feel that I could use a dozen or so copies of this address effectively if I had them.

I thank you very much for sending me this and I am sure you'll pardon me for considering you the modern Elijah to hold up before this nation "this great sin of race prejudice." And hope you are not doubtful of the effect of your effort. The press may be commercialized and subsidized, but the individual conscience is free and capable of being touched when reached.¹

Very sincerely yours,
J. L. Love.

Andrew F. Hilyer to Francis J. Grimké

Washington D. C., March 10, 1916.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Allow me to thank you again and again for the splendid letters you wrote Rev. Sol C. Dickey and Rev. Charles E. Granger, and yet again for publishing them in pamphlet form so that they may be given the widest circulation.

You are doing a most invaluable work and I hope you will keep it up.

Perhaps it may interest you to know that, in the present condition of the public mind not to hear any complaint from us, I think so highly of letter writing that I have organized a small club for the purpose of stimulating and systematizing letter writing on our condition and we are doing splendid work

Hoping that you will continue these letters I am,

Very respectfully,
Andrew F. Hilyer.

¹ In race relations the Negro had reached the position when even the Christian Church sanctioned the attacks of his enemies. Certain ministers condoned lynching, and there were reported cases of those who joined mobs and participated in these medieval ordeals. Race inferiority was preached as God's justification of the rule of the "superior." What God had decreed man should not try to alter.

Francis J. Grimké to Carl Holliday¹

Washington, D. C., March 3, 1916.

Dear Dr. Holliday:

Your letter, expressing the desire to be president of Howard University, and setting forth your attainments and qualifications, has been received. I read it over carefully: and though at the end of it you say: "With my thorough knowledge of conditions and needs among the colored race, both North and South," you fail to state definitely what your attitude is towards the Negro, as a man and as an American citizen. Any white man who aspires to be president of Howard University or of any colored institution must be absolutely square on what is popularly known as "The Negro Question." Is he a man, and is he entitled to be treated as other men are treated? Is he an American citizen, and is he entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other citizen, and in every part of the Union? A white man who isn't openly and above board straight on the race question is entirely out of place at the head of a colored institution. I feel that we have a right to know just where you stand on the question. I notice that you have lived much in the South, and have been connected with several Southern institutions. If your view of the Negro is that of the Southern white man, that would, in itself, disqualify you for the position. It will be too late to raise the question after you are in, should you be elected, and therefore I am raising it now. I shall be glad to hear from you on the matter.

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké

Kansas City, Mo., March 13, 1916.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I thank you so much for your kindness in remembering to send me the pamphlets which from time to time you are issuing. I read them with increasing interest and pass them on for others to read. Certainly yours is the strongest and boldest voice that is now crying out in protest against the great sin of race prejudice. I am glad you are not despairing. Your simple and direct way of confronting the cowardly white pulpit must in the end do great

¹ Dr. Carl Holliday, dean of the University of the City of Toledo, Ohio. His letter is dated February 26, 1926.

good. But the Presbyterian pulpit is not the only one that has cowards and I trust you are not confining your campaign to it.

I think that letter to C. Everest Granger is the finest and most convicting bit of logic I've ever seen. He owes you a letter of thanks for pulling the scales from his eyes and the carbuncles from his heart.

I am late thanking you for the extra copies of *Evangelism and Institutes on Evangelism* which I am carefully distributing. I owe you too an apology for not enclosing postage with my request which I now try to make amends for.

I pray God that you continue to enjoy good health and that He will continue to vouchsafe to you the courage and power to do the good work you are doing.

I often think of you and many times long for the privilege of seeing you and the other good friends there. I do not know when the privilege will be mine, but I shall continue to hope for it.

Very sincerely yours,

John L. Love.

Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, April 11, 1916.

Dear Grimké:

Dr. Anderson is very much better. She took a turn for better Sunday night. She is now able to raise her arms and work her fingers. The attendant physician is surprised at the way she has rallied. We can but hope it may continue, but her trouble is such a subtle disease that we can never tell what the next change may be. The only thing we can do is to keep her perfectly quiet and see that she has every attention. This she has. Margaret sees to her every want. She never leaves and never seems to get weary doing for her. Her devotion to her mother is most beautiful and refreshing to behold.

Now as to the sketch of Dr. Anderson's life I find myself somewhat at sea. I will give it little by little as it comes to me in different letters. First—Dr. Caroline Virginia Anderson is the eldest child of the late William Still. There were four children: Caroline V., William W., Frances M., and Robert. The last named was the youngest and died several years ago. Dr. Caroline V. was born in Philadelphia, November 1st, 1848. Received her preparatory education in the public schools of her native city and in the Institute

of Colored Youth. She took her college course at Oberlin College, graduating with honor in 1868. She took her medical course in the Woman's Medical College, Philadelphia, graduating in 1878.

From 1878 to 1879 she was an interne in the New England Medical College at Boston. After graduating at Oberlin she spent some time as a student and a teacher of elocution in Howard University. From 1879 to 1900 she devoted her time almost wholly to the practice of her profession. From 1900 to 1913 she divided her time between practicing her profession and assisting in the Berean Manual Training and Industrial School which school was opened by her husband February 1st, 1900. Dr. Anderson was teacher of physiology and hygiene, also elocution, and acted as assistant principal. She was compelled to resign her duties because of failing health.¹

The above, Brother Grimké, will give you a general idea of my wife's educational advantages and her life work, up to the present. As to her disposition you are perfectly familiar with it. She is kindness to a fault. She is loved by all who know her intimately.

Sincerely yours,

Matthew Anderson.

P.S.—Dr. Anderson married (1) Edward A. Wyley, December, '69 by whom she had two children; both died. (2) By her second marriage she has had five children, one died at birth and one lived to be eight months. The other three you know. Give my love to your brother and niece.

A. F. Beard to Francis J. Grimké

New York, May 19, 1916.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I thank you cordially for the leaflet in re the Bible Society. Of course I entirely sympathize with you and the position that our brother took in declining the proposed dishonor. This miserable prejudice is disgraceful. The worst enemy of Christianity could scarcely be of any better hindrance of its progress.

I am calling attention to your leaflets now and then in the *Missionary*. I shall send this one marked to the Editor of the *Congregationalist*.

Yours very sincerely,

A. F. Beard.

¹ Dr. Anderson married a second time. This lady survived him and directed the school which he established in Philadelphia.

Andrew F. Hilyer to Francis Grimké

Washington, D. C., May 22, 1916.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Many thanks for your letter in re, the Bible Society. It is splendid. I am so glad you wrote and published it. I feel strongly that with the press practically closed to us that the next best thing we can do is to write letters and pamphlets. I value your work most highly and am anxious to help bear the expense of publication and circulation. I have fully considered what you wrote me a few months ago. What little help I have offered comes from a deep sense of personal duty. You are doing in a most effective way just what I want done and which I myself cannot do. This is my opportunity to get something done that I want done. Rest assured it is no burden to me whatever.¹

I wanted so much, when the Convention was here a few weeks ago and I read in the papers about their plans for gaining "The world for Christ in this Century," to write to its leaders and tell them how futile would be their efforts as long as they allowed the prejudice of color to lurk in their souls, etc., but I felt that I was inadequate to do the matter justice in the time I could have at that time, given to the subject. Now that you have brought the matter right home to them in a specific instance of their arrogance and assumption of superiority, you may know that I am particularly well pleased.

I would like several copies for distribution. Could you let me have as many as twenty? I want each member of our "Correspondents Circle" to have a copy. There are twelve of us. The others I will place where I think they will do the most good.

Very respectfully,

Andrew F. Hilyer.

¹ In the printing and circulation of his sermons and tracts Dr. Grimké incurred considerable expense. Friends to whom copies were sent gratis had difficulty in inducing him to accept anything whatever for these productions which were costly. No income as a rule came from the circulation of such Christian literature, and the author expected none. He was always willing to sacrifice for the dissemination of the truth. When persons offered to assist him financially in this special effort, he felt embarrassed. It was sufficient that his church had amply provided for him. He wanted to do his part in enlightening those far off. For the good that these messages might do he spent a considerable part of his income.

Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., May 24, 1916.

My dear Grimké:

I wish in the first place to thank you for your call and expression of sympathy during my illness. I wish you had asked to see me, for I was seeing at that time several of the brethren, and you would have been cordially welcome. As you may know, I have gotten back home after six weeks in the hospital and am doing well. I will not, however, be ready for public work of any kind until October 1.

I was very much interested in your tract concerning the American Bible Society. Of course, just at that time my illness had begun, but I knew something of what was contemplated. I confess to the surprise in your statement that they offered a separate pageant for the colored people. Dr. Fox was in my room on his earlier visit and made no mention of that, but of the general pageant including all. The other must have been a subsequent development. I do not think it was a wise suggestion. One recognizes, of course, the prejudice of many, but I question very much whether that prejudice would have had any such development as to suggest the propriety of the other.

Your tract is a strong, intelligent and a right protest. We will hope that more and more there will be a better conception and a better action on the part of Christian people.

With all good wishes

Yours cordially,
Wallace Radcliffe.

Matthew Anderson to Archibald and Francis J. Grimké

1926 S. College Avenue, Philadelphia, 5-29-16.

My dear Friends:

I am sure you have followed the reports of the Assembly as given by the daily press and from these accounts you naturally concluded that we lost most ingloriously our fight, but let me assure you that we gained the greatest moral victory of our life, which is admitted by both friend and foe. On arriving at the Assembly Wednesday evening, May 17th, I found that both Boards were entrenching themselves against any attack. The Freedmen's Board were lining up their colored contingents who

were dependent upon the Freedmen's Board for their living. A meeting was held at one of the hotels at which there were some forty colored men, Dr. Gaston, the Associate Secretary representing the Freedmen's Board. I was told that he attempted to assail my position and also to weaken my moral honor and that the only colored man present who arose to defend my position was Rev. J. A. Thos-Hazell, of Denver, Colo. He told Dr. Gaston that there should not be a meeting assailing me in my absence and made a strong speech against the action of the Rochester Assembly and in favor of the Overture sent up by the Presbytery of Philadelphia.

I tried for several days to get some leading white man to appear before the Committee on Bills and Overtures to urge them to bring out our Overture No. 33 in open Assembly as I felt sure they meant to bury it in the Committee, but I could not get a man to appear before them, not even a member of the Philadelphia Presbytery, who sent up the Overture. I was so persistent that some one would be heard, that I finally concluded that I would force the issue myself. I was admitted, but was given to understand by the Chairman that they could only give me ten minutes, to which I said I thought that I could say all that I wanted in five minutes, and sailed out. I told them that the Overture which was passed at Rochester, practically turning all work among colored people arbitrarily over to the Freedmen's Board, was seriously objected to by all the colored people of the north and by many of the white people also, and that we, the colored people, felt that it was simply a segregation of our churches, that it was drawing the color line, that it was a wet blanket upon all our work and that the colored churches in the north could not hope to succeed; that we did not want any special ecclesiastical legislation for our churches; that we wanted absolutely to have the same status that the white churches have, that we did not want any special Boards, that our work was Home Mission work and that under that Board it ought to remain. This was the substance of my address to the Committee on Bills and Overtures, but before leaving, however, I urged that the Overture asking for the rescinding of the Rochester action be brought out in open Assembly and there be freely discussed. They suggested that it be turned over to the Committee on Freedmen and that they would likely bring it out in open Assembly. Feeling that there would possibly be a

chance and the only chance to bring it out in open Assembly, I reluctantly consented.

For several days after this I tried to get before the Committee on Freedmen and finally succeeded, on Saturday evening, the 20th to get before them. I practically made the same speech before the Freedmen's Committee that I did before the Committee on Bills and Overtures. I soon found that the Committee was a packed one, Drs. Cowan and Gaston were both there, though they were not members. There was but one white member who seemed at all inclined to give me fair play, the chairman of the Committee, Dr. Fleck of Scranton, was extremely biased against me, the contemptible insinuation against my honesty which was brought out at the colored meeting on Wednesday at the hotel was brought out at this meeting greatly to my desire. Gaston touched a member as a signal to ask me the following question: "Dr. Anderson you have been receiving money from two sources for your work, haven't you? From the Board of Home Missions and also from the Synodical Committee?" "Yes, I have, and I understand that a fling was made at my honor at the meeting which was held on Wednesday night. Yes I received \$600 from the Home Board and at the same time received \$600 from the Synodical Board and my Presbytery knew all about it at the time as it was no secret when I received it. My Presbytery was anxious to help me out in my very straightened condition, having lost the State Appropriation for the educational work and practically laboring without salary in my church. I want this Committee to understand that there is not a man on it who is making a greater sacrifice than I am making. Last year I gave a thousand dollars personally to help the school. This year thus far I have given since the first of July \$1,300 and I have pledged myself to give \$300 more this year. There is nothing that I do, gentlemen, in an underhanded or in a secret way, as my Presbytery will bear me out." At this juncture the Chairman said that the question was too personal and not germane to the discussion. Dr. Gaston then arose to give the history of the Overture that was sent up by the Churches and was passed by the Rochester Assembly for my enlightenment, but with which I was perfectly familiar, but when he attempted to make the colored people the chief cause for the passing of the Overture at Rochester Assembly the result of a meeting of colored men called in Philadelphia about eighteen months ago, and that there

were twenty-five or fifty at this meeting, when asked the number by another party, I turned to him and asked if he would answer one or two questions which I wished to ask, and consenting, I inquired "Were you at the meeting in Phila.?" He replied, "I was." "How many colored men were present, Dr. Gaston?" "There were at least 24 or 25." "Well, Dr. Gaston, I was not at the meeting but was informed by one who was there that there were not more than 12 at the meeting. Dr. John B. Reeve was at the first meeting but was not at the second, and that he was my informer." I was before this Committee fully an hour and a half, but I saw plainly that there were but three men in my favor, two of whom were colored and one white.

When the Committee on Freedmen presented its report on Monday I attempted to reply, but they said I could speak when the Committee on Bills and Overtures would present its report. This report was presented on Tuesday, I was told I could not speak then but that they had decided to have an extra session on Thursday night for special discussion of this Overture 33, which would be the first order of the day. On Thursday night I succeeded in getting the floor about half after eight o'clock, when I presented the address which I will send you under another cover. Judging from the response that I received all through the address, I was satisfied that the house was largely with me, indeed, pressure had been brought upon the Assembly by a number of delegates saying that they wanted fair play, and strange to say this pressure was brought largely from the southern white men. I am positively certain that the Overture would have been carried by a large majority if Dr. Lee, who was not a delegate to the Assembly, but who had been brought on by the Freedmen's Board to help them in their fight, had not employed the usual tactics of the Negro orator to play upon the prejudices of the audience, by using sophistical flings. White men all over the house clamored to speak in defense of the Overture but were ruled out of order. It was a miserable exhibition of unfair ruling on the part of the Moderator, which should clearly show that he was biased in favor of the Freedmen's Board. The final result was therefore as stated above, the Overture was defeated by a very small majority, but from Thursday until the Assembly closed there was a growing feeling that injustice was done and that it should be rectified.

Just before adjourning on Friday noon to take recess for the

afternoon session, a delegate from Seattle, the Rev. F. L. Forbes, D.D., sent to me a member of his Presbytery, Rev. E. A. Johnson, D.D., to ask whether I would favor a motion to merge the Home and Freedmen Boards and I told him that I would and it was decided there and then that before adjourning that evening he would make a motion to that effect. The motion was put just thirty minutes before adjourning, Friday evening, and after all the docket was completed, Dr. Forbes arose and wished to know whether the Moderator would entertain a motion. This request was granted. Dr. Forbes said that ever since Thursday night after hearing the address that this whole Negro subject had been growing on him and that he wished to make the following motion, which he did not want discussed, namely, that the two Boards, the Freedmen and Home, be merged into one, under the name of the Home Board, that the colored work was really Home Mission work, and the term "Freedmen" would then be done away with which was distasteful to the colored people. It was seconded by Elder Roland of Seattle, and was unanimously carried. The motion suggested that the subject be placed in the hands of the proper Committee to be brought up at next session of Assembly.

After adjournment men came to me from all over the house saying that a great moral victory had been won. I am exceedingly grateful but I know that in order to make the victory fully successful it must be followed up assiduously throughout the whole year. All of our forces should be lined up because I know positively that the Freedmen's Board will spare no pains and will resort to all means to defeat the object.¹

There was not a single southern white man that voted against it as they sat very close to me and were observed closely.

I have thus given, in the main, the character of the fight which was made. While I am exceedingly grateful for the final outcome I am nervously anxious, in fact fearful, of the result when the subject is brought out in open Assembly, if it gets out, when the Assembly will meet, May 17th, 1917, at Dallas, Texas.

Sincerely yours,

Matthew Anderson.

¹ This was not a sporadic case. In practically all religious organizations of that day Negroes had to fight continually against the increasing tendency to yield to race prejudice and accord Negroes such treatment as they were accustomed to before the Civil War.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Brookline, Mass., June 8th, 1916.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Enclosed please find the letter I have written to Miss Meriwether, I am not sure of her first name, I do not know her street no. I reached home safely tho delayed an hour. I was not very tired. I foolishly sent my overcoat by express. I needed it. The cold rain that came was a surprise to me, I used papers under my coat, so did not catch a cold. It is cold here, a fire would be a good friend. I think the meeting of the University Trustees was a success, more could have been accomplished if the president had pushed matters as all business men do, we could have had more time to consider other matters. I "promist" to write out about the uses your church was put to in times long "past" I fear I cannot recall very much, I will mention what is fresh to me. When the 15th amendment was under consideration a convention of colored men was called to create sentiment. Your church was placed at the hands of the convention. There were a number of the leading men of color in the convention: Douglas, Downing, Langston, Vashon, Martin, Garnet, Rapier, Rainey, Delarge. When the civil rights bill was up another convention met first in the Israel Bethel but subsequently in your church. In 1864 your church placed its Sunday School at the disposal of the Freedman's Aid Society composed of colored women. During the days of suffrage in the D. C. meetings were held in your lower room, I presided on two occasions. I recall holding a meeting in 1866 to celebrate the emancipation of the slaves in the D. C. I presided. Speeches were made by Gen. Howard, Gen. Butler, Senator Pomeroy and others. Wm. J. Wilson, and I had William Wells Brown deliver his drama there. Numerous meetings were held upon matters that related to the creation of a sentiment that would add to the general uplift of man. Downing, Wilson, Vashon and myself discussed womans rights upon an occasion, the date I cannot recall. I recall that a number of meetings were held in the Sunday School to devise plans for erecting a monument to Sumner. A reception was given there to Garrison during the time Andrew Johnson was president, Garrison delivered a speech, so did my father. Father's speech was an acid review of the president, and caused much remark. I cannot recall more at this sitting.

I will write to Moorland tomorrow. I have a book to send you, you will be imprest with it.

Yours very truly,
C. B. Purvis.

Mrs. Keckley was president of the Freedman Aid Society.

Francis J. Grimké to P. B. S. Pinchback

Washington, D. C., June 28, 1916.

Dear Gov. Pinchback:

On meeting you the other day, after shaking hands with you, I was prompted to say something to you, but did not. I reproached myself for not doing it, and so I will say in the form of a letter what I ought to have said by word of mouth. You have lived a long while in this world. The heavenly Father has been very good in thus prolonging your life. In the nature of the case you can't be here a great many more years. Soon the end of the earthly pilgrimage must come. Have you thought about the future upon which you must soon enter? Have you made any preparation for it? Is it a matter of no concern to you what that life is to mean to you, what that life is to have in store for you? If we are only going off on a little vacation trip, we usually prepare for it: we always try to find out before starting something about where we are going, what kind of accommodations we are likely to get. We usually make sure that we are to have pleasant quarters and with pleasant surroundings; and all that is necessary in the way of clothing and funds we take along with us. If some preparation is necessary for only a few weeks or months when we are leaving our homes here, can it be less necessary for us to make some preparation for that endless journey upon which we enter at death? We are all sinners, and we are all responsible beings. Some day we have got to render up an account. Sooner or later we have got to face the judge of all the earth; some day God will call each one of us to an account. On the basis of our record, there is not one of us that will be able to stand in the judgment of the great day. Fortunately for us, God sent his Son into the world not to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved. Never mind what our past record has been God has offered to pardon us of our sins, if we repent and accept of Jesus Christ. And this is the preparation which every man needs

to make, if the life beyond is to mean anything pleasant to him. We cannot go into eternity with our sins unrepented of and hope for any good. The blood of Jesus Christ alone cleanses from sin. The record is, "There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." As I left you the other day, and saw that your steps were growing feebler, I said to myself: What preparation is the Governor making for the life upon which he will soon be entering? Pardon me for calling your attention to this matter, but I simply felt that I must do it. Don't allow life to pass without making the great surrender of yourself to Jesus Christ. I am,

Your sincere friend,
Francis J. Grimké.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Portland, Me., July 9th, 1916.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Your favor of June 19th came to me yesterday. The carrier in Brookline addressed the envelope wrong; the letter was advertised. A friend saw it and called my attention to it, or I would not have received it.

If I had, I may not have written to Peelle. It is too late now.

In answer to your questions—Phillips spoke only once in Washington, and that was at the Smithsonian Building: he had a splendid audience.

Sumner attended your church once during Martin's time; he had heard of Martin's ability, and came with George Downing to hear him. Martin got wind of his coming, and was suddenly taken ill and sent for dear old father Tuston to fill his pulpit. Martin "preacht" some powerful sermons in those days, I felt that he indulged in plagiarism. I noticed he quoted from German Socialists, and Philosophers; his was a happy steal, served a good purpose, for his audience were none the wiser. Martin knew that it would never do to indulge himself before Sumner. When I was in Holland a few years ago I met at my hotel an English clergyman; he was an intelligent man. In a talk about ministers I told him the following.—A minister was called to a certain church because he could deliver his sermons in Hebrew. The congrega-

tion did not want any other language used. The minister's reputation spread, hundreds went to hear him. On one occasion a Welshman went . . . the minister recognized his fellow countryman at once, and from the pulpit said "Do not give me away." The congregation was happy. So was it at times with Martin, and his congregations were happy. Martin had fine ability, a wonderful memory, and reasoning power of a high order. The minister to whom I was telling my anecdote replied I know the party, what you say is true.¹

It is cool here much like Oct. We will make up for it.

Yours very truly,
Chas. B. Purvis.

By the by, have you read Wm. H. Holtzelaw's book? While not perfect in literary style, it is a wonderful narrative. Such pluck!! Such a will power!! I think it excels anything I have read. Booker had a severe experience, but not such as this man encountered. I don't understand how he existed. "The Black Man's Burden," should be read by every colored young man and young woman, it teaches a lesson, it cannot fail to produce a hope, an inspiration. You can find many a text in it.

Francis J. Grimké to the National Association of Colored Women

Washington, D. C.

Ladies:

Learning through your programme committee,—through Mrs. M. F. Cook, etc., of your bi-ennial meeting to be held at Denver, Col., July 8-13, and that in connection with it there is to be a time set apart for the burning of the mortgage on Cedar Hill, the home of Frederick Douglass, and regretting that it will not be possible for me to be present to join with you in the joyful event, I desire in this way to express to the Association my very high appreciation of the splendid work which has been done in saving Cedar Hill to the Negro race.

When I heard that sufficient money had been raised to wipe out the debt, the first thing I said was, "Hurrah, hurrah, for the

¹ Purvis refers herein to John Sella Martin, an eloquent minister, who once pastored the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church.

women of our race! Hurrah, hurrah for the National Association of Colored Women! Hurrah, hurrah for Mrs. Talbert through whose indomitable energy and magnificent leadership, with your earnest cooperation, the seemingly impossible has been accomplished! hurrah, hurrah, hurrah!" I was in a most jubilant mood, and have been ever since. I never felt prouder of the women of our race than I did at that moment. And, especially, when I remembered that we men for fifteen years had been struggling with the problem and failed, utterly failed of a solution. Even Mr. Washington took a hand at it, but with no better results. And when everything seemed hopelessly lost, when there seemed nothing left but to give it up, your organization, providentially came upon the scene, and, lo, marvellous to relate, in one short year worked out the solution, has freed the property from debt, and now holds it as a perpetual inheritance to the race. Do you wonder that the first note that it stirred within me was a note of joy; that I said, and kept saying, hurrah, hurrah, hurrah for the women of our race!

The next thing that came into my mind when I realized that the property was saved was of the noble example of Mrs. Douglass whose desire was to set Cedar Hill apart as a perpetual memorial to Mr. Douglass, and who went to her grave burdened with that thought as with no other, and who did all in her power toward realizing the object which was so near to her heart. Then I could not help recalling the closing days of her life, as she lay on her sick bed, conscious of the fact that the end was approaching, and yet again and again impressing upon us, the necessity of not allowing her project to fail. It was indeed pathetic. I thought of those closing days of her life, and of the earnest desire of her heart that her project might not fail, and I said to myself, If Mrs. Douglass knows what is going on here, how her heart must thrill with joy in the consciousness of the fact that her project has not failed; and has not failed through the colored women of the race. As she looks down from the skies I can see the smile of satisfaction upon her face, and seem to hear the echo of her voice also taking up the refrain, Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah, for the women of the race! And again, I say, Hurrah, hurrah! for the women of the race! You have done magnificently! The value, the importance of what you have done may not at present be fully realized, but as the years go by, as generations after generations come and go,

more and more will the wisdom of what you have done be made manifest. What is it that you have done?

You have saved Cedar Hill to the race, as a perpetual memorial to Frederick Douglass. Much, very much. I want to take just a moment to tell you why I value what you have done: in saving this home.

(1.) Cedar Hill is located at the Capital of the nation. -It is conspicuously located. It cannot be hid. It is at the center of things, where all eyes can see it.

(2.) It is a valuable piece of property, embracing some fourteen or fifteen acres of land, and occupying one of the most beautiful hills overlooking the City of Washington. The view is most captivating. It would have been too bad to have had it lost to the race.

(3.) With it the memory of Frederick Douglass is to be forever associated; and with it, therefore, all that he was and all that he stood for. It is in this fact that I find its chief value to the race. It is not the physical part of Cedar Hill, the house, with its lovely location, its beautiful surroundings that we are to think of, and that our children and grandchildren are to think of, but of the great soul that inhabited the house, that went in and out and that looked out on the world of beauty about him. If Frederick Douglass had been a different kind of a man from what he was, the perpetuation of his memory in a memorial like this or in any other form, would be of no consequence whatever. But because he was what he was a monument like this becomes of great educational and inspirational value.

Who was Frederick Douglass, and for what did he stand?

(1.) He was our incomparable race leader. He stood firmly, fearlessly, uncompromisingly for all the rights, all the privileges for the Negro that are accorded to other citizens of the Republic. He was never willing to budge an inch, to enter into any compromises that meant the sacrifice of the rights or interest of his people. He never played hide and seek with the interest of his race. Men never had to ask where Frederick Douglass stood about any matter affecting the interest of his race. You could always put your hand upon him, always knew where to find him. He never gave an uncertain sound on any matter of interest to the race. He boldly denounced every species of injustice and oppression, from the mean, petty spirit that discriminates against him in

so-called Christian churches, in hotels and restaurants, and that forces him to ride in Jim Crow cars down to the cowardly, brutal and bloody spirit of mob violence that disgraces the southern section of our country.

(2.) He was a man, every inch a man. There are so many apologies for men in the world that it is really refreshing to come in contact with a real man. The old Latins had the true idea of a man when they described him by the term *vir*, which comes from the word *vis*, meaning strength. And the apostle Paul had the same idea when he said, "Quit you like men; be strong." Mr. Douglass was strong; he was a man. He was never made to be putty in hands of any one. He was fashioned out of no such material as lackeys and sycophants and time-servers are made of,—men who can be manipulated, mere tools in the hands of others, who stand ready to do the biddings of their masters. He was cast in an entirely different mould. He stood erect in the strength of his own individuality. Manhood is a thing that we should prize, upon which we should put a high estimate. It isn't every day that we are permitted to look upon a man, but in Frederick Douglass we behold one who was a man in every fiber of his being.

(3.) He was a clean man, a pure man, a man who stood for the highest moral principles,—a man who went to his grave without a stain upon his fair name,—a man whose example we can without hesitation or reservation, commend to our children and to our children's children to the remotest generation. In the midst of so much that is corrupt and debasing everywhere, it is a great thing to be able to point to this greatest representative of our race in the consciousness of the fact that there is nothing in his record that we need to be ashamed of. I feel now as I have always felt, that the greatest asset in any life is the asset of character. Douglass had a great brain, and a great heart, but greater than either was his noble character, the high plane upon which his life was pitched and upon which he walked during all the days of his life.

These are some of the things that Cedar Hill is going to stand for in the years to come to the men and women of our race as they wend their way there or think of it,—equality of rights before the law, a sturdy manhood, purity of character.

Respectfully yours,
Francis J. Grimké.

The Douglass Centenary

I attended the exercises last night, Feb. 13, in connection with the Douglass Centenary held under the joint auspices of the Afro-American History Story Telling Association, and the Bethel Literary and Historical Association. Among the speakers was Mr. Charles Douglass, the only surviving son of Mr. Douglass. In the course of his remarks, in speaking of Cedar Hill, the Washington home of his father, he said he was never able to understand why it was necessary for his widow, Mrs. Helen Douglass, to put a mortgage upon it, since his father had made ample provision for her in his will. It is of this statement that I want to speak.

(1.) As to the ample provision: Under the will Mrs. Douglass was given a ten-thousand dollar government bond. This bond was in possession of Mr. Douglass when the will was made, but before his death he had sold it. So that the widow did not get the ten-thousand dollar government bond, or its equivalent in money.

Under the will Mrs. Douglass was also given the homestead at Cedar Hill, but the will was found defective. And so she lost not only the government bond, but also the homestead. You see how amply she was provided for under the will.

(2.) How then, the question may be asked, did Cedar Hill finally become the property of his widow? It was by purchase. Having lost it under the will, when the estate was finally settled up, being a part of it it had to be sold, and it was then that she bought it. And this is how the mortgage came to be put upon it. She did not have sufficient cash to pay for it in full, and borrowed \$5,500, in order to enable her to do so. Cedar Hill became her property not by inheritance under Mr. Douglass' will, but by purchase.

It is well also to remember, in this connection, that had Mrs. Douglass failed when the estate was settled up, to purchase Cedar Hill, it would have then passed entirely out of the hands of colored people. Or, if she, after purchasing it, had died intestate, it would have gone to her heirs and would also have been lost to the colored people. Or, if she had made a different will from the one which she did make, it would have been lost to the colored people. The only reason why she wanted to own it, was because she felt that, as it had been the home of Frederick Douglass for twenty-five years, located so beautifully at the Capital of the Nation, it

ought to be kept as a perpetual memorial to him, so that the colored people, coming here from all over the country, might go up to it, as the whites go to Mt. Vernon, and so get inspiration from his great career. When she found that she had lost it under the will, she tried to get the members of his family to agree to set it apart for that purpose, but they were unwilling to do so. And so there was nothing for her to do but to buy it herself, since her mind was fully made up that it should be kept as a memorial to Mr. Douglass. We who were in close touch with her, and who knew how difficult it is to raise money for such objects, tried to get her to put in her will a proviso to the effect, that in case the money could not be raised to lift the mortgage that the property should be sold and the proceeds used in establishing a scholarship in his memory in some of our institutions of higher learning. To this she finally agreed, under a protest, however, and did put into her will a codicil to that effect, but which she afterwards canceled. The more she thought of it the less was she inclined to let it remain. She could not bear to entertain the thought that the project might fail, and this was why she canceled the codicil, fearing that it might encourage some to be less active in the cause than they would otherwise be. Her heart was set upon it. She could not bring herself to believe that the colored people in this country, for whom Mr. Douglass had done so much, would allow the project to fail, involving only a few thousand dollars. It became a kind of obsession with her. Among the very last things that she said was: "Don't let my project fail." So strongly did she feel about the matter that she said one day: "If the money can't be raised, lock the house up, and let it rot down: let it stand as a monument to the shame of the colored people." And it would be a monument to the shame of the colored people if it should fail.

It is well for us to remember, and to remember with gratitude, that if beautiful Cedar Hill, with all its precious memories and associations, is saved to the colored people, it will be due: 1. To this noble-hearted white woman who bought it in, and by will, set it apart as a memorial to Mr. Douglass: and 2. to the women of the race who are now rallying so nobly to the rescue.

Whatever the colored people may think of Mrs. Helen Douglass, no one, in all this broad land, was more unselfishly devoted to Frederick Douglass, or more deeply interested in keeping Cedar Hill in perpetual memory of him. She did not marry him for what

he had. If she had, after he was gone, she would have pocketed her share of the estate, and would have lost sight of him and of his race, but such was not the case. She continued loyal to his memory, and was never ashamed anywhere, in any audience, to rise and own that she was his widow; nor did she cease until her death to wear on her breast a cameo likeness of Mr. Douglass. She was in every way a noble woman,—refined, educated,—a lady.

Pinckney Benton Stewart Pinchback to Francis J. Grimké

1341 U St., N. W., Wash., July 12-16.

Rev. Francis J. Grimké,
1415 Corcoran Str., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Your esteemed favor of the 28th ult. was duly received, contents noted and fully appreciated.

I thank you very much for your friendly reminder of my condition and gentle admonition of the need of preparation "for the life beyond." It was timely and pertinent and should have been acknowledged sooner.

Please excuse my tardiness and believe me to remain with assurance of my very high regard,

Yours very sincerely,
P. B. S. Pinchback.¹

John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké

Kansas City, Missouri, November 15, 1916.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I received a few days ago the announcement of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, and thank you very much for the same. The announcement was both a surprise and a pleasure—a surprise to realize that this great center of influence has been functioning for three quarters

¹ Pinchback was a great figure in Louisiana during the Reconstruction. He served there in many local positions. He was elected lieutenant governor and had to serve a short period as acting governor. He was elected to the United States Senate but was not seated. He served under W. H. Taft in the Internal Revenue Service. Pinchback spent his declining years in Washington, where he died in 1921.

of a century, and a pleasure that there are among us institutions venerable in associations and power.

All things considered the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church ranks among the foremost of the institutions of the United States which have influenced and expressed effectively and mightily the highest aims and noblest efforts of our race. In all parts of our country where our men and women are struggling to achieve, her influence has been felt, but especially and most fortunately has it been a beacon light and a power in the city of Washington, one of the chief centers of world influence.

I wish to felicitate you and the members of the church on this anniversary occasion and to express the hope that her great service and influence viewed in retrospect will increase her future service and power for good. You will pardon me, I hope, for saying that a chief cause for thanksgiving and rejoicing on this occasion is that the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church and consequently the race has been blessed for having a man of your noble character, distinguished piety, and splendid courage as her leader for so many years.

Wishing you good health and many more years of great usefulness, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

John L. Love.

It is needless for me to tell you how I would like to be there on this occasion.

Richard T. Greener to Francis J. Grimké

Chicago, Ill., November 16, 1916.

My very dear Friend:

Your kind remembrance and invitation to attend the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of your venerable Church is received with grateful thanks. My reply has only been delayed because up to the past week I had hoped to be present in person, both to meet and greet many of my dearest friends of the past forty odd years.

The summer of 1869, was the occasion of my first visit to Washington, not then a city of "magnificent distances," as it now truly is; but in the direful process of transformation; hills and hollows; mud everywhere; the glorious Capitol not yet finished; "Liberty" not yet set upon her pedestal.

It was as an amateur reader and yet a collegian that, I well recall that refined and cultured audience, one of the finest I have ever seen, which fully justified all that the Reverend Henry Highland Garnet had foretold me, of the congregation he had administered to, so much appreciated, and had so reluctantly left.

I can recall now the names of the many dear friends I met then and there for the first time, friends whose memory and friendship are still cherished by me.

In my various residences afterward in Washington the early friends and the later ones, you and your sainted wife, the children of the elders and members of that early day, still come over me and bring a halo of memory clustering about the dear old Church, ever perennial, ever fragrant.

How can I ever forget them! They are the very perfume of life, and a memory which can never die.

How can I fail to note (dearest of friends, and longest in ties of friendship), the faithful, unwearied, intrepid service you have Providentially been permitted to render to a congregation whose antecedents, traditions, talents, so diversified and so distinguished, are well known?

I dare venture to believe there is scarcely another Church of our race in the United States which may boast a brighter array of talent, a more refined or cultured auditory, or that has found more competent, faithful, God-fearing, Gospel-serving, public-spirited pastors, men of brain, of heart, and true piety, than the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church of Washington, D. C. God has granted such men,—rare men,—to preside over her destinies, to uphold His tabernacle, and to spread His cause. . . .

With all affectionate regard, to all the Church, I am ever

Sincerely yours,

Richard T. Greener.

Bessie Taylor Page to Francis J. Grimké

Pittsburgh, Pa., Dec. 11th, 1916.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

It seems only a week or two ago that you were hurriedly called in and asked to pray beside the bed of my dying husband. A short while after the return here you wrote a beautiful letter of comfort and many many times I have thought to write something

of my appreciation that you answered the request and later showed interest in the feeling that followed what was to have been a Xmas visit to my old mother. I wish now to ask pardon for the delayed expression of thanks and to assure you that there have been many times during this period of chaos that I have intended to give some evidence in words that I did not lack appreciation. Kindly accept it now.

You sent along a lovely poem that held a beautiful thought but I have so many and some such contradictory ones that I am inclined to doubt everything in the shape of promises that seem to have no greater assurance of being true than any promise that I might make.

There are several things that I wish to say and many forms of questioning that I cannot even take the time to commit to paper. Just now I am using time that is not my own but there are moments during the day that I must wait for work and if I fail to snatch at these I cannot hope to accomplish anything in letter form. The hours at home are largely taken up with the baby that is eighteen months old and trying to do some of the little duties around the house that my helper, a semi invalid, is not strong enough to do.

I heartily wish that I could have your views and beliefs about some of the questions that I wish so much settled and yet I doubt that you would be willing to commit them to paper especially since you represent the head of a faith and are teaching and living that faith every day, nevertheless you have had the time for reading, thought and reflection that those of us in the busier walks of life do not have and I should certainly like to have an expression that is as honest as you are able to make it in answer to some of the things that I am not satisfied about. If I could reach some sound belief in the lessons that I have been taught and if only I could believe with my heart, soul and body in the eternal life during this time when I am trying to get over the separation from one whom I loved absolutely and who in turn wanted to live because out of a life of disappointment he had come to believe he had found the companion that was his life's complement, in all that this implies and who came as near worshiping me as a human being can, then the separation would seem only a matter of a little while. But . . . and it is the innumerable "buts" that make the ache so constant, and so keen.

Do you really believe that there is life after death, life developed perhaps in spirit form in some other sphere? Why do you believe? Please don't quote the Bible for your belief, that is do not quote it in the sense that it is a book inspired by unseen spirits. I accept it as a book full of good lessons that all human kind will meet and have to settle by some law either the law made or suggested by these old philosophers or out of their own minds. What reason satisfies you that there is a future life? Do you believe fully the story of Christ, and then do you believe as fully the story of Mohammed? Now as to my belief in these two, and it takes courage to write it when there are thousands who claim to believe so differently, I think each lived in the period history claims and that each wonderfully influenced as teachers the people then and now. I have doubts about much that is said to have surrounded the miracles each performed. If they did the things claimed by them then I can well believe in spiritualism. Spiritualism is not in the vulgar thought of the fortune teller but in the sense that a spirit world exists just as active and more or less in close relation to us and perhaps with the power to see and know what goes on with us. But my thought is that if it existed then it exists now, and while thousands claim to believe in this I read with keen interest an article in the *Fra*, published in East Aurora, N. Y., and the reply in this month's *Fra*. The writer this month explains that those who have claimed contact with the other world and who can see and form mediums between are all frauds. To be honest this is my candid belief. Altho with my whole heart I wish I could believe that after death that which makes you you and that which I know as myself, the ego some call it, I wish I could believe it would live and grow and develop. I want to believe this. Can you convince me?

When my baby was born it was necessary to give me ether in the hospital, and before being taken to the room I felt that I no more feared death than life. I had been training myself to be ready should that end it. After his birth but before I had been returned to my room, I knew some minutes before the nurses discovered, that life, or its functioning was slowly stopping, and I could not speak, but asked myself if that was death. The mind has never in my life been more active. I knew in a brief space that I was dying, and such loneliness as I looked into the unknown I can never never describe. I sought God and asked forgiveness

if the doubts that I had had were wrong, and I begged in those moments that there be some revelation that the grave did not end it. There was absolutely no answer except that that I found in my own mind. I prayed as I could never describe, not with fear but with such tremendous loneliness that I must give up that which I knew as life, for that blankness that seemed to face the stopping of life. I entrusted my soul, even without the slightest response, to God's keeping, because I have been taught all my life to believe in God. And I do believe in a vague kind of way that the creative force wherever it is and whenever it moves is the thing that heathens and civilized man alike worship as God. But again I had no answer. I knew that the doctors were working and working hard to get the heart stimulated and knowing that that had been a matter of serious concern all along, I turned my attention in an effort to use will power with whatever they might be able to do. When you knelt beside the bed of Mr. Page, I begged God that if He reigned and was to comfort human souls that he, Mr. Page, might enter into that other form without the fears of loneliness that I had had and that though he apparently appeared to be unconscious of those around him. I believe it possible for the mind to be active long after the body is sufficiently inanimate to show response.

It would be a great pleasure to read the thoughts of many of the best writers on their beliefs but there is hardly time in the twenty-four hours to accomplish the very necessary things, and no time at least at present for a long or continuous reading. The sermons that one hears at most of the churches show that either the superstitious side of our natures is appealed to or a tendency on the part of the speakers to avoid an appeal to reason. Or is it that I am decidedly hard to accept things on faith?

If you can give me the time I shall be glad to have your thoughts along the line suggested. I have read and heard your sermons and while I have no recollection of hearing a treatment of beliefs yet I believe you are an independent thinker and I shall hope to have food for thought in a reply that I trust to receive from this.

There is much that I have said so poorly, and so incompletely because I have not only been interrupted but have had to divide my attention between this and my work. I hope you will overlook the roughness and understand that it is not an easy matter

to write in a room with some ten or twelve other people and give attention to the buying and selling of steel and iron. This is the work that I was given through Carnegie Steel Co., out of respect for my husband who had been with them as stenographer for twenty-five years and longer.

Trusting to hear from you, and thanking you for the kindness shown at a time when your services were needed, rather your prayers, I am

Yours very truly,
Bessie Taylor Page.

Francis J. Grimké to Bessie Taylor Page

Washington, D. C., December, 1916.

My dear Mrs. Page:

I was very glad to have a line from you. I wrote you a letter, and wrote your mother-in-law a letter also, but did not know whether either had been received. I wrote, hoping that I might bring a little comfort to both of you. I am glad to know that my letter was received and, though it may not have helped you, it did not, at least, add to your sorrows. I deeply sympathized with you at the time, and still do, and wish so much that in some way I might be helpful to you in the crisis through which you are passing.

Shocked, stunned as you must have been by the sudden taking away of your dear companion, thought of the future life has naturally claimed much of your attention. The thing which seems to be troubling you is as to whether death is the end of that conscious entity we call self, or the ego, or is there something which survives the grave? You ask, "What reason satisfies you that there is a future life?" In answer to this question I would say:

(1) There is the testimony of Jesus Christ as to the reality of life beyond the grave. And when I speak of the testimony of Jesus Christ I mean His testimony in the light of all that we know of His character and life. No one can study the four Gospels and look at him as presented in them from a purely historical standpoint and not have the most implicit confidence in Him. Never mind how closely that record may be searched, there is nothing in it that tends in the least to undermine our confidence in His honesty, in His integrity, in His perfect truthfulness. There is no evidence anywhere in that record that He ever attempted

to deceive anybody, to represent things other than they really were. Nor can there be the slightest doubt as to His perfect sanity. He was always Himself, always knew absolutely what He was about. The point in the argument that I am making here is: From what we know of the character of Jesus, would He be likely to speak on a subject about which He knew nothing; or, knowing, would He be likely to say what was not true? And here I am reminded, in this connection, of the words of John Stuart Mill, David Frederick Strauss and Jean Paul Richter.

Mill says: When this pre-eminent genius is combined with the qualities of probably the greatest moral reformer, and martyr to that mission, whoever existed on earth, religion cannot be said to have made a bad choice in pitching upon this man as the ideal representative and guide of humanity; nor even now would it be easy, even for an unbeliever, to find a better translation of the rule of virtue from the abstract into the concrete than to endeavor so to live that Christ would approve our life."

Strauss says, "He remains the highest model of religion within the reach of our thought; and no perfect piety is possible without His presence in the heart."

Richter says, "Jesus is the purest among the mighty, and the mightiest among the pure."

I have made these quotations simply to call attention to the impression which Jesus, as He appears in the Gospel record, made upon these men, and not only upon them, but upon all who have studied His record. There is no difference of opinion as to the purity or loftiness of His character and life. If anyone ever lived who stood for the highest and best things in character and life, it was Jesus Christ.

Now, with this fact before us, the question naturally arises, Did He have anything to say about the future life? And, if so, can we bring ourselves to believe, from what we know of His character, that He would have touched the subject at all had there been no future life?

1. Did He have anything to say? O yes, much; very much. Thought of the future is interwoven with all of His teachings. He not only takes it for granted, but asserts it over and over again. It is involved in all that He taught about the future judgment. The time of reckoning is coming, but it will not be until the close of the earthly life. He said to Martha and Mary when they were

in sore distress because of the death of their brother Lazarus, "I am the resurrection and the life. He that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live." He said to his twelve apostles a little before He was about to leave them, "In My Father's house are many mansions. I go to prepare a place for you, and if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto Myself, that where I am there ye may be also." In his great intercessory prayer, recorded in John 17th, He said, addressing Himself to God, "Glorify thou Me with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was." And so in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, the survival of the soul after death is clearly assumed. Jesus did speak of the future life, and He spoke of it in no uncertain terms, but with positive assurance. There is, therefore, a future life, or else we must give up our belief in the lofty character of Jesus. If there is no future life, and He knew that there was not, how could He, as an honest man, have taught it? Or could He, as an honest man, have made any declaration about it at all? We are, it seems to me, shut up to one of two things: We must believe there is a future life on the basis of what Jesus says, or else we must give up our belief in the purity, in the loftiness of His character. So far as I am concerned, I cannot bring myself, by any process of reasoning, to entertain for a moment any doubt as to the character of Jesus, and so I must believe with Him in immortality, in a future life.

(2) In the resurrection of Jesus I find also another argument in support of the belief in immortality. That Jesus lived, that He was arrested by His enemies, tried, condemned to death and executed and the third day arose from the dead are historical facts and rest upon as good evidence as any other historical facts that have come down to us. I cannot here, of course, go into the examination of the evidence in support of this assertion, but the matter has been thoroughly canvassed by the greatest masters in historical research, and there is no flaw in the evidence. The historical fact is that after Jesus had been put to death, after He had been pronounced dead by the Roman officials and He was buried, He reappeared, and for the space of forty days was seen, not once, but many times, and seen by those who had been most closely associated with Him and who were best able to testify as to His identity.

This being true, in the survival of Jesus after death we have

proof positive that the grave does not end all; that the ego, the conscious entity we call self, survives, lives on, after it has shuffled off this mortal coil.

(3) I find my belief in immortality strengthened also by the line of argument pointed out by Addison in his *Cato*. You may recall the passage:

“It must be so—Plato, thou reason'st well—
Else whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire,
This longing after mortality?
Or whence this secret dread, and inward horror
Of falling into nought? Why shrinks the Soul
Back on herself, and startles at destruction?
'Tis the Divinity that stirs within us;
'Tis Heav'n itself that points out a hereafter,
And intimates eternity to man.”

I will not elaborate upon this; you see the point that he is making, and it is well worth considering.

(4) There is a line of argument also suggested, by Victor Hugo, that I have been greatly helped by. It is found in those memorable words of his that have been often quoted and which were uttered by him when he was waiting for the end.

“I feel,” he said, “immortality in myself; I am rising, I know, toward the sky. The earth gives me its generous sap, but Heaven lights me with the reflection of unknown worlds. You say the soul is nothing but the resultant of bodily powers. Why, then, is my soul more luminous as the bodily powers begin to fail? Winter is on my head, but eternal spring is in my heart. There I breathe at this hour as I did at the age of twenty the fragrance of lilacs, and violets, and roses. The nearer I approach the end, the plainer I hear around me the immortal symphonies of the world to come. It is marvellous, yet simple. It is a fairy tale, yet a fact. For half a century I have been writing my thoughts in prose and verse; history, philosophy, drama, romance, tradition, satire, ode, song—I have tried all. But I feel that I have not said a thousandth part of what is in me. When I go down to the grave I shall have ended my day's work. But another day will begin next morning. Life closes in the twilight; it opens with the dawn.”

I think those are splendid words, and they grow out of something within us, implanted there by the Creator, that never can be satisfied with this narrow earth life, and therefore forms, it seems

to me, a rational basis for belief in the projection of life beyond the grave. There was something in your own experience which seems to touch the same line of thought as in Victor Hugo's statement. You said, though you thought you were dying, and were unable to speak, yet your mind was never more active than at that moment. If death is the end of conscious existence, you would have expected the very opposite—the lessening of the mental powers along with the physical, but the opposite in your case proved to be true.

I don't want to weary you. I have written already, perhaps, too much. I hope, in some way, you may get something out of it that may be helpful to you. I will be glad to have you write me at anytime, and will be glad to assist you in getting into a more hopeful frame of mind in any way I can.

With kindest regards and best wishes, and the earnest prayer that soon you may find a sure foundation upon which to rest your faith in a future life, I am,

Yours very truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

Francis J. Grimké to William Monroe Trotter

Washington, D. C., May 1, 1917.

Dear Mr. Trotter:

I have just read in the last issue of the *Guardian* your editorial, including the editorial of Mr. Mitchell of *The Planet*, in which he administers a very just and timely rebuke to Dr. Frissell for some things which he said in the last issue of *The Southern Workman*. It is amazing that at this late day, and after the steady decline of our rights under Mr. Washington's policy of "quiet, unpretentious service," that Dr. Frissell should be attempting to revive that pernicious, unAmerican, unmanly heresy of quiet submission to wrong. What God directed His prophet to do was: "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and declare unto My people their transgressions, and to the house of Jacob their sins." That is what we have been doing, and will continue to do, until white America heeds the message, turns from its evil ways and accords to the Negro the rights which justly belong to him as much as to any other American citizen. Dr. Frissell had just as well understand now, once for all, that the policy for which

he stands, as regards our rights, never will be accepted by the American Negro. And the inculcation of such a policy comes with very little grace from white men who never think of following it when their own rights are involved. Is it because they think, after all, that the Negro is made of a little different clay, and therefore that it is all right for him to submit quietly to what white men would not be expected to submit to, and would not submit to, without the most vigorous protest? If some of our white friends would put themselves in the place of the Negro, and realize that there is no essential difference between the Negro and themselves, they would be saved from some of the foolish things which they recommend at times. Let *The Planet*, let *The Guardian*, let all Negro newspapers continue to speak out, and in every other legitimate way let the agitation for our rights go on. It is in vain for Dr. Frissell or anybody else to try to stop it.

Yours for equality of rights for all citizens, regardless of race or condition.

Francis J. Grimké.

Francis J. Grimké to Allen Washington

Washington, D. C., May 12, 1917.

Dear Major Allen Washington:

Very glad I was to have a line from you and to receive a copy of the communication sent to the President, the Secretary of War and some Representatives in Congress relative to the training of officers among Negroes as well as among the whites. I get indignant every time I think of the mean and contemptible spirit that seeks to shut the Negro out of everything that might give him an opportunity of vindicating his manhood. The action of the Administration, so far, in this matter has been just what might have been expected. The South is in the saddle, and, of course, the thought of training Negroes to be commissioned officers in the Army would not be in harmony with the Southern notion of Negro inferiority. We have a right, however, to insist upon being trained for positions in the Army just as other citizens are to be trained. And I am glad that you, and men like yourself, at Hampton feel as you do about the matter, and have given expression to your feelings in the straightforward, manly way in which you have done, notwithstanding the recent utterance in the last number of *The*

Southern Workman of Dr. Frissell, counselling a policy of "quiet, unpretentious service" instead of the manly assertion of our rights along with service. We ought to do all we can to push forward our race along all lines of development, but, at the same time, it would be foolish, and would only be postponing the day when our rights will be recognized, for us to acquiesce quietly in present conditions. If we wait for the white men to give us our rights because they think we are worthy to receive them, we shall wait forever. That is not the way rights come to people who are deprived of them. They have come only through struggle, through agitation. "Who would be free themselves must strike the blow." Why should the Negro be an exception to all other races? Why should he wait until the oppressors are willing to accord to him his rights? I hope, not only in this matter, but in other matters affecting the interest of the race, that you and others at Hampton will continue to speak out the sentiments which I am sure you feel and which are shared by the manly, self-respecting Negroes all over this country. I shall always be glad to hear from you. And with kindest regards and best wishes, I am,¹

Yours very truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

Francis J. Grimké to the Great Commission Prayer League

Washington, D. C., July 2, 1917.

I have just received your circular, "A Call to World-Wide Simultaneous Intercession," and began reading it, and went on reading it until I came to Section II—"Your Church and Community," and the second paragraph under this general head: "Hast thou a church making no distinction between rich and poor?" Why did you stop there? Why didn't you add, "and between white and black?" Before reading any farther in this "Call to World-Wide Simultaneous Intercession," I am sending this letter to know whether an association or league that thinks it is wrong to discriminate between rich and poor in our churches, but not wrong to discriminate between white and black, is fit to send out an appeal like this in the name of Jesus Christ. One reason why I have so little faith in American Christianity is that it is saturated

¹ Major Allen Washington was in charge of the cadets at Hampton Institute.

through and through with race prejudice. Its very attitude, its constant, its persistent attitude on the race question is a standing argument against its genuineness. It does not in any sense represent the spirit of Jesus Christ. It preaches the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, but it doesn't practice it; it doesn't really believe in it; it doesn't want to believe in it. Jesus came to break down walls of separation and to make us brethren; but the American Church has been, and is now doing all in its power to produce the very opposite effect when it comes to the relation between the races, between whites and blacks. We need, and need badly, a "simultaneous intercession" movement, first of all to awaken the professors of religion in our white churches in this country to the consciousness of the fact that "God is no respecter of persons"; that the color of a man's skin counts for nothing with Him. Peter said, "God hath showed me that I should call no man common or unclean." And again, "In every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him." This great truth the white Christians in America, as a body, have never accepted, except in theory. They have persistently refused to regulate their lives according to it. And yet they dare to call themselves Christians, while acting contrary, purposely, deliberately contrary, to this fundamental principle of Christianity. What are they, anyhow? Are they self-deceived or are they trying to deceive God? "I know My sheep," He says: and no mere profession of Christianity with this great and vital principle of the brotherhood of man left out will be owned by Him. It is a spurious Christianity. The American Church never will get right until this cancer that is eating at its very vitals is cut out, root and branch. Now, wouldn't it be a good thing if your Prayer League would begin to concern itself a little about this very serious defect in white American Christianity? I make the suggestion, and would be very glad to cooperate with the league in any way I can in bringing about the desired result. There can't be much of a revival of religion until this sin is repented of and the Church cleansed and purified. The Church will then be able to move forward in the great strength of God to the noble task to which it is called by its great Head. Let us be honest with ourselves; don't let us play the part of hypocrites. If Christianity stands for anything, let us be true to it, never mind how unpopular it may be, however it may run counter to our prejudices. Jesus said, "If

any man will be My disciple, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow Me." We want more to follow Him, but we don't want to take the cross; but we have got to do it. Christianity is a heroic religion. It is not a religion for cowards and time-servers and those who want to move with the current of popular opinion. Jesus made that perfectly plain when He sent His disciples forth. "Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves." "And ye shall be hated of all men for My name sake." "Fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell."

This is the type of Christianity that is sadly needed in this country, and your league can set before it no greater or more worthy task than to start in earnest to produce such a Christianity—a Christianity that will command respect because it will be earnestly endeavoring, and not merely pretending, to follow the Lord Jesus Christ, who knew no man by the color of his skin, but was the friend of all—was equally interested in all.

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

*Francis J. Grimké to the Witness Bearing Committee of the
Reformed Presbyterian Church*

1924 South College Avenue

Philadelphia, Pa., July 19, 1917.

Gentlemen:

I am away from home on my vacation. Your circular-letter has been forwarded to me at this point. That Jesus Christ has not been accepted as the Divine Ruler by this Nation is true, and is to be regretted; but is it not also true that He has not been accepted as such even by the Church, except in name only? How many of the forty million professing Christians in this land are following His lead? How many of them believe in human brotherhood? How many of them feel and act as Christians ought to feel and act on the race problem? The Church itself is now and has been the great bulwark of race prejudice in this country. It professes to be Christian, but makes no earnest, honest effort to carry out the spirit and teachings of Jesus Christ, except where they do not run counter to its prejudices.

The very first thing to be done is to get the Church right before

we can reasonably hope to get the Nation right. When the Church ceases its empty, hypocritical cant about the Kingship of Jesus Christ and courageously stands up for Christian principles in the midst of this degenerate age and nation, we may expect a change for the better, but not until then. The place for judgment to begin is at the house of God.

I would have a great deal more faith in such movements as the one in which you are engaged if they were directed toward bringing about better conditions within the Church itself. If the salt loses its savor, of what good is it? If light is put under a bushel, of what value is it? We need a Church baptized with the Holy Spirit—a Church of vision—a Church that fears not the face of man—a church that dares to stand by the side of Jesus Christ and to stand up for Christian principles, though it may be an unpopular thing to do—a Church that lives and moves and has its being under the great imperative, “We must obey God rather than man.”

“Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners?”

That may be taken as a fit emblem or representation of the Church. But does the Church as we find it in this country answer to that description? Does it look forth as the morning? Is it fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners? No, No, let it be said to its shame! It is anything but fair—anything but awe-inspiring. Who is afraid of it? It is weak—pitifully weak, in the presence of the giant evils that exist today—and in the presence of none more so than race prejudice. Instead of fighting it, it is forever getting down on its knees before it and doing what the devil wanted Jesus to do, but which He declined to do—worship it. And yet we wonder why things are no better than they are, why the Nation does not acknowledge Jesus as its Divine Ruler.¹

Pardon me for writing as I have. I am now, and have been for a long time, deeply interested in the matter of which I have spoken.

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

¹ At this time the Church was trying to broaden its program in order to deal with all social ills affecting especially the whites while ignoring the Negro as an impossible problem. Dr. Grimké, however, used this and many other occasions to expose the hypocrisy of so-called Christianity and to fix the blame for its failure. The compromisers of the Church could not easily answer him and seldom undertook to do so.

W. J. Coleman to Francis J. Grimké

Pittsburgh, Pa., July 24, 1917.

Dear Brother:

Your kind and thoughtful letter of July 19th is at hand, and I am disposed to agree with you that Jesus Christ has not been accepted as the Divine Ruler of Nations, nor in any real way as the Divine Ruler of the Church. The millennium is "the reign of Christ," and the distance from the general acceptance of Him as Ruler of both Church and State is our distance from the millennium.

I see you make a specialty of race prejudice and I wonder if I did not meet you in connection with the Pan-Presbyterian Council in Washington in 1899.

I believe that the Church of Jesus Christ has one tremendous power in her hands which she very seldom uses, and that is the power of discipline. If she would put out rank offenders against the principles of her profession, she would stir this whole country. There is not anything that the world hates and fears more than the exercise of discipline in the Church.

I am a firm believer also in the power of the truth, boldly, frankly, plainly preached. If the preachers in this country would stand boldly for the truth, we know the whole moral aspect of affairs would be changed at once.

Yours sincerely,

W. J. Coleman.

William H. Croghan to Francis J. Grimké

South Atlanta, Ga., September 20, 1917.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I hope you are well. It may seem like an age since you received a letter from me. I wish to say, however, that you are always top-most in my thoughts of the men who have achieved some lasting good for the race. I love you for what you have done and for what you are. Doubtless your life and labors have been a blessing to colored Washington, but your influence has not been bounded by Washington. It has been felt beyond, and farther than you think. The name of Francis J. Grimké was known to me long before I met you, and in all the years since I have never heard that name mentioned but with perfect respect.

I read with much interest your address on the seventy-fifth

anniversary of your church. The church has had a notable history. I notice that your connection with it began in 1877, just one year after I became connected with Clark. We have been moving along neck and neck. I presume with somewhat similar experiences. I am not sure, but you have seen more genuine progress in your field of action, owing to the fact that we have had so many changes in administration—ten presidents in forty years, or since we became a chartered institution in 1877. There were several presidents before the charter. Of all of them but one, I served longest. President Thayer, in the earliest days, served eight years; I seven. I have been out of the presidency now seven years. Within that period the school has had three presidents, all white. Form your own judgment. Read what Mr. Thomas Jesse Jones has to say about Clark in his report on Negro colleges, and imagine how I feel on the subject after forty-one years of service in this school. However, I am well in body and mind, have not lost forty-one days out of the classroom because of sickness during the forty-one years. Last year carried a heavier schedule of classes than any member of the faculty.

Well, now, what about the war? When will you be through licking Germany? One of my sons has received a commission as first lieutenant in the Officers' Dental Reserve Corps. This is the extent to which the Crogman family will be represented in this man-devouring conflict. They tell us it is a war for "democracy." I hope it is, but to be consistent I wish we would begin at home where, according to the old adage, charity should begin. This war is largely a war for commercial supremacy, with Africa as the chief prize. I verily believe, nevertheless, that Almighty God is riding upon the storm, and that some good is to come out of it for the darker races.

On the enclosed card will you please send me the name and address of the treasurer of the American Negro Academy? I have some money for them. Mr. Cromwell wrote me last January that my "name would be restored to membership if within thirty days I should forward the sum of five dollars." It is a joke that one of the founders of the Academy should allow his name to be dropped because of delinquency in payment of dues, but the sinner ought to be punished.

As ever yours,
W. H. Crogman.

P. S.: I have just found Mr. Cromwell's letter and note that you are treasurer. Hence, I send check to you. Perhaps I ought to say that for several years I have been passing through severe financial embarrassments, having lost two sons in four years.

W. H. C.

*Francis J. Grimké to the U. S. Employment Service of The
Department of Labor*

Washington, D. C., September 24, 1917.

Gentlemen :

I received from your office a few days ago the enclosed circular, which I hereby return. I decline to receive it. It is surprising that you did not see the impropriety of sending out such a paper. The assumption running through it is that colored people are to be limited to certain grades of work only. By what authority is this done? Are they not citizens, entitled to the same considerations as other citizens? If your communication had simply stated that these places are open to anyone who might see fit to apply for them, it would be different: but no, the old rebel spirit that sought to destroy the Union and to perpetuate slavery, and that never loses an opportunity to show its contempt for the Negro, and to impress upon him his inferiority to the white man, had to inject itself. I know that the President and the members of his Cabinet, in conducting the affairs of the Nation, have assumed his inferiority and their right to discriminate against him, but it is an unwarrantable assumption, and a usurpation of power in contravention of the provisions of the Constitution, and inconsistent with the spirit of free institutions, and the avowed purpose for which we are fighting Germany—to establish democracy throughout the world. Your circular is an insult to every self-respecting Negro, and, especially, at this time, when he, with other citizens of the Republic, is being called upon to share equally with the whites in bearing the burdens and responsibilities of the great war upon which the country has embarked. I hope the time is not far distant when such supercilious distinctions will find no place in any of the Departments of the Government, and when the ignoble spirit out of which they come will be everywhere execrated.

I have hesitated to write this, but impelled by my own self-respect, and, in justice to the colored people, and, in the hope of

calling attention to an evil that is a disgrace to our Government, and a constant source of irritation to a large part of the population, I felt that I must write.

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

Stansbury Boyce to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., Nov. 14th, 1917.

Rev. Dear Sir:

Though our acquaintance has not been of long duration I have from our first interview regarded you as a zealous patriot of the race advocating all that pertains to their moral, spiritual and financial progress.

I have recently encountered a snag in which I cannot credit sincerity for your effort to avoid discussion betrays a lack of confidence in what you assert, for your remarks are depreciative of a people who are greater benefactors of the colored race than our own country and I would be ungrateful and cowardly did I not champion her.

The basis upon which I take issue are these—I believe I am considerably your senior and have a practical knowledge of the various families of our race in the Western Hemisphere embracing the English, French, Danish and Dutch colonies of the West Indies, part of South America and have since made extensive travels in Europe observing critically sociological conditions of Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France and England, comparing the manners and condition of the middle and lower classes with our own people.

My father and mother carried me an infant from Baltimore to the British island of Trinidad where I passed all my minority. I returned to America about the time of Andrew Johnson's second year. I became actively engaged in political matters.

I was vice president of the 11th ward of Baltimore which was the first ward subsequently to elect a colored City Councilman (Harry Cmmings). My other proceedings are too numerous to relate. I shall, however, say that I was assistant editor of "*The Commonwealth*" of Baltimore whose chief was John E. Bruce (Bruce Grit) and I have contributed to many of the white papers of the city.

In 1891 I left Baltimore along with my wife and went to Jacksonville, Fla., where we were in business eighteen years; while there I wrote considerably for the "Colored American" of this city as also to colored papers in Jacksonville.

When I arrived in America I was over enthusiastic, confident and ardent. I thought all my race wanted was education and an opportunity. In Baltimore for about 25 years along with my other occupations I was engaged as a private tutor and taught adult folks at their homes and I closely studied my race.

After these many years I have become disillusioned. I find the race on the farm making praiseworthy and gigantic strides securing themselves comforts and competency but from those who come to the cities they do not fulfill expectations justifying the wide spread establishment of public schools and the receipt of higher education at high school and colleges. While the less educated of our race and peasantry on the farms are thriving as Booker Washington truly attests, the city people are lamentable failures. Their highest ambition apparently is to be employed by Uncle Sam or to be a teacher and the surplus huge crowd to be domestics and laborers in the cities, even in small enterprises they are out-classed by Italians and Chinese. And if there is anything to reconcile me to the apparent encroachment upon a man's individual rights, viz., prohibition it is the abatement of the Negro buzzards that surround liquor shops.

Before going to Jacksonville I kept a dry goods store in Baltimore, but it was small, but on going to Jacksonville I expanded and usually kept six clerks and in holidays as many as twelve while there. I built seven houses and gave employment to colored mechanics. A debate was held there once—Who did more for the race in Jacksonville—Boyce, the merchant, or Joe Lee, the Collector of Customs?

The colored people studiously avoid enterprises which require capital, enterprise, and intelligence. They love to be promoters which involves no responsibility, and when their inexperienced and undigested ideas result in a fiasco, poor cooks, chambermaids and waiters are victimized.

With the exception of Washington 95 per cent of the colored population of cities are domestics and laborers. There is no white carpenter so poor that he cannot employ a colored man to dig a post hole for him or fisherman to have a Negro carry his basket,

I think the 95 per cent would do better on the farms if they cannot acquit themselves more creditably in the cities. Our educated men are weaklings.

Now how is it in the West Indies? Every thing that the white man does is also done by the colored.

Then our race in America is so vain and extravagant disgorging all their hard earnings in the Installment Houses.

The fear of being unable to provide against sickness and death gave rise to the numerous societies who from time to time fleece them—like the True Reformers. Even in Washington the recipients of princely salaries as teachers and Government employees how much has been secured by bank deposits or real estate?

I am not and have never been of the kind who say "Go on." I say "Come on." I demonstrated the ability of the colored man to keep a dry goods store and now, having retired, I have besides other interests twelve houses in this city and further aspiration is bounded simply because, first I have no need for it, secondly, my health failing compelled me to desist from mental worry.

These strictures are sources of mortification to me that I would not disclose to a white man but why should we be insincere to each other "*Magna est veritas et prevalibit.*"

Many of our race have been taught by white people that the white man is his superior and many of our race feel that way and are incredible of what a colored man says and despises his claim to knowledge no matter what opportunities he may have had to gather information. Natural ability is a very valuable asset but knowledge is to be acquired by intelligent investigation, travel, comparison and patience. A man may have good brains but without information he may be like a good stove without fuel. Equally injurious is it to listen to only one side of the question like some men who read newspapers and contumelious books—the production of those who hate us and would like to make it appear that no country treats us any better than Americans treat us, but they are caught in their hypocrisy sometimes as in the case not long ago when Lord Bryce, the English ambassador, reproached the people and clergy of this city for denying to colored Sunday school children the privilege of marching in a parade.

I have heard the expression often used—"The English are just as bad" from the lips of those who have no means of learning any better, but I would ask those who ought to know better, "Have

the English people any where in their colonies, even away from their immediate observation, committed such brutality as was perpetrated upon our people in East St. Louis, Coatesville, or Atlanta which never evoked even a reproof from the Chief Executive, and in fact, have not lynchings been unbrokenly practiced during the terms of Republican and Democratic presidents alike, perpetrated upon colored people and passed unnoticed?

The British government is an aristocratic government which makes a distinction in the condition of individuals. I have seen poor white men remove their hats to prominent colored men in the West Indies. Our government declares that all men are born free and equal yet wealthy and respectable men and women of color are compelled to ride in Jim Crow cars. Our navy has no use for colored men except as menials and what about the Freedman's Bank?

England has never been under any obligation to the colored man as has America. This present war will be the first time that she has ever utilized them. When she freed the slaves in the West Indies she paid for them with money, but America made us fight and rewarded us with a counterfeit citizenship such as no white citizen would be satisfied with. Humiliations, discriminations, unprovoked murders, lynchings and any type of barbarity are heaped upon us to all of which the Chief Executive is as indifferent as if he were a Sphinx.

I can say with consistent regard to veracity that during my whole life spent under the British flag that I have never once been mortified on account of my color. In my youth at the public schools contest in the presence of Lord Harris, the governor of the island, I received from his hand \$5 as a prize in Arithmetic, meanwhile being distinguished for proficiency in grammar and writing. And in 1900 on a visit to the island I visited the Masonic lodge, and as a distinguished visitor having high orders I was a guest of honor and the Governor of the island, a British Lord sat below me.

In 1912 myself and wife being in London witnessed a remarkable event which occurred in West Croyden. The great composer Coleridge Taylor's death at that place occasioned our attendance. We found about 20,000 people surrounding the church where the obsequies were solemnized, and it was owing to the civilities of a gentleman who was requested to be on the outlook for our party

that we gained admission through the dense crowd into the church. We were indebted to this same gentleman afterwards to be placed on an omnibus that went to the cemetery and afterwards placed us in the funeral procession and we among the many thousands had the honor of standing immediately around the grave. Three of us, the sole individuals of color whom the people thought was a fitting tribute to the deceased as representatives from America.

You have read the cordial reception at tea which Queen Victoria accorded to Londoners of Jubilee Singers repute.

While I deplore the many outrages upon our manhood it is also a source of grief to know that the ambitions of the members of my race are not such that I feel proud. I have hope that a time will come when better things will be ushered in but I would like it to be in my day.

Yours very truly,
Stansbury Boyce.

P. S. I believe your brother is not quite favorable to me. I met him one day on New Jersey Ave. and we had a cordial chat until he had listened to my radical views.

I told him of a project I had entertained for a long time and had proposed to a great many leaders of the race which was to compile a Directory of worthy men and women of our race of every branch of industry and enterprise throughout the United States with identification marks opposite their names showing their comparative wealth and patriotism so that when necessary, thousands or hundreds of thousands of letters of appeal could be sent them. For such a Directory I was willing to assist as much as \$500. And along with the Directory to have a press entirely controlled by our race as also the whole league and organization to be within our own race. I quoted the old saying—"He that would be free must himself strike the blow." Villard and others may be very liberal and patriotic but unless there is some imperfection in our race I don't see why we should leave the dearest and most responsible duties a man owes his manhood to be championed by members of another race—an alien.¹

Your brother differed with me and as we parted I gave him a parting shot—"No white man shall rule me."

¹ Mr. Boyce had no objection to the cooperation of the whites in the elevation of colored people; but in more than one instance certain white friends had undertaken not only to lead but to dictate to Negroes.

*Francis J. Grimké to Edward Douglass White, Chief Justice
Supreme Court*

Washington, D. C., November, 1917.

Dear Sir:

You will please pardon the liberty which I now take of addressing you. The propriety of it may be questioned, but I felt that I wanted to express to you my very great gratification at the recent decision of your Court in the matter of "Segregation." I feel grateful to the whole Court, but to you especially, as the Chief Justice, and as I am told by the colored men employed in the Court, that no one of all the Judges is more kindly disposed towards colored people than yourself.

This decision will mean a great deal to the colored people all over the country. They are struggling hard to make good in the face of great obstacles. No one knows but a colored man himself how great these obstacles are,—how difficult it is, with ignorance and poverty, the sad heritage of slavery for which they were not responsible, and also an adverse public sentiment which seeks ever to narrow their opportunities, to keep them on the lower levels of civilization, for them to keep their heads above water and to maintain their self-respect. This decision will greatly encourage them in their laudable efforts to make good, to fit themselves in every respect to meet fully all the great duties and responsibilities resting upon them as citizens of our common country. A struggling race can be easily discouraged, or it may be as easily encouraged. In behalf of the ten millions of colored people I want to say this will be a help to them and not a hindrance.

Again thanking you, I am,

Very respectfully,
Francis J. Grimké.

Rev. Raymond Vernimont to Francis J. Grimké

Denton, Tex., January 2, 1918.

Rev. F. J. Grimké,

Rev. Friend:

Your powerful rebuke in the last issue of the *Crisis* is correct from top to bottom. Put it in leaflet form for distribution. What a stir it would create We are not free of hypocrisy where we

say the Lord's prayer and then refuse to associate with those towards whom there is prejudice. How weak are Christians! A smile is sufficient to unbalance them. We have one kind of Christianity in the church and a different one on the street. Can God be hoodwinked? This day we proclaim Democracy. Words and deeds are two different things. Let us all be one family as we have but one Father in heaven.

Raymond Vernimont,
Catholic Priest.

Kelly Miller to H. P. Lyman

Washington, D. C., January 4, 1918.

My dear Mr. Lyman:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your favor expressing regret at Dr. Grimké's caustic attitude on the Christian Church as portrayed in the January issue of the *Crisis*.

I showed your letter to Dr. Grimké and he informed me that he had forwarded you several copies of his writings which contain his uncompromising attitude on the practical application of righteousness to the issues of life.

Dr. Grimké is a Negro Puritan and does not weigh practical values against abstract principles. He does not believe that the favor of God can be purchased with money. He stands upright and down—straight as a Hebrew prophet pointing out the straight and narrow way of truth and righteousness.

Those of us who approach the problem from a practical point of view shut our eyes to many moral inconsistencies and travesties upon the principles of Jesus by His professed followers for the work's sake. The apostle Paul tells us that the giving of goods to the poor is no sufficient offset for charity. However, giving of goods to the poor is of itself a worthy deed and should elicit the gratitude of the beneficiary even where all the requirements of charity are not fulfilled. The poet says, "When I give I do not give lectures on a little charity; when I give, I give myself." This is the standard set by Jesus and required of those who would follow in His footsteps.

Let us hope that the Christian people of America will not en-

deavor to substitute works for faith, but will show their faith through their works.

Mr. Grimké is my own pastor, and therefore I have a fuller understanding of his general attitude, which must be admired even where it is not imitated.

Yours truly,
Kelly Miller.¹

Edward L. Parks to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., January 26, 1918.

My dear Doctor:

Please accept hearty thanks for the printed copy of your recent prayer-meeting address. I have read it with deep interest. I heartily endorse all your views. As you know, there was a period in the anti-slavery agitation when it seemed as though the truth would never get a hearing, much less be embodied in the national life, but in a few years it was triumphant as far as the form of chattel slavery was concerned. I believe that it will ultimately be triumphant in every form. Last night I listened in a meeting of the National Popular Government League to several spirited addresses on the effects of the war upon various phases of democracy in our own country and in the world. The ideas of full human justice and brotherhood were reiterated in one form or another by almost every speaker. In such meetings I am always painfully aware that the speakers do not seem to recognize that our own democracy, especially in a large part of the country, excludes all the colored people, who constitute a considerable proportion, and in some cases more than half of the citizens. But I am hoping that the emphasis which this war is giving to human justice and brotherhood will hasten the day when all the colored people of the United States will have their full rights and share in our democracy.

Gratefully and cordially yours,
E. L. Parks.

¹ Kelly Miller was distinguished as a lecturer and professor of sociology at Howard University. He was sometimes referred to as the race-problem philosopher. He discussed the race question from both points of view—that of the white man and that of the Negro. So many Negroes misunderstood Miller, but Dr. Grimké respected him, and he respected Dr. Grimké.

J. B. Jefferson to Francis J. Grimké

Oakland, Cal., February 14, 1918.

Dear Sir:

Your excellent article in the January number of "*The Crisis*" upon "American Christianity," appeals to me as one of the most exact arraignments of an arrant, dissembling crew that I have ever read.

This is the sort of dosage that should be liberally given.

Your article should be printed in pamphlet form and placed in the list issued by the N. A. A. C. P.

Branches should see that copies are freely distributed in white churches of every State.

The article should be printed in French, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese and later in other languages. We are fighting an evil that seeks shelter behind the image of Christ.

The monster should be dragged to the light of Truth and exposed to the world. The cry has gone forth from America that the world must be made safe for democracy.

The world replies that "Charity begins at home."

Yours in the Cause of Truth and Justice,

J. B. Jefferson.

Jesse E. Moorland to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., February 19th, 1918.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

The following paragraph from Dr. Durkee's letter I am sure will interest you:

"I am giving the whole subject the most careful thought and consideration and earnest prayer.

God will lead me to do the thing that He wants me to do. When that desire of His is revealed to me and I am sure of His leading, then I am instantly ready to act, no matter which way that decision may indicate that my action shall be. I find my mind now turning very, very strongly to Howard and its work and then a bit of reaction and the appeal of my own work and the clamor of my own people here hold me. However, I am in absolute poise and shall be influenced only by the deep voice of the Spirit. I hold to one fine old passage of scripture which has ever been a guide

to me,—“Thou wilt show me the path of life.” When the path has been made plain, then I am glad to walk in it.”¹

It seems that the matter is very seriously considered by him and we pray that God will lead him in the right way.

I am leaving the city for about ten days, and on my return it may be well for us to have a conference.

With best wishes, I am,
Very truly yours,
J. E. Moorland.

Francis J. Grimké to the Editor of ASSOCIATION MEN

Washington, D. C., Feb. 26, 1918.

The Editor of *ASSOCIATION MEN*:

I read in the February number of your valuable magazine, which has just reached me, Mr. Fletcher S. Brockman's interesting article, “MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY.” The first thing in it that instantly arrested my attention were the words, “Our aim in the war is to establish a world brotherhood.”

Is that our aim? I wish that I could bring myself to believe that it is; but I confess, it may be due to ignorance, I fail to see any evidence of it except in mere empty declarations. Here are ten millions of colored people in the United States about whose loyalty, there has never been any reason to doubt, and yet they are every where discriminated against, every where they are treated as though they were scarcely human. Even in the departments of the General Government they are shamefully discriminated against. The President of the United States who is never weary of talking about democracy, and about making the world safe for democracy, doesn't lift his finger, even where he has jurisdiction in the departments under him, to check this outrageous treatment of colored American citizens who are entitled under the law to the same consideration as other citizens, and who are put under his protection to see that they are impartially treated. So little interest does he feel in them that, although they have been lynched, tortured, burnt at the stake, he has never so much as uttered a word in condemnation of southern brutality to the Negro.

¹ Moorland was serving at that time as a member of the Committee of the Board of Trustees of Howard University to seek a president for that institution.

What kind of a world brotherhood can the United States, with such a man at the head of affairs, and the Negro-hating spirit everywhere prevailing in it, represent? If it represents any brotherhood at all, it is one, evidently, in which thought of the Negro does not enter. To call that a world brotherhood is a farce, a mere caricature, a hypocritical pretense of fighting for what we are not fighting for, and, in which we are not interested, judged by conditions within our midst, which we seem perfectly content to have continue,—and which we are doing nothing to make better. The one thing that we do not want, judged by our past shameful record and by present conditions, is brotherhood.

Then again, look at the Young Men's Christian Association itself, judged by its attitude on the race question in this country. How does it treat colored men? Does it not segregate them? does it not put up the bars everywhere against them? Only the other day I passed by its great building in this city, and saw a placard put up before it, "All men welcomed." The moment I read it I knew it was a lie. All men were not welcomed. It was only white men who were welcomed. And yet we are talking about a world brotherhood. Would it not be better to begin by trying to establish a brotherhood within our own country,—within our own city or community. Then we could with some consistency talk about trying to bring about a world brotherhood; then we could without embarrassment send our Army and Navy abroad to fight for world democracy.

Francis J. Grimké

1415 Corcoran Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Wm. Anthony Aery to Francis J. Grimké

Hampton, Virginia, March 9, 1918.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Some time ago you were kind enough to send to me a reprint of "A Vision of World-Wide Peace"—a talk which you gave at one of your weekly prayer meetings. I read your address with very great interest. You know that I am always very glad to read whatever you prepare.

I regret very much indeed that we do not see you these days at Hampton Institute. When you used to come down in the sum-

mer time, I was fortunate enough to be able to get well acquainted with you. I hope that sometime again we may have you with us at Hampton. I am sure that you always did us a great deal of good.

What you say about the shortcomings of white people is all too true. For some reasons I wish I were able to contradict what you say, but I regret that you have the facts on your side, and all that I can do is to hope and pray that, out of this terrible struggle that is going on, white people throughout the world are going to learn to deal more justly and in more of the Christian spirit with all people, regardless of class or race.

Whenever you have any other material for distribution, I hope you will be kind enough to remember me.

You may be interested to know that Mrs. Aery and Elizabeth are quite well, and if they knew that I was writing to you at this time, they would be pleased to have me remember them to you.

With all good wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Wm. Anthony Aery.

Joseph H. Hannen to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., March 19, 1918.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Your circular letter on the subject—"Rev. "Billy" Sunday's Campaign in Washington, D. C., January 6—March 3, 1918" is at hand, and has been very carefully read, with sympathetic interest. As a member of the race which you so justly criticize, but myself absolutely free from any race prejudice, and endeavoring in my association and public work to spread the doctrine of the Oneness of Humanity, I desire to express my appreciation of the manly stand which you have taken.

May I not take this opportunity to bring to your attention a great and vital fact which I believe will be a most important factor in the solution of the problem at hand?

I refer to the Revelation of Baha'u'llah, and its following throughout the world, known as the Bahai Movement. Abdul Baha, the present leader of the Bahais, was in the United States in 1912,

and traversed this country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, spreading the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, from pulpits and rostrums very generally. While here he addressed the student body of Howard University, spoke before the Bethel Literary Society in Metropolitan A. M. E. Church, and in my own residence and that of Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Dyer, 1929 13th Street, N. W., among other places, proclaimed fearlessly the necessity for the abolition of race prejudice. He also spoke on the same subject elsewhere. As an example of his Teachings, I take the liberty of enclosing a pamphlet reproducing addresses given in Hull House, Chicago, April 30, 1912, and on the same night at the Fourth Annual Convention of the N. A. A. C. P. This latter address was reproduced in *THE CRISIS* shortly afterward, with a full page portrait of Abdul Baha, and if I mistake not, an appreciation by Dr. Du Bois. I will ask that you kindly return this pamphlet after reading it, as it is my only copy aside from a bound volume, and is in frequent use.

The point is, dear Dr. Grimké, that the Elijah—the Moses, whom you seek, has come! It is as it was in the olden days: The problems of the Children of Israel were not to be solved by a reform within Judaism, but by the Messages of John the Baptist and Jesus the Christ,—the passing of the old and the establishment of a New Day. Nothing short of that would suffice then—nothing less will be of avail now. Only the few recognized the Master at His Coming over nineteen hundred years ago, and it is so today,—except that some millions of people, of all races, creeds, languages and nations are now banded together as Bahais, while the Bahai Movement had its inception in 1844.

I shall be glad to present this great subject to you more in detail, if you will let me know your convenience. Or I shall have it presented to your Congregation, to the N. A. A. C. P. (of which I am a member, I believe) or to any other body that you may elect, if you will advise me of your pleasure.

Most cordially Yours,

J. H. Hannen.¹

¹ A white promoter of Bahaism in Washington, D. C., a man kindly disposed toward all races. Before he advanced this doctrine very far, however, he was killed in a wreck. Others who represented this faith in this city had difficulty with race prejudice. It was not very easy to take the Negro all the way.

Francis J. Grimké to J. H. Hannen

Washington, D. C., March 22, 1918.

Dear Mr. Hannen:

Your kind favor of March 19th was duly received, and read with much interest. I am glad to know that you are in hearty sympathy with the movement to fight race hatred, colorphobia, not only in this country, but all over the world. The fight is on, and it must continue until the great principle of human brotherhood is everywhere triumphant. What the world needs today is to get away from selfishness, pride, the lust of gold, the lust of power, and get into its heart more and more of the spirit expressed in the song of the angels at the birth of Jesus Christ, "Peace on earth, good will towards men." Jesus came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life for others. To catch that spirit ourselves, and try to communicate it to others is now and ever will be the greatest service that we can render to humanity.

I thank you for the opportunity of reading the addresses of Abdul Baha. I am well acquainted with him and the great principle of brotherhood for which he stands. He is simply reechoing the spirit that was so beautifully and nobly exemplified by the Lord Jesus Christ, and so touchingly and powerfully set forth in the parable of the good Samaritan. Thanking you again, and with best wishes, I am,

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

J. Albert Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, Pa., April 3rd, 1918.

Rev. Dr. F. J. Grimké,

Washington, D. C.,

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I have read carefully, and with much satisfaction your two pamphlets, i.e., "Rev. 'Billy' Sunday's Campaign," and "A Vision of World-wide Peace," which you were good enough to hand me. The "Billy Sunday's Campaign" deals with a sore, and sorry phase of unChristian practice. Deep seated, I fear, because it is studiously inculcated in the minds of the children as well as adults, in all grades of human society, secular as well as churchly. A dark skin, without reference to character, intellectual culture, industry, what not, is the victim of the most offensive contempt by almost

every class of white people, in America. How admirably, and courageously you have set that truth forth in your pamphlet.

The vision of a world-wide peace is, indeed a trenchant statement of a prophet of God. Oh! for the time when the nations will acknowledge God, and practice righteousness.

May your "bow abide in strength" to stand forth long as God's prophet.

I thank you so much for all you have done and are still doing for our people in particular and the American people in general.

Sincerely yours,

J. Albert Johnson.¹

Francis J. Grimké to Joseph H. Odell

Washington, D. C., April 13, 1918.

Dear Mr. Odell:

I have read with great interest your forceful article in the *Atlantic* for February. Your indictment of the "spiritual leaders of America during the thirty-two months when Europe and parts of Asia were passing through Gehenna," will not be relished by the spiritual leaders, but what you say is largely true, and, after all, what we want is the truth, the truth alone will make men free. You ask:

"What prelate or bishop or ecclesiastical dignitary essayed the work of spiritual interpretation? What convocation or conference or assembly spoke so convincingly that the national conscience must perforce listen? What book from a clerical study gave the sanctities of humanity and the sanctions of law the foremost place in current thought? What voice from altar or pulpit liberated a passion of righteous indignation and set this continent aflame with holy wrath?"

I wondered, after reading these words, whether you had ever thought of the Gehenna through which ten millions of colored people in this country are passing now and have been passing, arising out of race prejudice which hems them in on all sides and is ever seeking, in one way or another, to make conditions as hard and as humiliating for them as possible; and of the utter failure of the "spiritual leaders of America," in view of those conditions, to do what you charge them with not doing in regard to conditions in Europe and parts of Asia, "liberate a passion of righteous indignation and set this continent aflame with holy wrath."

¹ A bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

If they have failed as spiritual leaders to speak "so convincingly to the national conscience as to command attention, in regard to conditions abroad, much more egregiously have they failed in regard to the terrible conditions that exist at home, and that are induced by an ever-growing race hatred. The Germans have shown themselves to be savages of the worst kind, they have been guilty of the most atrocious deeds; but has anything occurred in the nature of German brutality that may not be matched by things that are going on in our own country? And going on without protest by the spiritual leaders of America. Think of what colored people are suffering in this country through race prejudice, and that this race prejudice is not diminishing, but increasing, and increasing in the midst of millions of professing Christians, and thousands of Christian ministers; and that these millions of Christians, and thousands of Christian leaders are not only doing nothing to bring about better conditions, but by their silence or active cooperation are helping to continue such conditions.

You speak in glowing terms of Cardinal Mercier: "Not all the clergy of the world can be covered by Cardinal Mercier's magnificent heroism." After reading these words I turned to my journal, in which I had written months before, and found these words:

"Cardinal Mercier has been praised for his earnestness in defence of the Belgian people, and in his denunciation of the atrocities of the Germans in Belgium, which is all well. Too much cannot be said in praise of him for all that he has done for his stricken and afflicted country; but where was Cardinal Mercier when his own countrymen were committing those terrible atrocities in the Congo Free State upon the poor and defenceless natives of Africa? Why was not his voice heard then against the atrocities that his own countrymen were committing? Why did he not cry out at that time as loudly, as persistently, as vigorously as he has been crying against the Germans? Are atrocities committed against black people less heinous than atrocities committed against white people? If his voice of indignant protest had been heard at that time, it would have added force to what he is now saying about German barbarism. Atrocities everywhere, by whomsoever committed and upon whomsoever committed ought to be denounced, not because committed against any particular class or race, but as an offence against humanity whether white, black, red, brown, or yellow. If

he had spoken then, and his people had heeded his warning, God, in mercy, may have saved his country from the awful calamities that have fallen upon it. "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

The one thing about which white men, as a general thing, there are noble exceptions of course, never get indignant over, or burn with righteous indignation, is the treatment that is accorded to colored people, however atrocious it might be. They seem to be utterly callous in regard to such matters when it comes to colored people. The President of the United States, e.g., seems to be greatly concerned and greatly horrified by the atrocities that are being committed against the Belgians, the Armenians, and other foreign white peoples, but seem to be utterly oblivious of the atrocities that are being committed against the blacks in his own country, under his own eyes. And what is true of him is true of the great bulk of the white people in this country, and that condition of things has grown up, and continues under the spiritual leaders in America.

I wondered, after reading your deeply interesting and stirring article, whether you had ever thought of conditions in this country, whether you had ever seriously thought of these millions of colored people in this country, and of what they are undergoing, the Gehenna through which they are passing. And, my purpose, particularly in writing you at this time, is to ask if you will not give the matter some serious consideration, and try to do for this pressing need at home, what you say the "spiritual leaders of America have failed to do in this great world crisis," liberate a passion of righteous indignation and set this continent aflame with holy wrath," in regard to this matter. You are in a position, and have access to one of the great magazines of the country, and can do much to aid in bringing about better conditions. The thing to do is to lift up a standard for the people, to cry aloud, and spare not.

I am sending you, along with this letter,¹ two recent publications of mine to which I invite your careful attention.

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

¹ Of this letter Dr. Grimké left this note: "The Rev. Gentleman did not have the courtesy even to acknowledge the receipt of my letter and so maintained a cowardly silence."

*Francis J. Grimké to the Members of the Class of 1878 of
Princeton Theological Seminary*

Greetings: Washington, D. C., April 27, 1918.

I regret that it will not be possible for me to join you in the re-union called for May 5-7, in connection with the Commencement at Princeton. I will be with you however in spirit, though absent in body. I send you my best wishes, with the earnest prayer that what of life remains to you all may be full of joy and sunshine and ever-increasing usefulness. It won't be long, in the nature of the case, before we shall all be on the other side with loved ones who have gone on, and with those that we have pointed the way of life, and with our blessed Lord. We may not be able to attend earthly re-unions, but what a joy it will be when the great re-union takes place in our Father's house beyond. I may never have the pleasure of ever looking into any of your faces again in this life, but I shall hope to see you all in the home not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

And now just a word about myself. I am still at the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church of this city where I began my ministry nearly forty years ago. During these forty years two things I have tried to do with all my might: (1). To preach the gospel of the grace of God,—to get men to see their need of a saviour, and to accept of Jesus Christ as the way, the truth, the life. If I had to live my life over again I would still choose the ministry, I could not be satisfied in any other calling.

(2). I have sought with all my might to fight race prejudice, because I believe it is utterly un-Christian, and that it is doing almost more than anything else to curse our own land and country and the world at large. Christianity, in its teachings, and in the spirit of its founder, stands for the brotherhood of man, calls upon us to do by others as we would be done by, to love our neighbor as ourselves. Race prejudice, cannot therefore find any justification or excuse within the pale of the Christian church; Christian people are the last persons in the world among whom such a spirit should be allowed to thrive. This I have felt for years; and when ever I have had the opportunity I have not hesitated to say so; nor will I in the future.

We men who are ministers, who stand as the ambassadors of Jesus Christ, are the ones particularly to fight this evil, to lift up

a standard for the people. And one object that I have in writing this letter, on this the FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY of our graduation into the ministry, is to bring the matter to your attention and to ask your earnest cooperation in dealing in some effective way with this ever-growing evil. We may never meet again in this life, as I have already said; but I feel pretty sure when we meet around the throne, not one of us will be ashamed, or feel any embarrassment because of anything that we have done or may do to represent correctly Christianity in this matter. The color of a man's skin or his race identity, will count for nothing there, and ought not to count for anything here, certainly, not among people calling themselves Christian.

Pardon me for this intrusion; but I felt that I wanted to say this to you, and to say it to you as members of my own class: you will not misunderstand my motive, or fail to appreciate the spirit in which it is sent.

Again wishing you all great happiness and continued usefulness, I am,

Your classmate,
Francis J. Grimké,
Washington, D. C.¹

R. R. Moton to Woodrow Wilson

Tuskegee Institute, Ala., June 15, 1918.

Dear Mr. President:

You already have more difficulties than any one person ought to be asked to face, and may I say you are facing them with courage and wisdom and succeeding in such a way as to deepen the respect of every true American citizen for his country and its chief Executive.

What I want to say frankly is, that there is more genuine restlessness and dissatisfaction on the part of the colored people than I have ever before known. I have just returned from trips in Alabama, Georgia, North and South Carolina. It seems to me something ought to be done pretty definitely to change the attitude of these millions of black people, and this attitude which is anything

¹ To this letter he received no response from a member of the class.

but satisfactory, not to use a stronger word, is due very largely to recent lynchings and burnings of colored people. The recent lynching in Georgia of six people in connection with a murder, and among them a woman, who it is reported was a prospective mother, has intensified tremendously this attitude of the colored people.

A great many of the leading colored men throughout the country have been most wise and patriotic in their attitude and efforts to allay this feeling. Mr. Emmett J. Scott, the Secretary of this Institution, now Special Assistant to the Secretary of War, as you may remember, has been most wise and vigilant in his efforts to bring about a changed attitude on the part of the Negro. I have the feeling that every ounce of effort of these millions of Negroes, physical and moral, ought to be thrown in, and it seems to me the whole question is worth your serious personal consideration. These Negroes should not be permitted to become indifferent or antagonistic, not to say quietly hostile, in this emergency.

The one concrete suggestion that I wish respectfully to make is that, I think a strong word definitely from you on this lynching proposition will have more effect just now than any other one thing, and I think you could say that word in such a way as not to affront the North or the South or the Negro.

I am enclosing herewith a recent editorial from the Atlanta Constitution, where the feeling is freely expressed that the Federal Government will have to come in and take charge if things continue as they are. Similar expressions have perhaps been made by a half dozen leading Southern papers recently.

I know you will forgive me for writing frankly, or for adding another ounce to your already too heavy burden.

You may count upon my loyalty absolutely to you, and I shall be glad, of course, to be of any service possible along any line whatsoever.¹

Thanking you for all past courtesies which you have shown, and with very best wishes for your continued good health, I am,

Yours very respectfully,

R. R. Moton.

¹ Dr. Moton as the head of Tuskegee Institute could communicate with the President of the United States and bring important matters to his attention, although he could not secure favorable action. At this time no other Negro could reach Wilson.

Woodrow Wilson to R. R. Moton

The White House, Washington, June 18, 1918.

My dear Major Moton:

Thank you for your letter of June fifteenth. I have been seeking an opportunity to do what you suggest and if I do not find it soon, I will do it without an opportunity.

In haste

Sincerely yours,
Woodrow Wilson.

Major Robert R. Moton, Principal,
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

R. R. Moton to Woodrow Wilson

Hampton Institute, Va., June 25, 1918.

Dear Mr. President:

May I thank you for your very kind letter of the 18th, and permit me to make just this one more suggestion regarding the matter on which I wrote you on June 15th. I might say I made this suggestion to Secretary Baker.

The suggestion was that, you might think it wise to call together the governors of the states in which mobbings and lynchings have occurred. That will take in three or four Northern states as well as certain Southern states, or you might think it wise to have governors from more states, and put the situation to them in your own way, especially as a war measure. Whatever action taken thereafter, local authorities would feel at least their Chief Executives would have been advised with about this. Then too, I am sure these governors would appreciate the compliment of being invited by you for such a conference.

Please forgive me for again taking your time. If I seem over-anxious, it is sorely for the good of my country by serving as best I may its Chief Executive.¹

Yours very respectfully,
R. R. Moton.

¹ Probably for political reasons Woodrow Wilson never said or did any thing to relieve the Negroes of their distresses in that section, where the President's party had most of its support. Negroes as a large majority at that time, moreover, were arrayed against the Democrats.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Portland Maine, R. F. D. No. 4, July 11th, 1918.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I had just seated myself at my table to write you a line or two when the carrier brought me your letter. I wanted to call your attention to the *Outlook*. I have marked some articles I wanted you to read. They are full of good suggestions, and may be of use to you when you are feeling for a text to talk upon. So you received my letter in reply to the one I received from Mrs. Terrell! I do not think she will write me again. In fact she was gratuitous in writing me. I wrote her husband as I promised. I thought he would be polite enough to answer my letter, she leaped into arena, took the bit between her teeth and poured forth her temper. I was as mild as I could be in replying. I did not give full expression to my feelings. Her letters were poorly written, they were very illogical. I am surprised at what you tell me as to the deans. Mrs. T. did not write the truth. I was quite poorly when I wrote her. I could hardly see, writing was difficult. I am not much better now. I am not a valetudinarian, my ailments are too real. I do not do myself credit I make mistakes because I do not at all times see my letters. I find great difficulty in writing—d & g. I wrote in the copy of my letter to Mrs. T. which I sent you (guilte for guilty) I recalled it, but forgot to correct it, I did in the letter I sent her. I mention this as an evidence of my misfortune. I presume old age has me. I look well, my appetite is good. I have not only the head pains, but a dizziness that makes mental effort hard. I work. I mow the lawn which is large. I eat plain foods, meats are not eaten to any great extent. Beef I do not buy & have not for years. I will send you one of Mrs. T's ads. I will mark what she says about her ability as a speaker of modern languages. As I read the conceited remark, I thought of what Bismarck said to a gentleman who called upon him to have his son appointed in the diplomatic service "My son can speak eight languages" To which the ready Count, replied, "He can! my what a splendid head waiter he would make."

I hope your outing will do you good. Here it is cool almost too cool. I have had fire most of the time. "Wood is wood" here, \$16 a cord.

Remember me to your brother and daughter. Thanks for your compliment. I wish I had the happy faculty of writing well.

Yours truly,

C. B. Purvis.

Francis J. Grimké to R. R. Moton

Washington, D. C., July 15, 1918.

My dear Dr. Moton :

I was glad to have a line from you this morning. My brother told me of meeting you at the Conference, and of the very strong things that you said in regard to conditions in the South and the need for some definite action looking towards bettering conditions.

Your letter to President Wilson, a copy of which you inclosed, I read with much interest. It is to the point, and I am glad that you are pressing the matter upon his attention, though I have very little faith that he will ever do anything. When it comes to colored people, he is southern to the heart's core; he believes that the Negro has his place, and it is his purpose now, as it has always been with him, to keep him in his place. His silence on southern brutality to the Negro has been most shameful, and shows a moral insensibility and inhumanity that is akin to the brutal instinct that controls the mob. He says, "I have been seeking an opportunity to do what you suggest." "Seeking an opportunity," and yet he is now serving his second term! How much more time does he want? How many more defenceless Negroes does he want to see murdered, lynched, burnt at the stake,—burnt to make a holiday for a set of white brutes, before his idea of a fit kind of opportunity will present itself? You must know things about him that I do not know to lead you still to have faith in him after all these years of waiting, and all the terrible things that have been happening in the South to our poor people without eliciting one word of protest from him. All I can say is, Great is your faith, I hope you may not be disappointed.

I hope that the President will not get the idea from the opening paragraph in your letter that the twelve millions of colored people in this country are not "true American citizens," if their respect for their country and for its chief Executive is not deepened by the manner in which things are being conducted. I don't see, under the circumstances, with segregation and every other invidious distinction steadily growing, and with the sanction of the President, how our respect for him can be deepened, or our respect for a country that endorses such treatment of a patient and loyal people. Our respect for the country, or for the executive head of it will never be deepened until there is a change for the

better,—a change that will make possible a deeper respect without offending our own self-respect.

I have not seen your article in *The World's Work* for May on THE NEGRO AND THE WAR, but will try to get it. I am sure I shall be interested in it.

Please remember me very kindly to Mrs. Moton. Catherine, I suppose, must be a large girl by this time. With kindest regards and best wishes, I am,

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

Francis J. Grimké to Ormond A. Forte

Washington, D. C., Sept. 2, 1918.

Dear Mr. Forte:

I am writing you to express my very great satisfaction at reading the two editorials in your issue of August 24th, entitled "Grave And Weighty," and "Riot Of Oppression." I do not know who wrote them, whether yourself or my friend Mr. Ralph Tyler, or both of you, it matters not, I was greatly delighted with them. They both have the right ring,—the only kind of ring that ought ever to be heard from colored Americans,—from intelligent, self-respecting colored Americans. This is no time for shilly-shallying, but for plain speaking, for a straightforward, manly presentation of our wrongs, made all the more flagrant in view of the tremendous sacrifices which we are now being called upon to make, and which we are willingly making. These outrageous, damnable discriminations that are being made against us in the Departments here and elsewhere all over the country call for loud, persistent, unceasing protest. We ought not to be satisfied as long as they continue; and the time to voice our dissatisfaction is now, while the war is going on; while we are going across the sea to lay our lives down in order to safe-guard democracy in the world. From every Negro newspaper in the country, from every city, town, and hamlet, from all kinds of Negro organizations there should be coming up to Washington a word of solemn and emphatic protest. I cannot believe that the subordinates in the various departments of the Government here and elsewhere would dare discriminate as they are doing unless they felt pretty sure that they had the sanction of those higher up. That sanction we must believe they have, or else we

must believe that those above them must be a set of weaklings to allow their underlings to dictate the policy which they are to pursue. The parties to be held responsible for the villainous manner in which we are being treated are the heads and not the subordinates under them. The fight that you are making, the stand which you are taking on the race issue at this time is the one that ought to be taken, is the fight that ought to be made, not only by you, but by every intelligent, right-thinking, self-respecting colored American, and one that the better-thinking white Americans will approve of. In the August 21st issue of *THE OUTLOOK*, these lines occur:

“We are on the march; How long shall we be marching?
 Until the roads of east and west are free;
 Until beneath the four winds of the world
 Freedom is possible for all mankind;
 Until we reach the end of the long journey;
 Until time brings the fullness of the years.
 A faith in arms is marching to the future;
 Its flags are consecrated to the dawn.”

And we are on the march for our rights and will not stop until “we reach the end of the long journey. The war that we are waging here while our brothers are fighting on the other side, will help to hasten” the dawn.

Yours truly,
 Francis J. Grimké.

The College Board to Francis J. Grimké

New York, September 16, 1918.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Because of the widespread conviction born of the war that mere knowledge and efficiency do not constitute the education needed for the good of humanity, we wish to urge upon you that at this opportune time you lay especial emphasis upon the importance of a real Christian education—an education which keeps in the forefront the purpose to develop the personality in Christian idealism.

We believe that sermons on Christian education meet with more favorable reception just now than for many years and that the people are more than usually awake to the necessity of providing

for the future a highly trained moral and spiritual leadership. Will you not therefore press home this truth whenever and however you have opportunity?

Under separate cover we send for your own reading a copy of a revised edition of "The Place and Function of the Christian College." We send also a copy of Bulletin 16, which tells something of the growth of the College Board and our Presbyterian colleges and sets forth the present situation with reference to the consolidation of Boards. It is now expected that the General Board of Education will take administrative charge of the work on November 1.

We send you also a sample of a leaflet entitled "The World Calls You," and a sample of a card entitled "Patriotism, Past and Present." These two pieces of printed matter are intended for general circulation, and you will see that the leaflet is designed especially for circulation among high school students. We shall be glad to send you as many of these as you can distribute wisely, and trust that you will order some of them for that purpose. We suggest that you seek the cooperation of the Superintendent and have some of these distributed in your Sunday school.

If we can send you any additional material or can help you in any other way, please do not hesitate to write us.

Sincerely yours,
The College Board.

Francis J. Grimké to The College Board

Washington, D. C., Sept. 21, 1918.

Your circular letter, touching the matter of Christian education, has been received, and I will do all I can to further the objects mentioned therein.

You ask that "Special emphasis be laid upon the importance of real Christian education—an education which keeps in the forefront the purpose to develop the personality in Christian idealism."

I am glad to know that there is going to be made, at last, an effort at "real Christian education." It is what the church needs; what the whole country needs. If the idealism which Jesus lifts up in his character, in his life, in the great principles of his religion,

had been the ideal of the Presbyterian Church, as it ought to have been, and of the other Christian denominations, things would not be as they are today. It is because there has been no honest effort at true Christian education, backed by consistent living,—education into the principles and spirit of Jesus Christ, that we have the pitiable spectacle of a “Billy Sunday”¹ going up and down the land preaching REPENTANCE with never a word on the heinous sin of race prejudice, which, more than almost anything else, stands in the way of the progress of the kingdom of God, and that it has been made possible for the colored people to be treated as they are treated in this country, in the midst of more than thirty millions of church members who are supposed to sit sabbath after sabbath under the sound of the gospel, and whose children are being taught by the millions in sabbath schools by Christian teachers. What is needed, and needed badly in all of the churches, Sunday schools, homes, Endeavor societies, Christian Associations, is the setting up in them of the ideal which Jesus sets up, and the rigid adherence to it whether it accords with our prejudices or not.

If this is the kind of Christian education that you have reference to in your circular letter, I am heartily with you. But if it is the kind of so-called Christian education that has been in vogue, and is still in vogue in the churches, in the homes, in the sabbath schools and the various young peoples’ organizations, it will be of no value in developing “personality in Christian idealism.” I hope this is to be an honest effort to get down to real Christianity,—Christianity pure and unadulterated: and get down to it in the sense, not only of teaching its high and holy principles, but of living them. The miserable apology that passes for Christian education has continued long enough. The time has come for the courageous assertion of Christian principles, and, the no less courageous living of those principles.

I am,

Yours for real Christian education,

Francis J. Grimké

¹ “Billy” Sunday, the Rev. William Ashley Sunday, was a popular evangelist, warmly supported a generation ago by many outstanding “Christians,” among whom was John Wanamaker, who made large contributions to the campaigns “against the devil,” conducted in frontier fashion. Negroes were not welcome in those circles and were made to feel as strangers in the gates. Most Negro preachers, therefore, denounced “Billy” Sunday’s brand of religion as hypocrisy.

George G. Mahy to Francis J. Grimké

Phila., Pa., October 1, 1918.

Dear Sir and Brother:—

The Assembly's Permanent Committee on Evangelism, in co-operation with the Synod's Committee, desires to meet as many members as possible of Presbyterian Committees charged with responsibility for the evangelistic work of Presbytery. The meeting of Synod, at which many of these brethren will be present, offers a most opportune time for such a meeting.

We are writing to ask whether it will be possible for you to be present on the morning of the day when Synod meets. We are sending a strong representative of our Committee to consider with you the problems of Presbyterian Evangelism, in the hope that together we may be able to strengthen the work of our Presbyterian Committees and stimulate the spiritual life of all our churches.

In case there should be any additional expense for your entertainment, because of your coming to Synod a day earlier than would otherwise have been necessary, we will take care of it.

Will you kindly let us know, at once, whether we may expect you at this meeting in order that our arrangements may be completed.

Cordially yours,

George G. Mahy,

Secretary.

Francis J. Grimké to George G. Mahy

Washington, D. C., October 4, 1918.

Dear Sir:

Your letter, concerning meeting the Assembly's Permanent Committee on Evangelism, in connection with the meeting of the Synod's Committee, has been received and read. In response I inclose you a tract, the book indorsed as the one on Billy Sunday, which I would be glad to have you read, and also read to the Synod's Committee as well as the Committee of the General Assembly. Until EVANGELISM, as conducted by our Assembly's Committee, and by the committees of other white organizations, means more than it does today, I do not feel that a conference with such committees would be of any value to me.

Until evangelism clearly recognizes the evil of race prejudice,

and includes it among the sins to be repented of in seeking to bring men into the church of God, it is a mockery, a mere sham, utterly unworthy of the Christian church. The time has come when Evangelism ought to *mean something*,—when the truth of God should be so plainly and courageously presented that this race-hating spirit will no longer be able to pass muster, or go unrebuked in those seeking admission into the Christian church. “If a man say, I love God and hateth his brother, he is a liar.” “He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in the darkness even until now.” So wrote the apostle John. And yet in our evangelistic efforts, we not only do not call men to repent of this sin of race hatred, but with the knowledge of the fact that they are full of it, we receive them into the church with open arms, in express violation of the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ.

I hope when you meet the Synod’s Committee that you will take particular pains to bring this very important matter to its attention, and that it will also receive the earnest attention of the larger Committee of which you are Secretary. Hoping that a revival may break out in the Committee itself, and may spread to other committees, and ultimately to the whole church, I am,

Yours very truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

Louis R. Mehlinger to Francis J. Grimké

Yet Somewhere in France, A. P. O. 766 American
Expeditionary Forces, France, 19 Nov. '18.

My dear Pastor:

That you might know my silence has not been due to neglect, I am quoting the following lines from one of my many letters commenced but too often unfinished: “I know you have thought it exceedingly strange that I have not written you long since, but I am proud to state now that after having seen service on three fronts which were very close to the German frontier and mighty hot at that, I have thus far through the Grace and Guidance of Kind Providence and the aid of the prayers of the good folks back home, survived all hardships and dangers incident to that curse which one of our wise old generals saw fit to call ‘hell’. I think the good old general could have well called it a damnable waste—waste in *time*, *money*, *material* and *men*.

"I am also glad to say with the exception of a short stay in a field hospital on account of a slight wound (which, however came near being rather distressing on account of blood poisoning setting in) I have been constantly on duty and have enjoyed excellent health. Tonight at the end of the thing I never felt better; have an excellent appetite and am receiving plenty to eat; and having all the sleep I want. My only concern now is when I will get back in America with those I love.

"There have been a number of times I have desired to write to you, and there were times even when I have commenced letters to you, but because of the temperament in which I have been constantly I have had to withhold my thoughts from you. I know I would have expressed myself in a way that would not have been in keeping with censorship regulations and in accordance with military discipline. There have been so many things against which my spirit has openly rebelled, and whenever the occasion came my tongue has not remained silent, but I am sorry to say it has been like the case of one trying to turn an army of a thousand—utterly impossible. I am not at liberty now to write as I desire, but I will simply state that the life of the colored officer has not been one strewn with roses. Not that he has asked for roses, but because he has not had that cooperation that he is entitled to and which the War Department expects him to receive from his superiors. Our case has been one of having superior officers, who have not been in sympathy with us, but unfortunately it was not shown sufficiently for many of us to speak when to speak would have probably brought results. I will not say more now, but anon I will have much to say. This much is given more to show why I have not written to you and I hope it explains what at first sight might be considered a neglect or an oversight."—From my letter of Sunday night 17th of Nov. which I decided was not for many reasons safe to send just yet.

Since then there have occurred many things—some pleasant and some unpleasant but there is one thing that brings much rejoicing to all the troops of the 92 Division, that is we are no longer dominated by the man who just a little more than a year ago paraded as our most loyal friend, we even almost worshipped him while now—well I refrain from expressing my sentiments. I am sure you do not need me to write his name. From one of his own memorandums I see he has been removed from command of what was destined to be one of the finest, the bravest, and even until now, in spite of all the

handicaps, meanness and disadvantage under which we have had to live and fight—for we have not only had to fight the Hun but also that same undemocratic spirit that pervades so many hearts who are equally un-American, it remains the most loyal fighters America ever sent to fight for her safety. It is also rumored that he and his entire staff has been removed from the Division. But it is official that his connection, is really terminated and I give a sigh of relief and say "Amen! Thanks to God."

In a word the color question would not down. It followed us when we said good bye to Meade. It embarked with us at Hoboken and remained rampant throughout the voyage, disembarked with us at Brest, followed us throughout our training areas all over France and, not satisfied with having been everywhere and ever with us he walked side by side up in the front line trenches with us and even went over the top in death gripping struggle. If the color question can beat that I want to see it. In spite of all of this I have managed to survive but only because I have from early morning until late at night stuck to my post and performed my task ungrudgingly and have obeyed every order and regulation,—in a word I have tried to be above reproach—or as it used to be said by our mothers I have never failed to walk the chalk line—I am certain this accounts for my still being here because efficiency or lack of efficiency has not kept or sent some of us away. The causes are too self-evident. To say the least when all is said and done I would not give my experience for all the world. I do not see how I could have returned to America and held up my head had I remained unmoved to the opportunity to volunteer as I did to serve my country in this crisis and indirectly, I hope, to serve the cause of my race. I think the very worst that has happened during my service in the Army and particularly while abroad is the knowledge I have of some of my fellow officers. You see most of my life since leaving school has been spent too far removed from my own race and I have not known them. I blush with shame at the lack of manhood in so many of them—that eternal failure to speak out even when their cause is just. The other regrets I will not attempt to discuss here. It will be reserved for future discussion when I can talk directly with you.

I have been kept too busy to devote any time to social intercourse even when we were not in the zone of the advance, consequently except from an official capacity I have not had the opportunity to become acquainted with many people. Through a number of French

officers in my duty as Town Mayor of the towns where my regiment happened to be billeted, I have met four or five fine families and have made some worthy friends. You can rest assured I have not failed to present our side of the equation in America and have not lost a single opportunity to discredit the mean things our white brethren in arms said about us wherever they preceded us, and except in the training area to which we were first assigned we had to follow where they went before us. Some of the most unholy liars have been active and the evidence of their work was apparent in every village we went. As Billeting Officer in getting rooms for our officers I have met refusal and only by much persuasion had them to take my word the colored officers were safe and gentlemen who could be trusted. Even then for days they would keep themselves shut up and have nothing to do with us. In some cases I have had them to say (when the officer went with me to the house to take a room) "O! beaucoup noirs! Pas bon," Finally to avoid chagrin I have gone in advance and secured the rooms and had them to understand that the officers were gentlemen—très gentil, très amiable, très sociable—and impressed them to the best extent of my limited store of French that they were my own personal friends. Fortunately for me I always preceded the move and had my introduction to them through the Major du Cantonnement who in nearly every case was a fine French Captain who was incapacitated because of wounds from service on the front. The worst case of all happened to be in a pretty little town in which we stopped when we were working our way to the front line in the Vosges. A number of our white brethren, more particularly from the south, had trained in that area and this town had been used as a billeting center. When we entered this place it seemed as if the town had been evacuated, were it not for the large number of children in the streets. The old people and especially the women had been filled with the poison. Some of the children told some of our men that they were no good because they were black. Some said they were not Americans but only territorials, and the white soldiers said they were only fit to fight the Huns who were not as savage as we are, (our soldiers) that they would steal and kill. To cap the climax one little blue eyed garçon had the courage to say that the black soldiers all had tails like monkeys, and to discredit such a shameful lie the soldier in the presence of a group of boys gave him an opportunity to see that his anatomy except for color was the same as his own. Two or three

days of coldness suddenly burst into the most cordial of relations—thanks to the ameliorating influence of our band—known to be the best officially in the 92nd Division and “the best in France” by all who heard them.

I must not leave out the fine spirit and good work of my good friend, Captain Petit, the Mayor of the Cantonnement. The only thing small about him is his name—big of stature, and immeasurable as to capacity of soul. If I had done nothing more than gained him as my friend I would count my trip to France very much worthwhile. I just gave you an inkling of the temperament of some of our superior officers. To see how fine a relation that was soon existing between our officers and men and the citizens of the town made some of them sick. It is only necessary to say one was from Texas and the other from Virginia, and another from the Lord only knows where, but from where the Rebel Yell is not forgotten because a certain high officer suggested that it be adopted for our battle yell when we went over the top. Finally when these people learned that in a few days we would leave to take our position in the line, they presented in the church square two large bouquets one to the Colonel for the entire regiments and one especially for the band. The mayor spoke and it was with difficulty our little Louisiana interpreter (who was nothing more than a mixed breed parading as a Frenchman) was impressed into service, and then he colored his interpretations. Our own people never showed any more regrets when we left the states as did these people who are examples of all in France. I have some personal letters from the best citizens in the town as to the conduct of our soldiers. They will be interesting reading when published in the original in our *Crisis* or *Journal of Negro History*.

I am certainly glad of my opportunity to know the French people. They are broadminded and are not easily seduced with undemocratic inconsistencies. It is saying but a small thing to repeat that the colored soldiers have certainly won the hearts of these broadminded French people who never tire of speaking of them in the very highest terms and those of us who could use their language to explain the inconsistency of our white brethren. The seed have been planted and they fell into fertile soil.

France knows us now and our cause which is one of the many things the war has made possible. One of my greatest amazements has been because of the lack of information they have of our condition in our country and if you try to explain you find them hard to

convince that such things could be possible in great America. I am convinced one of our most effective weapons will be to let our friends out of the country know what we are up against. I shall be glad when I shall have the opportunity to tell you of my experience with these wonderful people.

Hope you are quite well. Kindest regards to all the Church and express my appreciation for their interest.¹

Sincerely yours,
Louis R. Mehlinger.

J. Albert Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 4, 1918.

Dear Dr. Grimké.

I have just finished reading your unequated sermon entitled "Victory For the Allies and the United States A Ground of Rejoicing, of Thanksgiving". I do not recall having read anything so all embracing. I thank you so much for the privilege of being one of your auditors. It is the voice and the spirit of God's Prophet, rather than a mere priest. The frank, sober, luminous, courageous, and withal Christlike utterance, the truth admirably told. O! that America in Church, Courts, Administration buildings, commercial houses, civic, social, political, industrial, economic, educational might read it. Yet, I believe, the time will come when Jesus Christ will not be so generally mis-represented by His professed followers. He will be heard, and obeyed, and instead of pride and arrogance, there will be righteousness. May "your bow abide in strength" that you may through years "bear witness of the truth." "Cry aloud", against the iniquities that the darker races are being subjected to.

I must not trespass further upon your time.

Again thanking you as a Champion.

I am yours very cordially,
J. Albert Johnson.

¹ Leaving the army, Captain Mehlinger returned to his position in the service of the United States Government and attained the status of attorney in the Department of Justice, handling claims against the nation. He was always an ardent admirer of Dr. Grimké and for many years figured as a prominent member of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church.

W. R. Patterson to Francis J. Grimké

New York City, December 9th, 1918.

Dear Brother:—

The Board of Home Missions is seeking to enlist the co-operation of our Colored Presbyterian Churches in this great Home Mission Problem. The Board feels that no set of Christians will respond more heartily and contribute more freely than our Colored Churches if the need of the moment and the opportunity before our country is properly placed before them.

Through the President of your Council we are seeking to have a conference at Berean Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pa. on Dec. 27th, 1918. We hope the Church will see its way clear to send an elder and its pastor to this conference. The entertainment of these while at the conference will be provided for by the Board.

This is a great privilege given the churches now to do their bit in this Home Mission Work as the Colored Soldiers did their bit in the great war that has just closed. Your churches will be as loyal and responsive as were your gallant soldiers. May we not then as Soldiers of Christ gather at Philadelphia and plan to bring about this Assembly year the greatest achievement the Church has witnessed in its Home Mission Work?

Fraternally yours,
W. R. Patterson,
Financial Secretary.

John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké

Y. M. C. A. No. 11, Camp Funston, Kansas, December 11, 1918.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I shall take advantage of the lull in activities here to acknowledge the receipt of your very kind and welcome letter which was received several days ago and to thank you for the enclosed address on "Effective Christianity" which I have read with great pleasure and helpfulness and passed around for others to read. I am looking forward with eagerness to the coming of your sermon on The Close of the War to which you referred. How will the issues of this war affect our people here in the United States and elsewhere is the inevitable thought of many thousands of us. Surely some very real advantages must result from it, and yet with all the professions

about the realization of a New Democracy, I fail to catch a note of sincerity so far as its application to us is concerned. In the nature of things, however, in respect to the awakening of new ideals and the practical realization of an enlarged democracy, we cannot escape something of the beneficence that will result, whatever may be the reservations of the enemy.

In reading recently The President's Flag Day Address, in which as you know he sets forth the reasons that led to our participation in the war, I was amazed at how he fails to take account of autocratic tyranny here at home. The Address is annotated by the southern scions of his cabinet. He says:

"They (the German people) are themselves in the grip of the same sinister power that has now at last stretched out its ugly talons and drawn blood from us." His commentators add in justification of this assertion the following note:

"The present German Empire and its constitution was formed not by the people——It was never submitted to a vote of the people." Shades of southern disfranchisement by virtue of which our idealistic President holds his place in the sun!

Again he says in sweet frenzy of oblivion to the glass house in which he dwells,

"They (the military masters of Germany) have regarded——the people who could be overwhelmed by force, as their natural tools and instruments of domination."

There is at present many reports of the going and coming of our representatives who are thought to have found favor in the eyes of the champions of a new democracy—some are said to have gone abroad with purposeful missions—. I hope they will measure up to the needs of the time and not be lost in the camouflage.

But these thoughts are for those of your caliber and point of vantage. If all were as true and brave as you, we would have no ground for fear that the right and courageous word would be spoken at the right time and in the proper place.

About the work here. First I want to thank you for the impulse that led me to come to it. I think if you had not written as you did last summer, I would have decided not to come when the opportunity offered itself. True I was really anxious to do my bit in some real way, if the chance offered, but I had for some reason some misgivings as to whether this work really offered the chance. Your letter decided me to try it and I have found true all that you said.

True and perhaps natural enough all things considered, I have seen some falling down and reprehensible abuse, but in the large and in the actual, the work is splendidly conceived and effectively carried on. My part in it has been small and brief, but I would not have missed it for anything. Now that the men are going—practically all gone—back to their homes, I can but thank God that in their great need they have had the advantages of all the powerful and helpful agencies that have combined to lift them to a higher plane of life. Perhaps in all things and in all places these influences may not be lasting and prevailing. The good they have wrought cannot be valued.

How I miss the men, now that they are gone; especially those potential men from the far south—fellows who had never known and apparently who had never dreamed of the square deal in any of life's relations and whose sins which are many are the direct fruits of the environment and pseudo-civilization which have held them in their grip. The atrocities about which this purblind altruistic quixotism led us into the war were real and terrible, but after all they were but windmills, if the injunction about the moat and the beam have any relation to righteousness in the United States.¹

The stay of the men in these training camps, their experiences and deeds abroad must ultimately bear good fruit in the coming days.

Of course I have no idea how long this work will continue. Hardly can it be over yet. If the higher-ups have caught aught of the vision which these war activities have been capable of giving, many of their features will endure in the days of peace.

Several of the men here have been called to the work in the east. If I am to remain much longer in the work, while willing to serve wherever I can be serviceable, I would not personally be averse to a similar transfer. For a change a little of Eastern life might prove good for the soul!

Kindly convey to your brother and your niece my sincere regards and good wishes. Again thanking you for your favors and wishing you health and strength and great happiness, I am

Very sincerely yours,

John L. Love.

¹ Negroes bore it grievously that in the United States Army they were placed under cruel officers of the South.

Francis J. Grimké to W. R. Patterson

Washington, D. C., Dec. 12, 1918.

Dear Mr. Patterson :

Your note, relative to a conference of colored Presbyterian churches in Philadelphia, Dec. 27th, has been received and contents noted. I shall not be able to be present, owing to a previous engagement; even though I had not a previous engagement I would not attend it, or bring the matter to the attention of my session. It is true I am a colored man identified with the colored race in this country, but it is not true that I am a colored Presbyterian. I am simply a Presbyterian. I did not know that Presbyterianism was of any particular color. Why is it necessary to call the so-called colored Presbyterian churches together? Why not make the call simply to Presbyterian churches? It is simply that old virus of colorphobia that is ever cropping out; that the white man, whether in secular or religious matters, never fails to show. If the Lord Jesus Christ were coming to-morrow, and matters had to be arranged by the white man, in the process of catching up the living to meet the Lord in the air, I suppose the colored Christians, the colored Presbyterians, would have to wait until all the whites were caught up, and after they were caught up would have to be segregated, set apart by themselves. The whole thing is a sham and a delusion, a miserable mockery of religion. I get disgusted the more I think of it; I marvel at the littleness of so-called Christian men. What has become of Jesus Christ? Where has he been relegated to? Why is it that he no longer counts; that his views and principles are no longer followed? I seem to hear coming down out of the centuries the still small voice of the Son of man, saying, "Why call ye me, Lord, Lord and do not the things which I say?" Don't you think the time has come when Jesus Christ should have a little say in his own church as to how things should go on? Don't you think it is high time that the spirit of Christ,—the simple, lowly, loving, brotherly spirit of the great Head of the church should begin to show itself a little more than it has been showing itself? Don't you think if more of Christ were in the church, and less of self, the old carnal self, that colorphobia would have long since ceased to exist within it? Why don't we get back to Christ, the living Lord, back to his spirit and temper, and away from our contemptible little prejudices and meannesses? When will the great Presbyterian

church of the U. S. A. cease to pander to race prejudice, to the same ignoble and cowardly spirit which it did when it voted for separate presbyteries out of deference to the Negro-hating sentiment of the South?

Thank you for your invitation, but I shall not be there. I would be glad, however, if you will read this letter to the brethren who may respond, in order that they may know why I shall not be there, and why my church will not be represented.

Hoping that the time may come, and come speedily, when there will be sufficient Christian religion in the Presbyterian Church to make impossible the issuance of such a call as you have sent out, I am, Yours in Christ, for a church that knows no color line.

Francis J. Grimké.

R. T. Greener to Francis J. Grimké

Chicago, Dec. 20, '18.

My dear Frank:—

Thanks for your "Victory" sermon, so skillfully throwing a flash light on this land of the free, and home of the brave, at the end of the War for "Universal Democracy".

I read it aloud to my "flock", and their unanimous approval, of its matter and form, stamps it as the true gospel, and should be spread broad-cast. My leisure gives me time to read and think too much, on our national hypocrisy. But I am glad to see the President committing himself more and more to international democracy! I am in hopes, he will later begin *to see the application, nearer home. And I really believe he will.* I have no faith in the Roosevelts and Tafts, who were committed, by heredity and training, to true democracy, and have so conspicuously failed, to throw their weight into the breach, *when they might have done so.*

I have no faith in any politician strong enough to have a following; *he must be a trimmer;* able to look at two sides of the shield at once, and all for his own advancement!!

My life runs on in the same routine except I am laboring under the effect of too strenuous exertion, in a severe snowfall, a year ago, and may have to go through an operation, which I have thus far staved off. I trust you are well. I cannot help thinking what financial geniuses your Board of Trustees must be to have effected such

a bargain in your church exchange. But it is largely due to the character, standing in the community, and influence upon your pastorate you have been blest to render in these years of service. *Macte virtute!* You have had the true vision of a pastorate, and the pastor's duty to the world, as well as to his flock.

With all the old and warm regard to Archie, Angelina and yourself,

As ever, Yrs,
R. T. G.

John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké

Camp Funston, Kansas, January 3, 1919.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Your Victory Sermon and your letter of December 27th with enclosed copy of address have been received for which I thank you most sincerely. Especially do I thank you for your very friendly and interesting letter as well as for your promise to remember me with a copy of your Christmas Sermon.

It would be useless for me to attempt to express to you my pleasure and satisfaction over your splendid and courageous treatment of the issues, the after-war issues, relative to our people.

What a potent thing it would be if your sincere and intense convictions and sentiments could become the obsession of our people. The American people and the American government would then sit up and take some notice; and really nothing less than such an obsession by the Negroes of America will in the end bring about the consummation we desire. I believe that such a state of mind and feeling is not as far off as it once was and for this reason I rejoice in what I can only properly term your evangelism in keeping the issues squarely before the public. No doubt you often feel very much alone in this work and have your periods of discouragement. The same was very likely true of John the Baptist, and yet he was not a reed that the wind could shake.

What you say about our working out our problem independently is the true key-note and I am becoming conscious of the growth of this feeling and conviction among our people. There is clearly the beginning at least of a dogged determination that there must be a letting up of this devilish thing that would keep us down and it is crystallizing deep down in the spirit of the man at the bottom.

This war business has not checked its growth either. When I see the black soldier turn in the fine frenzy of conscious manhood and knock the stuffings out of an arrogant white officer, I begin to see the dawning of a new day.

I have just read Harry Emerson Fosdick's "The Challenge of the Present Crisis". No doubt you have read it. Although I am almost sure you have, I am taking the chance of sending a copy under separate cover, because while it is far from the mark of the call which summons us, yet it is very interesting and in some respects very good.

I am glad to learn of the good meeting of the American Negro Academy. Mr. Cromwell sent me a program which I received when on a recent visit home, and as Cromwell never fails to enclose the due bill, I guess I must be square enough to send him the remittance in a day or so.

Yes, this work is getting into the ebb of the tide and yet I am experiencing some difficulty about determining just when to get out of it. As long as there is a chance of my doing anything worthwhile I really don't want to miss it. Then too I find it a nurturing atmosphere.

Remember me very kindly to Mr. Grimké and Miss Grimké. For each of you I wish the choicest blessings of the year.

Very sincerely yours,

John L. Love.

P. S. I told Mr. Lawson you had sent him a copy of your sermon. For some reason he has not received it yet.

Charles Wood to Francis J. Grimké

Church of the Covenant,
Washington, D. C., March 20, 1919.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Thank you for the copy you kindly sent me of your excellent address on Theodore Roosevelt. Your characterization is discriminating and admirable. I was particularly struck by your commendation of Mr. Roosevelt's attitude toward the colored people. The Roosevelt spirit will go far in helping to solve the problem.

Sincerely yours,

Charles Wood.

F. D. Wheelock to Francis J. Grimké

Hampton, Virginia, April 2, 1919.

Dear Dr. Grimké;

Please accept my sincere thanks for your strong sermon on Theodore Roosevelt. I am so glad that you have your sermons printed so that people, who cannot hear them, can read them. I am in an atmosphere where I am exposed to so much compromising thought and expression, that I am really pleased to get something to counteract the otherwise deleterious effect that it might have on my own way of thinking.

There are so many of our so-called leaders, who are ever ready "To bend the pregnant hinges of the knees that thrift might follow fawning" that it makes me disgusted with the whole lot of them.

May your life be spared to us for a long time is my earnest wish.

Yours very truly,

F. D. Wheelock.

*Francis J. Grimké to the Win the War Committee of the
Reformed Presbyterian Church*

Washington, D. C., May 23, 1919.

Dear Mr. Coleman:

Your circular letter with inclosed petition to the President, the House of Representatives and the Senate of the U. S., was duly received, and carefully read. Why petition to have the preamble to the constitution amended as you suggest, when, if it were thus amended, it would be a lie. The "Authority and Law of Jesus Christ" would be no more recognized then than now. What does the church, itself, forty millions strong in this country, care about the authority of Jesus Christ. If a movement were set on foot to Christianize the church, there would be some sense in it, and, would be entitled to serious consideration. It seems the height of absurdity to try to get the authority of Jesus Christ recognized in the preamble of the constitution when we, professing Christians, do not recognize it. How many of us do, except so far as his authority and laws do not run counter to our wishes and prejudices? Why try to get into the constitution what we know does not represent the sentiment even of the church itself much less those outside of it? Let us direct our attention first towards making the church right, towards getting professing Christians to respect the authority of

Jesus Christ, and then we may hope to command respect when we seek to get others to do the same. "Thou that teachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery?" We, who are to petition the powers that be, to recognize the authority and law of Jesus Christ, are we recognizing them? So much of our religion is mere sham, empty, pretense, with no answering reality. Jesus said to the accusers of the woman taken in adultery, "He that is without sin, let him first cast a stone at her." It will be a good thing, for those who really believe in and who recognize the authority and law of Jesus Christ, and who give evidence of it by consistent living, for such persons to send in a petition to the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives, such a petition would, at least, be entitled to respectful consideration. But where will you find them? How many of the forty millions of Christians, including ministers, elders, deacons, bishops, arch-bishops, and other church dignitaries, would be able truthfully to respond to such a call for signers to such a petition? I am no pessimist, nor am I a fool. I am simply stating what I know to be true, what the facts all about me reveal. I do not come in contact with many persons who seem to be very much concerned about what Jesus Christ wishes or not; very much concerned as to whether their plans and purposes, their character and conduct are in harmony with his programme of procedure or not. There are a great many people, in the church as well as out of it who are perfectly willing to have him crowned Lord over somebody else, but not over themselves. And as long as that condition of things exists any movement, such as you have in view, is doomed to failure, and ought to fail. It begins at the wrong end.

I am, yours truly, for a Christianized church, and then there will be no need to amend preambles of any kind.

Francis J. Grimké.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

June 12th, 1919.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Just a line to say I reached my rest retreat on schedule time. A severe headache kept company with me all the way, they take the steam out of a fellow. I have had time to think over our meetings at the University. I am more, and more convinced that there is an

eager desire in some quarters to have all the authority of the University concentrated in one person. I also feel that there is no desire to select colored teachers who will be potential in the affairs of the institution, I admit this is a feeling merely. Balloch's lack of force, of promptness is what caused me to write my sharp letter to Durkee. The trouble is due to the disposition on the president's part to ignore law and usage, and assume authority. Dr. Jackson is forced upon the Medical Dept. He is not a man of parts, and has no standing of note. I have written to Dr. Balloch and have shown him wherein lies the weakness of his Dept.

You, and Hilliar¹ will have to save the University, you two are upon the Executive Committee which is most fortunate. I enclose a letter to Hilliar which I wish you will direct to him. I do not know his full name. The president wants to get Hilliar off of the Execut. committee. Why? We know. But think of the cheek of the man! He desires to manipulate matters so as to have men on the board and committees who will do his wish.

Keep the president off of the Trustee Board no matter if he does make it a personal matter.

Sincerely yours,
Charles B. Purvis.

Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké

June 18, 1919.

My dear Grimké:

I have just read, with great interest, your address of welcome to returning soldiers. You are exactly right, the race prejudice is a reproach to America, and a great wrong, especially today, after the superb service of the colored soldiers, there should be a special shame and indignation. But I am sure there is and will be a very great improvement in that matter in the very near future; there has been and there will be a very much more rapid and permanent advance. The record of the colored soldier in France will go into history, and will be, in itself, a great power for recognition and influence.

Thank you for your cordial and appreciative words.

Sincerely yours,
Wallace Radcliffe.

¹ "Hilliar" means Andrew F. Hilyer, a member of the Howard University Board of Trustees.

Thomas Jesse Jones to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., June 25, 1919.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Thank you very much for a copy of your statement concerning *The Birth of a Nation*. It seems to me a very strong statement of the case against this dangerous presentation of American history. I have always regretted that Hampton's name has been used as a defense of this production.

Very sincerely,
Thomas Jesse Jones,
Specialist.

Francis J. Grimké to the Editor of THE EVENING BULLETIN

Philadelphia, Penn., July 29, 1919.

To the Editor of *The Evening Bulletin*:

I am writing to thank you for the sane and timely editorials in your valuable paper on the recent race riots. It is encouraging to those of us who are identified with this poor struggling race in this country to know that there are some white people among us who see clearly what the real cause of these occasional manifestations of discontent is, and who are not afraid to speak out on "prejudice and more or less injustice," to quote the language of your last editorial. The colored people, to say the least, are human beings, and are entitled to be treated just as other human beings are treated. They have made in the last fifty years wonderful progress; and the more they develop, the more dissatisfied they will become with the manner in which they are at present treated. And it is to their credit that they are not satisfied. It shows that they are growing in self-respect. If they could be satisfied under present conditions, it would prove that they were less than human, less than men, and that they were not worth standing up for.

The thing that astonishes me most is that this vile treatment of colored people goes on, and goes on unchecked in democratic and Christian America. What becomes of our boast of making the world safe for democracy? Where are the forty million of professing Christians in this land? The so-called Christian Church, that ought to be the greatest force in moulding public sentiment in the right direction,—that ought to be the greatest militant force against evil, (and what greater evil there is than race prejudice,) is resting on

its arms, is doing nothing or comparatively nothing to arrest the evil and to lift up the true standard of brotherhood. We talk about sending missionaries abroad to convert the heathen, where is there in all the world a greater field for Christian missionaries of the right stamp than here in these United States? If every church in this land could be made a missionary centre, as it should be, and every minister and Sunday school teacher and church official would become real missionaries after the pattern of Jesus Christ for one year only, I cannot help feeling that there would be a decided change for the better all over the country. The trouble is the church itself is in the grip of this awful race-hating spirit, and, unfortunately, and to its shame, is doing little or nothing to counteract this evil, but is throwing the weight of its influence rather in favor of it.

I trust that a powerful journal like yours will be able to do something to stir the clergy up to a sense of their responsibility: for, after all, they are the greatest culprits, they, more than any other class of men, are responsible for present conditions. There are so many moral cowards in our pulpits, men who are afraid to speak out for fear of offending somebody, men who seem to be insensible of what the real function of the true prophet is—to speak for God, to stand fearlessly and uncompromisingly for what is right, whether man approves or not.

Again thanking you for your sane, manly, straightforward utterance on the race issue, I am,

Yours very truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Portland, Maine, August 17th, 1919.

R. F. D., No. 4, Box 182.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Your paper with note enclosed came to me yesterday. I have read your remarks with interest. I am pleased to see you come out as you have. I hope you sent a copy of your speech to Mr. Lane. I am inclined to believe he means to be just and fair. It is strange to see how blind the people are to their own short-comings. Racial prejudice is the most unreasonable of all prejudices, those who have it seem to enjoy having it. The great war has opened our eyes to the fact that the prejudice of race, against race, is

world-wide. I have been amazed at the display of race hatred among the various races of the old world. The prejudice of the whites, against the colored citizens of this country is possibly more offensive than that which exists in Europe, and yet, I am constrained to feel the hatred displayed by the Turks, against the Armenians, and that of the Bulgarians, against the Serbs is more intense, the animal bruit seems to stand out. We cannot spend our force in contending against the unrighteous conditions existing in other countries, concentration is necessary here at home. I have been tempted to write you several times since the riots of Washington took place. I am not surprised that they took place, I have looked for it ever since this administration came into power. It brought with it the most despicable class from the south, classes that are barbarous by nature, classes incapable of that development that makes noble men, and women. Even those who are in a measure educated, are cursed by the insidious poison that destroys the moral ethics that produces the ideal man, and woman. The police power of the several cities has placed in check the activity of the mob, and riot trend; it has not stamped it out. The fact is—the spirit is fermenting. Do not be surprised to see it break forth in New York, and other large cities; What is thinking America to do to solve the racial problem, to produce the spirit that will make all Americans respect each other? The colored, and the white, citizen must come to the conclusion rapidly that the safety of the country, of its Christianity, of its institutional life, depends upon an adjustment founded upon justice, and right, upon a development of every citizen to the highest possibility. A nation is known and measured by its intellectual men, and women, not by the immature; thinkers in every possible line are necessary. Scientific men are the solvers of intricate questions, of what seems to be at present mysteries. To produce such men, higher education is paramount. This fact must be driven home. Brain development knows no race, or complexion. Every pulpit must thunder forth, not once, but constantly, if the people are to be developed along Christian lines. Getting into heaven is of minor importance, to be fit to dwell in that unknown, unexplored region is the *sine qua non*. I realize the work ahead is monumental; years will pass before anything encouraging will come forth. In the meantime the colored people must leave no stones unturned towards dissipating the feeling that exists against them. In a measure they are re-

sponsible for the ill feeling & prejudice existing. The intelligent class have not made it a business to advocate those principles that are essential to a perfect development of the mind and body. This especially is true of those who have taken to politics, that which would win for the individual was the all important consideration, Take temperance, how many can we find who have a conviction on this all important subject? As a matter of fact it was rum that betrayed many a colored man into doing a factious thing. There has long been a disposition on the part of the colored people to show a lack of self-respect, and respect for each other; they playfully, and too often seriously, apply epithets towards each other. The word "nigger" is used almost hourly on the streets, and in private houses. These unfortunate adjectives have a tendency to keep alive the poor opinion that exists as to the colored man. I think the word Negro ill timed, out of place. Negroes are aliens. We are all Americans, white, black, and colored, the word Negro really is a soft way of saying "nigger". As Negroes nothing is demanded, as American citizens every enjoyment and opportunity is demanded. I confess to you I feel discouraged, I do not see any sun rising that will bring forth the splendid sentiment set forth in our national declaration of sentiment. I will not bore you further with my disjointed thoughts. I am not feeling well. I have felt feeble all summer. The tooth of time is gnawing away my foundation. I feel the time is not distant when I will be placed among the forgotten ones. No matter how well one is endowed, or how strong he is in purpose, he is after all a mere gnat playing an unimportant part in the affairs of life. We man animals arrogate much to ourselves, it is possible we do not comprehend the philosophy of other forms of life biologically, and physiologically. We do not differ, we are conceived by the same mysterious process, subject to the same vicissitudes, all is cryptic. I wish I were pundit, I might comprehend that which at present is an enigma.

Some papers from Scott tell me of the fine inauguration that is to be for Durkee, May it be so! May Howard's path be strown with flowers, and every blossom an evidence of success! Mrs. Purvis wishes to be remembered to you.

Yours sincerely,
Chas. B. Purvis.

I cannot be present at the inauguration.

William H. Croghan to Francis J. Grimké

South Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 20, 1919.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Greetings! Thanks also for the pamphlet you sent me bearing upon "the race problem". The postman handed it to me about a half hour ago. Without opening the other mail, I sat down and read it through. It is a strong paper, logically sound, and so plain and frank that the way-faring man cannot possibly mistake its meanings. I endorse every sentence in it. If there ever was a time for American Christianity, or rather the American church, to take a definite and aggressive stand on the troublesome race question, that time is now—that opportunity is now. The indifference, or apparent indifference, of the church has been regarded by the Negro haters as acquiescence in the foul and unspeakably wicked treatment of a defenseless people.

And now, good friend, watchman on the walls of Zion, ever alert to resent and denounce the wrongs inflicted upon us, how are you holding up under it all physically? I sometimes wonder how, with a large, intelligent, and consequently, critical church, you can find time for so much outside work.

I am sending you copy of an address I delivered in Iowa last November, a copy also for your brother, together with congratulations on the winning of that Spingarn prize. Don't you think it is nearly time for me to win a prize? The conditions now are favorable, if I but knew how to harmonize Brother Wilson and the senate and allay the seething passions in the hearts of you Washington rioters! "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty" etc. Can you tell me where to get the most reliable information about that bloody episode. That together with the Chicago carnival of blood, has at last awakened the whole country to the seriousness of the situation, and made it very plain that hereafter the Negro will not be a passive recipient of injuries.

The present condition of things, however, so far as they concern the Negro, has not surprised me. Immediately after the signing of the armistice and the ordering home of troops, I said in one of our faculty meetings the Negro now is to pass through the most dangerous period of his history in this country. To this our president said, "I agree with you fully." I knew that the latent, deadly prejudice of the white Americans in the army would be

aroused and inflamed by the generous recognition given our black troops by the gallant people of France, and that determined effort would be made to keep them in a "nigger's place" on their return to the "land of the free and the home of the brave."

Well, I must stop. The Lord inspire our hearts and strengthen our hands!

Yours as ever,
Crogman, Sr.

W. H. Ferris to Francis J. Grimké

New York, Sept. 1st, 1919.

My Dear Dr. Grimké:

I read your pamphlet "The Race Problem" with great interest; It is a powerful & convincing statement of the colored man's cause. I shall quote from it at considerable length in this or next week's *Negro World*, I enclose our editorial on Dr. Du Bois.

The West Indian Federation whose journal I am editing belong to the church militant. The Managing Editor is under a \$3,000 bail for scoring one of New York's District Attorney's & in Carnegie Hall last Monday night he told the demands of the New Negro. I shall make a flying trip to Philadelphia in a day or so, Kindly remember me to Dr. Anderson

Very Sincerely Yours,
W. H. Ferris

Francis J. Grimké to Nolan R. Best, the Editor of THE CONTINENT

Washington, D. C., September 6, 1919.

To the Editor of *The Continent*:

I read in the September 4th issue of your paper, the editorial "The Race Problem." I agree with all that you say under the first three general heads, but after I had finished reading under the last general head, I wrote on the margin of your paper, opposite that part of the editorial, these words which came spontaneously to my lips, "That man talks more like a heathen than a Christian." I could not conceive of a Christian, one who had come into real vital touch with Jesus Christ taking any such position as you do in that part of your editorial.

(1). You speak of the position which "all rational men in America, negro and white," take on the race problem, or the social mingling of the two races. What about the position which all Christian men in America, colored and white, take or should take? I do not mean the position which they take as members of the church, trained as they have been under false ideals; but what position ought they to take under the guidance of Christian principles and ideals?

You speak of all "rational men," and seem to think that what they believe or assert is the important thing and the thing which should determine the course to be pursued. You do not seem to lay sufficient stress upon what is Christian, which, to my mind, is the important thing, and the thing which should be the determining factor. A man may be rational, and not Christian; but he cannot be thoroughly Christian without being rational. The standard to which everything should be referred by Christian men should be the standard set up by Jesus Christ and no other.

(2). You say, "But if he is expected not to thrust himself into social contact with the superior race as he gets more education and more money and more power, etc."

About this let me say: (a). You need have no fears along that line. The colored man has not now, never has had, and never will have any desire "to thrust himself into social contact" where he is not wanted. He is not, though the white people seem to act on the opposite assumption, without some self-respect. If they would only keep this in mind they would be saved from all this senseless worry about social equality.

(b). From my knowledge of Christianity, after years of careful study of it as reflected in the character of Jesus Christ and in the principles enunciated by him, I fail to find any warrant or justification for what you assume in your editorial must be the permanent relation between the races—that of social isolation or separation. That position, to my mind, is utterly inconsistent with human brotherhood, to say nothing of Christian brotherhood. If we are to preach the brotherhood of man and live it; if we are to love our neighbor as ourselves; if we are to catch the spirit of Jesus Christ and diffuse it everywhere, we can't at the same time be harboring the spirit that says: Because you are black and I am white, because you are of one race variety and I am of another, I can have no social relation with you.

This doctrine about the permanent social separation of the races is all rot, and however consistent it may be with the way the world looks at things, it can never be harmonized with the religion of Jesus Christ, and, it is sheer nonsense to attempt to do it. This is why I said, after reading the latter part of your otherwise excellent editorial,—"This man speaks more like a heathen than a Christian."

When Christianity gets into our hearts as well as into our heads, there will be no more of this foolish talk about social equality. We shall look upon every man as a brother, and treat him as a brother, and not try to make him feel, by our treatment of him, that because of his race or color we can't treat him as we would if he were of a different race or color. One of the things that white American Christians will be utterly ashamed of when they get on the other side of the grave, if they do not come to realize it before, I believe, will be this supercilious regard which they pay to this idea of race superiority, which, with them, overrides every other consideration even the noblest principles of the religion of Jesus Christ.

Under a civilization that is thoroughly Christian, the social mingling of the races will take care of itself; we need not concern ourselves about it. What we need to be concerned about is, that we are true to Christian principles. The honest living out of these principles whatever it may lead to will always be for the highest good of all. We need never be afraid that any harm will come to the individual or to society from following the lead of the Man of Nazareth. If we were half as afraid of being disloyal to Jesus Christ and to the principles of his holy religion as we are of sacrificing our sense of race superiority there would soon be nothing heard about this bug-bear of social equality between the races. We hold very tenaciously to our prejudices, but very lightly to our Christian principles.

I shall be glad if you will print this letter, and print it just as I have written it. It is by giving opportunity for the free expression of our thoughts that public sentiment is made.

I sent you a copy of a tract of mine, recently published, "The Race Problem—Two Suggestions as to its Solution." I hope you received it. It will help you to understand just where I stand.

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

Nolan R. Best to Francis J. Grimké

New York City, September 15, 1919.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I heartily appreciate the frankness of your interesting letter of September 6. I am thoroughly glad that you can support three-fourths of what *The Continent* has said on the race problem, and I trust you will pardon my indulging the frankness of saying that I think you would have approved the other fourth also if you had fully taken into account the viewpoint from which it is written.

The Continent is not frightened about social equality between the white and colored races. Personally, I agree fully with your saying that every social element in the case will take care of itself if justice is done all the way around. And you certainly must have noticed that the editorial itself alludes to the social equality idea as a bugaboo with which foolish white people frighten themselves. Moreover, *The Continent* has said, and will on occasion say again, that even if people choose to keep a rule against inviting colored persons socially to their homes, that is no reason whatever for holding prejudice against the mingling of the two races at public events which represent public institutions like the church.

But all this is in no way inconsistent with the editorial. The editorial was written of course mainly for its effect upon white people, many of whom still have the notion that what the negro wants is this alleged social equality. To them it is a perfectly lawful argument that with the negro, as with any other sort of people, the dominating motive is self-respect, and that it is the white man's business to cultivate that self-respect if he really thinks the negro should develop socially as an independent race. It seems to me that in this matter the way of reason is very clear. The colored people ought to go on to develop their own society independently of the white race, and they can do it if the white race will play fair. I therefore stand by the last fourth of the editorial you question as just as wise and sound and Christian as any other part of it.

As for reprinting the letter which you have sent, *The Continent* is certainly ready to give voice to all sides. But it is not fair, in my judgment, to print this letter of yours because it attributes to *The Continent* attitudes which we have not taken and a spirit which we do not feel.

With hearty respect, Yours sincerely,

NRB.LT

Nolan R. Best.

F. D. Wheelock to Francis J. Grimké

Hampton, Virginia, Sept. 30th, 1919.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I received the article you sent me last week and have read it with interest. It is good and it matters not whether our friends at the school like it or not, it is the truth, and "The truth is the truth to end of all reckoning."

I loaned it to our Chaplain and he read it and it is going the rounds, and will act as a stimulant or tonic for some of their tired nerves.

Light, however, is breaking in, on the advent of Dr. Gregg.¹ He is all right, so far. At the last meeting of the Trustees, he had a committee of the Alumni meet with the Trustees and ask them for some of the things needed for Hampton's future growth and development.

These are the things we asked for:

- 1st. That a standard high school course be given every graduate.
- 2nd. This to be supplemented by an additional 2 years course for teachers, those taking agriculture, or social work, or business.
- 3rd. That transition to college from Hampton be made possible.
- 4th. That instruction in French and Spanish be given.
- 5th. That competent Colored instructors be employed as academic instructors, as well as white ones.

Dr. Hanus of Harvard was present and gave a résumé of his report and recommendations made from his study of the school both from the outside as well as the inside. It was interesting to note that he made the very same recommendations as those for which we asked, with the exception of the two languages.

Some of these things will be put into operation with the beginning of this school year. Already there is a new man, from Harvard in charge of the Academic, said to be an expert.

I regret that W. T. B. Williams has moved to Tuskegee, because he was a tower of strength to our cause here. There is needed just now some strong, well trained colored men right here, men of strong personalities as well as individualities to see and stand for our cause, while old traditions are being swept aside, and new forces put into play. Dr. Gregg will need their backing, for our

¹ The reference here is to James E. Gregg who was president of Hampton Institute from 1918 to 1929.

enemies are so very subtle, if we are not ever vigilant they will turn the tide in their favor.

The alarming conditions all over the country are frightful, but I am hopeful that a better day is ahead for us.¹

Keep up the good fight, and may God bless and keep you.

Very truly yours,

F. D. Wheelock.

Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., Saturday, Oct. 11 (1919).

My dear Grimké:

I have just read your "Race Problem" with positive and glad endorsement. Your words are straight and strong and just and I think also prophetic. Of course we recognize individual cases of wrong and abuse in both groups of society. There are bad colored men just as there are bad white men who misunderstand and pervert and sin against both sides. But in the great theme you are absolutely and unanswerably right. I like very much the spirit as well as the logic with which you meet Secretary Lane. He is altogether the biggest man in the Cabinet and you proved yourself a foeman worthy of his steel.

I have taken occasion to speak along these lines several times during the past year in my own pulpit. Among other things two Sundays ago I told my people that "a colored man who was good enough to fight for the Flag is good enough to be secured in all the rights and privileges that Flag stood for". The only philosophy that will settle this question is the philosophy of Jesus Christ. The only solution is as you say to treat the Negro everywhere as a man and brother. And it will certainly come or the Republic will go down. Its life is in its righteousness.

Blessing and all good wishes for you and your work

Cordially,
Wallace Radcliffe.

¹ The writer refers herein to the rapidly increasing volume of offenses against the Negro because of growing race prejudice of that day.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Allston, Mass., Oct. 19th, 1919.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I am mailing you a copy of *Harvey's Weekly*. I value the paper, it is ably written. I will mark the editorials that will interest you. —What has become of you? I wonder if you are sick. I had made up my mind to run to Washington next month. Upon reflection I will not.

I am none too well. As I shall go to California the last of next month I will save my strength, it has not been of the best. Time tells upon us, especially when we dwell in the evening time of life.

What terrible times we live in! Civilized man has departed. The insatiable ambition of Wilson has over reached itself, he is paying the penalty; he has had a mild stroke.

I said so the moment I read his speech, which he delivered in the West, when he stooped to telling what was not true, & began to indulge in abusive language of senators who outranked him in brain power. I remarked the president has forgotten the dignity that belongs to his office, his mind has lost its grasp, he is becoming unbalanced.

If I had time I would write about the race riots. History repeats itself. Racial hatreds are world wide. I have written several times to McKinley upon mobs, I told him to show my letters to you.

How is the University going?——

Remember me to your brother & daughter——

Sincerely yours,

C. B. Purvis.

Mrs. John C. Wyman to Francis J. Grimké

Newtonville, Mass., Oct. 20, 1919.

My dear Mr. Grimké,

I have just received your letter, and I am going way beyond my rights as a person, but I trust not as an American *patriot*, and I inclose my cheque for five dollars, because I think you can and will use it in some propagandist work which you can do more easily with than without it. You may kindly send me 3 copies of the pamphlet destined especially for white folks, and three copies each of the Victory, the Christmas and the Roosevelt discourses.

I will make out a list of other persons to whom I should like copies to be sent, and forward it so soon as it is ready.

Yes I should think it a very wise thing for either you or your brother to do to write directly to Col. Harvey. If you will permit me to suggest the manner of addressing him, I should advise a few simple words of gratitude and appreciation for whatever you thoroughly approve in his recent editorials on what he calls with bitter (evidently bitter abhorrence) "Our Own Race War." I should not say much about any failure that you perceive on his part to advocate a specific remedy. But I'm not sure that it is best to avoid that. He is a hard hitter and seems at times to enjoy a hard blow at himself. Hit I *think* he enjoys that most when he can make a retort that completely knocks his critic over, or shows him to be an antic clown if not a knave. Most of us would enjoy that in his place. I believe he is very sincere about this Negro question,—in what he says I mean. I think it probable he will go still farther in the right direction, *honestly* go farther, if the *queer* kink there *is* in him, isn't somehow emphasized into contrary thought and feeling *before* his convictions have quite solidified into a progressive force. I don't know much about his writings or opinions before the middle of Wilson's first term. Since then I have read almost every published word of his. In his first editorial in *The Weekly* after the Washington and Chicago "Race Wars," he said practically that America should be ashamed before the World. In later editorials in *The Weekly* and *The North American Review* he lays the whole blame on the Whites and on their previous action in keeping the colored people in a subordinate position. He is square, straight forward and clear-sighted. But the supreme passion of his soul and his dominant moral principle is America and its preservation as an independent power in the World. Humanity and decent treatment of all people mean a good deal to him, but what he would call American patriotism is the one mighty instrumentality in which he believes anyhow!

I believe he is a New Englander, and he quotes Whittier now and then with New England unction. I think it is very possible that, living as he has lived largely in the decades when many Americans did, a little carelessly yet, with a good deal of not fully informed honesty, believe that Glory Hallelujah would somehow automatically establish the proper conditions, he had not thought a great deal about the race problem, until he began to perceive its vast significance in relation to the problem of American Nationality.

His whole spiritual existence is building its house upon that rock of American Nationality. But he has a strong sense of justice, and in these last months he has seen clearly and several times publicly proclaimed the naked truth, that the white man has himself been brutalized by his false attitude towards the colored race, and that he is the main aggressor and transgressor in all these race wars.—

I thank you very much for telling me what you wrote of Lottie. She had one of the sweetest and most delicate natures I ever knew. I saw a great deal of her for a few years. Her life was a spiritual tragedy till you came into it. Yet how gently she bore herself with what a grace of gesture she moved and lived within her tragic sphere—till you came and flooded her path way with sunshine. But you can't know of that sad loveliness, because you changed her when you came! We know her former personality who remember her before you had wrought your magic spell. Col. Higginson's¹ affection for her was very beautiful I thought. He thought of little ways to help her. I think there can be no reason why I should not tell one thing he once said to me of her, "I wish one of my nephews would marry her."

I will send you a list of names soon.

Your brother and his daughter gave me a great deal of pleasure in coming to see me. I hope you will also do me the kindness to come some day.

I received today (Oct. 21) a nice letter from Miss Grimké, for which will you please thank her. I shall write to her soon.

With regards to you all I am

Cordially yours,
Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman.

Wm. Anthony Aery to Francis J. Grimké

Hampton, Virginia, October 20, 1919.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Some time ago you were kind enough to send to me a copy of your pamphlet on "The Race Problem—Two Suggestions as to Its Solution." I have read with very deep interest what you have had to say.

The thought comes to me that you may be especially interested

¹ This reference is to Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, an abolitionist, who commanded a Negro regiment during the Civil War.

to see a copy of an address which Secretary Lane delivered at Hampton Institute not long ago. It is evident, as you say, that Secretary Lane is deeply interested in the problem of education. I am sure that his more extended address at Hampton Institute gives a clearer idea of his general conception of education than did his brief note concerning the relation of German propaganda to race riots.

I am also sending to you, under separate cover, a marked copy of the September *Southern Workman*, which contains a summary of the recent Cleveland meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I wish you to know that there are a great many of us at work at Hampton who believe very thoroughly in giving colored people everywhere a liberal education and liberal opportunities for exercising that education after they have received it. You will probably be interested to know that we have under way now at Hampton certain changes in the curriculum which, I think, will give the boys and girls who are going through Hampton a better opportunity to go on to college, if they chose to do so after finishing their Hampton work. In any case, I am sure it is the sentiment of our workers and officers at Hampton that every encouragement should be given to our boys and girls to get just as liberal an education as they possibly can. The Hampton curriculum has undergone a number of interesting and important changes in the recent decade. It is true that very little publicity has been given to these changes, but the changes have nevertheless been important and, I think, in the direction that leaders like yourself would wish to have us go.

As you probably know, a part of my job for a number of years has been to try to bring to the attention of important Southern leaders, particularly those in the field of education, the importance of giving colored boys and girls everywhere the opportunities which they need in order to develop their latent capacities. There have been important achievements in this field. There are now some eleven or twelve Southern states that have first-class Southern white men who are devoting all of their time and attention to helping the colored schools to secure not only better schoolhouses and equipment, but better courses of study—courses of study which emphasize the importance of academic work. Of course, as a part of this program there has been included some work in industry, but the idea has been not to limit this industrial work to colored schools, but

also to encourage, through the media of the several state departments of education, the development of industrial work in the white public schools. The net result has been that the white South has been greatly developed through the stimulus to their schools which has been given through the interest of these progressive Southern white educators in giving the colored people more opportunities.

I am sure that, with your deep interest in the fundamentally sound work which we are doing at Hampton and also your interest in seeing to it that public opinion in the white South is being reshaped in favor of giving colored people more education, which includes, of course, academic education, you will be glad to know of some of this work in detail. Under separate cover, I am sending to you a *Southern Workman* reprint that deals with the county training schools which have been established in a number of States. Since this article was written by Jackson Davis, a number of other county training schools have been established and the standard of work in all of them has been raised.

The county training school movement, which is under good headway in the South, aims to bring to every section of the South where there are a number of colored people high schools which will not simply be industrial schools, but which will offer to students the fundamentals of a good academic education, and at the same time will also offer to students an opportunity for vocational training. Some of this vocational training will be in the field of teaching.

One of our great handicaps in the South now is the fact that there is a great scarcity in white and colored schools of teachers who have had proper normal school training. In many places schools are being taught by young men and women who have gone not much farther than the fourth or fifth grade. Strange as it may seem, this condition exists in many white communities, and the county training school work among the colored people is paving the way for the introduction of a good type of high school. North Carolina has probably made more progress than any other State in coming out unequivocally in favor of high schools for colored youth.

What you say concerning the matter of race hatred interests me very much. Unfortunately it is very difficult to bring about quickly the changes which we all recognize as being most essential. I think, however, that the helpful work of a group like the University Commission on Southern Race Questions, the Y. M. C. A. work among Southern white college men, the activities of the

Y. W. C. A. organization among the young white women of the South, and other agencies, are laying the foundations for a better public opinion, so far as white people's relation to colored people is concerned.

In all of my work with the Hampton students—and I am sure that what I am doing is not at all different from what all of our workers are doing—I am trying to help our boys and girls realize the very great importance of knowing the facts of the problem which they are to face and to devise ways and means of meeting the problems so as to reduce to a minimum all chances for the development of race friction.

Knowing, as I do, so many of the Southern white people who are striving to help the colored people in a fine, Christian spirit, I wish, wherever I can, to encourage them to go ahead with their work. At the same time, I am trying to encourage them to become more outspoken in condemning the wrongs which are heaped upon colored people. I am also urging them to assert their right to be heard when matters arise which involve the improvement of race relations. The trouble in the past has been due in part, I think, to the fact that many Southern white people, while they have been willing as individuals to be kind to colored people and even to run the risk of certain forms of social ostracism, have at the same time been rather weak-kneed when it came to the matter of telling large groups of people what should be done. I think that one of the outcomes of the recent race riots has been the creation of a new spirit of determination among the more thoughtful people of the South to fight mob spirit more vigorously and more openly. I think you will be interested in a pamphlet which we recently issued on this general subject of the South's relation to lynching.

I realize very fully that all I have said in no way refutes the charge that you make against a great many white people acting toward colored people in an unchristian way. I do want, however, for my own part, to assure you that Dr. Gregg and all the other workers at Hampton Institute are thinking very seriously on the problem of helping, not only the boys and girls who are at Hampton, but colored people away from Hampton, to get the knowledge and the power which they need to develop their latent capacities. I wish that you could be with us again, as you used to be, and see for yourself what Hampton is like in these days.

I am sure that you and I have known each other long enough

so that, if you have any suggestions to make as to what you think we ought to be doing at Hampton that we are not doing, you will let us know. I assure you that we do appreciate what you have done for Hampton, and we wish now to co-operate with you in every way that we can.

Very sincerely yours,
Wm. Anthony Aery.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Mass., October 21, 1919.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I am enclosing a letter to Mrs. Meriweather which I will ask you to direct in part and mail for me. You can read it, you may help me in finding out what I wish to know. How are you? Are you renewing your youth? I notice in the papers that a doctor in Paris has discovered how to renew in the oldish and old, youth. He has no trouble in finding patients. I shall not seek him. I have no good reason for wishing to feed upon "life everlasting." I have been in the ring for some time and have fought all the battles I care to. "There is a destiny that shapes our ends, rough hew them as we may." Wilson's glandular troubles are convincing him of this. The poor fellow is not sound at either end or in his heart.

Sincerely yours,
Chas. B. Purvis.

Francis J. Grimké to Colonel Harvey

Washington, D. C., November 12, 1919.

Editor, "*Harvey's Weekly*," Sir:

I am taking the liberty of addressing you, to express my very high appreciation of your forceful editorial in the issue of "*Harvey's Weekly*" of October 11th, entitled "An Old Race-War Warning." It is not only timely, but I am sure it must do great good. Not only as an American citizen, interested in the welfare of the whole country, but also as a colored American, I wish to thank you, and to beg of you to continue to throw the weight of your great influence in helping to ease the burdens that are pressing so heavily

upon the colored people in this country because of race prejudice. All they ask is that they be permitted to enjoy the same rights that are enjoyed by other American citizens. They do not ask to be treated differently from other citizens of the Republic. They ask no special legislation in their behalf, only that they may enjoy untrammelled the common rights that inhere in citizenship. They have always been loyal to the country; they have never hesitated to make any sacrifice, however great, for the country whenever they have been called upon. No class of citizens responded more readily to the call of the Government in meeting the German peril across the sea. If they were slackers, or if the service rendered by them was grudgingly given, it might be different. But such is not the case.

And here I am reminded of some words uttered by Secretary Franklin K. Lane some time ago in a speech which I had the pleasure of hearing him deliver. He said :

“No men in this Nation have a better right to claim eminence in that great virtue of loyalty than you have, as you have proved when you have been tried. I reckon no higher proof of loyalty was ever given by your fathers in the days of slavery, when into their hands was entrusted the care of the property of those men who were fighting against their freedom. And no greater courage and no greater loyalty have ever been shown by any of the troops of the United States than was shown in Cuba when you had the chance, and but a year ago at Carrizal, in Mexico. You have the courage. Your courage no one questions, and, in these days when we who have to deal with large affairs of state are counting up the assets of this country and asking ourselves, and asking each other, who is there that can be counted upon; who is there that is sure; who is there whose loyalty to that flag is unquestioned, no matter what comes, we know the Negro can be counted upon. No man has any reason to say that the colored man in the United States is not, first of all, a loyal American.”¹

Again I thank you, and pray for your continued interest in seeing that justice is done the colored man.

(Rev.) Francis J. Grimké.

¹ During the days when the Woodrow Wilson administration remained silent on the woes of the Negroes, Secretary of Interior Franklin K. Lane was the only member of the Cabinet to speak a kindly word for this race. Negroes often attributed this to the fact that he was born in Canada.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Mass., November 21, 1919.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Yours came this morning. I write in reply promptly because I will not have many more days at my command. We are having our first taste of nineties; I do not stand cold as of old. I see Wilson's slaves obeyed his command and defeated his League unwittingly. They have done a good thing. Lodge believes America should be in the Covenant; so do I, for this reason. I am opposed to the plantation songs. Cut the plantation from the colored brother, let him be an American "three" and "three". Fifty years ago I attended a school Christmas exercise in Delaware. A man from the north who represented the Freedman's Aid Society of Mass. gave a talk. Graphically he told how the slave owners and drivers maltreated the poor slaves. An oldish black woman sat near to me; she exclaimed, "Ise want to forget dat." She spoke nicely. The new order was what she was grasping for. Douglass once said Lincoln was the only public character "who did not remind me before I left his presence that I was a nigger." "You people, your people" etc., should not have a place. We are one people, all Americans, as such—all rights, political and civil should be guaranteed upon the fundamental basic principle that there cannot be any difference in Americans. I have always resented the expression—"leading colored doctors, or lawyers." A colored doctor means half a doctor. You heard me some years ago call Pinchback down for using the expression; it was at a dinner given to Washington. A year and more ago I was asked at a company if I were not an advocate of Woman's rights, "such is your reputation." I surprised my hearers by saying I was not, that I knew nothing and cared nothing, for woman's rights per se. "I am an uncompromising advocate of citizen's rights. Women are citizens." White men and colored do not differ essentially when surrounded by the same influence, environment and opportunities. What the individual colored man may follow matters not. Colleges must have but one curriculum in music, or letters, American manhood must know of no color. Drive these thoughts home if necessary. I could write much more and present strong arguments. I will not bore you. My motive is to fight prejudice—

Mrs. Purvis joins me in wishing a "Merry Christmas" to each of you.

Yours truly,
C. B. Purvis.

I have read Durkee's address. It is fine; he has a big program for the University. May he succeed!¹

Francis J. Grimké to Jesse E. Moorland

Washington, D. C., December 22, 1919.

My dear Dr. Moorland:

Your letter was duly received and contents noted. I confess, I was somewhat surprised at its tenor. At the Executive Committee meeting at which Mr. Randolph was invited to address the Academy, all the members were present, as I remember except yourself; Prof. Miller presided, and the vote was unanimous. No one seemed to feel that there was anything inconsistent with the dignity or purpose of the Academy in inviting him. Both the editors of the *Messenger* are young men of unusual brain power and are thoroughly trained men. The *Messenger* is decidedly the ablest Negro journal that is published; it has more brain to the square inch than any Negro publication that I know of. These young men by the forceful and clean cut presentation of the claims of the colored people are attracting more and more to themselves the attention and the respect of the thoughtful and more progressive Negroes all over the country. The members of the Executive Committee did not feel therefore that there was any impropriety in having one of them appear on our programme. It seems to me, in your criticism of the action of the Executive Committee that you have entirely misunderstood the purpose of the Academy:

(1.) It is not a religious organization. It was not founded with apologetic intent—I use the term as the chief cause—as a means of buttressing up religion. Its members may all be Christians; but as an Academy it has no religious tenets.

(2.) It has stood, and I trust always will stand for the freest discussion of all subjects of human interest. What it ought to seek is to encourage the free exchange of thought; it ought to be a kind of clearing house for the best thought of the best brain of

¹ The writer refers herein to the inauguration of J. Stanley Durkee as president of Howard University in 1919.

the race. It would be a sad mistake to shut out from our discussions any line of honest thinking. What we need is light, and never mind from what source it comes, it ought to be welcomed. The attempt to restrict discussion belongs not to this age, but rather to the dark ages. The American Negro Academy would soon become a back number, if such should be its policy.

(3.) The American Negro Academy never has, and I trust never will concern itself about attacks made upon gentlemen who happen to be members of it. When Gideon threw down the altar of Baal, and the Midianites and the Amalekites came and demanded of Joash his father that he be given up to them that they might put him to death, you remember what he said: "Will ye contend for Baal? or will ye save him? If he be a god let him contend for himself." And that is just the way I feel about any member of the Academy who may be attacked by anybody; if he cannot defend himself, if he is such an intellectual weakling that somebody else must come to his defense, the reflection upon the Academy is not that it doesn't come to his defense, but that it should have such a member on its list. The Academy has nothing, absolutely nothing to do with attacks made on men who happen to be identified with it. And it is strange that you should assume that it has. Membership in the American Negro Academy doesn't put a man above or beyond criticism, does it? The Academy would simply make itself ridiculous if it acted upon any such assumption.

So far as I am concerned, I stand for the freest discussion of every subject. I am always ready to listen and hear what any man has to say. It is impossible for me to know what he is thinking about unless I am willing to let him speak out, unless I am willing to give him a hearing.

My brother feels just as I do about this matter, and we regret to find you taking the position which you do.

Hoping that you and Mrs. Moorland are well, and with kindest regards, I am

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

P. S.—I am sending you two of my most recent publications on the Race Problem. I do not know whether you will agree with what I have said in them or not, but I am venturing to send them to you that you might see what I am thinking about along race lines, and what my principles are, as a race man.

J. P. Foster to Mrs. E. V. C. Williams¹

Sumter, S. C., December 25, 1919.

My dear friend:

So many times have we thought and spoken of you, since your departure from old Abbeville. And no one of thought can wonder why you were loathe to leave the place; for there you have done the best work of your life, the training of so many young men and women, enabling them to appreciate the real worth of life.

What I am today, I owe it to you and to Rev. Williams, largely so; and I assure you no two persons living have a warmer spot in my heart than both of you.

I must confess my very happy and pleasant surprise to receive your letter of the 18th inst.

How very much I thank you, cannot be expressed in words, for the interest you are showing in having the Ladies' Mission Society of 15th St. Church send our work a box.

Such remembrances coming to a work like this can only be appreciated by those of us, who have had to labor under such trying circumstances, and conditions. No one knows better than yourself, hence you know what you send will be appreciated. Not one box have we received this year. Don't know why.

Now Mrs. Williams, I only wish you could really see what we are doing in both the church and the school—both had about gone as you know.

Today I can boast of having the leading church and the leading school in Fairfield Presbytery. Have added 40 or 50 members since I came here. Paid the church entirely of debt, which was more than \$1200.00; have bought and paid for a new pulpit set for \$100.00; bought new pews for \$1600.00 and they are installed—the prettiest and as good as in any church in Sumter; only owe \$250.00 on these. Only wish you could see the church and congregation any Sunday morning. It is really churchy.

Have raised \$2100.44 already this year. The church pays now a salary of \$520.00. They pay it, whereas they paid before \$120.00.

Today we have 410 pupils in our school, and 35 of these are boarding students. The board supports seven teachers now instead of six. They pay me \$60 a month and no teacher less than \$25 and

¹ Mrs. E. V. C. Williams was an influential member of the Fifteenth Presbyterian Church. She and her husband had established a school at Abbeville, S. C.

up to \$35. My daughter Ruth gets \$35.00 as music teacher, Mrs. Foster \$30.00.

Truly we are blessed as never before in every thing. The Lord led us from Anderson in the right time, and I think led us to the right place. Sumter is really the best town in the State. The relation between the races is not at all strained. Time and character have been given to the work, and "it now enjoys the confidence of both races, as never before" they say.

Mrs. F. Ruth and I shall attend the General Assembly which meets in Philadelphia next spring—shall stop by to see you.

Special regard to Rev. E. W. and the children.

Express our thanks to the Society for the box.

Sincerely yours,

J. P. Foster.

Merry Xmas and Happy New Year.

Francis J. Grimké to the Editor of the STAR

Washington, D. C., January 11, 1920.

To the Editor of *The Star*:

I read with some surprise Senator Smoot's remarks in the Senate relative to the presence in the library of Howard University of a pamphlet entitled: "Bolsheviks and the Soviets." I was no less surprised at the statement of President Durkee explaining how the pamphlet got into the library, and announcing that he had withdrawn it, and expressing his judgment that the Government ought to suppress it.

The question which this incident raises is, not as to whether one sympathizes with Bolshevism or not; but as to whether American citizens, students and professors in American universities shall be permitted to inform themselves as to what is going on in the world of thought and action. The Russian Revolution is a fact; the Soviet government is a fact,—one of the great outstanding facts in present world history. Are people who want to know what this Russian Revolution is, what this Soviet government is, to be denied the privilege of informing themselves? What are libraries? What are they for? Are they not supposed to be the repositories of all kinds of information, and should they not contain books on every phase of human thought and endeavor? I am wondering whether I am living in democratic America, or in Russia of the Czars.

Let us hope there will be no effort made to abridge the sources of information on any phase of world movements. If Bolshevism is a bad thing the best way to kill it is to let people know what it is, to turn on it the light of honest and searching inquiry. The attempt to suppress a publication is the best way to advertise it, to call attention to it. If Senator Smoot wanted to advertise this pamphlet, to give it the widest possible publicity, he could have adopted no better method than the one which he did. People who never thought of the pamphlet, who didn't know that it was in existence, are now inquiring for it, are expressing the wish to see it and read it.

All that is really needed is a little common sense, and the exercise of a little faith in the intelligence of the average American. What are our public schools for? Why are we spending millions of dollars on them annually but for the very purpose of training the people to think for themselves, to judge for themselves? It is not for any servant of the people, in Congress or out of it, to dictate to them what they shall read or what they shall not; to say how far they shall be permitted to inform themselves as to what is going on in this great world drama that is in process of unfolding. This is my view, on the matter, and I speak as one of the people.

Francis J. Grimké.

Carter G. Woodson to Francis J. Grimké.

Washington, D. C., January 18, 1920.

My dear Dr. Grimké

I address you this to express my hearty approval of your letter which appeared in *The Washington Star* yesterday. Your position is that of every intelligent and fair-minded citizen of this country. No sane man can reasonably object to the dissemination of general information as to what is going on in the world today.

If an institution is so handicapped that some one on the outside can dictate what truth, how much truth, or whether any truth at all, shall be taught on its grounds, that institution has ceased to be useful and might as well close its doors. I had never heard of the book in question and have not as yet read any literature of the so-called radicals; but I contend that a book suitable for any other general library is suitable for the Howard University Library, just as any information or instruction suitable for any other institution of learning is suitable also for Howard University.

If by a single speech a man in public life can have a book thrown out of the Howard University Library because the volume explains doctrines which he believes should not be taught, this same man may have any teacher at this institution dismissed, if he gives instruction in a field which the complainant believes should be forbidden. The University, therefore, should not have removed this book from its library. If academic freedom is the price which Howard University must pay for an annual appropriation of \$100,000 from Congress, I strongly urge that we sacrifice the appropriation and appeal to the world in behalf of the new education.

Respectfully yours,
C. G. Woodson.¹

Francis J. Grimké to Carter G. Woodson

January 21, 1920.

Dear Dr. Woodson:

I thank you for your kind letter. It is just such a letter as I would have expected you to write, from what I know of your independence of thought and manly character. Both my brother and myself feel that we can always depend upon you in every emergency when a manly part is to be played. I wrote the letter to the *Star* because I felt that I must speak out. It was a blunder on the part of the President of the University to express himself as he did, and to pursue the course which he did. He did it, of course, as I understand in order to safeguard our appropriation; but there are more important things in the life of a university than dollars. Its attitude should never be a cringing, cowardly one. It ought to stand up for principle, for what is right; and if it cannot stand up for principle, for what is right and honorable and manly, then it had better go down. The moral influence of a university in the building of character, in making strong men and women, is its chief function: and, if getting money from Congress will prevent it from doing that, it had better, as you well said in your letter, "sacrifice the appropriation and appeal to the world in behalf of the new education."

Again thanking you for your letter, and with kindest regards,
I am

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

¹ At this time Carter G. Woodson was Dean of the School of Liberal Arts of Howard University. He could serve there, however, for one year only.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, California, January 20, 1920.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I do not intend intruding upon your precious time. I sent you some lines not very long ago, to write again so soon is an imposition. There are a few matters I wish to invite your attention to before you attend the meeting of the board of trustees of Howard University which meets next month. I enclose some clippings for you to read, they are full of valuable information.

Before discussing the clippings let me say I favor the election of Col. Roosevelt as a trustee of the University. I replied to Dr. Durkee's letter telling him I would vote for the Col. at the annual meeting if there was a vacancy. A nomination can be made at the February meeting, he did not seem to know that a vote could not be taken. I reminded him that Taft and Prof. Hart, had to be voted for first as they were nominated last June. Hart's nomination was conditional upon a vacancy. The trustee board needs strong timber, badly. Men of influence, men who believe in the principles the University represents.

One of the clippings tells of what Rockefeller has done in the way of gifts. Howard has never received the least attention from him and Eastman. Why? Why cannot these men be reached? I will not comment further. The second clipping relates to Haiti. I read with pleasure of the advancements it has made. What a pity the new growth could not have been made by the people themselves! The third clipping is from *The World's Work*. I send it to you after reading Durkee's letter to the press in relation to Soviet literature that has been placed in the library of the University. While I have no sympathy with the Soviet movement in Russia, and the feeble existence it has in this country, I cannot say I am in accord with the rush of President Durkee to see that every book or phamplet is eliminated from the University Library. My reading upon the Soviet revolution which has become powerful in Russia, and is finding its way into all the countries of the world, is too limited to permit me to form a positive opinion. I have done some reading in regard to it. I shall do more. That it is the result of a serious social disease only the fatuous would attempt to deny. Garrison and Phillips could well have been classed as Soviets; by them the Constitution was denounced as a covenant with death, an agreement with hell. Lovell too could be thus classed, for in his

terse lines he said "Man is more than constitutions etc." I send you John Spargo's article "Why the I. W. W. Flourish;" he sets forth facts that every student of sociology should possess, that every man who wants a sound government should read. While nothing is said by Mr. Spargo about the Soviet uprising, the principles of the I. W. W. organization are fundamentally the same.

Five years ago, I went to a lyceum in Boston composed of colored people to hear Prof. Hart of Harvard lecture; his topic was "patriotism," a very good topic, but greatly out of place when delivered to an audience of colored men and women. Mr. Hart handled his subject well, but lost sight of the fact that patriotism was a reciprocal relationship existing between a government and its citizens. While the colored people have always displayed patriotism to this country, the country thru its administrations has never displayed any patriotic desire to serve their best interests. The present damnable administration accentuates this fact. The position of the 12,000,000 of colored citizens is anomalous, the general rule of practice does not apply to them. While full of hope, ambition and desire, they are compelled to be ancillary in every endeavor. It cannot be questioned that as they ascend in the gradations of intelligence they will seek for the information that will give them light and open the door of opportunity. Today the two great political parties are marshalling for a great political battle. To which of these forces should the colored citizen unite, which of them will unhesitatingly stand as a bulwark against the spirit that today ostracizes him politically, socially, religiously? Whether he should in obedience to his self respect refuse to serve in this party or seek to identify himself with a new organization whose main platform plank is the "fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man," is a serious question; he cannot decide unless advised by reading and study. The I. W. W. and the Russian Soviet are two Macbethian spots upon the social and economic policy of our country. "The damned" spots will not "out; no fact hurled forth will blast them from existence. The axe must be laid at the root of the evil. Let those who wish to learn what is wise, what should be accepted, or rejected read. They will not, they cannot be denied. When Garrison was imprisoned he wrote "May as well attempt to chain the wind." Brainless men, selfish men, men who live to covet, who fatten and fatten upon injustice will cry aloud "The leaders of revolutionary reform are guilty of violence, of unpardonable sabotage, of murder."

To drive home a great truth, to establish a principle of extreme action is at times necessary. Mohammed went to war to establish a religious principle. Calvin committed an act that would have sent him to the electric chair today so that the world should have for generations a fundamental religious conviction to guide it. Our Civil War was a conflict between Southern Gompers and Northern Soviets. One battled to make organized slave labor supreme, the other to clean the national escutcheon and make all laborers free men. I have written you at length because there is a "big" problem to be thought over! I do not know what the trustees of Howard will do. All may take to the woods. I shall not follow. I shall as a physician look for the physical and moral causes that place our institutional life in jeopardy.

Tell your brother to fight Williams' nomination for comptroller of the Treasury. Pardon me for writing so much.

Sincerely yours,

C. B. Purvis.

Williams was the scoundrel who insulted the colored clerks—humiliated them.

Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, January 22, 1920.

Dear Grimké,

This has been a crowded day for me. It is now 11 o'clock Thursday night. I ought to be in the chair at the meeting of our Building and Loan Association which is in session in the basement of the church instead of writing to my old friend, Dr. Grimké. I have gone through much since I wrote you last. My experiences have been, as changeable, as a chameleon, or the shapes in a kaleidoscope. Several times I came near, if not all together, losing my temper, and if I did not it was because the ridiculous babbled up and I gave vent to a good hearty laugh, sometimes at the expense of some innocent victim; at other times at some ridiculous experience in the distant past.

I will mention two incidents. A little skinny, husky fellow called the other day at the office to matriculate, as a student in the Berean School—"What is your name please?" asked Miss Williams. The little fellow looked at her shyly for a moment and then said, "My name is Shine."—Our colored machinist in connection with the hosiery class became very unsatisfactory, and we had

advertised for another. A very spritely fellow called in answer to our inquiry. "What is your name?" I inquired.—"My name is James Unthink." I at once took him up to the nursery department and presented him to Mr. Buch who is over the department as Mr. Don't Think.—"Oh no, Dr. Anderson, you are mistaken," he holloed out. "My name is not Don't Think, but Unthink."

My chief trouble just now is the young man who was employed as my assistant is laying down on the job. He does not at all come up to my expectation, and what is worse I must keep him until the end of the school year. All that fine energy which he exhibited in July and August when you were here and all through September suddenly ceased when the school opened in October. He at once assumed the role of gentleman at large, whose hands must not touch much less do anything physical. His change-about-face, was really ludicrous. Sometimes I felt like roaring, at others like cursing. I know well what Archie will say. "That's Anderson over again. He slops all over when he first gets acquainted with one, but very soon discovers there is no good in him whatever." That may be true, but he must not forget, that the devil, at times comes to us as an angel of light, and that even he, Archie, has been deceived. And then again I think that we should treat even his Satanic majesty as we would the genuine article, so long as we think he is such.

My dear niece and her distinguished husband, the Rev. George Davis, are here on their winter vacation, from Columbus, Ohio where he has one of the leading Baptist Churches. My phone rang out on Monday, the 5th, and a voice cried out: "Is the Rev. Dr. Anderson home?"—"Yes," I said, "he is on the phone."—"Well who is this that is speaking to you?" the party said.—"Really I can't say though the voice is familiar."—"It is Fannie from Columbus," was the answer.—"Why hello, Fannie, when did you get here?"—"We arrived this forenoon."—"Where are you?"—"We are stopping at Fannie Williams'."—"How long are you going to be in the city?" I asked.—"Oh about two weeks."—"Well, aren't you going to spend some time with me?" I asked—"Well, I don't think so. Our friends here are expecting us, and hardly think we will have any time to spend with you."

Last week I thought I had better extend a formal invitation to them to spend a couple of days at my house. After five days I received the following answer:

"Dear Uncle Math:

"We are going to extend our visit two weeks longer than we expected, but we will not be able to spend any time at your house, as our friends are having us out to meals three times a day, ever since we have been in Philadelphia. At night we are very tired so you will please excuse us."

I have decided to employ old Brother McKinney to come and give me a good solid kicking. And I know just what he will say. He will say: "Well, De-de-de-Doctor Anderson I-I-I know, you wo-wo-wouldn't ask m-m-me to d-d-do anything wo-wo-wrong, so js-js-just turn i-i-it up, and I wi-wi-wi-will kick you."

Yesterday my dear niece and my dear sister-in-law called on business at the Building Loan Association, which was in session, and passed a few minutes in the house. They seemed like two peas in a pod. One of the homes in which my dear niece was feasted was the home of my dear sister-in-law, Grimké.

I have been thinking of late that I wanted to erase from my heart every unfriendly feeling towards my relatives, or at least I wanted to exhibit to them that I hold towards them no ill will whatever. That they might look upon me as their friend. In keeping with this purpose I have been putting myself out of the way to please them, when my niece Mary Bell came to Carrie's funeral I paid part of her traveling expenses in return besides giving her presents. I have Ella Still to many meals during the year. On every special occasion she was among the guests. I have been twice to see Will Still's wife in the hospital. Last week took her fruit and sent her a broiled chicken, but I am here to say I will never put myself out of the way again to accommodate any of my relatives, except it be my nephew John Anderson. I am through, entirely through. I have been a friend, a benefactor to them all, and they have returned my kindness with hate and contumely.

Margaret is home and is greatly improved, all send love to the Grimkés.

As ever your friend,

Matthew Anderson.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, Calif., January 25, 1920.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Your notes and Thanksgiving sermon were duly received. I am pleased to hear from you and to learn through you that your brother and niece are well.

I read your address carefully and with interest. You stated the facts with cogency and clearness. I have some personal notions about the keeping of Thanks-stuffing day. I will not parade them. I might be called disputatious if I should parade them.

The Macbethian spot which racial prejudice has planted upon our social, religious and political bodies will not out, no matter how we exclaim anathemas against it. I hesitate about offering of thanks beyond the platters that hold the turkey which was crucified for our special benefit. I presume if the dear bird could voice its feelings he, too, would exclaim, "Father, forgive them; they know what they do!" The criticism would be just, if the physical condition of the cannibals as seen the next day is any evidence.

I am deeply interested in the moves that are being made by the Spartans (?) upon the chessboard of our body politic. At present, the outlook for the Republicans is good. Wilson, the king mule of the Jackass tribe, blinded by an over-powering conceit, is helping the Republican cause wonderfully. Bryan's speech at the Jackass dinner has helped to open the eyes of the people to the painful character of Wilson. I have been amused over the action of the Democratic party of Massachusetts. It denounces the Administration for several failures, among them the non-observance of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Poor little barefooted Ireland! What a political chameleon body it is! Touch my interest favorably and I am with you; unfavorably, and I am against you. Political bodies, as a rule, are never anchored to a principle. Sentiment guides them when it is a potentiality only.

United States Senator Phelan is out here doing his best to arouse the people against the Japs, who are the farmers here. Prejudice against them is strong. It is founded upon jealousy and apprehension that the Japs will eventually drive the whites out. Their industry excels in quality; they are becoming landowners; they have large families, while the whites have but few children. In this respect whites are influenced by pure selfishness. Large families are expensive luxuries. White women do not want to be socially relegated. Southern California is in a peculiar position. Its people would starve if it were not for the Japs and Chinamen! They do all the farm work, raise all the foods. White men will not work on the farms. This Jap question is a serious one

to the nation. Japan is a sensitive nation and a powerful one. Her new possessions make her numerically nearly as strong as the United States. We do not want a war with Japan, but may be driven to it. Senator Phelan, I should judge, is an Irishman. His name indicates it. If he is, where is his consistency? My sympathy is with the Japs. There is no just or logical reason why they should be treated differently from any other foreigners. I was surprised to notice in the morning papers that a colored man had sued a Jap for refusing to serve him in his restaurant. Money is what influences. Colored men refuse to shave each other in their shops. Prejudice against the colored brother is universal. It seems to be on the increase.

I have much evidence and have witnessed many amusing things. I meet all kinds of people; there are many of the South; I hear the unpleasant remarks made; the words nigger and darky are upon most lips. Colored musicians play for many of the balls here. I was dancing a few nights ago with a daughter from Georgia. She remarked, "Those niggers play well; they keep such good time." She complimented me upon my skill in waltzing. I had to return the pleasant remark, and said, "You ladies from Georgia inspire me—create a rhythm of movement." * * * I enclose a clipping that may interest you. * * * Referring again to politics, I invited your attention to an opportunity that is offered in common with others to bright colored minds. A Mr. Truxton Beal has offered through Mr. Hayes, chairman of the National Republican Committee, \$10,000 as a prize to those who draw the nicest and best platform for the party to stand upon. First prize, \$6,000; second, \$3,000; third, \$1,000. This is a great opportunity to stir up your somnolent men; let this recondite genius spring forth. Nothing archaic should be written. In ornate language, the duty of the party, the obligations resting upon it, can be well set forth by a ready pen. Each plank in the platform can be made scintillant by the principles that are advanced. I will suggest a few fundamental principles. Absolute observance of the Amendments to the Constitution—Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Eighteenth. Lynching should be made a national offense and hanging the penalty. Labor disputes should be settled by enforced arbitration. Government ownership of railroads should be characterized as unAmerican and non-democratic. Suffrage to women and prohibition should be extolled. All foreigners who come here to work

and remain three years must be naturalized or compelled to return to their respective countries. America must be for Americans. A thorough understanding with Japan and China should be accomplished by new treaties. Sabotage by strikes should be punished by law. Compulsory education should be enacted by Congress. No State should be allowed to deny the right of vote for members of Congress and United States Senators to any citizen. A protective tariff law should be passed. A budget system regulating appropriations. A strict observance of the civil service law. Curtailment of expenses. A delegate in Congress to represent the District of Columbia should be provided for.

These are some of the planks that should appear in the platform. I have written you more than you can read. I will stop.

Sincerely yours,
C. B. Purvis.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, California, February 3, 1920.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

You will pardon me for inflicting myself upon you once more. Your last letter was duly received and read with interest. You mention some facts that show that the prayers of the righteous are answered even tho tardily done.

I presume divine government has a policy, and seeks to call sinners to repentance by placing them on probation. When the reform method fails it takes a radical course. The case of Chase is an evidence. Most of us will regret that the convention that was held in Chevy Chase a few years ago met so soon to abolish hell. A delay would have been most fortunate. What a time the Germans would be having there if a delay had been hit upon! Chase will be punished. Margaret Cameron in her book, "*Seven Purposes*," shows that those who delighted in degenerating ways are ostracized in heaven. So Chase will fare badly, neither his physical or his mental form commend him to the respectable element. Charley Douglass too has slipped a cog. You did not mention him in your letter. You are too busy a man too deeply engrossed in matters of moment to spend any time in discussing nonentity. Charles had his place, he was a living evidence that Quatrefages is right in his

contention that man has an anthropoid origin. John Fisk reaffirms this opinion. The senior Douglass had a fine head but a poor loin.

I shall not impose much of a letter upon you. I am not in a writing trim. Lumbago and general rheumatism unfits me for driving an intelligent and racy pen.

This morning's mail bringth me extracts from the Executive Committee of the University. I have read them over carefully and with much interest. While I approve of most that the committee has done, I am constrained to feel that it comes too near supplanting the Board of Trustees. I am especially interested in the discussion over Doctor McNeill. I am very much disappointed in him; he is my appointment as secretary to the Medical Department and as Prof. of Gynaecology. I was amazed when I discovered last summer that he had managed to secure for himself a salary of over \$4,000, or when the department was embarrassed for the want of money, when many teachers were underpaid. It was an outrage. As there was no current fund he should refund. Upon my motion at the annual meeting he was selected to go into the field and secure funds for the Medical Department. Dr. Durkee suggested it to me; he did not want it to be understood that he had any personal feelings towards McNeill tho he knew the doctor was bitter in his asceticism of him. Dr. Durkee is too big a man to be unduly annoyed by the nibbling of a gnat; his remodeling of the Medical School is comprehensive. I carried out his suggestion to help matters go smoothly. I do not think McNeill is at all suited for the work; he is unfortunately constituted; he lacks a persuasive grace which is essential in a collector of money; he is not fluent in speech, he has an asperity of manner that repels. Anyone who has observed him closely will agree with the opinion I advance. If he does not go into the field but remains as a teacher I think he should have more pay than Mr. Hillyer suggests (\$500). Half time pay would be just if he does the necessary work. Your Committee acted wisely in refusing to allow relatives of medical teachers to have free tuition. We did allow free tuition to a few sons of professors some years ago. To the sons of Drs. Shadd, Reyburn, Lamb and Graham. The professors were not receiving any pay then, virtually no pay.

What has become of the agency that was going to collect a medical endowment? You are at liberty to use this letter if you so desire.

How are you? Well I trust. I am so, so. If I live to attend the annual meeting in May or June, I will have been connected with the University 53 years. Fully 60 trustees and professors have passed away during this time.

Best to your brother and daughter.

Sincerely yours,
C. B. Purvis.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, California, February 22, 1920.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Your letter with a copy of your letter to the President enclosed was duly received. Your letter to the President was a good one, it coincides with my views. I am pleased to know our Medical Department may receive a generous recognition. If it does, there should be a "thoro" over-hauling, there is too much one-man power in the management, the resolution I introduced at the board meeting some time ago at the request of the faculty has never been followed. There are too many poorly equipped teachers. The president must be the boss.

I am not attempting to write you a letter this morning. My principal motive in writing is to call attention to what I saw in the papers here. A Mrs. Mary Talbert from N. Y., Rochester I think, has been here collecting money to place the Douglass Home upon its feet. She claims to have raised sufficient to pay off its mortgages. At present she is seeking to raise 10 or 15 thousand dollars to make necessary improvements. Is she properly accredited? If so she is doing a splendid work. I thought it best to call your attention to her.¹

Trusting you and your brother and niece are well,

I remain yours sincerely,

C. B. Purvis.

¹ Helen Pitts Douglass, the widow of Frederick Douglass, had to mortgage the home he left to pay off the other heirs rather than see it pass to owners who would not preserve it as a shrine. Mrs. Mary Talbert saved the home for this purpose and thus carried out the wishes of his widow who was so devoted to revering his memory.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, California, April 5, 1920.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Yours came this morning. I answer you promptly for two reasons, first, my stay here is short. In two weeks I shall be railing it home (if I have any). I cannot write you from here many letters. Second, I am interested in your case and wish to see you have good treatment. I hope the Sanmetto will help you, it often does. My large experience has taught me that drugs are unreliable; as a rule are used empirically. Sound logical reasoning is seldom displayed. As the noted Cabot of Boston bravely said—50 per cent of the diagnoses made are mere guess work. Few men seldom search for the cause of ill health. The majority of the doctors find a safe bulwark behind "Your liver is out of order." Poor liver is lied about, abused, slandered by ignorance! I mention these facts because the real cause of your discomfort has not been looked for. I am of the opinion that the fault rests with your prostate gland. I presume it is enlarged. If it is, it presses upon the neck of the bladder and makes it irritable. Medicine will not cure enlargement of this gland. The best treatment is massage. I shall enclose a note to Dr. Foster, a capable man; he will examine and treat you; he is one of the men who examined Wilson; he teaches at Howard. I am sure he will not charge you anything. Before going to him use an enema of warm water and castile soap; have the bowel well cleansed, an enema of water as hot as you can stand it is good; it relieves congestion and lessens pressure. Sanmetto often allays irritation—I shall run to Washington a few days ahead of the meeting of the University trustees and will see you.

Your committee was wise in referring the Medical College matters to the board.

The Executive Committee has no authority to settle such a matter. It is my intention to bring the matter of the Medical Department up. I will see Durkee first. Scott sent me the names of some men whom Moorland has nominated for the degree of L. L. D. I do not know the men. I never heard of them. Moorland's nominations are undoubtedly the result of an exuberance of good feeling. Our committee will consider them.

"Grow old gracefully." While rather a pretty saying, is generally out of place. Failing sight, bladder disturbances, a feeling

of ennui, rheumatic aches, shortness of breath and so on are the afflictions that come. I have, and do experience them. Best to Archie and daughter.

Yours very truly,
C. B. Purvis.

Phone Williston or Bulloch for Foster's address.

Francis J. Grimké to M. W. Ovington

Washington, D. C., April 23, 1920.

Dear Miss Ovington:

Your book, "*The Shadow*," was read first by my brother, then by my niece, and last of all it was handed to me, and this is why you have not heard from me before. I want to thank you for sending it to us, and, especially, for writing it. I am sure it must do good. It is a real contribution towards a better understanding of the race problem in this country, and also the labor problem as well, the conflict between the forces that are everywhere keeping things stirred up and that ought to keep them stirred up until they are properly, rightly settled.

I enjoyed reading the book immensely; it greatly interested me. I found myself putting aside other things in order to be as little interrupted as possible until I had finished it.

I was particularly pleased with your great success in setting forth, with a simplicity and beauty that left nothing more to be desired, the Christ spirit, the spirit of the lowly Nazarene, which is so much needed all over the world today. There is no other solution for all of our problems, racial or otherwise. Jesus said: "I am the light of the world. He that followeth after me shall not walk in darkness but shall have the light of life." And the only reason why we are groping today in the dark is because we will not follow his lead; because we shut out the only light that can illumine the darkness. In Kathleen, the wife and Mrs. Williams, preserver, who reared you so kindly, the colored woman who mothered the white baby, caring for it as if it were her own, I seem to see the face of the lowly Nazarene looking out upon me, and to feel as I have rarely felt the beauty of the Christ spirit, the all-embracing reach of his great heart of love for all mankind,—for all races and classes and condition. I found myself saying, O for more Kathleens and Mrs Williamses in the world. Your book,

I am sure, will help to carry that spirit, to diffuse it, to help people to see how immeasurably it rises above the mean, contemptible spirit of race hatred and class hatred, the spirit of greed and selfishness that is so widely prevalent in the world today.

You have done well in publishing this book; you have sent forth an evangel, which, like John the Baptist, wherever it is read, will be calling men to repentance, and to a higher and nobler standard in dealing with all of our vexed problems. I congratulate you, and hope that you will continue to write along the same line. Too many books cannot be printed that preach the gospel of true brotherhood, of good will towards all men.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Allston, Mass., April 27, 1920.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

The heading of this paper tells where I am. I arrived here Saturday night. I am tired from the long ride. It is nice to be home. How different is the climate!

I found among my letters one from Durkee asking my opinion about having the annual meeting of the University trustees held June 3rd and not on the 10th. I have answered him. I much prefer the 3rd, the 10th is too late in the month;—I am in doubt as to whether I shall attend the meeting. I have never missed one. I have served the University 52 years. While my service has not been of an special value, I have given it the best I possessed. A younger man would render better service. I had a birthday anniversary on the 14th, as I look up the dial of time I am reminded that I am striding rapidly towards the brink of the river. What do you think of it? Shall I make room for another?

Mr. Warner has rented his house, there is doubt about my room. I may not secure it again. I doubt whether I would care to be with his tenant. This is why I say I may have to give up the idea of running down. I could go to a hotel. If I should I could not see my friends. I am perplexed. I shall decide within a few days.

Yours very truly,
Chas. B. Purvis.

Francis J. Grimké to James B. Spillman

Washington, D. C., May 14, 1920.

Dear Sir:

Your circular in reference to religious advertising, has been received and read. In one part of it you say, "The Church is beginning to feel the need of advertising and beginning to realize that if it is to carry out its mission to the world, the Church must advertise the religion of Jesus Christ." I hope that what you say is true,—that the Church is really beginning to feel the need of advertising the "Religion of Jesus Christ." It is the one thing, I have felt for a long time, that it cared least about. The kind of advertising that you have in mind, while it has its place in the scheme of things, is of comparatively little importance as compared to the only true and effectual way of advertising the "Religion of Jesus Christ," and that is by living it, by taking its great principles and ideals and exemplifying them in our every day living. If you or somebody else could devise some scheme by which to stir the Church up to a sense of the importance of advertising the religion of Jesus Christ in the way he wants it advertised, and as he clearly indicated when he said, "Let your light shine before men; that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven," it would be worth vastly more to the cause of Christ than the project which you have in mind. So far as I can see there is very little being done and very little desire for that kind of advertising, because when people begin, really, truly, to live the religion of Jesus Christ, to be controlled by his spirit and principles, a great many of the things that today are sanctioned by the church, its narrowness, its prejudices, its race-hating spirit, its shameful connivance at or silence in the presence of evils, would have to go, would go, but at heart, it doesn't want them to go. The Church, of which you speak, so far as I can see, is not at all interested in bringing to the front a full-fledged Christianity,—a Christianity that accepts all that Jesus taught, and that is honestly and earnestly trying to live it, to follow him through evil report as well as good.

I have just finished reading Dr. Grenfell's autobiography. The chapter, "My Religious Life," opens with these words: "No one can write his real religious life with pen or pencil. It is written only in actions, and its seal is our character, not our orthodoxy. Whether we, our neighbor, or God is the judge, absolutely the only

value of our 'religious' life to ourselves or to anyone is what it fits us for and enables us to do. "Of what value is the Christianity represented by the Church in this country, judged by its effect upon its adherents and upon conditions generally? Is it not a fact, that while it has been steadily increasing in numerical strength and in material resources, the most appalling evils have been allowed to grow up under it, and have gone on steadily increasing,—race prejudice, lynching, peonage, greed for gain, and the lust for power. The religion of the average church member, what does it amount to as a restraining, constraining, ennobling influence? How much of real Christianity is there in it? How much of real Christianity is there in the so-called Christian church? So that, if by advertising the religion of Jesus Christ, you mean the brand of it that is represented by the church in this country, I am free to say, the less we advertise it the better; the sooner it is wiped out entirely and the true church of Jesus Christ, however few in numbers, is set up, the better it will be. There is a good deal of religious activity, of one kind or another, going on in the world today, but very little of it looks towards really enthroning Jesus Christ in the hearts of men,—towards getting men to follow Christ, to live the Christ-life in its fullness, taking in both the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man. It is simply or very largely designed to bolster up a Christianity that permits the white man to continue to indulge in his race-hating spirit, and his aggressions upon other and weaker races.

I felt that I wanted to say this to you, and to express the hope that the time may speedily come when every member of every Christian church in every community, by consistent living, by the exhibition of a Christly character and life, will give the only kind of advertisement to the "Religion of Jesus Christ" that is of any real value in helping on the kingdom of God in the world. A religion that is not witnessed to by the life we live is of no value. What Christianity needs more than anything else in the way of advertising it, are living witnesses, not men who profess it, but who are living it. That kind of advertisement beats all the printed advertisements that can be sent out from all the printing establishments of the whole country. There is where the stress needs to be put by our religious leaders; but where it is very seldom put. If you can help in such a movement, go ahead, and God be with you.

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

T. McCants Stewart to Francis J. Grimké

London, July 18, 1920.

Dear, dear Frank:

My hand-writing must be forgotten by you! But

“Wher'er I go, whatever lands I see,

My heart untravell'd fondly turns to thee.”

As I grow older my memory turns to and lingers around Charleston and the days of our early boyhood there, and I often earnestly hope as I am doing at this moment that it is well with you and Archie and John.

Among my London friends a young fellow from our old home, Edmund J. Jenkins, who has covered himself and our race with glory in his career as a student and sub-professor in the London Royal Academy of Music (see *May Crisis*). He is leaving at the end of this month for Charleston. In talking to him about my boyhood days, I have called up incidents involving your dear self and dear Archie, John “Stumps” Weston, Sun Martin, Joe Morris and Tom Miller later at Howard University.

I am giving him a card of introduction to you and I hope Mr. Jenkins may meet Archie.

Well, dear Frank, there is nothing of special interest I can write you. Having taken and re-taken hold (1883-1905) of the problem of Liberia, I do not give it up, but am trying to help solve it. No denying the fact that it is a tough one involving ignorance, self-sufficing and other factors known and unknown; but roads and railways and better education which I am helping to bring about will let in the light.

With love—much love to you and Archie

I am as ever,

Mac.

T. McCants Stewart to Francis J. Grimké

London, E. C. 2., 14th August, 1920.

Dear Frank:

Your dear letter from Anderson's home in Philadelphia came yesterday and did me a million times more good than the biggest kind of bank cheque, much as we need bank cheques in these days. To me, Frank, you are Premier of all the Boys who ever went out of South Carolina; and you are *Primus inter paribus* among all the Boys who have ever come out of any of the States at any time

since the days of our "Emergence." I have read the printed matter which you covered in your letter and I am amazed that the conditions are so bad as to arouse a gentle nature like yours to such "thunderings" as are contained in your reference to "Billy" Sunday, the humbug. It is a hard fight, Frank; and I in going to Africa took an opposite course from your dear self, but we both aimed at removing the degradation of Ham so as to overcome the pride of Japheth. I really do not see that we are ever going to win out in America except through such amalgamation as has taken place in San Domingo and some of the South American countries. Of one thing I am certain, that we shall have to build great financial and commercial enterprises by way of Africa (Liberia the open door). If we can grow there a Great State, strong in righteousness and in Big Business, we shall get in a position to help tremendously the fight in America for the wide open door and equality of opportunity. But, after all, the world-wide prejudice against race and colour arising out of the exclusiveness of the Saxon, the Teuton and the Anglo-Saxon, will be solved mainly, if not only, by the amalgamation of the races of the world. It may take a long time, but it will come.

I am sending you some printed matter (1) my latest contribution to the West African press, to which I am a frequent contributor; (2) an address of mine on "Civic Righteousness" delivered within two weeks after those chaps in Liberia without notice and absolutely without cause sprung their fight on me. I may have sent you one from Liberia. If I have done so, let Archie or Tom Miller have the one I am enclosing. In any event, I would like both of those chaps to see it. Dear Frank, I have just read the Wilberforce muddle by Du Bois in the July "*Crisis*." Alas! It makes my heart bleed! Are we capable of self-government? What Bishop Jones did to Joiner is exactly, in a sense, what President Howard did to me. But, sooner or later, the Republic of Liberia will have to right the wrong, and I propose to stick to my determination to fight it to a finish until I bring it about. In the meantime, I am doing all I can in a safe and sound way with the aid of responsible men and sound capital to make Liberia a fit place for us to live in, us who are there and us who will go there from America. But, Frank, there is no use for us to go as individuals or in small groups. We must go in communities, or we will go under when we get there. I am endeavouring to create enterprises, which will need communities.

Well, old man, you must not write, as you do in this letter about us Boys including your good dear self going the way of all the earth. Why, I heard Elihu Root deliver an address here the other day on the occasion of the presentation and unveiling of a statue of Abraham Lincoln, which they have placed in front of Westminster Abbey. Why, his vitality was wonderful! His voice carried without effort through the big hall in which he spoke and what he said was as distinctly heard by the thousands there assembled as if he were speaking in a parlour. Lloyd George spoke at the same time. He is much younger than Root; but Root appeared to be the more vigorous of the two. Then there is Clemenceau and Sarah Bernhardt and Chauncey M. Depew and a lot of others, who are verging on the eighties and beyond.

Why, we Boys can easily live twenty to twenty-five years longer! Dear old Archie, and dear old Tom—give them my love; and when you or they come to London, I will tuck you away and my wife and daughters will find delight in administering to your comfort. I have three daughters, we took them from Liberia in 1913 and brought them to Europe for education, and since we have been living in London, now four years, they have had some training in the Academy of Music and the Polytechnic School of Art. They are not brilliant girls, although our art student passed her last month's exams at the head of her class; but they are good splendid girls; and I sometimes wonder that my wife has not long since flown away on angels' wings!

Dear, Dear John: I hope he died in the faith of our revered Mothers.

My love to Anderson when you write him, and to ALL my friends.

As ever,
Mac.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Boston 24, Boston, Mass., Sept. 10th, 1920.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Some months have passed since I had the pleasure of seeing you. You called to see me the day before I left Washington. I was at your house when you were at mine. I regret missing you; there were several matters I wished to discuss with you.

Summer has gone. I returned here a week ago. I will not say I returned home, for I have no real home. I am in the trade winds. I go, and land where they carry me. My summer passed pleasantly. I spent it at the Wentworth Hotel, Portsmouth, N. H. It was quite a spend. Climatically all was comfortable. I did not experience any prostrating heat.

Hotel Wentworth is a large affair; it accommodates nearly five hundred persons. As a luxury it is expensive, more so than I am willing to confess, to! It is well located, the views from it are attractive. Portsmouth is an interesting old town, it possesses points of historical interest.

Socially the hotel was desirable. Social features in a summer hotel are valued according to the taste of the individual sojourner. A student of human nature has an opportunity to measure the various phases of character that man presents. While I do not possess an analytical mind and cannot solve the perplexing problems of creation, I was constrained to feel that in the construction of the conglomerate mass of humanity (of biped animals) much valuable energy has been wasted. From an artistic point of view Dame Nature made a great failure. Naturally failure would attend her efforts frequently, for there was no early training at her command. Of course, every individual is of the opinion that ultimately he will land in the Celestial City; his thought may be a comfort to him, gratifying to his selfish desire. But of what use would the mass be? The question cannot be answered, it is an enigma. When the visitors assembled I soon saw there was a mixture of races, the Jew and the Gentile stood upon an equal footing, both were the possessors of material wealth. Few of either class were rich in those elements of head and heart, that create nobility of character. The Gentile held to his caste feeling, his unreasonable prejudices; his dislike of the Jew is as strong as ever. Once he voiced his prejudice loudly, now he whispers it to his neighbor; the Jew is a valuable asset, price does not seem to disturb him. I met some very nice people, but the average, is as the average man is everywhere. Upon the questions that interest you and me I did not discover any enlightened minds. Stupidity and ignorance was not at a premium. Strangely I was popular. So was Mrs. Purvis, who by the way improved physically. My condition was not up to par. A sense of weariness clings to me, my poor head seemed to have an option on all the aches, and pains going.

My eyes (or eye) has lost vision. Writing is more or less difficult. Rheumatism, what an attentive visitor! As I have no wish to be called a valetudinarian I will not mention more of my imperfections . . .

I had in July some letters from Scott in reference to the Medical Dept. of the University. The Medical teachers, I should say officers, placed a strained construction on their authority and attempted to run the summer school as an independent body.

The whole move was founded upon selfishness, a desire for a money gain. Scott took a wise and legal position. The fact is there has been a miserable management of the department, a cunning that shows dishonor. I gave my life to the Med. School; money consideration was of minor importance. As I look at it we will have to make a radical over hauling. No man is necessary to the school's success. There is a spirit of disloyalty pervading the several departments of the University. Too many men wish to be a law unto themselves. One of the fundamental branches to be taught is loyalty to the principles the University represents. Woodson has gone I understand. After reflecting I concluded he should. There can be but one general to command an army. The Allies paid dearly for this fact! but they realized it at last. Woodson has considerable ability, but not as much as his imagination leads him to believe; he is extremely self-centered. It made a fool of him. His lack of innate modesty is what caused him to attempt to run the College Dept. in accordance with his embryonic ideas and experience.

The time has come for us trustees to take a firm stand. There has been too much, entirely too much, freedom of criticism of the presidents of the University and of the trustees. We must grant to every dissatisfied professor the right to resign, we must reserve to ourselves the right to have him resign. When I was down in July a professor I am friendly to, presumed to criticize the trustees for paying the president the salary we do. Two things were strongly brought forth, 1st, the professor presumed upon what he does not possess, common sense, a business knowledge, a sense of propriety, and a painful egotism. The present salary paid is hardly more than half in purchasing power of what has been paid. Presidents of character are hard to secure, especially for an institution such as ours is. General Jackson used to tell of a man who made a fortune by minding his own business.

How terrible have been the lynchings this summer! The Republican Party is pledged to pass a law that will secure justice. I do not know what part the colored voters are playing in the political struggle. I do not see any account of their efforts. Why talk of Ireland when there is a worse Ireland here at home? I am with Lloyd George. McSheiny (?) has a right to starve himself to death, the sooner the better. The Irish are not capable of self government; there is a pile of evidence. In this country the Irish have been the defenders of human slavery; they sustain the spirit of slavery today as much as ever. There are good individual Irishmen, but that proves nothing. . . .

What a mountebank Cox is! A Tammany Candidate. Tammany, the parent of all the beastliness that has ever existed in a political party. What a disgrace it would be to have Cox for a president of this great country!—I must not allow my pen to run away with me. I will not be in W—before next May if I live so long. I shall migrate to California by Dec. 1st. I dislike the long tramp, but the climate suits me. Many of the Southern persons I met this summer have urged me to go South. Shall I? Best to your brother and daughter.

Sincerely yours,
C. B. Purvis.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Allston, Mass., Sept. 10th, 1920.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Just a line. I returned home (10) days ago. I stood the journey fairly well. I was tired, of course. I was home (10) minutes when I had the misfortune of falling downstairs. I sprained my foot badly, and had a splendid shake up. Such flights are not for me, they are better suited for old men. I am righting up. Just a bad penny, always turning up. I write to ask if you know when the University trustees will meet. We who are on committee should be on hand two, or three days in advance. Drop me a line. I had a note from the president, he wants me to vote for letters to two men. I answered him, I do not see the need of hurry. Do you know of any special business for us to consider?

Sincerely yours,
C. B. Purvis.

Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., September 22, 1920.

My dear Grimké:

I thank you for your letter of yesterday just received.

I am surprised at myself and merit the rebuke which you suggest. The sermon was not written except in very scattered notes, was preached extemporaneously and reported. The reference simply was a repetition of what I had recently heard two or three times and was in my memory and came out. It was a matter of carelessness. This, however, is not an excuse, merely an explanation. I should have certified the facts, and if I had given thoughtfulness would have known the truth. I am very sorry it happened and will take an early opportunity in some way for making a public correction.

You and the other brethren named deserve exactly the same prominence that the others have and would have had it if I had not been so hurried and spoken from the memory of a recent statement rather than from personal thoughtfulness.

I thank you for all that you say in the letter. You and I have been good friends during all the past 25 years and you ought to be very sure of my positive interest in a recognition of all who are in the body of Christ no matter about the color of their skin.

Sincerely yours,

Wallace Radcliffe.

If you had heard what I said in extenso last Sunday in my pulpit you would have had no question about my convictions or motive.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Mass., Nov. 15, 1920.

Dear Grimké:

Thanks for your letter which came on Saturday. I am writing to make use of you. Mrs. Smallwood who is 76 years old, I have known over 50 years. She is poor. I send her at Christmas a widow's mite. I am placing my house, and affairs in order, before I leave in two weeks. I have sub-let my suite. I find a number of little things to do. Please hold the cheque until Mrs. Smallwood calls for it at Christmas time. I am sending out a number

of minor cheques. I wish I could do more. I have to be fore-handed. Drop me a card saying the cheque has reached you. I shan't bore you with a rambling letter, but will add a word. I presume you received a copy of Miller's paper on the North. I do not give the exact title. There is a good deal in it. I notice Harvard has an order denying colored students access to its dormitories and student dining hall. Butler Wilson tells me that Mr. Storey has taken the matter up; the action is a humiliating bid for Southern students. Mrs. Wyman phones me that she has sent a letter to Harding on his Alabama speech for you to read. She is a splendid woman, her head and heart are sound; her letter, well! it is garrulous. Your criticism of the president's speech is sound, he had thrown a tut to the Southern Whale.

A bright Christmas to you and family.

Sincerely yours,

C. B. Purvis.

I read Mrs. Wyman's letter two weeks ago.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Mass., Nov. 25th, 1920.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

This is Thanksgiving day. It is not a cheering one by any means; it is cold and damp; a wet snow falls. I shall have to brave the elements, for I am booked to dine at a hotel in town. If I should follow my inclination and remain in my comfortable quarters, I would disappoint others who are to share with me the stuffing process that comes off at two o'clock. My grand boys look forward to grandpa's Thanksgiving dinners with special feelings of delight. It has been my practice since I came to inhospitable Boston to give a Thanksgiving family dinner, to which others are invited. My daughters return the compliment by having a family dinner at Christmas. For three winters I have not been present myself for further uselessness has led me to seek a warmer clime where I could spend many hours in the open, enjoying the air, sunshine and the songs of birds. I presume in a measure I am selfish. Selfishness is not my predominating trait. Thanksgiving should be differently observed from what it is, the name is meaningless, by the majority, it means a day off, one for pleasure, and for the gratification of the animal that strongly stands forth in

man, to have an unusual dinner is one of his aims. As I read over the list two nights ago that showed the millions of animals murdered to gratify man's savage instinct, I shuddered. 9,000,000 calves, 14,500,000 beeves, 13,500,000 lambs, 70,000,000 hogs, chickens, 60,000,000. I was constrained to ask myself are we justified in sacrificing these lives? I know the Bible commands us to treat "the beast of the fields as we treat ourselves."

(Ecclesiasties) Most of the proclamations issued by the Presidents are tinged with absurdity. If great-blessings had come to the people there would be some reasonable reason for issuing the call.

It is especially ludicrous for Wilson to send the fiat forth. The thinking people of the country will indulge in a cartel, as they recall the result of the election that was held on the 2nd. I presume honest thanks can be offered up to the unknown, and unknowable power that controls the movements of the world that our President who is cognate with Satan, has been unhorsed. What a horrible administration we have had! The axe has been layed to root of Wilson, the Upas Tree of the moral world, under whose pestiferous shade all honor—all sense of justice, all truthfulness has perished. It will soon be razed to the ground. A new birth has been given to the party that saved the Union, cleaned the National escutcheon. Will it measure up to the requirements? I have my doubts. The best evidence I have seen is, the declared intention to have a national law on lynching, and Senator Moses's intention of introducing a bill on Southern representation in Congress.

Today the churches thruout the country will from their pulpits thunder forth words of thanks for blessing real, and imaginary. Will a word fall in condemnation of the murders and outrages that are committed against a 10th of the people of the nation? Millions will assemble to express love for the God they hath not seen, while hating the brothers they hath seen. Ah, the "tom-foolery" of the church! Hoover tells us that millions in Europe are starving from causes they are not responsible for. These conditions make agnostics. During the past year I have seen much of racial prejudice and the poison is not limited to any class. In California the vials of wrath were hurled against the Jap and the Chinaman. Here in the East, the same feeling was manifested against the Jews. In the interest of these people, and against the

unjust criticism of them I single handed fought. While my efforts were feeble they were made. The feeling against the Jew used to be loudly proclaimed now it shows itself under the breath. Why? Because the Jew is a valuable asset; he has brains, and wealth and pays generously for what he gets. I met many men among them during the summer just closed and can speak wisely. . . . My days here cease with the setting of the sun next Tuesday. On Wednesday I start for California. I have some feeling about-going-from those who belong to me.

I shall feel far away. I have reached a period of life that reminds me that I am standing close to the brink. A final farewell to relatives and friends will have to be made, and further, the journey is a long one, it takes quite a little out of my physical self. My power of resistance is not what it was. I have taken stock of my investment upon this earth. I am constrained to feel that my efforts have amounted to little. Those I worked hard for have not shown an appreciative sense. As a matter of fact they indulged in stone throwing.

When we are caught upon the ebb tide and carried out into the Gulf Stream we are promptly forgotten, our utility is promptly forgotten when we cease to breath. As a matter of fact when we become old, we are forgotten before our breathing leaves us—I must beg pardon for writing you at such length. Old and oldish men are often garrulous.

Turkeys are 75 cents a pound which makes Thanksgiving an expensive luxury.

My best to your brother and niece. Merry may Christmas be to each of you! A happy New Year I voice for you.

Sincerely yours,
C. B. Purvis.

James G. Carlile to Francis J. Grimké

Troy, N. Y., Dec. 9, 1920.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Thanks for your prompt reply to my recent letter. I congratulate you on having passed your three score and ten years. Time has been very easy with you; I was not aware of the advanced number of the years of your fruitful service. That you have reached this point, commends the wisdom of your management of

your life and evidences God's blessing upon you and your Church and upon your friends.

I shall be well pleased to preach for you, as you suggest, at any time I may be in your city.

I was very much interested in the pamphlet about Lincoln's consistent course in the policy of excluding Negroes from her Board of Trustees and from her Faculty. I think you have the right side of the argument. What you say is absolutely incontrovertible. And I feel myself in agreement with you, that, however consistent the course of Lincoln may be with the policy of Negro exclusion, it is not, and cannot be made to appear to be, consistent with either the true Christian spirit, or with the practical policy of other like institutions doing a similar work.

I find myself asking, what reception did your views meet from Dr. Johnson and the Faculty and Trustees of Lincoln.

My last visit to Lincoln was in 1909, and I am really not well-informed as to the situation there. I have been unable to contribute to the fund which is being raised by the Alumni Asso. for the University; but it does seem to me that the large sum proposed to be raised should carry with it the demand for a change in what appears to be, to say the very least, an indefensible policy.

We are all well and join in kindest regards to you.

Sincerely yours,
James G. Carlile.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, California, Dec. 14th, 1920.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I am enclosing you a Christmas card for yourself, brother and niece. If I were in good form I would write you a letter. I felt feeble coming over the road I was troubled with my appendix. When in the midst of the desert it took on a serious form, no surgeon could be had. I had to depend upon my poor self, for two days. I was in much pain. Of course, I had some serious thoughts. A fellow has the inevitable to meet, it does not matter much where he meets it. To be a trouble, to upset plans gave me an annoying thought. Suffice to say I battled and won out. I did not come out unscratched. I showed the marks of the conflict. I was surprised and pleased to have friends meet me at the station in an auto and bring me to this hotel. I have been here nine days. On

Thursday ptomaine poison embraced me and such a hug! All my strength left me and some pounds of flesh. I cannot say "my sins have found me out." The destructive forces that are ever on the alert for non-suspecting men have once more held me. I am better in spite of germs. Some of these attacks will get me eventually. I cannot keep up a fighting trim. I shall surrender gracefully and accept the award that awaits me. I do not expect a crown, my congenital modesty forbids that I covet more than I deserve. Of course, I will receive something, for I have not been guilty of voicing any hyperbolical beliefs, my mind as constructed has made me take "*cum grano salis*" the platitudes of men.

I am here, why? It looks as if I seek to dodge the blessings Dame Nature presents in the way of a winter climate in New England. I fear we are all cowards, we run away from the blessings we should appreciate. We must be selfish, personal comforts engage our thoughts; this conclusion is accentuated in my mind as I muse and recall how the fathers and mothers of a dozen generations ago braved the elements; they were happy, at least such is the report.

It is spring here; flowers are in bloom, the birds are nest-building, the blue of the sky reminds me of the perfect coloring of the endless space I used to look up to in Florence. (I was going to write the blue of heaven) but I do not know the geography or the latitude of the word painted place. I refrain. It is possible the physical charms of Southern California may give me a new birth. I may have a chance to play a part in the drama of life.

A wave of crime is passing over this state. Murders are common. Women are assaulted frequently. A number have been lynched. All violation of law is not confined to the South. All assaults upon women cannot be charged to the unfortunate brother in black.

Southern California is an old woman's, and old man's home. Thousands come here believing the climate will start the sap of youth to flow again and that they will soon put forth the leaves of spring time.

I promised to scribble a line or two only, but I have allowed my pen to glide along.

May your Christmas, and New Year be full of rich life!

Yours truly,
Chas. B. Purvis.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, Calif., Jan. 4th, 1921.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

If I were not down and out from a severe attack of lumbago I would write you a letter in reply to the interesting one I have from you. I seem to have first-one-thing then another. I am a victim to lumbago but this attack is unusually severe and painful. I have read your paper on Lincoln University. The colored press and the Alumni of the school have the powerful remedy in their hands. Let the press publish and continue to publish the facts, and urge students to keep away. Poor Mrs. Smallwood! I send payable to you a cheque for \$5 dollars, cash it and hand her the money. I have too much pain to write more.

Drop me a line if the cheque reaches you "OK."

Best to each of you,

Very truly yours,

Chas. B. Purvis.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, Calif., Jan. 14th, 1921.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

The enclosed letter to Mrs. Meriwether was returned to me. I have her address in my book, possibly I have the wrong number of her street, as she attends your church, will you please hand her the letter. I enclose too some clippings from the Boston *Transcript*, that may interest you. I am still contending with my lumbago, it is better, for I move around, and walk out; a fellow cannot afford to lose his backbone; weak ones are not unknown, in fact there is a run of them. Mine is not weak, but ailing, its moral tone is good. . . . I hope my cheque for Mrs. Smallwood reached you. A month and a half have gone since I left my home. How the time passes! It is nice to be here to enjoy the mild weather, the sunshine. I wish the journey was shorter—four days of R. R. jolting is hard on Father Time. If I were young I would not be here. I would be in the arena seeking to secure the friend that serves old age well. Looking ahead was a practice early established by me. Youth is the harvest time of life. Every one should feel that he is morally bound to prepare for the winter time of life.

Many do not. Frequently I think of the young men I knew who earned good money when I was young, but who spent it in riotous living, drinking, smoking, gambling, etc.

All of them died young. Some ended their days in the poor house. Tompkins died there. I followed the teachings of my mother, and father as to drink and gambling. I excelled my father in the art of saving. Where would I be if I had not appreciated the opportunities given me? I have no family ties. I know no one who would come to my rescue. While I have served many no one has served me. All of those who were near by the tie of family have marched away into the land of mystery. I am alone. My children and my grand children take my thought. Are my comfort. I am fortunately married. I live in the past a great deal, musing is interesting, comforting. While I have not the least faith in the beliefs of Doyle and Lodge, those who have passed beyond are not dead to me. Maria my wife, my father, mother, sisters and brothers are daily with me. I have kept them green in memory, these vistas come to me with rise of the morning sun. I turn them over, and over in my mind. I salute them when I wake and when I prepare for my nightly slumber. Frequently I wonder, what part my father would play in the affairs of the world today. What would he denounce? Who would he hold up to ignominy? I fear there are a number who would not escape the arrows of his tongue; he used to be an earnest defender of the Irish, he and I would differ as to this tribe. I have but little admiration for Irish character. While Ireland has produced many splendid men and women, there is an inherent defect in its people taken as a whole. The Irish in this country while seeking liberty have always been the defenders of slavery and the persecutors of the colored people; they have fattened upon vice in all of our large cities; they are the loud mouth denouncers of the yellow races. I will not follow up the subject.

I have a good time here socially. I do some preaching in defence of justice. I am a friend to the Jap, and as the little yellow-man is a target I have hearers and discussions, while I care naught for the Jap per se. I do care for the democracy that recognizes all men. The abuses of the Japs are utterly lacking in principle. There are 85 thousand Japs in this state and 3,500,000 whites. How absurd to say "The Japs will over run us." Rider's article in the *North American* for this month is splendid. Racial prejudice

is strong here. The great Jew who is winning his way is hated, in fact, he is more disliked than the Jap. I cannot understand it. It is not his religion. The Gentile has no religion; many have a church habit, but religion is foreign to his understanding. Churchill's "Inside of the Cup" hits the head on the nail. Black men are seldom discussed here. I presume it is because he does not come in social conflict. The Jap does not either, he does appear in the economic arena. The Jew while clanish is found everywhere, no hotel can deny him accommodation, he pays his way liberally. As money is the American God and as the Jew has it, he is received. Upon these issues I may some day voice my thoughts. I must leave you and nurse my back . . .

Best to your brother and daughter.

Sincerely yours,
C. B. Purvis.

You may have to take up a collection in your church for me for it costs to live here and have your being.

Strangely, I am frequently taken for a minister. I presume it is my spiritual look, my innocuous manner.

William H. Ferris to Francis J. Grimké

New York, Jan. 20th, 1921.

My Dear Dr. Grimké:

I received your letter upon my return to New York. At the earliest opportunity, I will publish an editorial on the Lincoln University Matter.

Dr. Du Bois started the ball to rolling by stating that the U. N. I. A. draws the color line. As a matter of fact only half of the members of the Executive council are of ebony hue. The remaining half vary from brown, chestnut brown to Lily Whites. Octoroons, Quadroons, Mulattoes, Brown men and Black men form the executive council. The same is true of the employees of the Black Star Line and the U. N. I. A., both male and female.

What you say regarding the N. A. A. C. P. is true. It was a strategic move to interest prominent and wealthy Caucasians in the Negro strife for civic and political recognition. At the same time I have had reason to question the sincerity of Messrs. Villard, DuBois, Butler R. Wilson and Crawford. I have not had enough

association with Mrs. Terrell and Messrs. Barber, Johnson and White to pronounce judgment upon their sincerity.

You, your brother, and Dr. Bentley, Mr. Hershaw, Mr. Freeman Murray and Dr. Owen M. Waller always impressed me as being men of convictions. And so I have come to regard the N. A. A. C. P. as an army, composed of crusaders and band wagon devotees.

I will write you at length later. My regards to the family.

I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

Wm. H. Ferris.

P. S. I did not write the "Color Line" editorial of last week, the short "Du Bois" editorial of two weeks ago or the "Sit at Ease Prophet" of this week. These were written by other members of the editorial staff, although I polished up the style of two of the editorials. As Literary Editor, I am only a Limited Monarch, regarding the "matter" that goes in the *Negro World*, although I have the authority to improve the English of anything that goes into the paper, and to make such additions and subtractions, as will add to the dignity of the article. Of course this P. S. matter is confidential.

W. H. F.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, Calif., Feb. 5th, 1921.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

When I wrote to you two days ago I did not know the Semi-Annual Meeting of the University Trustees would be held on the 4th. I thought the meeting would be on the 15th. My letter cannot be called to the attention of the board. Last evening I received the memorial the Academic faculty sent in. If the committee on the part of the teachers had written to me several weeks ago I should have called the attention of my associates to the justice of the claim set forth. As your committee (the Executive) may take up the matter, I venture to write this letter. I do not believe it is wise to attempt to change the budget. I am surprised over the amount asked for salaries, it is entirely too small. We are not just to our teachers and furthermore we show a lack of wisdom. Good and desirable teachers cannot be retained unless a proper value is placed upon their services. Let me go a step further, to my mind

it is not wise to keep on making increased demands of Congress. Our administration must rise to the occasion, study the condition, if it is not done, we will find that Congress will call a halt. Consider this question. Has it ever occurred to you that Congress might say to us "if we have to support your institution, the government should run it?" We need money, a good sum. We know this, notwithstanding we sit down and virtually do nothing. Drives have been started for every conceivable enterprise. Millions have been collected. What have we done? Nothing. Let us make a move, we must disabuse the public mind that we are a child of the government. We must enter upon a campaign of education. As a matter of fact, Howard University is not known, generally speaking. I have just spoken of the small sum asked in the budget for salaries. I wish thru you to serve notice that I shall ask at the Annual Meeting to have the budget for 1922-23, presented to the board. I want to know, the amount of money that it is proposed to ask for and what for. I am unwilling to be kept in the dark on the important matters appertaining to the University. It will not be difficult to prepare the budget for 1922.

Yours sincerely,

Chas. B. Purvis.

Martha A. McAdoo to Francis J. Grimké

Chicago, 3541 Indiana Ave., Feb. 14, 1921.

My dear Rev. Grimké:

What can I possibly say to excuse my tardiness in writing, and looking after my promised obligations? If you only knew just how hard I work I think you would understand. In all probability it is not at all necessary for me to apply myself as I do, but you see, I started so late, I make hard work of it when perhaps it could be done in a much easier way.

However I am deeply interested, find it very "rocky" at times. Our people are rather difficult to work with. I need your prayers.¹

You will find enclosed a cheque for ten dollars, five is for your Christmas present (terribly late but I hope acceptable)—apply the balance to my dues. I have not joined church here—well, because

¹ She was a Y. W. C. A. secretary in Chicago. She later served in this capacity in Washington, D. C. She began her career with a group of singers that toured the modernized world.

I did not know how long I should be remaining. I am obliged to join every welfare organization, help every worthy cause and take every colored paper and magazine. Sometimes my salary does not begin to run me a month.

I'm not complaining because my health is splendid and oh what a blessing and how grateful I am to our Father.

With warm greetings to you all,

Very sincerely yours,
Martha A. McAdoo.

Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., March 18, 1921.

My dear Grimké:

I have just this moment finished reading your last sermon on a phase of the race problems which you so kindly sent me. I think it is in some respects one of the best things you have done. It is calm, but strong, and just, and comprehensive and hits the nail exactly on the head. Your people have done remarkably in the last 50 years. They have attained as no other race has attained in that time to wealth and knowledge and intellectual training. but the great need for them as it is for all of us especially in America is the emphasis of the Christian principle. Neither white nor black can secure a stable place without the power of Christianity. The man or the nation that outgrows Christianity simply ordains personal destruction. You have developed the idea with masterful power and it ought to have a large and enduring result. I trust that your apprehension will not be realized that this may be your last message of a special Inaugural kind to your people. There ought to be many times yet for you to give them the message that you gave in this sermon. It is well done and I congratulate you and hope for great results.

You are right. The faith of your people is not in any party nor in himself but in God and in that faith I have not the slightest doubt that there is a great and noble future for all of you.

With congratulations and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,
Wallace Radcliffe.

Kelly Miller to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., March 23, 1921.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I listened with great interest to your discourse on Brotherhood last Sunday morning. Your moral earnestness and spiritual intensity carry a weight of conviction far greater than mere intellectual dissertation. Your undeviating orthodoxy and rigid insistence upon the application of Christianity to social conditions, "with no reserve and no delay," cannot fail to make a deep impression upon our day and generation.

I wish again to urge you to publish your works in collective form so as to give them the widespread influence which they deserve. May you long be spared, not merely as the uncompromising champion of the righteousness of Christianity, but as the personal embodiment of it.

Yours truly,
Kelly Miller.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, Cal., March 30th, 1921.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I thank you for the copy of your sermon delivered on the 6th. I have read it with interest. There is force in the thoughts you advance. I must confess to being pessimistic as to the final outcome of racial prejudice. I do not see any evidence that a new epoch will come in which justice will prevail and racial prejudice relegated. It is possible that the present races of the world will disappear, that new races, or race will rule! History repeats itself. Man has existed for 250,000 years, during this time numerous races have come and gone. Evolution must be looked to! It is reasonable to conclude that the present man exists in a transitional period, he is far from being the perfect man, his trend is towards the undesirable, he is the only animal that has to be schooled, instructed in morals and ethics; he assumes he is superior to all other forms of animal life. Does he assume too much ???? Some of the branches of the man tree make bold to assert that they are the paramount limbs. All others are inferior, and are not worthy of serious consideration; the evidence to sustain my assertion is unmistakable.

Yours of Feb. 25th was duly received. I was so impressed with what you wrote. I felt I should write to Justice Peelle as to what should be done towards placing the University upon a sound financial base.

I am here until the morning of the 25th next month. I shall be in Boston on the 30th.

April 14th I shall be four score years old; my, how far along on the Journey of life! At times I wonder why I ever came; candidly, I have never been able to reach a reasonable reason. In common with most phases of life I have had a function to fulfill. I am ignorant as to its nature, from the cradle up I have battled to exist, against the enemies of my physical self, against the social wrongs of life. An ennui possesses me.

“A little more tired at the close of day.
A little less anxious to have my way;
A little less ready to scold and blame,
A little more care of a brother's name!
And so we are nearing the journey's end,
Where time and eternity meet and blend.”

If I attend the Annual Meeting of the University Trustees, I will have unselfishly and devotedly served the institution 53 years.

I cannot write more, my poor eye calls a halt.

Remember me to your brother and daughter.

Very truly yrs.,
Chas. B. Purvis.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., April 5, 1921.

Rev. F. J. Grimké, D.D.,
Washington, D. C.,

Dear Doctor Grimké:

So long a time has elapsed since I was pastor of Asbury Church, Eleventh and K Sts., you may have quite forgotten me.¹ I frequently recall the pleasant and profitable preachers' meetings when the late Dr. Crummell was a shining member of the small group. I regret I did not sometime while paying an occasional visit to Washington call upon you to renew acquaintance and receive in-

¹ The Rev. Mr. Hays was a member of the Methodist Episcopal ministry.

struction and inspiration from your conversation. Now and then, I come across in public print some opinion expressed by you on current issues which I always read with deep interest. Your indictment of our white brothers of the cloth for their cringing before a base public sentiment as regards justice towards the Negro, is forceful and timely. The age needs a revival of the old Abolition courage which dared to attack sin wherever found, in high places and in low places. May the Lord give you many added years to push the battle till victory is attained; till wicked caste is completely overthrown. With best wishes I remain,

Sincerely yours,

D. W. Hays.

Walter H. Brooks to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., April 6, 1921.

Dear Brother:

I read with interest and sympathy the sermon which you gave me a few days ago.

The clear and forceful manner in which you deal with the race question in its relation to the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ, is characteristic of the man.

There is not a line in the sermon that is not just, and your faithful and fearless presentation of the subject ought to carry conviction to the hearts and consciences of all your readers.

If a copy of it were placed in the hands of every white pastor of the country, a wise step would be taken. For you have done the white Christians of our country a service, in telling them of the failure of their type of Christianity to measure up to the spirit and teachings of the Man of Nazareth.

In addressing the Endeavor Society of my Church last evening, on "The Kingdom of Christ in our Community," I referred to your sermon, and of the necessity of protesting faithfully but in the spirit of love, against the injuries which we suffer at the hands of our fellow men.

We do only half of our Christian duty, when we endure wrong patiently, and wish love to the wrong doer.

Sin must be rebuked, and, at times, sharply rebuked to win

men to right living. We may never hate them, or do to them as they do to us.

I am certain that this is the spirit of your utterances in all your protests against the wrongs we suffer in this country.

Your brother in Christ,
Walter H. Brooks.¹

James G. Carlile to Francis J. Grimké

Troy, N. Y., April 7, 1921.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Thanks for the copy of your address on the brotherhood of man, the Christian Church and the race problem in the United States of America. It came to me this morning, and I have already done more than scan it, but, of course, the more careful reading will come later.

On first glance, it appears to me that you have here an article which ought to have a wide publicity among white ministers, who as all other ministers of the gospel often need to have neglected causes called to their attention; yea, even more, need to be jolted out of a satisfied performance of a circle of duties from which has been excluded intentionally any thing that might offend and therefore much that would greatly edify.

Such questions as the race problem, the labor problem, and the political corruption problem—yea, even the prohibition enforcement situation, and the way the Christian pulpit dares not treat them, indicates one of the dangerous weaknesses of our Church arrangements in the United States. Presumably the pastor is the Ambassador of the Lord Jesus Christ, but actually he is not an independent ambassador. When we consider what the principles of the Kingdom of God bearing on any one of these matters are, and then observe in the churches a strong current of opinion running the other way, we must conclude that the ambassadors of the Kingdom are not dealing honestly in their representation of the Kingdom of Heaven.

¹ Dr. Walter H. Brooks, pastor of the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church in Washington, was a schoolmate of Dr. Grimké at Lincoln. The two were friends throughout life.

But the "Why," when properly and truly answered reveals the weakness of our church arrangements. A newspaper succeeds by circulation. And circulation is increased by satisfying the demands of readers and of prospective readers. A paper, therefore, that would multiply readers must print nothing offensive to persons who are reading or who may be persuaded to read the paper. The successful paper caters to its public. The press is not independent.

Similarly does a voluntarily supported ministry often have to consider the tastes of its supporters. Suppose the ministry of the Southern Presbyterian Church were on next Sunday to declare the whole truth—and nothing but the truth of the Kingdom of God, bearing on the Race Problem, what would be the result? Would the Church say "Amen" and repent in sackcloth and ashes or would the Church say "Away with such a ministry from the Earth"? Or if not so vigorous a protest against the proclamation of justice where prejudice reigned, yet still would the audience on the following Sunday be as large as formerly?

In my state The XVIII Amendment and the Volstead Law are live issues, as are the issues of an honest return of incomes that are taxable, or the just and humane treatment of employees and employers. Let the ministry of our Church in New York State make a similar adventure into a fair and honest treatment of any one of these matters, saying nothing but what is unquestionably demanded and inferable from the Scriptures, and what would follow? Would they receive with meekness the engrafted word which is able to save their souls? Nay, there would be a general demand for the resignations of what in anger would be called impertinent preachers.

I do not mention these matters in order to justify derelict ambassadors, but to suggest the magnitude of the task of persuading satisfied ministers to really assume the moral leadership of their churches.

Is it not a fact that the ministry needs the help of an Anti-Saloon League to aid in its work for Prohibition? Likewise the Lord's Day Alliance to aid in the work for a proper observance of the Sabbath? And other propagandist associations without number to support and encourage in this or that needed reform.

The N. A. A. C. P. does not deal with the Race Problem from the Christian vantage ground. Humanitarianism is not enough. Garveyism is crystallizing selfishness among Negroes, and, of

course, will create resentment and opposition in the camp of the Whites. What is needed is an association of Christian Negroes whose aim it shall be to make known and to press home the demands of the Christian Religion in regard to human brotherhood as that Brotherhood, clearly Christian, denies the assumptions of many good Americans in regard to the race problem.

You have been preparing for years to lead such a movement. Every reaction of your mind and heart against race inequality has indicated your inherent qualifications. Neither Du Bois nor Garvey stand on the religious foundation; Washington did not. You do. Would it be a work to be despised to lead American Christians of all races to regard the problem of race as a test of Christian brotherhood in this generation and to lift the American race problem for the Christian Church at least, out of statesmanship, politics, law, economics, humanitarianism, and ethics to the exalted platform of Christian morality?

This is the impression the first reading of your address made upon me. What is your opinion of it?

We all are well and doing nicely, and we join in kindest regards to you, trusting that you are in health and prosper as your soul prospers.

Fraternally yours,
James G. Carlile.

Francis J. Grimké to Colonel George Harvey

Washington, D. C., April 8, 1921.

Dear Col. Harvey:

I cannot refrain from sending you just a line to express to you my deep appreciation of that wonderful editorial of yours, "Time to Stop Slavery." It sounds like a blast from Sinai. Its reverberating thunder must go on record, until it shall be heard all over the land. Surely God Almighty touched your heart and brain when you penned that great message. Not only the twelve millions of Negroes in this country are indebted to you for your timely words, but the whole nation as well. I trust that not only the state of Georgia, but that all of the southern states where this evil exists, as well as the National Government itself may be aroused by your stirring words to a sense of the importance of ending, in fact, as well as in theory, slavery within our borders.

A great editor, as you are, presiding over a great journal, such as the *Weekly* is, is in a position to wield the greatest possible influence in moulding public sentiment aright. I thank you for the use you are making of your great powers and of your commanding position.

Francis J. Grimké.

J. Ross Stevenson to Francis J. Grimké

Princeton, N. J., April 15, 1921.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Your splendid address on "The Brotherhood of Man" has been received and read with great care. You certainly raise and discuss clearly and courageously what is one of our greatest modern problems, and a problem which should have more serious consideration on the part of Christian leaders.

I note what you state regarding my advocacy of the Plan of Union for Evangelical Churches at the last Assembly and I appreciate the confidence you express. I am sorry that the Overture regarding this plan as it was passed by the Assembly was lost and that the present form of Overture now before the Presbyteries is different from the one which our Committee had in mind. We wished simply to have the matter referred to the Presbyteries for criticism and discussion and not for final adoption. I question very much whether we are prepared as yet to enter into a union of this character, especially in the light of the strong reaction which the Interchurch World Movement has created regarding co-operative ventures.

With all good wishes, I am,

Very sincerely and cordially yours,

J. Ross Stevenson.

T. S. Wynkoop to Francis J. Grimké

New York, April 19, 1921.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

It is pleasant to be remembered by you and I thank you for the sermon you have been good enough to send me. I entirely accept your position about the race problem and the responsibility for it. And all the people of my acquaintance feel in the same

way. I am glad to believe that American public sentiment is more and more being stirred to recognize the rights of the colored man and the call for justice to be done him.

The trouble is that our people are only half civilized and half Christianized. We are half savages and half Christian. If we were wholly Christian we might be well on the way to a decent civilization.

But the Negro problem so called is only one phase of a World Problem. In California it is a Japanese problem. In Mexico it is the Mexican against the American. I am told within the last few years, all over Africa, the native tribes distrust and hate the white man. In China only a few years ago the white man was a Foreign Devil. In Korea the Japanese only hold the Korean by gun and sword. Consider Bulgarian and Turk, Armenian and the Kurd. The Race Problem is a World Problem today.¹

The key to this solution you have clearly indicated. Brotherhood depends on Fatherhood. The Christian religion builds the brotherhood of man as the Fatherhood of God. But the world in which we live, by the vast majority, does not recognize the Fatherhood of God.

Our hope for the future is found in the spread of a true and aggressive Christianity, which sets itself with all its heart and soul to the conversion of all men to the faith of Christ in the power of the Holy Ghost. It will come, my dear Brother, by this power of God. Every sinful soul redeemed to the life of God becomes our comrade in the army of reform. We must win men to Christ if we would win them to justice and mercy from man to man. So the strife of the world will be turned to peace and good will.

With all kindest regards, and many agreeable recollections of you as a fellow-minister in the Presb. of Wash. City,

Fraternally yours,
T. S. Wynkoop.

The thing to spread is the Fatherhood of God. The Brotherhood of Man follows of necessity.

¹ Negroes sometimes branded as false friends some of those who too frequently likened the race problem in the United States to other such problems. Negroes insisted that this was merely an effort to dodge the question, for they suffered more than all others who faced hostility.

Francis J. Grimké to J. E. McCulloch

Washington, D. C., April 28, 1921.

Dear Sir:

I am inclosing my check for three dollars, the annual membership fee.

As to a colored man for Associate Secretary of the League, I can think of no one at present that I am ready to recommend for the place. He should be a man of intelligence, of large common sense, of independent judgment, of sterling worth,—a man who knows the situation and whose one, sole purpose shall be to bring about conditions in harmony with the ideals and principles of the religion of Jesus Christ. There is no other solution of the race problem. All parties must make up their minds to do right, to fear God and go the way he points, and let the consequences take care of themselves.

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, Calif., May 9th, 1921.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I am sending you some clippings to read. You may say, "Why does he send them to me?" "I do not smoke, or drink." Quite true. I send them to give you a little valuable information that you may not have, and further to invite your attention to an indisputable fact. Your mission is that of a teacher, your mission is to awaken people to a religious duty. I do not know that it has ever occurred to you that it is impossible to erect a safe building upon an unsound foundation. It is equally as true that a moral principle cannot be erected upon an unsound underpinning. Where there is not physical soundness, there cannot be any stability in character, a sound body creates a sound brain, sets forth a sound mind. Mind, body and brain are interdependent, a casuistry depends upon these three sound elements. Two thirds of the religious hypocrisy we meet is due to physical unsoundness. Thousands profess to have religion. Most of it is selfish manifestation to secure what they are not entitled to. Most of it is a delusion which is a sequel to conditions acquired by a bad practice or by inheritance. You and I can without effort recall many who

professed to be converted possessed not an iota of the principles you for Jesus have advocated. I am too well versed in the psychology of man not to excuse this class, for they are morons where moral principles are concerned.

I have but little faith in the average man, his build is wrong. As a friend I must criticise some of your ways. You used to love coffee. I recall remonstrating with you. You differed firmly with me. I contended with you, you know that even cogent reasoning would not change you. You have discontinued the use of it: Why? You discovered that it was harming your heart. Now you drink tea, while not as powerful as coffee, it is nevertheless an artificial stimulant. Thoughts, mild, or controversial, are often advanced by the stimulation of a nervous "center." What I say may excite an argument. Every drinker of whisky will argue in a way that is logical to his disordered brain. What a fool habit smoking is! The women have taken it up. To say nothing about the dirty disgusting habit which is a cultivated one, it unfits woman to be mothers, that which dethrones the physiological function of the heart; which is the paramount organ of life destroys that which enables women to be delivered of healthy offspring. I have just finished re-reading Havelock Ellis on the causes of crime, and also an able German, Mites. Pass the clippings to Dr. Williston and others.

I hear Terrell has aphasia, why should he not have? Poor, good-natured fellow!! A victim to a congenital weakness, if the report is correct he should not be continued as a teacher in the Law Dept., at best he is not too well equipped.

I understand there is quite a feeling among the Alumni against Durkee, that St. Clair is seeking to make trouble. Why? What has this brother who is bedecked and double bedecked in mourning ever done for the University? The Medical Alumni have done well in raising funds for the Medical endowment. I am told that not one of the women who have been educated at our college has contributed anything. Foye should have, but she is Irish, a very uncertain class, one that seldom has an honest conviction. We cannot afford to have a revolt against the president. Every president of the University has had to face trouble. Howard was no exception. I can well recall what he waded through. Patton had a devil of a time. If a colored man is ambitious to be in hell, let him be elected to the presidency of Howard University. I sent in my

donation yesterday. I wish I could have made it larger. I am too poor! I have parted with \$1,700 since January 1st. I was 82 April 14. Quite an old sinner. I confess it; being a sinner is not so bad! I have experienced all kinds of ups and downs. I have had a good share of fun, and pleasure, I have marched through the flames of hell too. I have been thankful for many blessings. I have as a rule been truthful. I have the courage of my convictions. I presume I have told some benign lies. I have never vociferously thanked God for what he did not do, and for what I did not want him to do. It would be bad for me to have a Divine Power to feel that I was a — liar —. Some mischievous Spirit has detroped me into writing you a long letter.

It is 92, too hot for a prolonged chat.

Best to your brother, and daughter.

Sincerely yours,

C. B. Purvis.

Emmett J. Scott to E. A. Balloch

Washington, D. C., June 7, 1921.

Dean E. A. Balloch
School of Medicine
5th and W Sts.

Dear Sir:

The plan for the Howard University School of Medicine as suggested by you was presented by the President of the University to the Board of Trustees of Howard University at its annual meeting held June 3, 1920.

Very truly yours,

Emmett J. Scott,

Secretary-Treasurer.

For forty-seven years the Medical Department of Howard University has managed its own affairs under authority delegated by the Board of Trustees. From time to time there has been an attempt to have the University assume the financial responsibility for the Medical Department, but because of a lack of means, the Trustees have not done so. The Department has been conducted for the general good of the University and the students who have come to it. The standards of admission have been raised according to

the demands of medical progress. It has been possible to keep the school free from debt only by the sacrifices that all have made for the good of the school. It is impossible to conduct a school successfully on the fees of students, as it is a difficult matter to get laboratory teachers and other good men at any price. In some schools where a man can carry on a certain line of research work which will enable him to write a book or publish a paper, it is not difficult, but the situation here is different. To hold our students we must offer them better teaching and hospital facilities than can be obtained in the majority of medical schools. In addition, we want teachers who will be able to inspire and prepare the best of our graduates to become the future teachers of the school. I doubt if we can get good men at the figure named unless we provide for a suitable increase in their compensation after from three to five years of good service. We have, with the authority of the Trustees, sought to obtain an adequate endowment. We have succeeded in a small way toward that end. The amount raised, however, is inadequate properly to maintain a first class medical department. The school is run at present under the provisions of the following resolution of the Board of Trustees, adopted in 1908:

“There shall be a Council, which shall consist of the President of the University and the Dean and Secretary of the Medical Faculty ex-officio, and two from the Medical Faculty and two members of the Board of Trustees, elected by those bodies respectively.

“The Professors and Assistant Professors shall be selected and nominated by the Council and appointed by the Trustees of the University. In addition to the selection and nomination of the members of the Faculty the Council shall apportion the salaries of all persons connected with the school and shall perform such other duties as may be referred to it by the Board of Trustees or the Faculty.”

With the hope of a sufficient endowment, it is felt that the Board of Trustees should now assume full responsibility for the financial support of the School of Medicine, including the Colleges of Medicine, Dentistry and Pharmacy and relieve the School of Medicine from all obligations in that respect. There should be a definite understanding between the Medical Department and the Trustees

¹ Adopted June 3, 1920, by the Board of Trustees.

concerning the relation which shall exist in the future, as well as the responsibility for the conduct of the school. The following plan is suggested as one that is equitable:

1. All collections and disbursements on account of the School of Medicine shall be made through the Secretary-Treasurer of the University.

2. In accordance with the provisions of Section 6 of the charter of the University, the School of Medicine shall have full control of its internal affairs. This is understood and agreed to mean that, subject to the approval of the Board of Trustees, it shall include the recommending for appointment of all teaching members of the various faculties, the regulation of entrance requirements and all other matters concerning the educational policy of the school.

3. Every year, before the June meeting of the Board of Trustees, the Dean of the School of Medicine shall submit, through the President of the University, an itemized budget of the estimated expenditures of the School of Medicine for the ensuing year. This budget shall be in such form and contain such information as the President of the University may request.

4. All funds from whatever source, collected for the School of Medicine shall be used for the support of that school and for no other purpose.

We are thankful for the cooperation we have had from those members of the Board who have aided us with their advice and cooperation. We are simply asking that the best interests of the Medical Department and the University be considered in a spirit of fairness and cooperation. We have been running on promises for the past forty-seven years—the men have been willing to do their bit, but it is too much of a burden to expect a few individuals to carry the financial load of the school. To have the University assume the financial management does not mean simply a transference of the load we are carrying but the assumption of a much larger burden. The University will have to pay out of its funds money to carry on the work of the Medical School. Medical education is costly and unless we obtain the best teachers possible, we will not have the students. Good men will not come unless there is an opportunity for advancement. The school has by makeshifts and doubling up gotten thru the past six years. We must make the necessary improvements by adding to the Faculty. As to the re-

sults the only exhibit needed is the body of the alumni. Can the University afford to stop the production of such men?

A word as to salaries in the School of Medicine. It is a question of alternatives. On the one hand are the allurements and emoluments of private practice and on the other the position of teacher in the Medical School. To secure and hold the best men in teaching positions we must offer them compensation in some degree approximating what they can make as private practitioners. It is purely a business proposition and unless we can pay sufficient salaries we cannot get the men we should have. This condition is not peculiar to this school but exists in all medical schools as shown by the investigation made by the National Research Council. The University must be prepared to pay salaries comparable with those paid in other schools of the better class if it expects to secure men of the best teaching ability.

Charles B. Purvis to J. Stanley Durkee

Washington, D. C., June 8, 1921.

Dr. J. Stanley Durkee,
President, Howard University.

Dear Doctor Durkee:

I have just had a conference with Dean Balloch and some other members of the medical faculty in reference to the appointment of Dr. A. B. Jackson as teacher of Hygiene. Yesterday at the meeting I objected to his appointment on the ground that his nomination did not emanate from the medical faculty which under the charter and by the plan adopted by the Board of Trustees June 3, 1920 is authorized to make all nominations to the Board of Trustees of the University of all appointments of teachers. You controverted my statement by saying that the nomination of Dr. Jackson was approved by the medical faculty and especially by the Dean of said faculty.

Very much to my surprise when calling upon the Dean and some members of the medical faculty I learned that the nomination of Dr. Jackson did not emanate from them. On the contrary I read letters that were sent you by the medical faculty and by the Dean protesting against his appointment. The letters from the faculty were sent you yesterday morning before the Trustee Board met by a messenger and they were placed in your hands. You did

not read these letters to the Board of Trustees as you should have done. I feel indignant at this seeming effort to avoid giving to the Trustee Board the facts in the case. I resent it. Dr. Jackson is not legally or morally elected.

I am not seeking a controversy, but as a Trustee of the University I wish to be treated with that respect and all the other Trustees to be treated with that respect that is due them. Of course this matter cannot rest here. Howard University has had too many conflicts to have any other ones created by the failure of frankness. Someone has been guilty of misleading and I wish to know who it is.

Yours very truly,
Charles B. Purvis.

Charles B. Purvis to Andrew F. Hilyer

Portsmouth, N. H., June 29th, 1921.

Dear Mr. Hilyer:

Your favor came to me this morning. I reply promptly because you may be going away for the summer, and for the additional reason that you and your associates may feel that an early action should be taken on the proposition that is before you from the company that wants to undertake the job of raising an endowment fund for the University. I listened attentively to all that was said by the representative of the company at the annual meeting. The representative "imprest" me as being a keen man, one who knew how to present the interest of his company; His plausible words, and positive manner, did not make me feel assured by any means. I have some knowledge of business. All men who have watched the economic conditions of the world, and of our country especially, must, be aware that moneyed men are pursuing a conservative course, in a word are husbanding their resources, that banks are calling in loans. This fact does not make the outlook for collecting money cheerful. The proposition that was presented to us is to my mind inane; we are asked to gamble with an uncertainty, we place ourselves absolutely in the power of a company that does not offer us the least guarantee. Could a more unreasonable proposition be made? If the company fails to make good, we are fifty thousand dollars out of pocket. If the company had offered to work upon a percentage and deduct their

pay from the collections they make, I could agree to the employment of it. The University cannot afford to enter upon any wild goose chase. As a trustee I am opposed to the scheme. The proposition as made by the company was referred to the Executive Committee for investigation, the committee was not empowered to act. A wise committee would refuse to act, no matter how reasonable the proposition may appear. The responsibility is too great. Again the trustees would be failing in duty if they should fail to consider a proposition that involved such a large money consideration. The financial success is one sided. The company will succeed in collecting \$50,000 dollars from the University while the University lives on hope. I have but little faith in human nature and when it comes forth in a corporate form I am skeptical as to its reliability. We as wise men should have some guarantee. I need not say more on this point. As you are a trustee of the University and a useful one, let say to you, that I feel we did not deliberate sufficiently upon some of the matters we passed upon. I feel friendly to Secretary Scott, he was brought to us under the assurance that there would be a saving of \$3000 dollars a year by consolidating the office of Secretary & Treasurer. I favored the consolidation. I do not see the saving. I feel now we made a mistake in raising the pay of the Secretary by agreeing to pay for the heat and lights of his house, his pay is large, as much as we paid Thirkield and Newman. Scott is a valuable man, but we did an injustice to those professors who have suffered because an increase of pay was not forthcoming. I think we made a grave mistake in electing Dr. Jackson a professor in the Medical Department. The Medical men were not properly consulted as the Charter, and resolution of the Board of Trustees permit them to be. I see trouble and discord ahead if we do not halt, do not consider the rights of the fully grown men who make up our professional departments. I am opposed to making any president a member of the Board of Trustees. My citations as to the troubles the University had during its early life assures me that my position is correct. I care not a straw what other colleges do, I treat the patient that is under my care according to the condition of his body. I do not want any officer of the University to have a voice in selecting trustees, and fixing salaries. It is dangerous. In writing this I wish to impress upon you that I am not governed by any feeling, I am a friend of Dr. Durkee, friendship plays no part. I

voted for Waring, not because he is a friend of mine, for he is not, but because he has been an able trustee.¹ I simply discharged my duty as a trustee. I will not write more. You can use my letter in any way you wish if it will help us to act wisely.

Yours truly,
Chas. B. Purvis.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Portsmouth, N. H., June 29th, 1921.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I shall not attempt to answer your very nice letter which came to me yesterday. You are kind & generous in all you write. I am not very well, in fact have been quite unwell. A number of matters cause me to feel tired & disturbed. As I believe in auto suggestion, I am feeling better than I was. No amount of suggestion can make me young again; my continuous headaches tell upon my physical self. I am up here, a most delightful place, cool & beautiful; it is too expensive for me, but all things are expensive.

The world has changed in every conceivable way. We all are living differently. Where will we land? As I read the *World's Work*, the article on electricity, its power as a labor-saving discovery, the part it will play in economics, in the development of unproductive land, I sit & wonder. I received a letter from Mr. Hilyer this morning that called for a prompt answer. I send you a copy of what I wrote to him.

Best to your brother & daughter.

Some days I feel we will never meet again. There has to be an earthly end. A fellow cannot function for always, the machinery wears out.

Yours very truly,
C. B. Purvis.

Drop me a line now and then. I am writing badly today. I must be tired.

¹ Dr. James H. N. Waring held only minor positions as an educator—a supervisor in Washington, D. C.; a high school principal in Baltimore; and the head of the Downingtown Industrial School in Pennsylvania. Yet all those who came into contact with him conceded his ability as an unusual man in education.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Portsmouth, N. H., July 13th, 1921.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I have just finished a letter to Doctor Williston. I had a letter from him last night which I have just answered. Writing for any length of time brings on a miserable headache. When I sent you a copy of my letter to Hilyer I wanted to write you, but, I was not in the trim to do so. Well we University guardians are abreast of another war, a real Trojan war. Williston sent me a copy of the resolution the Medical Faculty had passed. I am pleased to see the Faculty show their self-respect. I wrote Durkee that the election of Jackson was a mistake, I wrote him several weeks ago. The president is entirely wrong. The charter, and the action of the Trustees as well as usage give the Medical Faculty the right to select & nominate to the Trustees the various teachers. Only medical men are competent to decide who is fit to be a medical teacher, it needs no discussion to decide that this is correct. I have no idea who recommended Jackson. Suffice to know he was selected outside of the faculty. I think quarrels and contentions have gone to the limit, the University cannot thrive and prosper if these conflicts do not cease. I am disappointed in Durkee. I am surprised too, I had no idea that he was a conceited and overbearing man, that he coveted absolute authority, from what he has said to me. I discovered he wanted to select all of the trustees, so as to secure men who would allow him to follow his inclination. I discovered also that he did not want men on the several committees who would antagonize his plans; he told me Hilyer should not be on the Executive Committee. Why? I do not have to answer; he said Dr. Dumas would make a better member. He wanted to defeat St. Clair. I tell you his position and schemes are dangerous. I shall sustain the Medical Faculty. Let me go a step further and call your attention to an important fact. Neither Dumas, or Lewis was legally nominated last February, they were not suggested by any trustee. They were not renominated at the June meeting. I mention this to keep a vote from being taken at the Semi-Annual Meeting. Another important fact, the charter allows a man whose time has expired to remain on the board until his successor is elected. We reelected Waring, and Napier, under this rule. Durkee does not come under the rule, he has never served as a trustee, his name came up, and he was defeated; he can be nominated, but

cannot be voted on until the annual meeting. I mention these facts to you for they may have escaped your mind. I spoke against Durkee's election, I made the mistake of voting for him because he made a personal matter of it. I did wrong, I should have stood by my convictions. Let me ask why does he wish to be a trustee? This is a significant question. We trustees sit not only as a legislative body, but as jurors to decide questions that arise between the president and members of his several faculties. Should the president be a juror to decide a question he brings forth? Of course not. Ever since Durkee has been president he has had serious troubles, the Teachers Committee undertook to settle some of them, at last the disputes came to the trustees. Again should a president have a right to have a voice in selecting the several committees? No! no! I have long taken the position that a white man should head the University for years to come, I am changing somewhat, I looked at it from a financial standpoint, I am beginning to feel that a colored man could not create more disturbance. I am opposed to the ecclesiastical breed, we have had since the death of Patton, "In good French" they have been a damn poor set, most of them are either liars or plotters; they have all been loud in acclaiming their religious belief, I care not a continental what a man professes to believe, I care for his practice, I follow the Bible in this. I fear I will be constrained to say a man who says I for me, has not the equipment to make a desirable president. How about employing the firm who wanted us to pay them \$50,000 dollars for taking a gamblers chance for raising money for the institution? I shall enclose a clipping that will interest you. I think Representative Tinkman is making a splendid effort for political justice, he should be encouraged by letters, and editorials in the papers. Mondell, should be fought in his district, there are many corners he can be attacked from. Sentiment must be created against him. A tariff bill is up. Should the South have 30 illegal votes to defeat it? I advance an economic argument, one that may touch the voters in Mondell's district.

Wells' *Outline of History* will disappoint you; he is strictly not the author, he simply edits what others have written for years. I guess I have written enough for a hot day's effort.

Best to your brother and daughter.

Sincerely yours,
Chas. B. Purvis.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Portsmouth, N. H., July 14th, 1921.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Your nice letter came to hand after I had mailed a long letter to you. I send you this note to say I am feeling better, I do not have any organic ailments, I feel weak at times, I have had these sensations off and on for years. I have always worked hard, naturally my nerve centres become tired, a muscular ennui ensues. Headaches I have had for 35 years, I must inherit them from my mother who was a sufferer. I speak of my bad feelings to you at times, not because I am apprehensive as to the outcome, a come will come before many years, if not months. Some times I wish for the finality, my work here is not finished, and never will be. Aches and pains are natural to those who have braved the storms of years. If I were in control I would have the old age period, the smoothest, and sweetest, of man's existence. The attritions of life make the functional activity of one's organs poor. I am not so very old, John Wesley was eloquent at 88, Goethe worked well at 83. Humboldt wrote with force at 90. Tennyson touched the hearts of the people at 88. Lord Bryce wrote "Modern Democracy" at 83, and is still writing. I dance well, even if I am 40 plus.

The sun is out. Is there any mistake? For two weeks Rachel has wept upon us until we are almost drowned by her emotions. It has not been excessively hot here, the fogs and humid condition were somewhat oppressive. I fear you will find Philadelphia hot. I am sorry I could not see Mrs. Brown, and Mrs. McAdoo,¹ I had not the time, or strength. I have to conserve my powers.

Yours very truly,

Chas. B. Purvis.

I am not too sure I placed Corcoran St. on my letter to you. Your carrier will find it.

¹ Mrs. Martha A. McAdoo, herein referred to, was the Executive Secretary of the Phillis Wheatley Association in Washington, D. C. The Mrs. Brown mentioned is not clear for the reason that there were in Dr. Purvis's circle of friends several persons bearing this name.

Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké

New York, Aug. 16th, 1921, on board Sleeper

Dear Grimké:

Here we are in the metropolis of the world, having arrived 2:15, I was up and dressed by half past six, Phila. time. Most of the passengers of our sleeper are still wrapped in the arms of sleep. I have just aroused my little. She was dazed, didn't know where she was, commenced to talk rather loud, when I shook her telling her she had better get up before the crowd. We will take breakfast in the depot, then take taxi to our boat. I am greatly refreshed, and I feel sure we are going to have the time of our lives.

Grimké I want you to take my place while in my house. Direct as you know I would. Tell Dr. Jackson that he and his son are perfectly welcome to stay at my house as long as he may be disposed. It would be a fine thing if he would remain as long as you will. You will be good company for each other. Be sure and show Brother Jackson over the School.

Tell every one of my guests I want them to enjoy themselves to the full, not to be stiff, to take off their coats and collars, throw their feet up on the table, tell yarns and enjoy good hearty laughs.

Write Margaret a letter. I am sorry I could not talk to her longer.

Tell good by to all the people of my church, give them my love. Tell them I am thinking about and praying for them.

Good by old friend till we meet again.¹

Blanche joins me in love to you and all, as ever,

Matthew Anderson

¹Anderson, at this time, was on his honeymoon, taking a trip to the West Indies and Latin America. He had just married the second time. On this trip he combined pleasure with profit. He longed to see the Panama Canal, and he desired to know more about the relations obtaining there between the races. He had heard much about those conditions, but he now desired to secure first-hand information. Negro leaders believed that they might do something to improve the condition of Negroes in the Canal Zone, but they must first have the real facts in the case. This traveler would supply their need. There was little doubt that citizens of the United States in taking charge of things in the Canal Zone had transplanted to that place their usual race prejudice and its concomitant segregation; but the question now was the extent to which they had gone in this direction. Negroes were especially anxious not to have race prejudice extend too far into Latin America among people who had so long practiced democracy. That same question deeply concerns the Negroes of the United States today.

Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké

Canal Zone, September 7, 1921.

My dear Grimké:

We leave the Canal Zone tomorrow on the S. S. Santa Marta for the Republic of Colombia, S. A., where we cruise along stopping at its main cities for a week, then we will leave for New York, reaching there on the 22nd, when we go immediately to Philadelphia and launch out into the depths of the work there waiting for us.

As stated in my last letter, we landed at Cristobal on the Canal Zone the 24th, coming immediately by train to Paraiso, the home of Helen and her husband. Their Clubhouse is on the very brink of the Canal, and only 1 mile from the Pedro Miguel Locks. Great ships from all over the world pass and repass from the Atlantic to the Pacific and vice versa, nearly every hour. Last week the dreadnaught Pennsylvania, loaded with 400 marines passed the veranda where I am now dictating this letter to Blanche, and launched in the Pacific opposite Panama City with her great guns trained upon the city, should there be the least uprising on the part of the Panamians. You know all about the decision of a tract of land which the Costa Ricans claimed from the Panamians according to the decision of Chief Justice White of U. S. The Panamians have been exceedingly sore ever since the decision and they hate the United States with an inveterate hatred. Monday of this week was Labor Day on the Zone, but the Panamians to get equal with the U. S. declared a day of mourning and that not a vehicle should come into the city. Several letters passed between Governor Morrow of the Zone and President Porras of Panama, but the President stood firm and as a result there was no holiday, whatever, in Panama, even the jitneys were stopped outside the city limits.

According to intention, I at once started a private investigation of the segregation of the colored people here on the Zone. I have just finished my report and herewith enclose a copy of the same. Everything contained in the report is absolutely true and bears out the testimonies as received in the STATES before we came here.

By appointment, I had an hour's interview with Governor Morrow and took up each one of the points of segregation, but he, of course, tried to justify each prevailing condition. I feel that

my work has been most timely and I feel sure it will be effective in improving conditions here. The Governor was very careful not to commit himself, but I had him so completely tangled up that he seemed much embarrassed.

On Monday at 3 I had a private interview with President Porras of Panama for about a half hour. If I had been able to speak Spanish, he would have entertained us longer. He can speak English, but very poorly. He expressed pleasure in meeting me and requested that I should write him.

We have had two weeks of unbounded pleasure here on the Zone and in Panama. The Panamians are very pleasant people and are anxious to have visitors enjoy themselves.

Mr. and Mrs. Waller are doing finely, Waller having the confidence and respect of the community. A large passenger steamer is now passing the porch, the decks just crowded, it is every bit of 500 ft. long, floating the British flag. I am sure you would enjoy a couple of weeks here. Mr. Waller's quarters are spacious and airy.

I trust you, your brother and Nana are all well. Blanche joins me in kindest regards to you all. Read the letter to Archie, also the report.

Yours sincerely,
Matthew Anderson.

P. S. Mr. Waller and wife both send kind remembrances.

*A Private Investigation of Prevalent Conditions on the
Panama Canal Zone*

For sometime my attention has been called, both by the public press and from private sources to the discriminating features to which the colored employees of the Canal Zone are being subjected, so that I finally decided to assume, personally, the time and expense of a visit to the Zone for the purpose of a personal investigation of these charges.

I arrived at the Zone after a delightful sail, on the 24th of August and commenced my investigations at once. Without making any public announcement of the object of my visit, proceeded at once, almost incognito, and made a number of trips the length of the Zone, interviewing scores on the subject in question, official

and laymen, colored and white, so that I feel prepared to make the following statements of fact:

It might be explained at the off-set, that employees on the Zone are classified as Gold and Silver: Gold meaning all Americans; Silver, all not Americans, technically speaking, with but some very few exceptions.

First: As above stated, employees on the Canal Zone are divided into two classes,—namely, Gold and Silver. The Commissaries, places managed by the government for the sale of food-stuffs and clothing,—are likewise classified. Silver employees are forbidden to make purchases in a Gold Commissary, but Gold Employees are permitted to purchase in both Gold or Silver Commissaries. Servants of Gold Employees, usually colored, are permitted to make purchases in Gold Commissaries only for their employers, but they are segregated even for this, to a small space and are served without any contact with the article to be purchased, it being handed to them from the various departments of the store by the clerk in charge. It is also a known fact that the Silver Commissaries are the recipients of all unsold stock of the Gold Commissaries, and at all times, the inferior grade of anything is placed in the Silver Commissary, but the Silver Employee, the patron, largely, of the Silver Commissary, is asked the very identical price that is asked of the Gold Employee for the fresh and better grade of provisions, as allotted to the Gold Commissary.

Second: The towns and living quarters are also classified as Gold and Silver, inhabited and used, naturally, by Gold and Silver employees. Usually a town is strictly Gold or strictly Silver; each Gold town having an adjoining Silver town, each Gold town showing marked favoritism in point of quarters, up-keep and general appearance. Quarters are usually frame, built two stories high, cottage style, surrounding open veranda, screened and well ventilated, grass plots, the dimensions of the cottages being 72x45, intended for the use of four families in a Gold town, and without rent,—but a building of the same dimensions in a Silver town is intended for twelve families, and then it is at times without any plumbing, and if any plumbing, it is totally inadequate. These quarters are leased to the Silver employees at the rate of \$5.00 per family, per month, payable always in advance, netting \$60.00 monthly. In a Gold town the grass plots and roads are kept in excellent condition, whereas, with the exception of a few Silver towns, very little atten-

tion is given to the appearance of the grass and condition of road-ways.

Third: As to wages, the same discrimination appears. A Gold employee is paid from \$1.00 to \$1.50 per hour, pays nothing for transit to and from work. A Silver employee in some instances doing the self same work is paid but 25cts to 50cts an hour, he is allowed no holidays except those purely legal, and in many cases must pay for his own transit to and from work. If Gold and Silver employees are detailed to do work at a distance, the Gold employee is paid for his time in transit, while the Silver employee is not allowed anything in transit.

Fourth: The United States Post Offices do not escape the same system of discrimination, as there is not a Post Office on the Zone from Cristobal on the Atlantic end to Balboa Heights on the Pacific end, a distance of fifty miles, where a Silver employee can purchase a stamp on the same side where the Gold employee makes his purchase. This is rigidly enforced in all the Post Offices on the Canal Zone.

Fifth: There are also established ten Y. M. C. A.'s by the Government, which since the recent War were converted into Community Clubhouses, five Gold and five Silver. The salaries received by the Gold Secretaries is from \$200 to \$250 per month, whereas the salaries received by the Silver Secretaries is from \$112.50 to \$150 per month, and this notwithstanding that the Gold Clubhouse rarely shows a balance at the end of the month, and if put to the test, it is believed that any of the Silver Clubhouses could be self-supporting. The Gold Clubhouses are, however, equipped far better than the Silver Clubhouses, having paid assistants, physical directors, swimming pools, popular and up-to-date libraries, etc., although the masses of people are assigned to the Silver Clubhouses, because they are Silver employees, which group analyzed may be West Indian, Panaminian, who are both colored and white, and other white and colored people not classified as Gold employees, which group is naturally in the majority of the Gold group.

Sixth: The same discrimination is prevalent in regard to the schools of the Gold and Silver towns. The Gold towns have well regulated schools, carrying a child from the lowest through the high school grades, while the schools provided for Silver employees' children are limited to 8th grade education. A father who has a

bright and ambitious son (Silver employee) complained to me that he had been compelled to have his son take the 8th grade work over for three consecutive years, rather than leave him to run idle in the streets. Just while I am writing, a girl of teen age came in, and when I asked if she were going to school, her reply was that she had taken all that she could get in the 8th grade work. Aside from the need that this very great discrimination in education between these two classes be obliterated, there is a burning need for a good vocational, and academic institution for Silver towns, patterned after the best institutions of this kind in the States.

It might be added in plainer description of the classification of the two groups of Employees and Towns, that the terms Gold and Silver are frequently interchanged for simpler words, namely, "White and Colored" respectively, giving the casual observer a keener insight into the real meaning of Gold and Silver. This is emphasized also in cases of white or fair enough Silver employees partaking of all Gold privileges possible, such as Post Office accommodations, Commissary accommodations, where, if their complexion warrants, no question is asked as to what group they belong, many times, however, the person is a Silver Employee, and should be rated as such in all matters.

Another interesting feature is that technically speaking Colored Americans are Gold Employees, by virtue of the fact that they are Americans; but this privilege is infringed upon in many instances, and even the Secretaries of the Silver Club-houses, who are Colored Americans, and Gold Employees, have had the basest kind of discrimination waged against them in the Commissaries, Post Offices, living quarters, etc. and every inch of rightful privilege, that they had now accorded, is given after the very bitterest contest for the same.

One other fact regarding the wages of the Silver Employees, which, aside from being at the lowest, has suffered a severe reduction from what was beggarly wage before the strike of 1920, to less than that now.

In conclusion permit me to say that while the United States government has reason to be proud of its matchless achievement at the Isthmus of Panama, an achievement which is recognized the world over as one of the great, if not the greatest wonder of the age, she is making, I fear, a most prodigious blunder in her dis-

criminations against her colored employees on the Zone. It is, indeed, a serious question, if the wrong done these people will not do more to blacken the nation's character than her gigantic achievement at the Zone will give lustre to her name, especially in the estimation of the Latin Republics which stand observing at her door, and other observing nations across the sea, which are watching her with not too friendly an eye. For the principle laid down by one of America's greatest statesman, was—"Only that State can live, in which injury to the least member is recognized as done to the whole,"—which principle is sound, and its evil will surely be wreaked upon that nation which fails to heed its warning.

While the Panama Canal is the greatest wonder of the age, it cannot be taken in at one glance. Its vastness grows upon one. When the careless observer views the Canal for the first time, he is disposed to say, not audibly, however, "This is no great achievement. It is certainly no greater than hundreds of achievements of the United States and other countries." But, let him take a closer vision, including the Culebra Cut, which was literally made by picking out that portion of the mountain that fit the cut, and casting it into the sea; also Gatun Lake, artificially made as an emergency supply for the Canal, and which covers one hundred and sixty four square miles and is of sufficient depth to bear up the largest steamers afloat; nor has he meditated upon the magnitude of the great locks at Gatun, Pedro Miguel and Miraflores. His vision must also grasp the condition of the district of country through which the canal passes, before a pick or shovel was used to change it. He would realize that the whole distance of fifty miles was reeking with deadly disease and that annually, hundreds were cut down by the Grim Reaper, Death. He would see along the course of the proposed Canal from Cristobal to Balboa Heights, wretched hovels, the huts of the laborers brought from France to do the work of excavation,—most of these brave souls sick, some dying, others being born in solemn procession to the grave. Steadying his vision, he gets another sight, one that fills him with rapture and delight,—for behold, like a miracle, the poisonous miasma of the valley has been lifted, the cause of the deadly condition prevalent on the Zone is destroyed; the humble shacks of the French, which were an eye-sore, have been removed, and in their stead, lovely villages, towns, attractive military and naval bases, fine homes of both civil and military employees on the Zone are erected,

and one would seldom see, must less feel the sting of a single mosquito or any pesting insect, so completely have they been exterminated from the Zone,—such is a vision of the Panama Canal Zone today. Such is the Herculean achievement of the Americans, such is the height, the depth, the breadth and length of the greatest wonder of the Age.

No American citizen comprehends the gigantic extent of this achievement but what he has a feeling of pride that he is an American and that the Stars and Stripes are his flag. If he stops here, if he keeps his eye riveted upon this glorious and other glorious achievements of his country, he will vow eternal allegiance to her honor and be ready to die for her cause. But when he sees this same country stooping to insult his manhood, by denying him the rights and privileges which belong to him by virtue of his being an American citizen, and which are denied simply because he is a Negro, if it were not for his faith in God, the Almighty Ruler of this vast universe, Who is no respecter of person, he would at once renounce his allegiance to his country and to his country's flag, but he has faith that

“Behind the dim unknown
Standeth God, within the shadow
Keeping watch above His own.”

He believes that at no distant future, the American nation will come to a realization of the fact that no group of her citizens are more loyal nor are there any doing more to develop her resources, than this same Negro, and when she comes to see this she will accord to him his every right and the dastardly discriminations and cruel treatment to the Negro will come to a sudden and rightful end.

Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké

United Fruit Company, Steamship Service, Sept. 15th, 1921.

Dear Grimké & Friends:

Lest I may forget, I will try and sketch something of my experience since I last wrote, which was at the Canal Zone in Panama. We left the Zone on the 8th inst. for Cartagena, Colombia where we arrived the morning of the 9th. The city lies off from the landing quite $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. It has a population of 60,000. The city is a very old Spanish City, having many very old histori-

cal buildings. The things that impressed me most, 80 per cent of the people are colored, ranging from the bright mulatto to the pure Simon Pure Negro, and they are in every walk of life. There is absolutely no color line in the city, and more there is no color line in any one of the South American towns or cities we have visited thus far.

A black man has the same chance to make his way here in the Republic of Colombia as a white man.

Another thing that surprises us is the great number of nude children on the streets not because they haven't clothes but because of the great heat.

Last Monday Blanche and I went on an excursion with a number of the passengers to a city of about 50,000 inhabitants. On one of the best streets stood a bevy of some half dozen of nicely dressed girls of teen age. They stood curiously at seeing the Americans. One of them held by the hand her little eight year old brother, all of them looked as innocent and as prettily behaved as the girls in any of our best regulated families, utterly oblivious of the nudity of the little brother.

Yesterday we went on our excursion to one of the United Fruit's great reservations. Some twenty miles from Santa Marta, our third stop in the Republic Colombia.

There are 5641 acres of bananas in this reservation. A white fellow from Brooklyn and I with a guide rode on mules for more than an hour.

Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké and Relatives

United Fruit Company, Steamship Service, Sept. 16th, 1921.
Dear Friends, Frank, Archie and Nana Grimké:

Lest I may forget I will try and sketch something of our experiences since I last wrote. We are now homeward bound. Our next stop will be Kingston, Jamaica, tomorrow morning.

It is one month today since we left New York for this cruise, and, with the exception of two weeks at the Canal Zone, we have been at sea, stopping a day here, a day and a half there, and two days at another place, and what an experience! We can never forget it, and we thank the Father over and over again for enabling us to take it. Our only regret is that you were not along to enjoy the cruise with us.

Yes, I say our experience has been most interesting and wonderful, especially our travels in South America. Our first stop in South America was at Cartagena, a large sea coast city of the Republic of Colombia of some seventy-five thousand inhabitants, and said to be the only walled town in South America. The walls of the old city are 16 feet thick, enclosing some of the oldest and most historical buildings in the two Americas. The old Catholic Cathedral is over four hundred years old. It is a massive structure and everything about it looks hoary with age. The great doors are fully thirty feet high and six inches thick; instead of their swinging on hinges they rest in sockets exactly like the great gates in the Temple of David.

Four things have surprised me in all the places visited in South America, and we have visited four. First, 99 per cent of all the people are Spanish, or at least speak Spanish. Second, five-sixths of the people are colored, from the bright mulatto to the pure Simon Pure Negro. Third, the general style of architecture is Moorish. You would be struck with their beautiful appearance, large beautiful, aristocratic, comfortable. Fourth, the great number of naked children playing on the streets with no more thought of their nakedness than if they were jack rabbits, nor do they attract any attention except from strangers, and the youngsters look at them as if they thought them fools.

Last Monday we stopped to take on cargoes at Puerto Colombia. As our ship would not sail before Tuesday we concluded to take a trip by rail to Baranquilla, an inland city some twenty miles from Puerto Colombia, a city of some fifty thousand. In some respects a beautiful city, especially so are its public buildings and the private dwellings of the rich. When in one of their finest and most aristocratic, a bevy of some half dozen girls of teen age stood gazing at us, smiling and passing remarks among themselves of our queer looks just as a like number of youngsters would do in Philadelphia should they see two strange looking beings from some dumping off quarter appear suddenly among them. Now these young ladies were well dressed, modest in appearance. In their every look and act they were most refined, and we naturally concluded that they belonged to their best families.

But what I want to speak of is one of them had her little brother of ten swinging by the hand. He was as naked as a young bird. These girls were all of teen age from sixteen to nineteen, looked

like high school girls, and yet they were as oblivious to the nakedness of the youngster as they would have been had he been a China doll.

I might mention other points of interest—and will number in the same order—Fifth, there is absolutely no color line in these parts except in the Canal Zone which the Americans control. A colored man stands absolutely on the same footing with his white neighbor. They give him no less rights, and he asks for no more. Sixth, there seems to be a community of interest between the colored and white people in South America—Let me illustrate. At Cartagena I had a couple of youngsters take us a drive over the city, or at least a business gentlemen did the directing who could speak both Spanish and English. We were driven it seemed to me through every street in the city. The thing that surprised me the most was that in the new and residential part of the City we would be shown a most stylish Moorish residence, a veritable palace, and then right across the street from it would be two or three thatched cabins with dirt floors filled with the children of the very poor, who had as their playmates the children of the wealthy family. Sometimes we would see two or three palatial dwellings and immediately opposite two of the thatched cabins of the poor. Seventh, the language throughout South America is Spanish, I have been placed in a very awkward position because mainly I could not make myself understood. Eighth, the people in the republics of Panama and Colombia are all well behaved, quiet and mannerly. You never hear one speaking loud or boisterous.

Both Blanche and I are amazed at this. I have been driven all over some four or five towns and cities. I have seen at least one hundred and fifty men taking off and putting on cargoes on our boat. For instance, at Santa Marta yesterday and last night there were loaded on our boat 45 car loads of bananas, seven thousand sacks of coffee, ten tons of rubber, small cargoes of other merchandise and during all the time these men labored you could not hear a loud word.

I hope to reach Phila Sep. 22nd.

As ever,

Matthew & Blanche Anderson

Another Installment.

Since writing the above we reached Jamaica, stopping four hours at Kingston, its capital. It was my purpose to make some

souvenir purchases there but all stores were closed for the week. The Jamaicans, like all the peoples in these parts have a penchant for rest hours. At 12 o'clock every day all places of business are closed until 2 o'clock, at 4 o'clock they are closed for the day. No work, not even the work of necessity and mercy are done upon the Sabbath. Every person in Jamaica attends church. So they do in the City of Panama, and the Catholics especially seem most devout, as was evident by an old lady in one of the great Cathedrals I was visiting the last time I was in that city. She was kneeling before an image of the Savior, praying most earnestly with her Bible in one hand, and a great bunch of lottery tickets in the other.

I don't remember whether I told you that one of the greatest curses in the Republics of Panama and Colombia is the playing of lottery. The people are saturated with it, every person plays lottery, lay and clerical, even little children. All along the main streets of their principal towns and cities old women, and young women will be seen with bundles of lottery tickets offering them to passers-by. One colored man the other day in the City of Panama purchased a ticket for 50cts. He afterwards sold it to a white man for the same, and the next Sabbath when the prizes were announced, that particular ticket drew a thousand dollars. The colored brother then wanted his ticket back, but he was kicked out. Sabbath is the day set apart for the announcing of lottery prizes, cock and bull fights in all South American countries.

But I am digressing. I started out to write about Jamaica. Yes we reached Kingston, Jamaica, yesterday afternoon about 5 o'clock and left at 9 o'clock. A number of Jamaicans came aboard. One a police judge, a mulatto, a big burly fellow of 250 lbs. I think he was quite chagrined when he found they had sent him down to the Negro table this morning to breakfast. He didn't eat much.

We are just passing Haiti. We can see only a dim outline. We expect to reach New York Thursday evening. I will mail this letter in New York on our arrival.

Matthew Anderson.

Sabbath Morning, Sep. 17th.

We have passed the Mole that cost Douglass' resignation.
Another Page.

For over two hours we have been sailing along the island of

Cuba not more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from its shores. I am sure if I had a good field glass I could see the people.

O if Moses were still living what strength he would give to our cause. But he is dead, and we must fight it out alone.

At Kingston a number of Jamaicans came aboard, some were Americans who had stopped there off our steamer going down. Of the Jamaicans some are distinctly colored, others you can't tell from white. One colored woman is chaperoning a number of children, of all colors; the father looks to be white. The dining room steward is in a quandery—The father and the white father and his white children are at the white table, the mother and dark one are at the Negro table. He fears me so he changed my seat and had me sit at the head of the Negro table. I mean to see the heads in New York and give them to understand that unless they stop segregating the colored in the dining rooms of their boats I will put the law on the Company.

I spend my time at table in describing to Blanche in soto (?) tones the great inventions of powerful implements of war which are to be used in the near future against the Anglo Saxons.

But everything is couched in such blind language that no one knows, not even those at the table the nature of the conversation.

But it is coming nevertheless.

Anderson.

Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké

On the Ocean, Sept. 22nd, 1921.

Got Even,

A number of Negroes and mulattoes got on at Kingston Jamaica, among them was a magistrate (a judge?) This Negro has been stepping very high ever since he has been on board. When he found that he was assigned to the "nigger" table he frothed at the mouth; and when I spoke to him, giving politely the time of day, he returned it with a grunt. Finally a white man from Jamaica, an acquaintance of his, invited him to his table which he has occupied ever since; neither he nor his white friend has deigned to speak nor to sit on the side of the boat if any number of blackies were there. I said to Blanche, "That nigger we must broil, then chop him up for dog feed—we have one dog aboard." This morning he and his white pal would like to meet me, but I have avoided them. Indeed

I pass and repass them and never look at them—and why should I? They do not belong to our class. Both are drinking men, full most of the time.

This morning is rainy. The decks are wet. The colored or Negro passengers have taken possession of the Salon while the high steppers including the Judge (?) are sitting out on the wet chairs or promenading the wet deck. One black woman, a Jamaican, is entertaining white and black on the piano.

We are now sailing along the New Jersey coast. We will not be able to land before 9 o'clock tomorrow morning—Friday.

As Ever,

Matthew Anderson.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Mass., Oct. 23rd, 1921.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

You are in my mind. You are using this glorious morning differently from the way I am spending mine. You are out urging your flock to be good Christians, not in profession, but practically; you have a big job on hand. Most people go where there is the least resistance; it is easy to profess religion, but it is laborious to practice it. Strangely I was discussing religion with Mrs. Purvis this morning. I was not attempting to convert her to my dogmas, I am too old to bend my energies to big undertakings. I was discussing Ford's paper—the "Dearborn Independent," and an anonymous book on the "Jewish Peril." I was showing how irrational was the position of some of our friends who are fanatical religionists and who are bitter on the Jew. If my head was clear of ache, and my vision free from the specks that make writing and reading very difficult, I would write out my views, tell of my discussions, and of my opinions. My physical defects prevent me; it is bad for me, but good for you. If I should pour forth like a Johnstown cataclysm, you might be betrayed into quoting the poet who said:

I love to watch the rooster crow,
He is like so many men I know,
Who brag and bluster, rant, and shout,
And beat their manly chest without
The least damn thing to speak about.

It has been sometime since I have heard from you. I take it you are well, that your summer outing did you good. I had a fine summer climatically, and socially. I will have to relate to you some of my experiences; they will amuse you.

I shall be in California when the semi-annual meeting of the University Trustees comes off. I want you to nominate McKinley for me as a trustee, he will make a good business trustee, your committee (the executive) needs reinforcing, you have not as many members as the rules call for. Mc's judgment I think will be of value. I have a good letter from Durkee giving me much praise, he surely has ministerial phrases at his finger tips. I can stand the praise he bestows, I seldom receive much, so a little will not hurt. I am still opposed to having him a trustee. I wrote to Scott—that a trustee was a juror to sit, and act upon evidence, it was foolish to appoint one who was to pass upon his own acts. This is logical. A president who is a trustee might perpetuate himself in office by nominating trustees who would serve him. Many more reasons can be given, but not now. I would like to take up with you the coming convention on disarmament, the dropping of the "Ku Klux Klan" investigation. The report of crime in Washington is terrible!

I have other letters to struggle with, so will stop. I am off Dec. 1st for California.

Best to Archibald and daughter.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. B. Purvis.

H. O. Cook to Dr. Francis J. Grimké

Kansas City, Mo., October 24, 1921.

My dear Doctor:

No success, nor any seriously perplexing question ever comes to me that I do not remember and receive encouragement from the many thoughtful, inspiring lessons which you gave me more than 20 years ago. I feel next to my Mother that the influence of your Church and Bible Class, where it was my delight to sit, has wrought more in the development of my life than any other agency.

Last week the Board of Education of this city saw fit to elect me Principal of our High School—an opportunity and an honor which, had I the chance to explain at greater length—you would judge a worthy promotion. I am sending you this piece of informa-

tion, not from any spirit of vanity or undue pride but because I feel you would be happy to know that my progress, year after year, has been largely due to the advice and counsel and the earnest teachings of truth and virtue and courageous Christianity, which you so earnestly drove into my life.

I remember how well and how favorably you knew my father and how upon one occasion you spoke with much feeling of his worth and his character and asked consideration because of that worth for his son. It made an indelible impression upon me and while I have always remembered it and always thanked you sincerely, I have thanked the good Maker of us all that I was thrust out, so to speak, and compelled to come to the middle West.

With my sincerest wishes for your continued good health, I am

Very truly yours,
H. O. Cook (Ollie).

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Mass., Oct. 27th, 1921.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Yours received last evening. I am pleased to hear from you. I reply promptly because I wish you to read an editorial that appeared in last night's *Transcript* in reference to Harding's speech in Birmingham, Alabama. I presume you have read it, what do you think of it? In some respects it is a very good speech, in others weak and illogical, such is my opinion. I might add there is a lot of nonsense in it. It is not true that the black man is seeking social equality, or that miscegenation is his ambition. As far as I have been able to learn, all the advancement has come from the white side. What Harding said as to granting the colored man his political rights, equal educational, and economic opportunities such as other men enjoy is well said, so too when he says the colored man who is fit should have his right to vote respected, he is sound, equally as sound are his words that the white man who is not fit to vote should not be allowed to. Harding knows as well as I do that the universal opinion is—that all white men are fit to vote. The president uses the word "a natural segregation". There is no such thing, and the white man of the world does not intend there shall be, for his material interests are involved, he does not intend that races that differ physically from himself shall live within himself

if such living shuts out trade opportunities. Commodore Perry invaded the sacred soil of Japan so as to compel the Japs to open their doors to the rest of the world. The president failed when speaking as to what should be accorded to the colored man, to emphasize that he should have all the civil rights that any other citizen enjoys in institutions established for public convenience, and for public benefit, that he must not be discriminated against, and further as a citizen he must be secured in his right to take an equal share in the official life of the country. I say the address is weak, illogical, the president knows there cannot be equal economic opportunities without a fair degree of social contact and equality, men in business must meet, discuss and bargain together, in thus meeting there is of necessity social contact. The Jew is disliked, and has been for ages, his intellect has not dethroned the prejudice that has existed against him, yet economically the Gentile has to meet him on social grounds. I have read much on the Jew, I have seen him in different parts of the world, and know how he is hated as a tribe (for he is not a distinct race). The president during the political contest was charged with being partially Negro, whether he is or not, he assumes an anti Negro attitude, he ignores the Bible, he refers to the fact that the present large population of the country is due to the emigration that has existed from other countries, he ignores the fact that the millions of colored people existing in the country are really the only real citizens, the only ones who are indigenous to our soil. If he had only been big enough to have said—we must grant to the colored American every right and opportunity we accord to the naturalized citizens who are among us, for the perpetuity of our institutions. The colored citizen is reliable; as to the newly made citizen, I am not by any means so sure. We have had serious evidence that they are not always reliable. Such words as I write would have been far reaching in their effect. I am pro Jap, not because I admire him, for I do not, but because he represents a principle and a political condition that this country cannot ignore. The president quotes from Stoddard's book "The Rising Tide of Color." There is lots in it. *The Worlds Work* for Oct. sets forth what is before us. Strangely the colored people cheer the president, that satire on the human family. Garvey has telegraphed him words of congratulation. What is the use fighting? The dubiety that exists in my mind as to accepted theological teaching, is due to the race question, not to the Negro race especially, but to the folly of the creation of the diversity of races, which in turn has created

from the beginning conflicts, and hatreds, and made religious belief a mockery.

I will write to Scott about McKinley. If there is a board meeting and Scott does not read my nomination, call his hand. I was surprised when I saw your name was not placed by Peelle on the list to consider new nominations. I fear there is some of the Third-field trickery in Durkee. Once more let me call your attention to the fact that there were no nominations for trustees made at the annual meeting. Watch the minutes on this. Durkee cannot be voted upon at the semi-annual meeting, because he was not elected at the annual meeting, his case is different from one who was a trustee and failed of reelection, he cannot be voted on until a successor is elected. Think up some good men to nominate at the semi-annual meeting to be voted upon in June. I think all elections should go over to the annual meeting, every trustee should have an opportunity to vote and be heard. I have written you more than I should. Writing hurts my lame eye. Writing is difficult for me. Best to Archibald and daughter.

Sincerely yours,
C. B. Purvis.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Mass., Nov. 6th, 1921.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

The enclosed clipping indicates the southern spirit and feeling over Harding's Birmingham speech.

Unless the Lord sends a much needed pestilence in our South Land, there will not in five hundred years be any decided change in the religion, or political persuasion of our Southern brothers. Whether the Lord has the temerity to set in motion the germicide that will bring about the needed reform I do not know, I can merely hope. I presume you have received Miller's paper "Education Of The Negro In The North." I have read it carefully, there is much in it to engage the thought of all thinkers. The paper is free from the pedantic words that generally appear in Miller's papers, but which are not an evidence of the writer's endowment. I have been thinking for sometime that the rush of the colored people from the South, to the North, would in time create a racial feeling that has not the potency in the North. I am deeply interested in the approaching convention on disarmament, "The Macbethian Spot,"

will be the uppermost question. "The damned spot will not out". All that Lothrop Stoddard sets forth in his book will confront the sages who are to settle the serious questions of the day. The thoughts I have are set forth in the splendid articles of Simond's. The one that appears this morning accentuates in my mind the possibilities of the future. Japan seeks to be a second Germany. Ancient history tells that the Oriental once over-ran Europe. Let Japan possess China, and in 50 years she will challenge the white nations of the world. England will lose India & Egypt, France, Spain, and Portugal. Africa, Russia will be dismembered. I have, when in California been pro Jap, as well as pro Jew. As a matter of fact I have no fondness for either Jap or Jew, both are denied just rights in this country, both are anti-Negro. I do not want to see paganism rule the world. Stoddard in his book of warning and alarm, did not really attach much importance to the child race in mourning. I will not discuss the issues at length. I have regard for your endurance.

Have you read "The Mirrors of Washington" by an anonymous writer? It is great reading! The writer has learning, but is a monumental egotist, and iconoclast. Best to Archibald and daughter.

Sincerely yours,
C. B. Purvis.

Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., Nov. 30, 1921.

My dear Grimké:

As usual, you have done a very good thing. I read your discourse on racial cooperation with interest and great approval. I endorsed your position thoroughly and am glad to have the idea put in such straight, strong terms as you have done. You are absolutely right when you say that God thinks no more of a white saint than he does of a black saint. The one is just as dear to him as the other and has the same obligations and the same aims. The American people are being compelled to think about this subject as never before. With you I join in congratulating the President upon his recent announcement to the South. I refer to it at length and with great approval in my Thanksgiving sermon. This nation will have to put itself right or some things will go wrong. You and I believe, however, that we will never be able to weld all men together

in brotherhood except through the gospel of Jesus Christ and that brotherhood must have its word and illustration first and most evidently in the church. It is very interesting to find how people are thinking seriously as never before on the subject, and their thinking, I am very sure will develop into a larger spirit and wiser demonstration than ever before.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,
Wallace Radcliffe.

Robert Thomas Kerlin to Francis J. Grimké

Lexington, Va., December 27, 1921.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I have wished ever since returning from my trip in the North, in reflecting on the memorable experiences of it, to tell you with what pleasure I think of the brief moments of intercourse I had with you. I am indeed glad to have experienced this vivid personal contact with such a man.

In a sense this contact has been extended by my reading of your discourse which you kindly sent me. I do not think one white person in a hundred thousand ever has reflected upon the injustices and slights and injuries of thought and action and speech, which constitute the ground of your arraignment. Is not that the great problem—to get people to *reflect*?

It is to accomplish this, in some measure at least, that I am endeavoring to get the literature of the Negro before white readers. Having done a work for the editors, I am now engaged on a work for the poets. I wish I could get some of the present-day poetry of the Negro to be universally read. It would quicken, as no other species of writing would do, the dormant finer impulses of every nature. I send you a mere sketch.

With best wishes for your health and happiness and continued usefulness in the approaching New Year, I am always

Cordially yours,
Robert T. Kerlin.¹

¹R. T. Kerlin became interested in the struggle of the Negro for justice and wrote two books entitled *The Voice of the Negro* and *Negro Poets and Their Poems*. He was dismissed from his professorship at the Virginia Military Institute because he protested to the Governor of Arkansas against the prosecution of the Negro victims of the Elaine riot. For being too liberal Kerlin was later dismissed from the State Normal School at West Chester, Pennsylvania.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, Calif., Jan. 1922.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I have had you in mind, & have lived hoping a line may drift from you to me. As none has come I make bold to announce to your reverence I am still upon earth. I am here in spite of an urgent invitation to make a long visit to the land of mystery. My journey from Boston tired me very much, my appendix which has troubled me for two years went upon a war-path when I was half way across the desert; two days after arriving here a form of inflammation started in my bowels. I was in pain, & greatly prostrated. I have not been in condition to keep in touch with my friends, naturally I allowed my mind to dwell at times as to the final outcome. A man of 80, if he thinks at all, is aware that Dame Nature is apt to play a trick upon him. While I do not have any fear, I do not care to exchange a certainty for an uncertainty, & again I prefer being a little nearer to my family, not that their presence would do any good, but a fatherly feeling existed.

I am here & better. I could not be writing you if I were not. An anxious lady asked me if I did not think of heaven. I had to confess to her that the trend of my thought was not in that direction. She said, "I think you would have". I tried to impress upon her that I was unselfish & did not covet anything. "Are you not afraid to die?" "No." I then told of an experience I had forty years ago. I was walking with a lady one night in Washington. We came to a colored church where a revival was being held, she proposed that we should go in. We did. I was no sooner inside than a brother who was on his feet spied me, he exclaimed, "Lord, Doctor Purvis is in here, he is a good man but he has no religion. Shake him Lord, shake him, hold him over hell, but do not let him fall in". The lady had to smile for she was conscious my punishment would be light.

As far as climate goes I am fortunately situated. It was very dry when I first came, no rain had fallen for 8 months; rain came in abundance two weeks ago; the grass has regained its green, the leaves have ceased falling, the flowers are coming forth. I have been busy doing nothing, meeting friends, listening to idle talk, & reading has been my vacation. Margaret Cameron's book *Garlands upon Spirit Life & Spirit Talks to Earthly Friends* was set forth;

Nothing was learned, a feeble mindedness of the emigrants in the other World was unwittingly portrayed. My best reading is the *World's Work*, *North American*, *The Americanization of Edward Bok*; & Storey's *Life of Sumner*, it is splendidly written. By nature Sumner was generously endowed, he was thrown in contact with the best minds here and in Europe. What a harvest he gathered! He strolled in rich fields, nothing excels contact as an educator! How unfortunate most of us are! I have taken in some novels as restful to a struggling mind. How did Christmas go with you? I sent you "thru" a friend a stomach plaster. I hope you received it. I was well remembered by cards, & presents. I could not take an active part. My mind took me back to the long, long ago, to the days when Maria & I worked to gladden the little hearts of our children & the hearts of those who were less fortunate. Conditions are different with me now, the changes!! the ever-lasting changes!! have made the social world over. As I looked down the vista of 40 years, I was constrained to note that no man, or woman I know of importance is in the arena, death has been busy. I understand Pinchback has surrendered. We must throw the mantle of our charity over him, his nothingness really was the result of inheritance & environment. Running back over the long ago is a pleasure to me. I do not discuss the issues that brought so many grand men & splendid women to the forefront. Why? Because I would be talking to mutes, no one knows anything about the galaxy that accomplished so much, no one seems to have any wish to know.

I shall enclose you an editorial that will please you.—

I had a letter from Secretary Scott of H. U. telling me he would see that my nomination of McKinley was presented at the Semi-Annual Meeting next month. Keep an eye on it. Let me remind you that as neither Dr. Dumas, or Lewis (?) were nominated at the June Meeting they cannot be voted on at the Semi-Annual. Neither can Durkee be, a trustee whose time is out holds on until his successor is elected. As Durkee was never a trustee he cannot be considered, he can be nominated for election in June.

I enclose too a sermon by "Billy" Sunday. How familiar he is with hell! What an ignorant blackguard he is! May the New Year bring much to rejoice over! The same to your brother and niece.

Sincerely yours,
C. B. Purvis.

William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké

Jan. 1, 1922.

My dear Dr. Grimké,

"A Happy New Year"! May you live to enjoy many more in health and happiness. The same to your brother and his daughter. I often think how fortunate it is for you to have their close and sympathetic companionship, especially when congenial fellowship is not to be found every day and every where.

Thanks for your kind remembrance of Mrs. Crogman and myself in connection with the Christmas season, and for your exhortation, "not to be discouraged". Nay, I am not discouraged, nor do I intend to be, though forty Dyer bills should fail to pass the United States Senate—*per aspera ad astra*. We'll get there some time.

I have just had a "pop call" from Mrs. Alexander Bunce, youngest daughter of President Ware, founder of Atlanta University. She is on her way to Washington to stage their famous pageant. I asked her if she knew you. She said she didn't but had heard of you. I told her I would give you an informal introduction to her.

The introduction is in this letter, laconically expressed.

Bye! Bye!

W. H. Crogman.

William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké

1/27/22.

Excuse pencil. In a hurry. I send you enclosed clippings which you might put into the hand of some senator friendly to our cause, in order that he see that lynchings are condemned by not a few white people down this way, and still more insistently condemned is the utter and reckless disregard for law. In one communication you notice that alarm is expressed at the fact that white men now are being killed, and that the large majority of murderers are "*minors*".

May not some of these have inherited the lust for blood from their parents' insatiable hatred for Negroes, and from witnessing the horrid lynching scenes, when whole families were brought out to witness the torture and burning of helpless Negroes?

Yrs, in haste,

W. H. C.

Francis J. Grimké to Miss Strain

Washington, D. C., Feb. 27, 1922.

Dear Miss Strain:

I listened Sunday morning with the deepest interest to what you had to say about the blood of Jesus Christ and its power to bring deliverance from the awful curse of the drug habit, and also to the moving address of Mrs. Unruhe as a practical demonstration of its power. While you were talking I could not help thinking of another curse from which many are suffering in this country,—the curse of RACE PREJUDICE; and I wondered if the blood of Jesus Christ had any power in bringing deliverance from that curse also. The great majority of whites in this country, even professing Christians, are absolutely under its power. And the sad part of it is, they do not recognize it as an evil, and have no desire to rid themselves of it. I could not help feeling, with all your avowed faith in the power of the blood of Jesus to cleanse, that even you were not free from it. I feel pretty confident, that if you had known that I was a colored man, in charge of a colored congregation, that you would not have written me the last letter which you did, expressing the wish to be accommodated over Saturday night in the home of some member of my congregation, or for me to secure rooms for you at the Y. W. C. A. Rooms were secured for you at the Y. W. C. A. Corner of Rhode Island Avenue and 9th Street, N. W. This Association has a most beautiful building, finely located, and everything about it is first class in every respect. When you called me up from the station, as you said you would on reaching the city, I directed you where to go, where quarters had been secured for you, but you did not go there. I did not know this until Sunday morning. After reaching the church and just a little while before the services I was told by the President of the Y. W. C. A. who had kindly offered to escort you to the church, that you had failed to put in your appearance. The moment I heard it, I surmised at once what the trouble was; and I am speaking of it not because I care anything about it, or the members of the Association care anything about your not stopping there, but only as showing how deep rooted, after all, is race prejudice, and how little effect Christianity, even the cleansing power of the blood of Jesus, has over it.

The Board of Temperance and Moral Welfare is doing a good work in sending you and Mrs. Unruhe out to combat this awful

drug curse; but, it seems to me, that it might with profit to its members and profit to the country at large, if it would include among its many worthy objects the combatting of this evil also. Race prejudice, in whatever form it may manifest itself, is just as offensive to Jesus Christ and even more damning in its effects than the drug or liquor habit. If we could have, under this Board, such addresses against race prejudice as were given by yourself and Mrs. Unruhe in my church on Sabbath morning against the drug habit, what a difference it would make. But the Church, and the great bulk of white professing Christians have never taken much interest in the matter; they prefer to hold on to their prejudice while doing the Lord's work, overlooking entirely the inconsistency between their profession and their actions.

Will the time ever come; will the blood of Jesus Christ ever be able to free this white race from this awful curse that is doing so much to destroy the peace and happiness of millions of people within our own borders, and that stands as the greatest impediment today in the world? I see no evidence of it, or, so little as to be scarcely appreciable. In spite of our professed faith in the cleansing power of the Blood, RACE PREJUDICE goes on steadily increasing; the Church and all of its agencies, instead of combatting it are accepting it as a finality, are quietly and cowardly acquiescing in it.

I felt that I wanted to say this to you. Believing, as you do, in the power of the Blood, there is no reason, unless you wish it so, why you should not be entirely free from the blighting effects of race prejudice, and you ought to be as a Christian woman, and as a Christian worker. I am,

Yours in His NAME,
Francis J. Grimké.

Georgia Douglass Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

1461-S. St. N. W., Wash. D. C., May 3, 1922.

My dear Mr. Grimké,—

You judged rightly, I did send you the Easter card. I felt & rightly that you would care for it.

I was pleased to note that my favorite line appealed to you. I was telling Mr. Milholland over the phone of the kind expressions I had received concerning the card & he asked if he might not read the letters themselves. He was more than delighted & remarked your graciousness to him.

Mr. Braithwaite had sent a fine letter asking for "Service" to use in the 1922 Anthology. Mr. Kerlin was also congratulating.

I wonder if you have ever seen a copy of a book written by the Grimké sisters? Miss Mary P. Burrill has this book. She got it at the Boston Store. It may be you know all about it.

Mrs. Jackson has pedestaled your bust & is preparing it for the exhibit at Dunbar May 15.

You may think this a queer sort of letter for me to write to you, but you would not if you knew how exalted is my regard for you. I do not forget the spirit in which you came to me when I was in distress.

Most sincerely,
Georgia Douglass Johnson.¹

Francis J. Grimké to W. E. B. DuBois

Washington, D. C., June.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Your note has been received; and I am glad to say I am heartily in favor of woman suffrage. I did not use to be, but it was simply because I had not given the matter due consideration. The moment I began to think seriously on it, I became convinced that I was wrong, and swung over on the other side, and have been on that side ever since. I don't see now how anyone who stops to think, who takes a common sense view of the matter, looking the facts squarely in the face, can be opposed to the franchise for women. What is this right to vote after all? Is it not simply the right to form an opinion as to the character and fitness of those who are to make laws and who are to administer them after they are made; and to have that judgment count in the selection of public officials? The ballot is simply the expression of the individual judgment in regard to such matters.

Such being the case, two things are perfectly clear to my mind: (1). Women are just as much interested in the enactment of good laws and the proper administration of those laws as men are. In some respects they are even more so. In many things such as the liquor traffic, the social evil, and other demoralizing influences which

¹Georgia Douglass Johnson, was a writer of creditable poetry. She was the widow of Henry Lincoln Johnson, a politician who once served as Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia.

directly affect the home, and therefore their peace and happiness, the kinds of laws are enacted, and the character of the men who fill places of public trust, have for them a peculiar and special interest.

(2). The average woman is just as well qualified to form an opinion as to the character and qualifications of the men who ought to be entrusted with power, as the average man. The average man is in no sense superior to the average woman, either in point of intelligence or of character. The average woman, in point of character, is superior to the average man; and in so far as she is, is she better fitted to share in the selection of public officials.

(3). The right of women to vote is found also in the fact, that to deprive her of that right is to govern her without her consent, which is contrary to the fundamental principle of democratic institutions. That principle is clearly expressed in the Declaration of Independence, where we read, "Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Under this principle, which is a just principle, women have the same right to vote as men have. And, sooner or later, that right will be everywhere recognized. Are they not governed and being governed, can the government imposed upon them be justly imposed upon them without their consent? It is simply to treat her as minor or inferior, which every self-respecting woman should resent, and continue to resent until this stigma is removed from her. The time is certainly coming and coming soon I believe when this just claim on the part of women will be fully recognized in all truly civilized countries.

Francis J. Grimké.

Francis J. Grimké to the Editor of THE PRESBYTERIAN

To the Editor of *The Presbyterian Magazine* :

I was greatly surprised and indignant to find an article entitled "Dedication of Four New Buildings, giving an account of exercises at the J. C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C., the following: "Mrs. Smith, together with her sister, Mrs. E. F. Woods, was in the section of the well-filled auditorium which was *reserved for white friends of the college.*" I do not know who is responsible for that arrangement; but it seems to me, it is an outrage and an insult to all self-respecting colored people to have special seats set apart for white people even in their own gatherings. It is bad enough to

have white people preach the doctrine of race inferiority by segregation; but it is still worse when it is being taught in Negro institutions. I do not know who is responsible for this arrangement at Charlotte, whether Dr. Gaston, general secretary of the Board of Missions for Freedmen, or Dr. McCrorey, president of the University, but whoever is, ought to be ashamed of himself. If this segregation business is to go on in schools for colored people under this Board when white people are present at public gatherings, those who are responsible for it ought to have sense and decency enough, at least, to keep it out of print, not to call attention to it in published articles.

I felt that I wanted to say this, and to say it through your magazine.

Francis J. Grimké,
Pastor 15th St. Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C.

The article referred to appeared in the December Number, 1922.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Mass., June 14th, 1922.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

A few lines to announce that I reached my Boston home safely, tho not in the best condition. My train was 1½ hours late, the air was full of humidity. I was not well while at Williston's dinner. I presume the all day session of the University trustees, and the fact I had not eaten anything, in a measure was the cause of my feeling. The day was murky & oppressive. When I rose to thank the doctor (Williston) & others for the cane they presented to me, I was drunk in the head. I could scarcely gather my thoughts. When I reached my room I found my face broken out with a bad attack of Acne. During the night owing to the humid atmosphere I perspired freely; as a result, my cold which I brought with me, was increased and fell upon my lungs. I have been housed ever since my return. My daughter came today in her closed car to take me to her house to see her boys. I am better, but by no means out of the woods. If I keep on you will say the old fellow has become to be a valetudinarian.

I will turn to the real purpose I have in penning you. I enclose Borah's reasons for being opposed to the "Anti Lynching Bill." I

agree with him. I think he states the law as it would be construed by the superior court. An amendment to the constitution is the only remedy. I have in my mind counted the states that would vote for an amendment, I think we can depend upon two thirds. I am sending you a little book to read to your family at night, it will interest you. It was presented to me as I was leaving California. In writing to the lady who gave it to me, I said—one of the worst injuries slavery did was the stamping out of all manhood of its victim, it left no selfrespect. Like a trained animal the bondman learned to love the man, & woman, who robbed him of the essentials to his progress. I presume the lady who presented the book (she is the daughter of Owen Lovejoy) felt the life of "Enas Africanus" was beautiful, Christian like, showed a fidelity that is worthy of emulation.

June 16th. I began this letter, on the 14th. I had to lay it aside, my physical-self went suddenly on a strike. There are a number of matters I would like to talk with you about "thru" the keys of my writer. I will have to leave them until I have a new birth. I have said I would have made a better talk if I had been normal, I wanted to give some advice to the doctors who were present. The Medical profession is drifting rapidly from the old standards, it is; yes, has become commercial undertaking. The papers and the Medical Journals are exposing the quacks, showing the absurdity of the Chiropractic fellow, and that of the Osteopath but never exposes the so called regular M. D. Few medicines are administered scientifically, few medicines are capable of accomplishing what is claimed for them. When I was in practice, I had fine results. Why? Because I saved my patients from the drafts of the drug store. You are unwell at times. Let me advise you what to do, no matter what you have, open your bowels with Rochelle Salts taken in a glass of lemonade, the taste is pleasant. Go on a diet, that is skip a meal, or two, drink plenty of water, make milk your principle food. Cold bathing (not really cold) you are too old for a cold bath & the shock that comes. If cold take a hot bath, if hot, take a cool one. Rest, rest, rest. Tell Nina to keep from plausible Irish doctors, as a rule they are expectorators of blarney and of lies. I have with a single exception, Dr. Glennore, never met an Irishman who is not a liar. I mean this.

I speak out of the abundance of my experience. If any one has a bowel disturbance, nothing beats a dose of Castor Oil taken be-

tween lairs of orange juice. I have practiced for over 50 years. Such has been my practice. To such I owe my success. I have great faith in suggestion, in belief. Dosing is illogical, irrational. Osler uttered wisdom when he said "throw physic to the dogs". Water in cases such as yours and your brother's is one of the best remedies, it allays bladder irritation. Water melons are coming, you two should use them freely. All fruits are your friends. I will not advise more along this line.

I enclose an additional clipping. It speaks my mind, suggests my political remedy for the ills the poor colored brother has to bear. Sick as I was, I was amused at Mc's talk, the dear fellow never gets "anywhere", his dogmatic opinion is amusing. A little less news paper reading, and more of historical books, would give him an insight into the ebb and flow of the mind, and trend of man. When I regain my mental and physical equation, I will attempt writing you a letter that will pay you to read. While I have passed the four score mark, I am not insouciant to the fact that men older than I have played an active part in the affairs of life. Michael Angelo drew plans of St. Peter's when he was 89. Durand edited a readable book at 110. Sophocles wrote his Oedipus at 99, Dandola stormed Constantinople at 90, and so on. I do not want to live to be a sciolist, but if the Lord debacles my hopes and plans, I will depart, and march towards the land of mystery to the tune of "Marching thru Georgia".

Sincerely yours,

Chas. B. Purvis.

T. McCants Stewart to Francis J. Grimké

St. Thomas, V. I., U. S. A., 10th July '22.

Dear Frank,

Mr. Adams comes back enthusiastic over your reception of him and brings me your photo with your *love*—that's the word he used. He is writing an account of his visit and I am sure he will send you copies of his paper.

Well, Sir, I have you before me as I write—"Aunt Mame" (Mrs. Dorsey, of Buffalo) also. Both are on my desk and both awaken "*sweet memories of departed days.*"

It is a *long way*, Frank, from old Charleston 1865 and 1922—

I here and you—where you anchored 44 years ago. I wish *mine* had been a *steadier* life. But, alas! However, I have tried to do some good in every port where I have let down my anchor, and I do not feel that my life has been exactly in vain.

But I sometimes feel like the Prodigal Son.

Dear Frank, write me.

Yrs. truly,
Mac.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Portsmouth, N. H., August 27th, 1922.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I owe you a letter. I would have written to you ere this if you had been at home. You see I presume you have taken your usual summer vacation.

Your letter of June compliments me more than I deserve. I thank you for your generous words. I am fully aware of my limitations. Now that I am groping my way in the ninties time of life, & have time to muse, the fact that I have not made the most of my opportunities crowds it-self upon me. My best days are behind me, the few that are before are foggy. I cannot see ahead, I know not what it will open up to me. Summer is nearly over, the evidence of fall is here, the tree tops are changing color. I shall soon be planning for winter. At present I haven't any plan. I am merely drifting.

I have been in this charming spot over two months. I am safe in saying that being here has been good for me, for it has been cool. Boston has been a "melting pot". I am glad I have escaped its heat & humidity.

Once I did not mind the heat very much, nor the cold of winter months. My resisting powers were good in the long ago, it is not so now, extremes of heat, & cold snap my tongue. My dear father used to say "My son, old age is not desirable". I agree with the dear father. While I enjoy living, I wonder why I do. Life is of value only so long as one is a contributor to the general good, active in the affairs of the little world we help to create. I see much that I would like to be participating in. Social, moral, & religious conditions

are disorganized as never before (seemingly). "Man's love for man", is a ready saying, it is a fallacy. The quotation should read man's hatred of man. I feel that this quotation is forceful & true. He who loveth the God he hath not seen, & hateth his brother he hath seen is ——— (I have not the exact quotation.) While I shall not impose upon you a lecture on the rotten condition of man, I will take you into my summer life. Do not be alarmed, my sermon will be short. I know full well how much you can stand. In a hotel of this character there is assembled a variety of the human species, the difference in the individual types is marked. So marked, one is constrained to question the oneness of man, at least I am. I trace prejudice (racial) to the creation of varieties, each is variant. The difference in form, character & general trend, shows the mistakes of creation. I often take a comfortable seat, & muse, & visualize. We have created a standard of looks, we have what we call beautiful in contour, next good looking, third, homely. This third classification covers the majority of the human family, it applies to about all of those who have come to this hostelry. I do not recall seeing a plainer gathering of people. The Jew is here in quantity, if not in quality, it must be admitted he has a certain quality that enables him to become the possessor of worldly goods, the fact that he is here evidences that his mind is alert; he seems to be lacking in the essentials of true manhood, casuistry does not groom him—finish of manner & modesty is not in him. As a pusher, he excels. In view of the oppression he has been & is subjected to, one would naturally expect to find him in sympathy with all other peoples who are oppressed, but you cannot, he has prejudices equally as strong as the Anglo Saxon, he will assert them if it is profitable, if not profitable he will place them ancillary to his true feelings.

The gentile dislikes him. As I give ear year after year in hotels, & elsewhere, my early opinion as to the moral integrity of the majority of the people is confirmed, there is really very little, in fact, I am of the opinion it has lessened. I will illustrate by mentioning a few facts. Take the 18th Amendment to the Constitution. To violate it, is considered to be something to brag about. A childish argument, is put forth such as—"It is a violation of personal rights." I always reply, by saying every thief, gambler, & prostitute offers the same argument. A successful bootlegger, is looked upon as a man worthy of praise. You are deeply interested in the Anti-lynching bill, so am I. While I condemn strikers & unions

which are organized slavers, I do see that their diabolical ways are helpful to the cause of the Negro citizen.

The Negro (I hate the word, & do not use it as a rule) his cause per se does not arouse much sympathy, but when the lynching spirit reaches out to other people, the prospect of a protecting law becomes brighter. The Herrin slaughter is a God send! let more of them come! Sabotage by Union men will help the Anti-lynching bill to become a law. I see a great chance for the brother in mourning, if his ministers only had moral integrity, preached to make their men & women worthy members of the community, they would swing a battle axe. Every colored man should be thoroughly, radically, a temperance man, he should be ultra in defence of the Volstead Act. Physically, morally & intellectually, he would be a better man, really a power in the community. The world needs men who have a clear conception as to how a nation, a class, can be made strong and healthy. Madison Grant tells us how & why a "Superior Race" is slowly decaying. The black minister's mission is not to beat the air & shout idle words as to the beauties of heaven, but to play the part of a teacher & show his people the way to develop so as to be fit & worthy for what blessings the handmaid of mystery holds in escrow. I am an old man. I am thankful I have not been a slave to destructive habits, that I have not set before youth a faulty precept & example. I am a thorough believer in transmission. I believe in a healthy breeding. A reliable religion cannot be established upon a rotten foundation. I could write along these lines page after page. I will not indulge further. Personally I have had what is called a good time. I treat my physical self well. I enter into the social life here. I read good books. I play Bridge at times, "dance well". I quote the dear sisters from Georgia, Texas, & other heavenly Southern States. I have met Jew, & Gentile, men & women from all sections, how much alike they all are! All are sinners, "tho" they are deluded into believing their church going habits is religion. Christianity! to them is an indigestible quality. I presume I am not kind or generous, for 90 per cent of the human family is in a protoplasmic state, it will take ages to develop them. I shall send you a copy of the Outlook marked, the article reads well.

Yours truly,

C. B. P.

I leave here Monday for my home.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Mass., Oct. 9th, 1922.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

There are times when one wants to place a finger on facts when he is stating a case. I enclose you a clipping that may be of service to you. One of the cheap arguments against prohibition is "people who never used to use liquors do so now as a protest against an arbitrary law, there is more drinking now than ever before." This is an assertion founded upon home made facts, as it is often made, it is well for those who are interested, who wish to save the people against themselves, to have handy reliable evidence. I enclose, too, a cheque for the National Asso. Please give it to your brother. I have always sent my contribution through him. I had the pleasure of meeting him three weeks ago. I did not think he looked quite as robust as usual. Like myself he is marching towards the final resting place. As I visualize the conditions of the world, the desire to live a few years longer, and contribute a little more towards lifting the burdens that the majority of the human family has to carry, comes to me, I presume the desire is unreasonable. In fact I know it is, human nature is selfish, we do not willingly surrender a surety, for a speculative possibility; a few more years would mean a gnat's contribution towards solving a difficult problem, a problem that cannot be solved under a million years, if then. That which we call wrong, is not really wrong, when we stop to consider that 83% of the human family is so ill constructed that it is merely a body of morons, and are not capable of weighing, and considering the questions that involve a moral turpitude. A rational eugenic social law may eventually regulate this condition. Ah, the ages of time!! You and I will be among the forgotten. Chemically, we will exist, but that will be all, foibles, and dogmas, will have passed from the arena of our minds, suffering, and sorrow, will not engross us.

The unreasonable, and unjust conditions that man metes out to man, make me feel that there is much in Hornaday's remark "I would rather trace my origin to some members of the animal family than to the majority of men".

How is your physical self? I cannot brag of mine. There are too many pains playing hide and seek amidst my bones, muscles, and nerves, to indulge in brag.

Yours very truly,
Chas. B. Purvis.

William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké

South Atlanta, October 29, 1922.

My dear Dr. Grimké,

"Huddy"! How are you today? I hope you and the whole Grimké clan are all well.

Write now just to say that I am sending you under another cover a copy of the "Foundation", a publication that represents Gammon in particular and Clark at intervals. The present number is strongly representative of the paper, although all its issues are very readable and very informing on the eternal race problem in which Presbyterians and Methodists and all the other Negroists cannot help but be interested. If I had thought of it, I might have had the paper sent you regularly before this, as it would cost me nothing, not even the postage; being a charter member of the Board of Trustees, the only secretary the Board ever had, member of the Executive Committee and secretary during all the years, they would have mailed the publication free of charge to any clerical friend of mine, especially to one who for so many years has been standing four square to all the winds that blow. In fact, the chief object of the paper is to keep the graduates well informed as to matters concerning the seminary. For this reason and in this issue, they have made a special offer with reference to subscription to induce a larger circulation among the graduates.

I don't know whether your old friend and acquaintance, Dr. Bowen,¹ has ever sent you any of the literature published by the Seminary, hence I am sending you also a copy of their latest catalogue.

This letter has been written in great haste to catch the postman when he comes. Hence if you find any misspelt words or serious violations of grammar, don't view me with a critic's eye, but pass my imperfections by.

Semper fidelis,
W. H. Crogman.

P. S. Please send me the address of Mr. Hershaw, in order that I may send him my annual dues to the Negro Academy.

W. H. C.

¹ This was Dr. John W. E. Brown, professor of Historical Theology at Gammon, referred to elsewhere.

William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké

South Atlanta, Nov. 20, 1922.

My dear Dr. Grimké,

Good morning and best wishes to you and yours! Thanks also for sending me address of Mr. L. M. Hershaw. A few days after your letter arrived I received another from Mr. Robert A. Pelham, corresponding secretary of the Academy, furnishing me the needed information with reference to my annual dues. Accompanying this information were two ballots for my approval or disapproval, as usual. In all the years I have been connected with the Academy I have never voted against any candidate. Once or twice through inadvertence or oversight or forgetfulness I may have failed to return the ballots; but that was really voting for the candidate in accordance with ruling of the Academy, that "failure to respond within 30 days would be construed as voting in favor of the applicant or applicants."

Now, it is in accordance with this very ruling that I have never been able to act without some mental reservation. On a question of moral rectitude I would not hesitate a moment to express my opinion; but on a matter of qualification or fitness, if I have to vote against a man, I would rather, in deference to his own feelings, and in defense of my own, vote against him less abruptly by not voting at all; but the ruling of the Academy does not allow it.

Now, all I have written is with reference to the enclosed statement marked with blue pencil. I don't see how I can consistently vote for Mr. Williamson in keeping with my idea of what the Negro Academy should be and should stand for.

I can't for my life see what relation such marvelous achievements in Freemasonry have to do with an organization whose professed aim is literature, art, science and all kindred subjects. If I am in error, please be frank to tell me so. I assure you I shall not be offended by what you say. Indeed you can't offend me.

Please consider all I have written as *strictly confidential*. My chief and only interest in the matter is that the ideal of the Academy shall not be lowered. I regret not to see your name or the name of your brother among the officers and directors; but was glad to see Prof. Kelly Miller on the Executive Committee.

Yours truly,
W. H. Crogman.

Ethelbert D. Warfield to Francis J. Grimké

Chambersburg, Pa., December 11, 1922.

My dear Mr. Grimké:

I have just received your circular. It is amazing to me that a Christian minister and a member of the same church should attack a Christian college under the care of his church for any reason whatsoever without making any inquiry of those authorities who are authorized to speak on the subject under consideration with reference to the grounds of the charge made.

So far as I am aware Wilson College has never discriminated against any person on the ground of race or color. My own record with reference to race prejudice, that of my brother at Princeton, that of my grandfather, Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, and his brothers, both distinguished southern educators, and of my great grandfather, who with Thomas Jefferson laid the foundation for emancipation, not only in Virginia and Kentucky but in America, is absolutely clean.

Will you be so kind as to send me immediately an exact statement of any case of discrimination on account of race or color ever made by Wilson College.

Unless I am mistaken you were in Princeton Seminary with my brother, Dr. Benjamin B. Warfield, and I think should know at least how vigorous his protest against race discrimination always was. You may well be ignorant of the less part which I have been privileged to play.

Please send me a positive, clear and detailed statement of the ground on which you have made a charge so injurious, and I believe so unjust.

Very truly yours,
Ethelbert D. Warfield.

Ethelbert D. Warfield to Francis J. Grimké

Chambersburg, Pa., December 28, 1922.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I thank you for your letter. You have acted like a Christian gentleman, as I believed you would. My brother used to talk about you when I was only a little lad. He had a high regard for you.

May I plead with you not to fail to recognize that there are

more ways than one of doing good. I am surprised to find that you feel bitterly toward your Alma Mater, Lincoln University.¹ There is room in a country like this for different types of institutions and, while I know absolutely nothing about the situation which you complain of, my experience is that we need, broadly speaking, two types of institutions, those who do for others and those that help others to do for themselves.

My experience of more than thirty years as a college president is that the best trustees are those who approach the educational institution from the point of view of the benefactor and the worst trustees are the graduates of the institution. If I were founding a college today I would provide that no graduate of the institution should ever sit in the board that had the final decision on educational policy. As coordinate board, such as they have at Harvard, elected by the alumni, seems to me to be better than any scheme of alumni representation.

But I am expressing this view more because I feel that alumni representation is now overdone, and state and national organizations are influenced by those who live on a low level of intellectual and spiritual endeavor.

The eternal right to be different is a part of the ideal of liberty. More than this too, the absolute necessity of diversity in order to promote emulation, and through emulation progress, needs to be insisted on.

I have often said that old Dr. Saunders of Biddle University was one of the finest colleagues I ever served with in general assembly committees on theological seminaries. With all that Booker T. Washington did for the colored people, I always thought him a man of very low ideals, though most necessary in a world constituted as this is. What he saw he saw clearly. What he believed he turned into action with courage and fine judgment.

It is a big world and I would like to see the largest liberty for all. My motto is "Never hinder, always help."

With cordial regard,

Very truly yours,

E. D. Warfield.

¹ Lincoln University was Dr. Grimké's alma mater, but he bitterly assailed it because it refused to have any Negro trustees or professors.

Lucy D. Slowe to Francis J. Grimké

Howard University, Washington, D. C., January 8, 1923.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Once when I was a student at Howard University you preached a sermon on the subject, Be Sure Your Sins Will Find You Out. That sermon so impressed itself upon many of us who sat in the audience that day that we have never forgotten it. I am writing to ask that you preach a sermon on that particular subject at our Vesper Service on Sunday, January 21. I am hoping that you will be able to bring to the present generation of Howard students the wonderful message that you brought to us more than a decade ago.

Will you kindly let me know at your earliest convenience whether or not we are to be fortunate enough to have you with us at the Vesper hour, four-thirty P. M. on Sunday, January 21?

Very truly yours,
Lucy D. Slowe,
Dean of Women.

Mrs. T. McCants Stewart and Daughters to Francis J. Grimké

St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, U. S. A. Jan. 8, 1923.

Dear Doctor Grimké:

We have received your very sympathetic letter full of consolation to mother and us all. Your beautiful poem was like a balm to our deeply wounded hearts and we shall never forget it. We are wondering who the author might be. Mamma had hoped to write you herself thanking you for your kind remembrance in this her hour of great affliction but she is still suffering from shock at dear Papa's sudden and untimely death.

Dear Papa had been perfectly well up to his leaving New York. When he visited you I am sure you found him in perfect health and full of his old time spirit. We know how much Papa enjoyed this visit he made you for you loved him and he loved you. He used to talk so much about you and your mother and his early childhood days which you passed together that we all thought of you almost as a member of the family. When Papa received your picture you sent him by Bandmaster Alton A. Adams he was de-

lighted and he placed it on his desk in his office where he could see it daily and it awakened: "Sweet memories of departed days" and caused him to sing an old song he used to sing very often: "Where is now the merry party" and from that time he had a desire to see you all to hear you preach once more and to visit the dear old home land, and God granted his wish.

Dear Mr. Grimké Papa has worked very hard in the cause of the race. His life was sacrificed in the cause of Liberia. The best years of his life were spent in an endeavor to demonstrate the capacity of the Negro for self government which he had hoped to see wrought out on Liberian soil. During the beginning of his work in Liberia Papa wrote a splendid patriotic song for the country entitled: "Liberia the Gem of West Africa." It is sung to the tune of "Columbia the Gem of the Ocean." I do not know if you have ever seen it so I am enclosing a copy of it herewith. The Liberian Legislature made the song one of the national songs of the country and Papa had the pleasure of hearing it sung in the schools and on national days while in Liberia.

Dear Mr. Grimké we must say: "Thy will not ours be done" and we must take up our cross and continue up the hill of life, hoping to find at the end of the road the land that is fairer than day which by faith we can now see afar and where dear Papa is now waiting and watching for us.

Dear Papa died a beautiful death. Physically he did not want to die, but spiritually he did and was ready. His spirit was weary, but it longed to linger in its earthly prison to be with us for he knew that we needed him. His last physical words, as one might term them were: "The doctor did not say that I was going to die did he? for I do not want to die. You folks need me." These words were spoken just after the doctor had left saying that pneumonia had set in and that we would have a fight for his life, but that he was very hopeful. He had said nothing about Papa's dying. Papa's first thought was always of us, and his last thought was of us. He saw that the doctor's face was grave and he at once thought that he might be going to leave us alone in the cruel world to fight our battles alone and he wanted to stay and help us, but God willed it to be otherwise. He spake these words to dear Papa which are sweet to the ears of all believers: "Come unto me all ye who are weary and heavy laden and I will refresh you," and dear Papa obeyed the master's call and closing his eyes he murmured:

"Asleep in Jesus blessed sleep from which no mortal wakes to weep," and a few moments later he gave three little sighs and fell into the last long sleep. Papa was only ill three short days, he returned so ill that he could hardly talk to us. We know nothing about his trip not even any business matters. A fierce blizzard was raging in New York the day Papa embarked to return to us and the cold developed on the steamer and really it was only God and his holy angels who brought him back to die in the midst of those he loved so dearly.

Papa had a beautiful funeral and the floral offerings were great. Although he had only been in St. Thomas so short a time he had many friends as was shown by the large congregation and number of people who gathered at the house and at the church as well as the crowds that lined the streets and followed the body to the grave.

Bishop E. C. Greider, who has been a very good friend of ours ever since we have been in St. Thomas, performed the service in a most feeling manner, and was assisted by Rev. Folensbee, and dear Papa's two favorite songs were sung: "Lead Kindly Light" and "Abide with me." As the body was carried into the church the "Dead March in Saul" was played by the organist who had always greatly admired Papa.

Papa had expressed the wish some years ago that he wanted to be buried with the Liberian Flag and we remembered it and did so. When we wrapped the Flag around him and placed his hand on it his fingers which had been stretched out straight until then seemed to close together and clutch it. It was generally remarked upon how peaceful Papa looked in death. Even when the coffin was closed one would have thought that he was simply sleeping. A beautiful smile dawned on his face after death and effaced all signs of care from it.

Papa has not left us any money. He was a man who banked something greater than money, namely: Good Deeds and Great Thoughts and he has left us something far more valuable than money, which are, "Footprints on the Sands of Time."

Thanking you once again for your consoling letter and wishing you every blessing during the New Year,

We remain in great affliction,

Mrs. McCants Stewart and daughters.

LIBERIA, THE GEM OF WEST AFRICA¹

By T. McCANTS STEWART

Liberia, the gem of West Africa,
 The land where the Negro is free
 From race prejudice and proscription,
 We lift up our hearts unto thee.
 May thy life be ever and ever!
 We'll work with all our might thru thee
 To proclaim by actual practice
 Equality and fraternity.

Chorus:—

Let's cheer for the flag with the Lone Star;
 Let's cheer for the flag with the Lone Star;
 Liberia, the gem of West Africa;
 Let's cheer for the flag with the Lone Star.

We'll spread our principles thruout Africa,
 And strive to make the whole world know
 That God, as our common Father,
 Wants justice ev'rywhere to flow,
 Like the waters of the ocean,
 Like the flood where the rivers roll;
 And right to rule thruout the nation,
 And truth to extend from pole to pole.—*Chorus.*

Then up, to arms, all loyal Liberians!
 With book, tool, and ploughshare in hand
 Let's work together for our country,
 Till death shall call us from the land;
 The coming generations will follow
 With footsteps that never will cease,
 And Liberia stands among nations,
 A strong leader in the arts of peace.—*Chorus.*

¹ While this hymn is all but a copy of "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean" and an imperfect copy at that, it served a good purpose. It tended to stimulate pride in the fact that Liberia had existed as a nation for a century and had reason to believe that a nation thus successful in spite of untold hardship would long endure. T. McCants Stewart did not stay there long enough to realize such a dream. He moved to the Virgin Islands, where he died in 1922. He never stayed any place long if race prejudice or other bias intruded.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, California, Jan. 17th, 1923.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I made up my mind to scribble you a letter today. I will have to deny myself the pleasure. I have a miserable headache which unfits my thinking for work. I write these lines because the University folks have written to me in reference to a Mr. Charles Edward Russell who wants a L.L. D. degree. I haven't the remotest idea who he is. If he is a man of brain, character, & has accomplished something worth while I will vote for him through you. I am opposed to giving degrees to every little Tom Cat who wants one.

We must not make our degrees cheap. We have had applications from a number of "Jack legged" ministers who hang around Washington, & other places. Let us show pride in the University; let its degrees mean something!

How are you? Well I trust. I have been out here two months. We are having wonderful weather; it is June—some days it has been 90. The nights are always cool; one does not mind Sol's heat as long as it is confined to midday. I am in fairly good shape physically. If my head were only free from aches, & pains. I have done everything to cure them. I have not adopted Christian Science, or Coué foolishness. A fellow has to have something. I cannot die healthy. I will have to conform to the old habit of having a disease. I presume the attritions of time are the cause of my trials. My dear father used to say "Old Age is not desirable," he was right.

Yet, I enjoy being an eye witness to what is transpiring. So much is taking place. So much that shows the failure of civilization (so called). The savage is the only one who is not turning the world upside down—he has no civilization—no modern fable of Christianity. It is well I am an agnostic. I will not have any false belief & pseudo-teaching to answer for—I am a fortunate old boy.

I received two months ago a circular letter from Durkee calling the trustees to do something more than endorse an effort to raise an endowment; he wants a practical evidence of this disinterested interestedness. I saw & felt the force of his remark, so I made a pledge. Before leaving Boston I learned that Mrs. Butler Wilson

was making a drive for Dr. A. Miller to help the equal rights cause. I made her a promise. If I keep on I will have to have a Purvis drive.

I do not know how you feel, I know how I do. I am a friend of the Ku Klux Klan. It is doing a great work. Keep on brothers! You will open the eyes of the people to an astonishing moral condition. The boys at Herrin did some good work; they must be working for a Dyer bill. Unwittingly some good things are done towards creating a healthy sentiment. Some day I will discuss the same question with you. It is a vital one.

We of the University must show backbone & lay down a law that temperance upon the part of teachers must be absolutely observed. Prepare a resolution for the Annual Meeting. I will sustain it with all my strength. My best to your brother & daughter.

Sincerely yours,
C. B. Purvis.

I have written a letter after all.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, California, Feb. 13th, 1923.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Your favor came to me yesterday. I am pleased to have a word from you. I send you a prompt reply as you seem to be in need of some medical advice. Your old bladder trouble is with you again. I gave you some medicine for it two years ago. You reported that it helped you. It is not good practice to prescribe blindly for a patient; the cause of his trouble should be discovered if possible. You should have an examination made, possibly you have. Your urine should be carefully examined. You should save all the urine you pass in 24 hours, & take 8 ounces to a doctor to be examined. Your trouble may be a chronic inflammation of the bladder which should be treated by being washed out with a warm solution of Boric Acid. After you have saved the necessary amount of urine call Dr. Williston up & have him come & get it & take it to the hospital for an examination. If nothing special is found, have Williston make an appointment with the Medical College Professor who is a teacher of bladder troubles. As you are a Rev. & a trustee of the University you will have a free treatment. Before

keeping an appointment with the professor clean your bowels out by an enema of warm soap suds. Your Prostate Gland will have to be examined through the bowel. If treatments fail you can wear a rubber bag made to protect those who have incontinence of urine. Dr. Brackett had to wear one. No one will know anything about it—

I was surprised to read of the wordy encounter between Durkee and Sinclair. While I do not know anything about it—I have my doubt about the president's right to upbraid a trustee. I would have called him down as Sinclair did. I think, too, Durkee made a mistake; he will find that he has made enemies of five, or six of the colored trustees who will eventually make trouble for him. It seems to me the evidence he has was *ex parte* which is never a just or safe conclusion to go by. Durkee has a desire to be "*multum in parvo*," he will discover he cannot be.

I have made up my mind to call Williston & Tunnel down if they ever again attempt to speak unfavorably of the several presidents we have elected. They in their impudent conceit reflect upon us as trustees. Teachers & professors must learn their place. Among our whole set we haven't a savant. We have several who think they are.

I have been told that Durkee is a "red hot" Christian; he hardly displays the spirit when he assaults a brother. A wise man, one who has the spirit of God in him, would have sent for the offending member & talked matters over with him.

What has Sinclair been doing? Why should he go around scattering the seed of revolution? I cannot imagine he would be such a fool. A number of trustees will be voted for at the Annual Meeting. They come up for reelection. I am among them. I hope to attend the Annual Meeting if I can. I shall introduce a resolution that will prevent any trustee from voting for himself. It is wrong in principle, & practice, it shows a lack of self-respect. In looking over what was done at the meeting I did not see that any action was taken about the medical endowment. Has progress been made?

So you are 73? You surprised me. "Yes, we are marching towards the end." You had better mend your ways. I have no hyperbolic notions as to what we will run up against.

So Coué has converted you! Good for Coué. Last night as I was turning I adopted his saying—Every day etc. (to see how it

would be with me.) As a result of my lying I had rheumatism all over me, & a diabolical headache. Sinners must be punished. Coué like a number of hungry foreigners has succeeded in picking up a nice penny. Margot got considerable needed change. So too has Lady Susan Tounley & others. We are a good lot to feed upon! Coué's theory is nothing new. All doctors instill faith in their patients. The administration of drugs as a rule is quackery. 80 per cent of the doctors haven't brains enough to practice scientifically. 75 per cent of the people think they are sick. Coué's ideas are as old as the hills. You recall that the angels bathed in the pool & thousands rushed there to be granted a bath & were cured. Monsieur Du Boise published an able book 8 years ago on suggestion treatment. Zola in his book *Lourdes*, tells of an interesting story. Davenport in his book *The Psychological Element in Religious Revivals*. *The History of Medicine* by Renolds tells how priests fattened upon the credulity of the people & so on & on. Coué said in Chicago, "I cure those who think they are sick."

Yesterday was Lincoln's birthday. I think it well to keep it. We should not forget that to Booth, & Jef Davis we are indebted for making Lincoln what the World gives him. If he had not been assassinated he would have been held up as a miserable failure. In the *Ladies' Home Journal* for this month there are extracts from Phillips' speeches against him; of course, Phillips changed towards the last, after the great proclamation. Davis stuck to his devoted purpose to destroy the Union, & preserve slavery—his diabolical way—& Booth's revolver—made Lincoln.

Best to the three of you.

Everyday and in every way keep me in mind.

Very truly,
C. B. Purvis.

William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké

South Atlanta, March 7, 1923.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

"Huddy." How are you this morning? Trust you are well—both you and yours. I have occasionally sent you some clippings. I am sending you one now, as amusing as it is sarcastic.

More especially, however, I wish to call attention to the travesty of justice in this "land of the free and home of the brave." You

will doubtless remember the atrocious murder a short time ago of that poor old colored man who was killed because he was too sick and weak to push a white man's car out of the mud. I sent you a clipping from the *Constitution* on the matter. Public sentiment was aroused over the matter. The murdered man was a good old antebellum Negro, polite to white folks, would lift his hat and servilely address them as he passed. He himself was loved and respected by the white people in the whole county. He was altogether different from the New Negro of today with his insolent bearing: etc. etc. Well, the criminal escaped, was hunted and found in one of the far western states. Of course, large rewards were offered for his captivity. Brought back, they wouldn't jail him in his own county for fear that he might have been lynched by the infuriated people. He was tried, an able speech was made for the state; but the lawyer for the defense, in tones that could be distinctly heard only by the judge and jury, said, "Judge, you know how insolent niggers are. That old nigger cursed the prisoner before you, cut at him with his knife, and cut the prisoner's coat, as you can see for yourself by the gash in the prisoner's coat sleeve.

Sentence: "From one to three years".

"Swing low, sweet chariot," etc.

Yours as ever,
W. H. Crogman.

Alice McCants Stewart to Francis J. Grimké

St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, U. S. A., March 16, 1923.

Dear Doctor Grimké:

Your letter came to hand this week and the surprise that it contained in the shape of the check completely broke me down to think of how you and Mr. Archibald and Miss Angelina have thought of us in such a practical way. The sympathy of you my dear friends in this dark hour of our lives is very comforting, and the check that you have sent me be assured will be very helpful to us at this time and we pray God's blessing on you for the same.

The poems, all three of them, bring us special comfort in the thought that our beloved one is not dead but just gone away and that we will meet some day on that beautiful shore to which he has gone if we try and live so as to be fit to enter there, which we can surely do if we follow his footsteps.

I have received many fine letters from friends of my husband in London and they all testify to the noble and unselfish life he has led. I have been promised some papers by two of his editor friends there and when I receive them I shall try and let you have a copy.

I am enclosing herewith a photo of my dear husband, which I am sure you will be pleased to have. It is a recent one of him being taken two years ago in London for a passport to these Islands, and shows him as he looked up to the time of his death.

Hoping that you are all well and have not suffered much during this severe winter you have experienced in the States and with sincere regards to you all in which my daughters join, I remain,

Sincerely yours,
Alice McCants Stewart.

Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., March 23, 1923.

My dear Grimké:

I am not sure that I acknowledged the two printed slips you sent me as through an illness of several weeks my correspondence was very much neglected. Of course I do not agree with your entire condemnation on the question of bringing the Washington church to the front. I endorse thoroughly, of course, the motives that you present, but I also believe in the necessity, especially in Washington, of church buildings much better furnished and adapted to our work and more attractive than most that we have now in the city. I do not know any city anywhere in which the church buildings are generally so unattractive and illy adapted to their work. I believe that church buildings should be for many reasons conspicuous and impressive even in architecture, but the best thing, of course is, as you indicate, the Christian lives of the people and the consistency of their actions personally and organically.

So far as the Wilson College is concerned, I am with you. I do not in any way endorse the popular colorfobia. I do not believe any Christian institution has a right to close its doors or to deny its fellowship to others because of the question of color. I thoroughly sympathize with you in your line of thought and claim.

America, is, I think, more inconsistent than any other nation on this one subject and I have no kind of sympathy with the popular thought. I think it is fair to say, however, that that popular thought is gradually being Christianized, and with every appeal to wipe out that idea in the Christian churches I am in hearty accord.

Sincerely yours,
Wallace Radcliffe.

Alice McCants Stewart to Francis J. Grimké

St. Thomas, V. I., U. S. A., March 30, 1923.

Dear Doctor Grimké:

We are sending you an In Memoriam card on which appears a letter and poem sent to Bandmaster Adams, editor of "The St. Thomas Times" for publication and which was published by him in his paper. The letter and poem are a tribute to my dear husband from one of his London friends and are indeed very beautiful. We are sending these cards to friends. We are enclosing three herein. One is for your good self, one for Mr. Archibald and the other is for Miss Angelina.

We hope that you are all well and that you are now beginning to feel the warm breath of Spring in the air. We are all well and are trying to find comfort and inspiration from above.

With best wishes from us all, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Alice McCants Stewart.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, California, April 9th, 1923.

My dear friend Grimké:

Your letters came to me this morning. I was about writing to you—As you expect to see me the last of next month which is my usual time for visiting Washington, I will answer your letters by the returning mail.

I will not be able to attend the Annual Meeting of the Trustees of the University. My daughter has written to me expressing a desire to spend the summer here, and to remain a year—provided

we will remain; she gave me a surprise, I had planned to do several things at home—to comply with her request means changing them. As she is my "right-bower" I felt—I should serve her if possible. I will miss the Annual Meeting of the trustees for the first time. I have decided to remain. A year seems to be a long time, it really is not. As you say it is astonishing how the time flies past—I shall miss seeing you, your brother and daughter, other friends—I trust I may live to make my visit a year hence. Get busy and see that the hand of mystery will not stop me!

I have served the University 55 years. I have contributed the best years of my life to it. My time as trustee expires in June—If reelected I will continue to serve, tho a young man with a clearer brain may be of more service—I am indifferent as to my reelection—In this connection let me call your attention to a matter I think should be done—It is a compliment to have one's Associates to reelect him to an office he has filled—To vote for one-self shows a want of self-respect, it would be self humiliating to do so. If I could attend the Annual Meeting, I would make the point of order that for any trustee to vote for himself would be morally illegal.

Every candidate should be voted for separately. No ballot should be handed to a trustee who is up for reelection. A trustee can vote for all the trustees who are up to be voted for save himself. I have never voted for myself, and would not if I could be present at the next meeting. I think the position I take is sound morally, & for the best interest of the University. You are at liberty to use this letter if you wish.

While I am on University matters let me say that I think we should elect a vice-president, for the University & for the board of trustees. They should be selected from the members of the board. Just as the Senate selects; there is no constitutional provision for the senate to do so, but it does. No professor should be selected. Jealousy would be created. I am pleased to see the progress that has been made in securing the endowment for the Medical Dept. The colored doctors, & people have done splendidly. I fear some have been too generous. What has President Durkee done? I feel that he should be in the field, he is well paid, & should help in securing financial aid every year.

You speak of my health & method of life. I must confess I am a fairly well preserved man. I will be 82 years old on Saturday, 5 days more. I attribute my physical condition to the observance of

good laws, I eat to sustain my body, & not to please an animal appetite. I sleep 8 or 9 hours out of 24. I keep my bowels regular. A very important measure. I drink quite a quantity of water. I keep my body clean, I have neither smoked, nor indulged in liquors. I have never strolled with those whose minds flow in unclean channels. I read good books, books that contain lofty ideas. To keep the body sound is of paramount importance; there cannot be any moral rectitude, or casuistry, or ennobling sentiment in a brain that is not supported by a healthy body. I am not chimerical. I have reasoned out to discover how tone can be given.

You are a preacher, you do your best to arouse your hearers to a sense of duty. No doubt you have recognized that some of your efforts have failures. Why? Because your hearers did not possess sound bodies. Many inherited mental defects, many of their fore-parents were little in advance of morons. I don't believe that drinkers & excessive smokers can be the progenitors of children with sound moral natures. I believe with Havelock Ellis as to the abuses of crime.

Now a word to yourself. I presume your prostate gland is the cause of your annoyance. Under no circumstance should you submit to an operation; they as a rule fail to cure, and often do successfully kill. Massage of the gland will do good. Keeping the bowels open must be attended to, twice a day if possible, the congestion is in a measure relieved. Enemas of hot water as hot as can be borne, are often of use. So too are hip-baths. No irritating foods, & drinks should be avoided. Cut out tea, & coffee, both are artificial stimulants to the nerves & of course make all ailing parts more sensitive. I drink water & milk. Lying to one's self "every day & in every way" will not cure. You can wear a bag to catch all leakage, Dr. Bracket used to use one successfully, so do many persons. Tho well advanced, my gland does not bother me very much. Old Age has many defects, bad bladder, poor teeth, poor eyes, poor locomotion & many foibles. Personally I am fairly a happy man. I live in the present. I have buried most of the past; in many respects I would change my record, but that is impossible. I do not speculate as to the future. I cannot gamble. I take the present, & do my best to mould it so as to conform to what is reasonable & logical. I believe in evolution. I see it in man, & beast & vegetable life. I toss upon the debris pile all fables, amusing as they are. I have but little faith in human nature. Man is the worst, & the most

degenerate of animals, the most licentious & immoral & naturally unmoral. By the way I see England is having a Negro population in Africa and some at home.

There is much to write about ; I must not impose upon your good nature. Have you ever read Robert Ingersol's Conkling?¹ It excells all others—it is a classic.

Best to your broth. & Nina.

Yours very truly,
C. B. Purvis.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., April 13, 1923.

Dear Doctor :

A recent newspaper report, credits you with having completed two score and five years in the Christian ministry, an event that calls for hearty congratulation, not mainly because you have passed so many milestones, but rather on account of the exemplary life you have lived, and the wide influence exerted upon the moral, intellectual and religious life of the race. In my opinion you have occupied a somewhat unique position among the pastors of your city, due in a measure, to the personnel of your congregation, surrounding, and denominational bearing. Your unflinching courage in dealing with racial questions, from time to time, in the face of a debased public sentiment, has received commendation from many sources. While much has been achieved, there remains much more to be done through your instrumentality, and I am wishing for you many more years of good cheer and usefulness. Last October, I passed the half century mark. My health remains, fair and I am still in the active work.

Sincerely yours,
D. W. Hays.

¹ Dr. Grimké never said much about Robert G. Ingersol, although he was friendly to the cause of the Negro race. Dr. Grimké did not care for those friends of the race who did not believe in Christianity. He had such an attitude toward Clarence Darrow.

Francis J. Grimké to Benjamin Davis

Washington, D. C., April 22, 1923.

Dear Mr. Davis:

I read in your paper, *The Atlanta Independent*, a copy of which was sent me by somebody, Mr. William Jennings Bryan's amplified statement of his remarks made before the Southern Society in this city, and your able and timely reply to it in the form of an open letter to Mr. Bryan. Accept my congratulations.

In this reply of yours, you have rendered a real service to the race. When Mr. Bryan's remarks were first made and reported in the papers here, they stirred my indignation and it has been burning ever since. One of the things I have long held against Mr. Bryan is the fact, that he has never, so far as I know, had anything to say on the Negro question. During all the years that he has been before the public, I had never seen, up to the time of that speech, a line from him that indicated that he was in any way conscious of the fact that there were millions of colored people in this country, or that he had any interest whatever in them. In the midst of the innumerable outrages that have been perpetrated upon them—the burnings, the lynchings, and all other abominable things that have been done to them, not one word in public ever escaped his lips or appeared in print, that would indicate that he had any sympathy for them or felt the least indignant at the wrongs inflicted upon them. And the astonishing thing about it is, that he professes to be a Christian, and poses as one of the outstanding champions of Christianity and the Bible as the inspired Word of God.

How any man with even a spark of humanity in him, to say nothing of his being a Christian, a follower of the meek, lowly, loving Jesus, could maintain, during those years silence when millions of his fellow creatures, for whom Christ died, the very Christ whom he professes to love and serve, were passing through a veritable hell, created for them by American colorphobia, is beyond my comprehension. Again and again, I have said to myself, as I have thought of this man and of his avowed and oft-repeated declaration of his faith in Christianity and its lofty ideals and principles, how can this man hold his peace, how can he refrain from showing in sympathy for the down-trodden and oppressed in his very midst? I have never been able to understand it, and never will, unless his profession of Christianity is a LIE; or, the Christianity that he

possesses, which he has accepted and is following is an entirely different Christianity from that of the lowly, loving Nazarene who knew no man by the color of his skin or race variety, but felt the same brotherly interest in all alike. I say now, what I have often said: No man who is really a Christian, whose heart has been changed, and who has been sealed by the Spirit of God, can be indifferent to the treatment that is accorded to any human being, or any class of persons.

After all these years of silence to have this man, at last, break his silence in the abominable utterance that fell from his lips at that banquet, is still more astonishing. I confess it created in me a profound revulsion of feeling. I lost all respect for the man, all faith in him. I felt that never again could I permit myself to hear him speak as I have done on several occasions. To say, that the South is justified in the abominable policy which it has pursued, of fraud and deception, of oppression and injustice, of violence and mean discriminations in its treatment of the colored people—coming from one who claims to be a man of sense, to say nothing of his character as a professing Christian, is most astonishing! I thought of the words of Mark Antony over the dead body of Caesar:

“O judgment, thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason!”

It did look as if Mr. Bryan had lost his reason.

Can this man be the great Commoner that he is represented to be? The great Christian that he would have others believe him to be? Surely not. There is a mistake some where. Either he is not what he claims to be, what the people have thought him to be, or that speech cannot and does not represent his real sentiments. If it does, then on the face of it, he is a hypocrite; he is false to what he professes. It certainly places Mr. Bryan in anything but an enviable light. I feel sure, that the Lord Jesus Christ, whom Mr. Bryan professes to love and serve, if he were here, would be ashamed to have his name associated with a man, who, in the midst of conditions such as we have in this country, with the shameful record of the South before him, and after years of silence, has come out at last in the statement which he made at that banquet, knowing how it would be interpreted and the uses that would be made of it. Mr. Bryan is to be pitied, poor man!

This bleeding, suffering race, lying by the roadside along which

he has been passing for years, instead of coming to its assistance, as the good Samaritan did to the poor wayfarer left by robbers half dead and whose noble example Jesus has held up and glorified—instead of coming to its assistance and binding up its wounds, pouring in oil and wine, he has torn them open afresh and poured in vitriol instead. It was bad enough for him, as a Christian man, to have ignored the race during all those years; but to come out now, as he has done, and join the ranks of its enemies, is to me such a base surrender to the forces of evil, that I can't find words to characterize it properly. When the prophet, Elisha, charged Hazeel with a certain offense, his reply was: "What, is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?" It would have been well had Mr. Bryan recalled that passage. It might have helped him; it might have saved him from this humiliation.

What Mr. Bryan has done will, undoubtedly, result in injury to the race, in that it will tend to justify the South and to encourage it to continue its nefarious treatment of the colored people; but it will also react on Mr. Bryan himself. It discloses, as nothing else has done, the real man—the kind of heart he has—the kind of brain he has; the kind of conscience he has; and will lead all right thinking people to put a very different estimate upon him. That speech may have elevated him in the estimation of the unreconstructed South; but it has lessened, I am sure, the respect of a goodly number in other sections for him, and, even in the South itself there are some who will think less highly of him as a man, and as a Christian. The manly thing always to do, the honorable thing always to do, is to square our actions by our principles. Mr. Bryan professes to believe in the Declaration of Independence and in the principles laid down in the Bible, as the Word of God, as the only infallible rule of faith and practice. Has Mr. Bryan's course in this matter been manly, has it been honorable, in the light of his avowed principles? How can any man believe in the Declaration of Independence and in the Bible as the Word of God, and say what he has said; take the position that he has taken? How can he?¹

Francis J. Grimké.

¹ As a rule William Jennings Bryan never discussed the race question. During his campaigns for the presidency Negro leaders tried to draw him out, but he invariably dodged the issue.

Emmett J. Scott to Howard University Trustees

Washington, D. C., May 15, 1923.

Dr. Jesse E. Moorland
Colonel Theodore Roosevelt
Dr. Charles B. Purvis
Justice Stanton J. Peelle
Hon. Cuno H. Rudolph
Rev. Francis J. Grimké

Gentlemen:

In the matter of nomination of Trustees for the Howard University, the following is respectfully called to your attention for consideration in report to the Board of Trustees at the annual meeting June 6th, 1923:

Expirations—1923: Mr. Milton E. Ailes, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Michel O. Dumas, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, New York, N. Y.; Dr. Jesse E. Moorland, New York, N. Y.; Dr. Charles B. Purvis, Boston, Mass.; Dr. Marcus F. Wheatland, Newport, R. I.; Dr. James H. N. Waring, Downington, Pa.; Hon. James C. Napier, Nashville, Tenn.

Nominations—Meeting June 2nd, 1919: Mr. Morton D. Hull; Mr. George W. Crawford, New Haven, Conn.

Nominations—Meeting June 3rd, 1920: Mr. Joel B. Spingarn; Dr. S. G. Elbert.

Nominations—Meeting June 7th, 1921: Frank K. Hogan, Esq., Washington, D. C.; Hon. Wm. H. Lewis, Boston, Mass.; Mr. J. B. Henderson, Washington, D. C.

Nominations—Meeting June 6th, 1922: Mr. Whitfield McKinlay, nominated by Mr. Andrew F. Hilyer; Mr. Thomas Walker, nominated by General Alumni Association.

Nominations—Meeting February 6th, 1923: Hon. John C. Asbury, Philadelphia, Pa., by Mr. Andrew F. Hilyer; Rev. George F. Hovey, by President Durkee.

Vacancy: Class of 1925 by the death of Justice Job Barnard, Washington, D. C.

Very truly yours,
Emmett J. Scott,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Charles B. Purvis to Emmett J. Scott

Los Angeles, Cal., May 21, 1923.

Dear Doctor Scott:

Your circular letter to the trustees of the University who constitute the committee to consider nominations of Trustees has just come to hand.

In reply permit me to say the committee has *nothing what ever to do with considering the names of those who are at present trustees*. Their names can be *considered by the Board of Trustees only*; they will continue to act until their successors are elected; this has been the rule & practice for years.

Originally, when a trustee was elected he held the position until death, or resignation.

As to the nominations made in 1919, 1920, 1921, & 1922, they were considered by the committee on nomination & have not been favorably acted upon. In accordance with parliamentary law, the nominations fall, and can only be considered if re-nominated at a regular meeting, & voted upon at the next annual or semi-annual meeting of the Trustees. Nominations made in Feb. 1923 are regular & come before the committee.

Please make note of my correct address at the head of this paper.

Yours very truly,
Chas. B. Purvis.

Francis J. Grimké to William Ralph Hall

Washington, D. C., June 1, 1923.

Dear Dr. Hall:

Your letter was duly received, and I must confess, did not make me feel any happier than when I wrote you. It had rather a depressing effect upon me. It seems to me, the position which you take, and which is taken by the Presbyterian Church, and the other so-called Christian churches, is simply a cowardly surrender to a debasing and iniquitous public sentiment, not only without justification, but directly contrary to the spirit of Jesus Christ, and the plain teaching of the word of God. If Jesus Christ had allowed himself to be influenced by the sentiments by which you are influenced and the great Church of

which you are an agent, he never would have selected the house of Zacchaeus in which to rest while in Jericho; he never would have called Matthew the publican, to join his inner circle of friends, he never would have talked with the woman at the well in Samaria; he never would have healed on the Sabbath day; he never would have won for himself the honorable distinction of being known as the friend of publicans and sinners. All that he did was directly in the face of an unrighteous public sentiment. Did he allow himself to be influenced by the knowledge of the fact that the course that he was pursuing was unpopular? No. He went ahead and did what he believed to be right; what he knew was right, leaving the consequences to take care of themselves. The apostle Paul said: "We are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter." They were willing to suffer for principle sake; ready to die, if need be, in loyalty to Jesus Christ and to the great principles and ideals which he enunciated. But we are such cowards, we are so timid, so dreadfully afraid of offending public sentiment, of being made to suffer that we are all the time dodging behind some flimsy excuse, or seeking to protect ourselves by some cunning device; never willing to face the issue squarely and settle it on Christian principles. If the early Christians had failed to stand up for Christian ideals and principles as we are failing to do on this race question, what would have become of Christianity? It would soon have gone to pieces, would soon have been lost in the world. It was because they dared to be true to their principles in spite of persecution, that it survived, and ultimately made a place for itself, not only as different from other religious cults, but as superior to them. There is nothing to be gained by the weak and pusillanimous manner in which we are dealing with this question. I can stand race prejudice with better grace anywhere else than in the Christian church. It is on the face of it, such an absolute denial of brotherhood, which Jesus came to establish between men of all races. Is it not written, "Seeing that ye have put off the old man with his doing, and have put on the new man, that is being renewed unto knowledge after the image of him that created him: where there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondmen, freemen; but Christ is all, and in all." How, in the face of such declarations, in the face of

all that we know of Jesus, of his spirit and principles, such things can be tolerated, is beyond my comprehension. It cannot be from ignorance; it must be therefore deliberate,—a setting aside with full knowledge of what is being done, of what is Christian for what is not Christian, out of deference to the spirit of the world. Christian men ought to be ashamed of such unworthy conduct. I am reminded, in this connection, of those stirring lines of Dr. Babcock—

Say not the days are evil,—Who's to blame?
And fold the hands and acquiesce—O shame!
Stand up, speak out, and bravely, in God's name,

I am, Yours for a better type of Christianity than the one in which race distinctions are tolerated.¹

Francis J. Grimké.

William Ralph Hall to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, Pa., June 4, 1923.

My dear Brother Grimké:

I have your letter of June 3d. I think I suggested in my earlier letter that I was convinced that we could not solve the problem, which I very fully recognized, and which you just as fully recognize, between ourselves. Were it other than a national problem of tremendous size, the Church could solve it more rapidly than it is now solving it. I am convinced that the Church is attempting constructively, sincerely, to solve the problem, and in time it will be satisfactorily solved. I am as sincerely convinced that it cannot be solved immediately, and the plan you suggest would only increase the problem, unless by some plan everybody's conviction would be swung to your conviction, and of course this is the crux in the matter.

I think it would be quite possible for me to go to the New Testament, take the teachings of our Master and the conduct of our Master, and reveal a parallel in the Church's handling of the Negro problem, but that would probably not seem to you to

¹ This letter has reference to the American Conference for Young People of the Methodist Church.

be a fair parallel. It is a little bit difficult for those of us who remember the story of the days passed, to understand your attitude. My father's brother lay down his life on the battlefield of the South for you and one brother of my mother likewise lay down his life in the South for you; one other brother gave out the strength of his youth in a prison in the South for you, and lived an impaired life and died when a man should be at his prime. A third brother of my mother's, in welfare work, gave the best of his health in early manhood and broke in such a way as never to recover; and all this for you. There was no other brother, or I am confident that he likewise would have shared the burden.¹ I believe they did it with the same fundamental motive that prompted the Master in His ministry. Even our Master did not solve all the iniquitous practices of the temple, by His frank and open teachings against them, but he started the solution of the problem and we have been working through the ages. It was the solution of the problem that has been started, and nothing will more directly thwart the solving of that problem than the impatient attitude manifested by some who are unwilling to work constructively. I have worked with quite a number of your brethren and am convinced that many of them believe that the solution is being sought constructively. I know that there are others who feel that we are not doing the wise thing. Personally, I do look forward to a day when there will be an understanding that will eliminate the difficulties we now have. In that we will find our solution. What it is I do not know.

I am inclined to believe that in your own good judgment you realize that any arbitrary attitude that we would assume relative to our Summer Conferences that was not in harmony with the recognized attitudes assumed in our social life, in our religious life and in our business life would only create difficulty; not solve problems.

Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

William Ralph Hall.

¹ White persons when called upon to speak out in behalf of the oppressed Negroes often referred to what they had formerly done for them, but Negro leaders would not excuse them on these grounds. The task of establishing full freedom had not been finished.

Francis J. Grimké to the Presbytery of Washington City

Washington, D. C., June 11, 1923.

Brethren :

Having tendered my resignation as pastor to the 15th Street Church, which I have served for more than forty years; and it having been considered at a regularly called congregational meeting, and kindly acquiesced in, and by the appointment of commissioners to certify the same to the Presbytery, I am asking that the pastoral relation be dissolved to take effect September 30, 1923.

I am now in my 73rd year. I have been preaching steadily for 45 years, and during the whole time in the active pastorate. I am not very well. I am suffering from certain physical infirmities that make it no longer possible for me to do effectively the work of the active pastorate. I have been thinking of this for some time, hoping that I might be able to continue a little longer; but now I feel that it ought not to be put off any longer in justice both to myself and to the church. The time has come for the work to pass into the hand of a younger man.

In retiring, I want to say: I don't think I could have had a happier ministry anywhere than I have had here among the members of the 15th Street Church; I don't think my lot could have been cast among a more kindly, thoughtful and appreciative body of men and women. In severing my official relation with them, I do not feel as badly as I would otherwise, since this is still to be my home. I have lived here during all these years; and here I expect to die: so that the kindly fellowship will still continue.¹

Hoping that this request of mine and the good people of the church may be granted by you, I am,

Fraternally yours,

Francis J. Grimké.

¹ The popularity of Dr. Grimké was so great that this resignation and other such efforts to disconnect himself from the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church failed. He yielded to the desire of the congregation to remain as pastor emeritus, and as such he held his connection with the flock until his death in 1937. Occasionally he preached, but he devoted most of his time to literary work.

Ella D. Barrier to Francis J. Grimké

Chicago, Illinois, June 12, 1923.

My dear Mr. Grimké:—

It has been a long time since we have talked to you, but you and yours have been often in our thoughts.

When I read in the *Age* of your resignation, such a crowd of pleasant memories came to me that I could not resist saying a word or two to you at this time.

My eyes are growing gradually better. I can see better now than I have seen in three years, but they are not strong enough for writing or much reading. I am very thankful, however, that they are as well as they are after five operations upon them.

Fannie and I both keep well, and we often speak of the many pleasant hours spent in your delightful home, even though we remember the sadness running through our pleasant association.

You will be terribly missed, I can hardly see how the church can exist without your ministrations, but you surely deserve some years of peace and quiet.

You cannot know how much we long to see you and hear your voice again, and I believe we will.

We both send our kindest regards to your brother and Nana and the warmest regards to yourself.¹

Very sincerely yours,
Ella D. Barrier.

William H. Croghan to Francis J. Grimké

South Atlanta, July 16, 1923.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

Thanks for the photo, altho it makes you look older than I would have expected you to look within the short time since last we met. Enclosed is a clipping that may interest you. About a month ago I wrote Dr. Ashby Jones a letter thanking him for the brave words he was uttering in our behalf, and assuring him that we are grateful for the same. He replied in a very gracious letter, a copy of which together with a copy of my own I send you. After reading you may destroy both. I

¹Ella D. Barrier was for a long time a teacher in Washington, D. C. She was the sister of Fannie Barrier Williams of Chicago.

have made it a custom, whenever any Southern man of note has taken frankly and fearlessly a stand in our behalf, to write him and thank him in behalf of my people, lest by our silence we should be regarded ungrateful or indifferent. In every instance their responses have been cordial, most of them addressing me as "dear brother." while in every instance I have addressed them as "dear Sir."

About ten or twelve years ago I read an address by an Episcopal minister in Mississippi. I don't remember his name just now. I think he left Mississippi some years ago for another church in New Orleans. His speech was published in several of the northern dailies. It was an unreserved denunciation of the murdering of Negroes, and a warning that if the states did not put an end to it, the United States government would. I remember one statement in his speech with reference to the brutal frequency of killing Negroes. He said an Italian was on trial for murdering a Negro in western Tennessee, and defended himself in the following manner: "Me no Kill nig in Tennessee. Me Kill nig in Mississipp. Me no tink it wrong to Kill nig in Mississipp." "Angels and ministers of grace defend us!"

Well, I wrote him a letter thanking him in the name of myself and my people, and sending him at the same time a copy of my little book, *Talks for the Times*. In my letter I said, "You will doubtless find in that book, many things with which you will not agree; but I trust, you will give me credit for the sincerity of my convictions." Within a few days I received a letter from him in which he said "I have read the book very nearly through, and as yet have found nothing with which to seriously disagree. Moreover, if you had not written the book you would have been guilty of a sin of omission". You will observe, fellow pilgrim along the way, that my influence in the welfare of our people has not been wholly confined within the dingy walls of Clark University, but wherever that influence could be felt for our good in that direction it has gone. I am not sure you will be able to read this, for it was written with one eye, the other being unable to help. Last week for the first time in my life, I had to go to the oculist for eye treatment. Wish you a pleasant vacation.

Yrs. as ever,
W. H. Crogman.

I send you enclosed some interesting reading, though some of it, perhaps, you have already had the pleasure of perusing. As to Negro migration, you will notice that one day "it need give no alarm" as a thorough investigation had been made by counties. Two days later the investigation was found to be somewhat "incorrect." Negroes were still going. Still a few days later came the "Pathetic Plea".

I have called special attention to Fulton County, one of the *smallest* of the counties, and in which is the City of Atlanta, and from which "within the past few months *several* thousand Negroes have left."

W. H. C.

M. Ashby Jones to William H. Croghan

Atlanta, Ga., May 29, 1923.

My dear Dr. Croghan,

Please accept my thanks for your very welcome and appreciated letter in regard to the work I am trying to do.

Any large task which is worth the doing requires a large patience, and a large patience requires a large faith. May God grant to us all in these very trying days a faith that shall match our task.

With very genuine appreciation for your words, I am,

Yours sincerely,

M. Ashby Jones.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., Oct. 30, 1923.

My dear Doctor Grimké:—

I thank you for your Sermon, "A Look Backward." Have read it through with deep interest. It sets forth what I regard the best type of our modern ministry. I congratulate you upon having served so long and faithfully, not only as respects the edification of your flock, but, at the same time, giving to the young men of this generation, a worthy example for their imitation.

I commend the decision of your congregation in declining to accept your resignation, and my prayer is, that the Lord may add several years more to your life tenure, and make it possible for you to assist, by your wise counsel, in guiding the race to the level which God intends for them to occupy. Blessings upon you.

Yours sincerely,

Daniel W. Hays.

John Brittan Clark to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., Nov. 1st, 1923.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Thank you for your fine, *very fine* review sermon. I read it aloud to my wife and mother. We greatly admired and enjoyed it and were inspired by it. Nothing would be truer and stronger than your views of the true minister and his work: The true function of the church. It was all fine and, dear brother, you personally have incarnated and demonstrated your principles. God bless & keep you.

Until Jan. 1st we are having vesper instead of evening service. If ever I can be of least relief to you in the evening, please command me.

I am not sure I sent you the enclosed, so am sending a copy now. God has wonderfully used it.

Gratefully & cordially yours,

John Brittan Clark.

W. V. Tunnell to Francis J. Grimké

Nov. 1, '23.

My dear Frank:

Thanks "awfully" for that wonderful *apologia previta sua*, which you were good enough to send me. It has a Samuel like ring & note that is inspiring in these days of moral sag & drag.

I could wish that every man & especially every clergyman—at least every candidate for the Ministry could read it,—the story of a wonderful ministry, not only over a long reach of time, but one that has been most fruitful & effective.

You have earned a respite & I hope that your suggestion will be adopted & that you may find a man after your own heart

who may come & collaborate with you—an Elisha who, when Elijah is translated, will not only receive the mantle, but $\frac{1}{2}$ of your spirit!

Not only your immediate congregation acclaim you but the whole city & country for both your work and worth.

God give you an even greater harvest from the seed you have so earnestly & consecratedly sown & believe me

Affec.,
Tunnell.¹

J. Albert Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 1st, 1923.

Dear Dr. Grimké.

I read with peculiar interest, and profit your splendid, and singularly eloquent "benedictus", which you were good enough to send me. How I wish young men who are contemplating the Christian Ministry could and would read it. Your life has been a valuable testimony to the Ministry, and is, and will continue an inspiration to all serious minded men. May *your* tribe increase.

Frankly, I am so glad the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church declined to accept your resignation. But rather did itself the honor of continuing you as its pastor until the close of your earthly pilgrimage.

Most cordially yours,
J. Albert Johnson.

Emmett J. Scott to Lyman Beecher Stowe

Washington, D. C., Nov. 8, 1923.

Dear Mr. Stowe:

I beg to invite your attention to a reading, at your convenience, of the copy of the sermon herewith enclosed.

Dr. Grimké is one of the most remarkable men of the race. He has lived a long, varied and useful life. He has been, for many years, a factor in promoting the higher aspirations of the colored people of the District of Columbia and of the country. The account of his stewardship as indicated upon the occasion of his forty-second anniversary affords opportunity for study

¹W. V. Tunnell was for a number of years the professor of history at Howard University.

of his program when he began his ministry along with the record of fulfillment.

I am wondering if Doubleday, Page & Co. will give consideration to publishing the life work of a man like this or if it will consider the elaboration of the sermon here referred to into a story for book publication and circulation among the colored clergy of the United States. I know of no service just now which would be more helpful in bringing before these colored ministers higher ideals and aspirations.

If you are in Washington at any time I shall be very glad to have you have luncheon or dinner with me and Dr. Grimké. I would like for you to know him.

Very truly yours,
Emmett J. Scott

R. R. Moton to Francis J. Grimké

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, November 9th, 1923.

My dear Doctor:

I have read with interest and profit, "A Look Backward", and I want to thank you for remembering to send me a copy. Mrs. Moton shares with me this appreciation.

Yours has been a long and most useful service, not only in Washington, but throughout the Nation. Your sermons have been an inspiration to me personally whenever I have had the pleasure of hearing or reading them, and I know that thousands share this feeling.

You will forgive me for saying this, but you are and have been the embodiment of the highest ideals, intellectual, moral and spiritual which you have preached. I feel that the problems of race adjustment, which are close to the hearts of all of us, would be infinitely less complicated if that could be said more generally of the Negro ministry—and I might add of the white ministry as well—but I am not discussing that here.

I am hoping that the Fates will bring you to Tuskegee again in the not distant future.

Please remember me in kindness to Mr. Archibald.

With all kind wishes, in which Mrs. Moton joins I am,

Very sincerely yours,
R. R. Moton.

J. Stanley Durkee to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., November 13, 1923

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I received your sermon "A Look Backward", and have read it over with great care, with great admiration, and with a great sense of thankfulness.

I have enjoyed so much sharing with you your vision of the ministry and then watching its development through the years as you so clearly state it. I had not realized, however, that you were seventy-three years of age and that for more than forty-two years you had held a pastorate over the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church of Washington, D. C. What a wonderful record is that! I can almost envy you. What changes you have seen! What developments have come! You have been in the ebb and flow of so many tides, but your faith has been constantly forward and you are now beginning to see something of the results of your faithful work.

These long years of service you have given to Howard University, not, as I am aware, for Howard University as such, but for the service you might render to the people through the medium of education. Oh, how grateful I am that God has spared you to accomplish so much, and how grateful I am that I have been enabled, by the kind of service God has permitted me to render in these brief years here, to gain your friendship and receive such hearty backing as you have given me.

I do want to express in a brother minister's language and from his heart, my thanksgiving to God for you and my thanksgiving to you for your helpfulness, your kindness, and your cheer. May the remaining years that are yours be softened by the very presence of the Master, be cheered by the consciousness of such a life of service as you have been permitted to render, and when the closing days shall come—far off, please God—may you find that welcome which is yours and the encomium from the lips of the Master Himself,—“Well done, thou good and faithful servant”.

Once more I thank you and wish you God's richest blessings.

Most sincerely yours,
J. Stanley Durkee.

James H. N. Waring to Francis J. Grimké

Downingtown, Pa., Nov. 19, 1923.

My dear Mr. Grimké:

I read and reread your "Look Backward" and have been thinking about it a very great deal ever since.

If you recall, old Tom Reed said when he retired from Congress, after a life of phenomenal success coupled with the one great disappointment, that he "had never trimmed a sail to catch a passing breeze," I have never forgotten the expression which, at the time, made a tremendous impression upon me.

As I look back over the forty-five years of your life during which I have known you, you are one other man who can conscientiously say as old Tom Reed said, "I have never trimmed a sail to catch a passing breeze."

As I have watched you during these years and observed your going in and out among men and have been forced to compare and contrast you with other men in the same calling, I have been convinced by your life, more than by any other life that I have ever observed, of the true meaning of that expression.

Many preachers and teachers tell us what we ought to be and ought to do by their words, but their teachings are often contradicted by their lives. One of the greatest things in the world I think is to be guided by convictions which are based on principles that are right and true.

Some people do right today and wrong tomorrow because it is a fad. To all who know you, and knowing you respect and honor you as we do, your life has been one guided by fixed principles, and not by an impulse of the moment nor any yielding to any fad or fashion. It has been the result, as all who know you must admit, of a fixed determination to do those things which are well pleasing to the One you have so faithfully and so successfully served all these years.

I consider it a privilege and an honor to be able to subscribe the admiration, respect and love which we have all had for the man who married us, who buried our children and who, we hope may have left to him many more years of usefulness and service.

I am signing this for my wife and myself,

Yours most cordially,

J. H. N. Waring.

James G. Carlile to Francis J. Grimké

Troy, N. Y., December 1, 1923.

My dear Dr. Grimké,—

Your missive containing two copies of your address before the Convocation of the School of Religion of Howard University on November 20, came to me yesterday, and I want to thank you for the same. After reading "once over," I at once enclosed one copy in an envelope addressed to Dr. Kennedy of *The Presbyterian*, Philadelphia, and I hope that he will read it, that it may do him good as the truth does the pure in heart. But I fear that his mind is not as open to truth that shows the untenableness of his position on the Race Question as it is to other truth that does not condemn his practice. I sent your former pamphlet, "A Look Backward," and he neither acknowledged the receipt of it nor made any mention of it in his paper, all of which showed equally his bad manners and his unwillingness to be instructed in the right way and to aid in instructing others. I am not sure but that his circulation lists have something to do with his published views on the Race Question, for I have some evidence of the fact that *The Presbyterian* has a large reading among Southern Presbyterians. I was pleased to observe that *The Continent* gave a news item notice to the facts related in that sermon.

I heartily endorse all of the Address, but I especially like this sentence, "A cowardly, time-serving, unbrotherly, stiff-necked, uncircumcised, color-prejudiced Christianity can never save this world and bring it to Christ—a world two-thirds of the inhabitants of which are not white but colored". I think the heart of the matter as we see it is there.

Some time ago, I wrote you proposing an exchange of service in evangelistic campaigns in our respective churches, and you could not see your way clear to enter into such an agreement. After I return from Indianapolis, where I go for December 9 in the Senate Avenue Church, I shall be willing to take up the matter of a visit to your church during the winter for some special meetings—one Sunday and the better part of the week before or after.

The aggressive force of this address does not indicate that advancing age has, as you have declared it has, greatly dimin-

ished your vital force. May the Gracious Lord continue to strengthen you for every good work.

With kindest fraternal regards, I am

Gratefully yours,

James G. Carlile.

Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., Dec. 5, 1923.

My dear Doctor:

I have been out of the city and find on my return a copy of your recent paper at Howard University. I thank you for sending it. It is an admirable and strong thing every way. I agree with your position. You are absolutely right. Your argument is effective and Christian. Something will have to be done. How in the immediate future, I do not know, but there will have to be in some way reconstruction and a more intimate fraternity to set forth especially the spirit in Christianity.

I was astounded at the extent you narrated concerning the dean of the University. I knew nothing of it. I did not see the newspaper statement and your reference is the first I have known of it. It was simply outrageous and your picturing of it, especially with the march of that crowd singing "Onward Christian Soldier" was one which would appeal to any Christian soul. It was all wrong, un-American and un-Christian.¹

With continued appreciation and fraternity.

Cordially yours,

Wallace Radcliffe.

E. L. Parks to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., December 6, 1923.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Please accept hearty thanks for a copy of your address on "What is the Trouble With Christianity of Today." I have read it with deep interest and heartily endorse its every statement. Not a single statement is too strong. It is also true that

¹ Reference here is to the mob of whites who met at one of their churches to organize and proceeded in a body singing "Onward Christian Soldiers" marching to force out of their community Dean D. W. Woodard of Howard.

most of the churches are not practically applying the principles of Jesus to the great Industrial Problem which we are facing here and throughout the world, and which will press upon us with increasing force.

The churches can become truly Christian only as they practically apply in all life the principles of Jesus, and the world can be saved from the destructive consequences of all kinds of unbrotherly relations only as we do this.

I do not believe you are crying in the wilderness. We are in a universe of moral law. Sooner or later the peoples and the nations of the earth will recognize that Jesus alone has given us in their fullness the principles of true individual and social life, and will save themselves by conforming their lives to these principles.

Faternally and Gratefully yours,

E. L. Parks.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., Dec. 10, 1923.

Dear Doctor Grimké:

Your Address at the Convocation of the School of Religion,¹ has reached my desk. I thank you for it. I have read it with a great deal of interest. It has stirred my militant blood, and I heartily join you in your crusade against the false Christianity which has spread so widely over this country, and is creating aversion in the minds of many of our intelligent young people to the Church. They cannot understand how Jesus can be styled the author of such a corrupt type of religion.

May I be allowed to use the vulgar phrase: "Hit it again." I am sure it requires more than ordinary courage to speak as you have spoken in these degenerate times, but how can the servant of the Lord hold his peace when the citadel is being violently assailed? Again I thank you.

Yours sincerely,

D. W. Hays.

¹ The Convocation of the School of Religion was an annual assembly of importance at Howard University. Religious dignitaries from far and wide attended.

William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké

West Philadelphia, Pa., Jan. 12, 1924.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Greetings! How are you today? I trust you are well and happy. Personally I am still alive and kicking, and thought it was nearly time to inform you of the fact. My last letter was written to you last summer just as you were leaving for your vacation—which I hope was invigorating to you in body, mind, and soul.

Before your last letter came I had been informed of your formal resignation as pastor; for Dr. Bowen coming from Washington communicated the word to me. Somehow I was not altogether unprepared to hear it; for I had recently been wondering how much longer you would be able to bear the burdens and responsibilities of so large a church. Of course, I need not tell you how happy I felt to learn of the magnanimity of your people in dealing with your resignation. And yet what less could they have done for one who had spent a life so faithfully, so unselfishly, so courageously in their service? As one who for many years has been honored by your friendship allow me to say, "Well done, good and faithful servant!"

Now, as to my change of residence from the Gate City to the Quaker City, that was determined upon fully three years ago. Immediately after the retirement from active service in Clark University I went to the private office of President Harry Andrew King, and told him that under no consideration would I continue to occupy the house in which I was living, stating that it would look too much like the dog in the manger for two of us to be occupying so large a house when the society was in such desperate need of room to house their teachers. The president replied that he had recommended to the trustees to grant me the use of the house for the remainder of my life. Immediately following this, while addressing preachers' meetings and a half dozen district conferences he made special allusion to my magnanimity in offering to surrender the house. The house was, therefore, at their disposal as soon as they should call for it. I state this hurriedly because of a statement editorially made in the November "Crisis," Dr. Du Bois having been misinformed about the matter. Doubtless by some who had ulterior aims in view.

At any rate, we are comfortably housed here with our children

and grand children, and whenever you are in Philadelphia know that the latch string hangs outside the door for any one by the name of Grimké.

Shortly after my arrival here I was very sick—acute indigestion followed by a chill, that necessitated the attendance of a physician and trained nurse for seven or eight days, or until Mrs. Crogman, who was down in Texas, hearing of the situation, hastened home, and entering upon the scene, relieved guard.

I send you herewith copy of a paper with somewhat of a "writeup" on me. It was also repeated in somewhat abbreviated form in the New York *Advocate*, with cut inserted. My! How mightily "sot up" it made me feel to see my old face in Methodism's most representative paper. Then followed The Zion's "*Herald*," representing New England, from which place 53 years ago I was sent into the South. I must stop here.

Semper fidelis,
W. H. Crogman.

William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké

West Philadelphia, Pa., January 29, '24.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Your recent most gracious letter brought, to me, I assure you, much gratification. It has been one of the chief ambitions of my life never to fall below the expectations of my friends. Happy to know that I have measured up to yours. And yet you realize but little, I am sure, how much your life, the rectitude of your character, the brave, persistent, untiring effort in defense of your cruelly wronged and helpless people, has steadied and nerved me when passing through severe trials and resisting cruel wrongs.

Many thanks for the two pamphlets you sent me. I read with very great pleasure "A Look Backward." It reminded me of the address I delivered in Atlanta on the 50th anniversary of Negro Emancipation. I regretted afterwards that I did not publish it; as I was urged to do at the time. The subject was "Negro Education, a Review and Forecast." You can see how one subject might be suggestive of the other. In the latter part of my subject I could speak with more freedom and prophesy as to the future. Just here you might be embarrassed. However, the look backward, as I read it, couldn't fail to awaken in them the question, Where shall we

find another Francis J. Grimké to lead these people and conserve the interests of this church?

As to the other pamphlet,—well, it is a classic on the subject it treats. The speaker went beyond himself in the denouncing of hypocrisy. I should like to have one or two copies of that pamphlet, if you have them to spare.

Yours truly,
W. H. Crogman.

John Hurst to Francis J. Grimké

Jacksonville, Florida, February 12, 1924.

My dear Mr. Grimké:

It was only today that I had the pleasure of reading your address delivered at the Convocation held by the School of Theology, Howard University, sent to me by my son, and I wish to express to you my appreciation for the address and to give my entire approval of the sentiments it contains. The Negro Race is indebted to you for this lofty and courageous utterance. I regret to learn of the use our enemies have made of it to strike at Howard University, but so far as I am concerned if free expression on the part of thoughtful colored people must be suppressed in order to obtain Governmental aid for their education, let go the aid and provide for our education in some other way.

I trust that you will have the address published in pamphlet form and I shall stand responsible for five hundred copies.¹

With all that is truly fraternal,

Sincerely yours,
John Hurst.

Joseph T. Kelly to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., July 8, 1924.

Dear Brother Grimké:

I did not see your very kind and gracious letter written to the Com. of our Church on the occasion of my Fiftieth Anniversary, until within a week. All the letters were turned over by the Com. to the Stenographer to be bound together for Mrs. Kelly and myself as a Souvenir.

¹ Both Bishop Hurst and Dr. Grimké were at that time trustees of Howard University.

I regret very much that this has caused a delay in my writing to thank you for your very kind and brotherly expressions. However unworthy I may feel of these and other words of appreciation that have come to me, they are exceedingly great to my heart. What you have said about me in your letter is what I would have preferred above all else and I am thankful to you for having said them. I have always esteemed you highly and reciprocate with all my heart the brotherly feelings you express, and I am grateful that God has so long spared you to lead and teach the people of the Fifteenth St. Presbyterian Church. May God continue to bless and use you.

Faithfully yours,
Joseph T. Kelly.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., July 9, 1924.

Dear Doctor Grimké:

I have been wondering how you are spending your time since you were honored with the Emeritus Degree, unmindful, the meanwhile, that after a long, busy career, you had earned the privilege of following your bent, without being required to render an accounting merely to gratify the curiosity of friends.

Trust you are enjoying health, rest, and such light work as may fall to your hands, in keeping with your resolution, not to join the ranks of the "unemployed."

Maybe, you will find leisure to put into more permanent form, some of your sermons and addresses for general circulation. It could be wished the men and women of our time showed greater interest in reading the sort of literature, best calculated to inform the mind and improve the character. Too much attention is given to the trashy, sentimental sort which makes its appeal to passion and lust. But, as has been said, the bad is to be ousted by the introduction of the good. May the Lord bless you. Should you choose to add no more to the stock you have already produced, in one form and another, you would have the satisfaction of knowing you had "done your bit."

With sincere regard I remain,

Yours truly,
D. W. Hays.

Alice McCants Stewart to Francis J. Grimké

St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, U. S. A., July 26, 1924.

Dear Doctor Grimké:

It has been a long time since I received your last letter with your two excellent addresses, "A Look Backward" and "What Is the Trouble with Christianity of Today". I have been intending to write you and express my very great pleasure at receiving these two addresses. It must be a great pleasure to you in the ripeness of your life to look over forty-two years so well spent in the work of Christ and the uplift of your fellowmen. When I stop to think of how those years of yours have been spent in one place and how your unselfish and noble traits have endeared you to your people I must write well done.

I give a sigh when I think of our own life, roaming the wide world o'er and I think of how truly the saying is: "That the rolling stone never gathers any moss." Perhaps you have wondered to yourself why dear Mac moved about so much. The complaint you have in "What is the trouble with Christianity of today" will perhaps give you a glimpse of why he moved from place to place, always seeking the "Happy Valley" and finding none except that Valley which is beyond this vale of tears. The thing that you mention in your address (Christianity of today) and how Mr. Emmett Scott was treated was the curse of his life. His was a rare and highly sensitive nature and meeting with race prejudice everywhere, not only in America but in all the other places we have been to ruined his life. How different it would have been with him, and what he could have accomplished in life if there had been no race prejudice, which seems to me to have increased three-fold since my time in America 26 years ago.

I feel that I do not know the America of today and it makes me feel very sad that here I am with my children exiled from my native land. I have a homesick feeling and would like to return home. I feel that the States, bad as it is, is the only place for us.

I have not written you anything of our affairs since the death of dear Mac and the end came so sudden and unexpected that he had no time to tell me what to do and I felt that as he died and is buried here that I would try and make this our home. The climate here is very fine but the politics of the place are affecting the future of these Islands adversely. In fact I have been told by American

friends here who know something about the Government's plans that the future for the Islands is very dark. The people here have been opposing the American Government and have been agitating for a Civil Government and so the Federal Government is preparing to show them what a Civil Government means without any money to back it. Then the people of these Islands do not like Americans, particularly colored Americans. They are afraid that America might want to people the Islands with colored Americans and they do not want this, so they are not friendly to any colored Americans as they do not want them to feel that it would be a nice place to live in. There has been an exodus of people from this Island during the past two years. They cannot get work and so they leave to try their luck in other fields. The port was the life of the place and prohibition and other causes have killed the business of the port and of the Island in general. My daughters are both Government employees. One is a teacher and the other is working in the office of the Director of Education. Government employees, teachers etc. are not paid high salaries here and we find our money insufficient to live on even in our modest way. We must keep in mind "The rainy day." I feel that we would better ourselves by a move to the States. I feel that I might be able to help out if necessary if I were in the States as I am not too old or decrepit yet. There is nothing for one here outside of school teaching, and so I have decided to come to the States with my daughters next year, God willing.

My youngest daughter is now in Brooklyn and is staying with an old friend of ours, Mrs. M. S. Dorsey, the widow of the late professor Charles A. Dorsey. I am sure you know them. My daughter is qualified in commercial designing and drawing and there is absolutely no field for that work here so she is hoping to get something along that line over there.

I feel that with your interest in us that you would like to know of our plans. I often read your card which I keep in front on my dresser, namely, to try and keep sweet and to do some good each day of one's life. It has been very helpful to me during these dark days of my life. The longer the time the keener I feel my great loss, but I am trying to keep bright and things together for the girls' sake. They are dear and good girls and are very considerate of me, God bless them.

Now I trust that you and yours have been quite well all this

long time I have not heard from you and I hope that by this time you have your aid in the new Curate for your church and have been able to take a much needed rest from your arduous labors. We also trust that Mr. Archibald and Miss Angelina are enjoying the blessings of health.

I hope that I may be able to see you some day and to hear you preach as well as to have a long talk with you about my dear husband and our wanderings in foreign lands.

With very best wishes and kindest regards to the entire family in which my daughters join, I remain,

Sincerely,
Alice McCants Stewart.

Montgomery Gregory to J. Stanley Durkee

Washington, D. C., August 14, 1924.

My dear Dr. Durkee:

I hereby resign my position as Professor of Dramatic Art and Public Speaking on the Faculty of Howard University, to take effect immediately. This action is determined by my having been called to a position of educational administration which involves a broader field of service and a very considerable increase of salary.

You will understand undoubtedly that it is with extreme reluctance that I have arrived at this decision. My family traditions, my fourteen years of continuous service on the Howard Faculty, the work of the Howard Players, and the many personal friendships and associations of years—would all conspire to rivet indissolubly my life to Howard University. But the financial strain of trying to properly rear a family of four growing children on my present compensation, plus the added burden of having to teach night school and summer school, to say nothing of resorting to outside work, has grown more difficult and embarrassing. Now when I am offered practically twice the amount of my Howard salary, with provision for regular increases, and with guarantee of disability and longevity pensions, I cannot in justice to myself and to my family longer make the sacrifice.

Of course it is to the dramatic work that I look with chief regret. The work in that department which has received recognition throughout the country, was necessarily largely a personal development. I surrender my connection with it most reluctantly. I

shall not cease however to champion the cause of the Negro Theatre as a national proposition, and I shall be happy to assist in any way the further local conduct of the work here at Howard.

I wish to express my appreciation of the assistance and cooperation which I have received from the President and the Administration during my tenure of office at Howard University. Howard will always hold an abiding place in my affections and I stand ready at any time to do anything in my power for her continued advancement and prosperity.

Wishing you the continuation of a restful and a pleasant vacation, I remain

Sincerely yours,
Montgomery Gregory.

Montgomery Gregory to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., August 25th, 1924.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I am enclosing a copy of my letter of resignation from Howard University for your information as a member of the Board of Trustees, the original having been sent to the President of the University.

I need not emphasize to you who will understand my feelings so well the great regret and sorrow I am experiencing in thus leaving the institution that is so dear to those of us who truly understand her noble origin and her many years of progress in spite of the adversities of fortune. I had hoped to be able to devote my entire life in her service. However, the facts stated in my letter will, I feel sure, make clear to you that I really had no alternative.

I wish to express to you my sincerest appreciation of your spirit of interest and helpfulness both as a member of the Board and as a Friend. I shall ever in the future, as in the past, cherish with warmest appreciation and affection thoughts of yourself, of the Beautiful Life that has passed on, of Mr. Archibald, and of Miss Nana. I shall be in Atlantic City and I hope that this may be the cause of your renewing your former habit of spending a part of the summer in New Jersey with our family!

With most cordial good wishes for you all,

I remain,
Sincerely yours,
Montgomery Gregory.

John Brittan Clark to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., March 25, 1925.

Dear Brother Grimké:

Thank you so much for your excellent sermon received and read with much pleasure, and what is far more, great profit. I feel that slogan "pleasing God" will fasten on my own life and more than ever mould and inspire it. I agree with you in the sad neglect in government of the many vital principles. I do not know just how much the President can personally do, but if only the spirit in Congress and the Senate could be changed. In regard to your own race—I always hate to so speak; we are in God's sight not races but a family—I wonder if the Government has not been guilty of no progressive remedial help, just leaving it alone. As far as I am concerned, the oncoming generations must be dealt with in some more progressive and definite way than hitherto. I wish I could help.

Cordially and gratefully,
John Brittan Clark.

George William Cook to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., April 4, 1925.

My dear Friend:

I have read with interest and profit your "Message to the Race". I think that it is good for all those people and classes of people that you suggested the reading of the Bible would be beneficial. I trust that this is not your swan song. I regret very much that your activities are coming to a close in Washington, for as I can view fifty years of active experience more or less public in the city, I can think of no one who has been more useful. Some years ago I addressed you in presenting a purse of gold when you left for Florida. I have that address somewhere, and I remember that all that I said could be summed up in the following phrase: Mr. Grimké, you are a useful man. That is the highest laconic estimate I can make. I have enjoyed your friendship and have always appreciated the differences, not many, that I have had with you. But one thing will be stamped in my mind if I should be spared longer than you in this world; that two Presbyterian ministers have

influenced and seasoned my life. With both I had intimate personal contact. They are the Reverend Henry H. Garnet and Reverend Frank J. Grimké.

May God bless you and give you a long life,

Sincerely yours,

Geo. Wm. Cook.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., April 15, 1925.

Dear Doctor Grimké:

Your sermon: *A Message to the Race*, has been read with deep interest, and I am persuaded its circulation will do good. The standard set up is urgently needed by us at this time when our ranks need to be cleared of weaklings, whether in Church or State.

With the view of giving wider publicity to the subject, the sermon will be read before our Preachers' Meeting next week, when it is our hope the Message will be driven home to many of our brethren who need its light and inspiration.

With kind regards to you and yours I remain

Yours faithfully,

D. W. Hays.

Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman to Francis J. Grimké

April 23, 1925.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Thank you for sending me the copy of your sermon, "A Message to the Race." It came this morning, and I have been looking it over. It is a message to all races, Why didn't you call it that? Oh, I understand, of course, why, in the peculiar circumstances, you thought best to deliver it straight to one group. But its truths, if true for that group, are applicable to others among our common social body.

I am not quite sure to which of two friends I shall send it. One is a white woman who needs enlightenment as to the best development of character and purpose inside your particular group. The other is a young Southern Colored teacher, who lived with me for some months last year as my attendant. I am very fond of her. She has every right aspiration and intention. She is endeavoring

to get for herself a wider intellectual appreciation of everything in the world. But she hasn't yet quite got sufficiently educated beyond the immediate needs of her position as a teacher in not a very high grade—nor in general history and literature of the world. We can't I think, seldom solve any special race or national problem unless it be of the simplest character, with much certainty, unless we know how it resembles or how it differs from the many other puzzles and problems that have presented themselves for solution in other ages and other situations than our own.

Will you please give my love to your brother and to Angelina. I hope that I shall see more of them this summer than I did last. Will you not also come North? I should be very glad to see you again,—and such a pleasure is not likely to be mine, unless you traverse the distance between Washington and Boston. I have very pleasant memories of my visit to your home with John Wyman, when Lottie and your mother were both within its walls.

Cordially yours,
Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman.¹

Francis J. Grimké to the Board of Trustees of Howard University
Washington, D. C., June 2, 1925.

Gentlemen :

I have been a trustee of this University for more than forty years; I have served it longer in this capacity than any man who has ever been connected with it; I have served during six administrations beginning with Dr. W. W. Patton's. I have not been of any very great service to the University, though in an humble way I have tried to serve it. I have attended regularly and promptly all of its meetings, and have served on some of its important committees. I am now nearing my 75th year, and feel therefore, that I ought to make place for a younger man who will be able to render more effective service to the University. These years have been very enjoyable years to me, not only because of my interest in the University, but also because of the pleasant association which I have had with the members that I have known during all these years—those who are dead and those who are still living. My interest in the university will never grow less, but will go on increasing, as the outlook for it grows brighter, and brighter. Great things have come to it, already and still greater things are

¹A Quaker woman of abolition antecedents.

in store for it, I believe. The hope for a Greater Howard will surely be realized in the not distant future. With these preliminary remarks, I wish now to ask that I be not reelected to a place on the Board. I am making this request not from an unwillingness still to serve the University, though I am not as strong as I used to be, but because I feel that it is due to the University that a younger man should take my place.

Francis J. Grimké,
June 2, 1925.

D. O. W. Holmes to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., June 16, 1925.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

It is with almost tearful regret that I realize that you have resigned from active membership on the Board of Trustees of Howard University and that you are closing up your active career in the Christian ministry after nearly fifty years of service. Fifty years to the church and forty years to Howard University of such faithful, conscientious and active service as you have given is a record of which you must justly be proud and which is worthy of the emulation of any man. Dean Kelly Miller has given a brief appraisal of your life and public service through the public press and has done so with such fidelity and at the same time with such deftness of touch as to leave nothing for me to say of a general nature except "Amen".

There is something more, however, that I wish personally to say to you and I am thankful that I have not put off saying it too long. It is that whatever good your words may have done and whatever truths your precepts may have formulated, yet I believe that your biggest contribution is to be found in your own life as a constant example for the young men who during the developing period of their lives were fortunate enough to be within the range of your influence. In my own case I want to acknowledge a deep indebtedness for the inspiration which you have given me. Many years ago when I was a student in the University, I, as a representative of Howard University, met with you as a representative of Lincoln University to arrange for the first Lincoln-Howard debate in Baltimore. You probably do not remember the occasion but it made a deep impression upon me which I have never forgotten. Ever since

that time, I have thought of you in the words of Dean Miller as "A man of God in an age of gold." My own father in the Methodist Episcopal Church bore the same kind of reputation and had the same kind of influence as you have in this community. It was very natural, therefore, that I should be attracted by you and influenced by your personality. It is unfortunately true that not infrequently the clergy fail to show strongest where they should. There are many pastors and still more preachers but not so many "men of God" in the sense in which you exemplify it.

It is my belief that in the way which I have indicated above you have influenced the lives of hundreds of young men without knowing it. When we have had the temptations to be imperious we have thought of your modesty; to be blatant, of your reserve; to be abusive, of your charity; to be cowardly, of your courage; to be mean, of your nobility. And thinking of these things we have become better men as we have known you day by day and year by year. Is not immortality after all the undying impression which you make upon youth and which they in turn pass down the line to posterity? If so, yours is a glorious immortality and for my share in keeping the torch alive I heartily thank you.

Sincerely yours,

D. O. W. Holmes.

Francis J. Grimké to Dr. McCulloch

Washington, D. C., Feb. 11, 1926.

Dear Dr. McCulloch:

Your letter, telling me of THE HOME BETTERMENT LEAGUE which is to take the place of the Southern Cooperative League, has been received. I gladly transfer my membership to the new organization, and inclose my check for three dollars the annual dues. The work that the new organization is giving itself exclusively to, the betterment of the home, is, by far, it seems to me, the greatest work that could engage its attention. If we can get the homes all right; if we can educate the fathers and mothers so as to make them feel the greatness of their responsibility as parents, and set themselves, conscientiously to work, to make themselves what they ought to be, and so be prepared to train their children aright, the future is secured. If the homes of the land are right; if the children who are being trained in them are grounded in the

principles of the Christian religion, in love for God and love for man; if they can be brought to accept as the guiding principle of life the sentiment expressed in Micah 6:8 "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God," the foundation will be laid for a great, permanent, and ennobling civilization. Those who are at the head of the homes must be in earnest however, must be sincere, must really believe in the principles of Christianity and be willing, fearlessly to live them out in the presence of their children, in the home as well as out of it. If the effort to make the homes what they ought to be is to be a real effort and not a mere sham, a mere pretense, a mere beating the air, a make believe attempt with no real, earnest purpose back of it, nothing will come of it. I am assuming, however, that the men and women who are back of this organization are God-fearing men and women who have counted the cost and are willing to pay the price. It is an honor to be connected with any group of men and women who fear God only, and who have set before them a great object such as this League has set before it. Its labors will not be in vain if it makes the Word of God a lamp to its feet and a light to its path.

I am,

Yours very truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

Francis J. Grimké to the Editor of
THE CAPITAL CITY PRESBYTERIAN

Washington, D. C., April 2, 1926.

Editor of *The Capital City Presbyterian*:

I noticed in your last issue an account of "The Men's Communion Service" held at the Church of the Covenant last Sunday afternoon. The address was delivered by Dr. Lewis S. Mudge, and the subject of his address, as reported, was "THE POWER OF THE CROSS." The Power of the Cross! How unfortunate, I said to myself, to have selected a subject like that to be discussed at a meeting, where the effort to get even one colored representative included among those who were to officiate at that communion service, had failed. The Cross may be powerful; but in the presence of race prejudice, how little power it seems to have; how contemptibly weak it usually appears. And yet I am fully conscious of the fact that where the Cross is accepted, really, truly, honestly ac-

cepted, it is all-powerful, nothing can stand before it, not even this darling sin of white America, race prejudice. Its failure to measure up under such circumstances is not because it is powerless, but because of the weakness and disloyalty of those who are masquerading under it. It is only where those who are enrolled under the banner of Jesus Christ, quit themselves like men, and not like cowards, that the glory and power of the Cross are revealed. I felt that I wanted to say this to the committee having that communion service in charge; and I am saying it because I feel that they need to have it said to them, and that it is what Jesus Christ would say to them if He were here. You won't like what I have said, I know, but whether you like it or not, it deals with an evil, which, as Christian men you ought to face, and deal with, not as your prejudices dictate, but as the religion which you profess and the Master whom you are serving require it to be dealt with. The fact that race prejudice cropped out in connection with a communion service, in the very presence, as it were, of the suffering and death of the Lord Jesus Christ who died to destroy all enmities, to break down all walls of segregation and to make us brethren, makes it all the more glaring and reprehensible.

Yours for a Christianity pure and undefiled,

Francis J. Grimké.

William H. Croghan to Francis J. Grimké

West Philadelphia, Pa., November 5, 1926.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Good morning and God bless you and yours, and grant you many years yet, to stand upon the tower and proclaim righteousness to the people without fear and without favor; for it is "righteousness that exalteth a nation while sin is a reproach to any people."

Meanwhile please accept my thanks for a copy of that forceful, scholarly, logical and withal timely sermon; for we are living in a very fast age, an age full of temptations and full of dangers to the youth of the land, male and female. Murder and suicide are as common among the youth in their teens as among people of advanced age. About two weeks ago two young people fifteen or 17 years old killed themselves because their parents objected to their marrying. Day before yesterday a young girl, in her teens, shot herself to death because her father reprimanded her for her senseless devotion

to the "movies". Every little while we read of persons, women more frequently than men, leaping down from ten, fifteen, twenty story buildings to put an end to themselves. A few weeks ago a mother and daughter did this very thing. The daughter might have been saved half way down. She absolutely refused. Is this the heritage of the 19th century to the twentieth? But I must stop here, for I have expatiated enough on the subject. I suppose, and my eyes are failing me. I am now taking treatment from an eye specialist. He says, however, that a cataract is growing over my right eye which he can remove very easily.

Mrs. Crogman's eyes are in a worse condition than mine. Two years ago she lost the sight of her right eye, then had a delicate operation performed on her left. Another will be performed early in January, with slight expectation of saving her sight.

Hoping you are enjoying life.

Very truly yours,
W. H. Crogman.

Bolton Smith to Francis J. Grimké

Memphis, Tenn., Nov. 16, '26.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

As I endeavored to explain to your niece, it was not my choice which prevented me from calling last Wednesday, but services which were put upon me by others—and which were really helpful and not just a pleasure of my own as a visit to your house would have been.

I was especially interested this time in reading over some passages in Judge Lindsey's book—which I have read since I last saw you—I have come to the conclusion the old morality has been far too rigid, and that some things which I have thought of as wrong and beyond forgiveness in plantation field hands may present another aspect—but the subject is too big to take up here nor is it really one for argument—rather for silent weighing in the mind wishing only to see the true road for human happiness. I hope you are reading Judge Lindsey's articles which appeared in the "Red Book" for Oct. Nov. & Dec. of this year and the series is not yet ended.

Present my regards to your brother and to Miss Grimké, and believe me

Yours sincerely,
Bolton Smith.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, Calif., Nov. 27th, 1926.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Your letter came to me some time ago. Though I am not in a physical, mental, or spiritual condition for letter writing, I shall attempt to send you some lines. I want you to have my new address. I was well located in Hollywood as far as housing went. Neither Mrs. Purvis nor myself was suited for housekeeping. While we had several helpers, the care was tiresome. I came to this hotel a week ago. So far, it seems to be desirable; it is new, we are among the first to come here. Since starting life in California I have made a number of changes. In sixteen years I have made 14 visits to California, every return visit requires the securing of a new residence.

The cities of California are made up largely of apartment houses. Moving & selecting is the order of the day. I have had a large experience by coming to this rapidly growing city. I have met many different classes of citizens, no two possess the same trend of mind. Money making is the chief thought. Being upon the retired list, relegated by the piling up of years, I have an abundance of time for retrospection. I make the most of my opportunity. California! I never dreamed of visiting it. I joked with those who advised me to make it a visit, notwithstanding I have been here 14 times. My! the changes that have taken place! How busy has death been! I am the only living member of my father's family. All of my wife's, my Ann's family, have disappeared behind the clouds. All of my older friends cease to exist; 50 years of my life were spent in Washington, how few of those I valued remain. Not one of the trustees who elected me to a professorship at Howard have an existence. I think of my dear father. A splendid man was he! he was robust in mind. As I recall his life, his battles, I realize he made mistakes; human nature is a puzzle, denunciation of moral wrong seemed to be a brave thing to do, but it was not wise, human nature's selfish, it seeks profit. Make man see that wrong is a losing game, he will change. No man will sell rum when he can see he can make double the amount by not selling, he will change.

The Southern people are all blind, it will take ages to open

their eyes, to make them realize that justice would have made them richer in all the walks of life. Their system of living made them morons. A good share of the population here are Mexicans. An uninviting looking people; they do the heavy work on the streets, they supplant the Irish, the Negro. The laying of tracks, water pipes, building sewers etc. is all done by them, they live to themselves. I have seen many Filipinos. I am well impressed by them, they are a clever class. Good looking, clean appearing. Small, look like the Japs, not in eyes, hair & color only. In the hotels and apartments they are rapidly replacing the colored men (Negroes). They are polite, mentally very bright. The Negro dislikes them. All races have their prejudices, there is no social relation between our colored folk & the Filipinos, both are opposed by business firms. There is a strong prejudice against the Japs; the Chinaman is much, very much better liked than the Jap. The two people have the same genesis, but their civilization has come from different influences. I could write on & on. I am too poorly to do so. My brain has changed, it suffers from the attrition of time, pain in some quarter is always with me. I walk badly, hardly at all. My voice is feeble, my memory not as good. I see fairly, & read considerably. I am sorry to have you tell me that you brother is not as well as of old. Tell him to be brave. Make a personal sunshine & trust not to the seeing a scintillating sparkle when over taken by the shade of night; by individual effort, life can often have its haven. As for heaven, & hell, I have experienced them both, the poverty of creation, the mal-construction of animal life breeds a hell for most forms.

I hear Mrs. Bell has passed away. She must have been a hundred. She was a good woman, her endowment was not large, but good. What has become of her daughter? A single little body of ingratitude. Dame Nature is the mother of much that is illogical & perplexing. Remember me to Archie, & Nana¹—I am tired.

Sincerely yours,
Chas. B. Purvis.

Mrs. Purvis sends her best to you all. Pardon clumsy writing.

¹ He refers here to Dr. Grimké's brother, Archibald Henry Grimké, and to this brother's daughter, Angelina.

Bolton Smith to Francis J. Grimké

Memphis, Tennessee, Dec. 28-26.

Dear Friend:

Your kindly attitude towards the world and it's problems continues to be one of the joys which come to me, whenever I think of you—Better Christmas greetings cannot go out—from you than the influence of yourself—

God bless you—

Your Friend,
Bolton Smith.

Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., December 29, 1926.

Dear Friend:

I first want to thank you for the sermon on the relation of parents & children which you gave me on my last visit & which I read with a great deal of interest & pleasure. Miss Eaton, the friend who was with me, spoke very highly of her interest in the sermon.

Instead of the usual Xmas card this year I am trying to give myself the pleasure of a Xmas letter of friendly greeting to most of my friends conveying, as far as my poor words can convey, something of the desire of my heart for their well being & happiness. It is so long that we have known each other there is no need of the spoken or written word to reveal the thots that as the poet says oft lie too deep for words. And yet we all have need once in a while of simply saying into a friendly ear the things already known & understood—it is like calling out into the darkness to know if you are there; the reassurance is what we want; we knew the fact all along.

My Xmas has been more than usually quiet as I have sent Annie, the only one of the children still with me, to spend the week with her sister Marion in the Church school at Rock Castle, Va. She will be home again Friday when we shall come in to see you & thank you for your kind remembrance at Xmas time.

We hope when you feel like taking your constitutional & find your self in our neighborhood you will not forget to drop in just for a hand shake & a how-do-you do for the sake of auld lang Syne.

Faithfully your friend,
Anna J. Cooper.

John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké

Kansas City, Mo., January 2, 1927.

My dear Mr. Grimké:

I intended that this letter should reach you on or before the New Year began, but instead it is the first letter I have dated 1927. All the week of our so-called holidays, I have planned each day to write you and thereby give a measure of satisfaction to my conscience which has pricked me so long for my failure to find the right kind of opportunity to write you, yet until now each day's plans have been thwarted. In order to catch up partially with the correspondence I owe, I routed myself out to early services this morning in order to have the balance of the forenoon for writing, the afternoon being taken up with a meeting of the N. A. A. C. P.

The year is not too old, I am sure, for me to extend to you our very best wishes for a happy and prosperous year for you, your brother and niece, a year full of the richest blessings and rewards. Of course strength and health of body and mind are among the primary blessings and these we wish you. I was very much distressed earlier in the year when in conversation with Dr. Crogman, before he left, I learned from him that Mr. Archibald has not been so well. I meant to write you at once expressing my sympathy and concern, but in the hurly-burly of life out this way one's resolution to do something "at once" is subject to all kinds of interferences. However Mr. Grimké's health has been much on my mind with time affording relief as no further ill tidings came. Indeed I hope you all are enjoying the best of health.

The years seem to travel very rapidly and their passing seems not to afford me the satisfaction of achievement I desire. Of course, I do not enjoy the boon which I am happy to think is yours now,—the leisure to do some of things planned. It must be a very gratifying boon. To carry the harness of a public school teacher from year to year is not so burdensome as exacting, especially, in a system of which we boast here, where to meet its demands is to play the part almost of the quarry-slave. To meet them properly is a man's job indeed, and nights, as well as days, must yield service. Yet there is in all of its work the clap-trap, that which satisfies one's wish to render a real service in the hope that ultimately some good will result from it. True there is prac-

tically no time for self-improvement that comes from reading broadly or communion with congenial friends, especially, if in addition to the school harness one allows himself to be drawn into the larger community service.

It was sometime before I found opportunity to read your last brochure, "The Inheritance which all Parents May and Ought to Leave to their Children" and I did find it very helpful in my status of *in loco parentis*. I am sure Mr. Cook has found it helpful in the large way in which he is called upon to serve the youth of this community. There has been much discussion both wise and otherwise of the so-called youth problem, which I am convinced is after all more really a parent problem, and if the parents out this way should try even in the least to attain the ideal you set up, there would be a great change in the attitude of the youth. I thank you very much for it. All these splendid addresses of yours I keep, and prize my treasure.

We are passing through an unusual spell of mild winter weather, remarkably unusual for this section. Only one light snow have we had and the past two weeks have been fair and exceedingly mild. I hope the old saying about a "green winter" may not be true, for I do like winters that are summerlike. Indeed If I were able to arrange it, I would never again live in a region of severe winters.

I hope you will pardon my long silence and be generous enough to believe it has not been intentional, and again I hope for all of you the richest blessings during the years to come.

Very sincerely yours,

John L. Love.

P. S. My wife joins me in appreciating the beautiful Christmas memento from you.

Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, Pa., January 13, 1927.

My dear Grimké:

I am not covered in sackcloth and ashes, I am not lying on my back squealing, but, I am working like the Devil. I have a tremendous load on me. My enemies are hoping that I will fail, my friends are looking on with pity. Being helpless they cannot see how I will succeed. But, I am going to succeed or die in the attempt.

I am very very tired, I have been thinking seriously of running down to Washington for a few hours next week, just to have a change. I may stay over night provided you give me the best bed you have in the house, for I am suffering all over with pains. But I hardly think I will stay more than two or three hours. Love from all to all.

Yours in haste,
Matthew Anderson.

Esther C. Porter to Francis J. Grimké

Phila., Mar. 1st, 1927

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Your kind words of sympathy, on account of the death of our dear mother, were received a few days ago and we, as a family, do deeply express our appreciation and thank you for them.

We can scarcely realize that mother has left us.

Although we know she was well advanced in years and that her strength was rapidly failing yet when the time came for her to pass away from us, we were not ready to give her up. It seemed so hard to become reconciled to the fact of her being gone forever.

But after taking it to the Heavenly Father in prayer, we were able to realize how wonderfully we were blessed in having her with us, such a long time.

Mother died suddenly. I went home the day before she died and had lunch with her, little thinking it would be the last time I would ever eat again with her. I spent several hours with her after which I kissed her good bye feeling assured I would see her again the next day.

About 4 o'clock the next morning she was stricken with a pain around the heart. After my sister Amelia had done all she could to relieve her, she simply laid her head on my sister's bosom and in less than ten minutes she peacefully fell asleep without a struggle.

Brother and sister join me in love and best regards to you and the rest of the family.

Thanking you again for your sympathy for our loss

I am yours
Sincerely,
Esther C. Porter.

Bolton Smith to Francis J. Grimké

Memphis, Tenn., Mch. 19-27.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

If you have not read I am sure you will wish to read the following book: "Races, Nations and Classes" by Miller, pub. by Lippincott as one of their Social Science series—I do not own a copy or I would send it to you.

My wife brought it home from the Public Library. After so much emotional talk on the subjects it is good to read something coldly scientific—The cause in which you used to believe loses nothing through such a presentation.

With warmest greetings to your brother and his daughter, believe me

Your friend,
Bolton Smith.

P. S. I am impressed with Judge Lindsey's writings and would like your opinion of his article in April *Red Book*—now out.

Bolton Smith to Francis J. Grimké

Memphis, Tenn., April 5-27.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Many thanks for your letters and for the sermons—I have enjoyed everything from your pen. I mean your typewriter—even if I don't always agree with you. I feel that divine revelation continues now as in the past—and that men put into the mouth of God many of their own views then as now—not the forms but only the profound *principles* of right seem to me to be inspired—But we cannot be expected, all of us, to look at these things alike.

I spent three days in St. Louis at the meeting of which I enclose a program. These young social workers quite won my heart and in three days my subconscious attitude toward the race—which had been for years struggling to follow my intellect—fopped over—and I hardly knew what had happened—I lived in a new world in which man seemed a more wonderful being than ever—But here I am back again—where a man for many purposes—can move only as fast as his fellows—but he can help them move by putting a judicious act or word here and there—my regards to the household.

Your friend,
Bolton Smith.

Bolton Smith to Francis J. Grimké

Memphis, Tennessee, April 22/27.

Dear Friend:

I surely agree with what you say about Mr. Darrow.¹ There are greater things than constitutional rights. There is the human soul and its growth toward God.

The enclosed editorial may not seem to show appreciation of your article which I had given the editor—but the fact is otherwise. Never have I heard the question of social relations mentioned ever in this way—I feel your article led the editor to wish to put people to considering how far their position had been justified without saying so.

Bs.

William H. Croghan to Francis J. Grimké

South Atlanta, Ga., May 9/27

Greetings!

Most hearty greetings, my fellow laborer! How kind in you to remember me every time you print an address. I suppose you think that I need something occasionally to cheer me. And I do. Many thanks for your Kindness. As soon as school closes I am going to write you a letter somewhat less than a mile long.

Semper fidelis,

W. H. C.

William H. Croghan to Francis J. Grimké

South Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 9, 1927.

Well, Dr. Grimké, here goes for that letter "somewhat less than a mile long." First, I send you my warmest, heartiest greetings, with the hope that you are well and strong and full of faith in the midst of conditions which seem to be in perpetual flux.

Of course, as you are at the center of things political, we have a right to ask, "Watchman, what of the night?" What consideration is likely to be shown to the ten or twelve millions of us who in the greatest, most cruel, most savage, most destructive war of

¹Francis J. Grimké, orthodox minister, attacked the position of agnosticism, so boldly advocated before Negro audiences by Clarence Darrow, who in certain ways had championed the cause of the Negro.

all time, bared our black bosoms and heroically faced a conquering foe in defense of the flag now floating proudly over your capitol? What are the indications that the present administration, towards whose existence the Negro contributed so loyally and effectively at the polls—what indications, I ask, are there that this administration is going to fulfill its preelection promises, by taking some advanced and effectual stand for the betterment of conditions among the Negro people in this section of “our glorious republic”? To be sure we are making allowances, but waiting impatiently, as those naturally would who for so many years have been suffering “The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune.”

But with equal propriety now you might ask me what of the night down there in Dixie. Many of our people are inclined to think it is all night, dark and dreary. Nor do they think so without reason. Lynching, murders, injustice, oppression, peonage continue. The hideous Ku Klux Klan is operating in different parts of the South. It has recently established its million dollar home and headquarters in Atlanta, on *Peachtree Street*. One thing, however, ought to be set down to their credit, namely, the keen sense of propriety exhibited in the selection of Atlanta for their headquarters, Atlanta, capital of Georgia, banner lynching state of the South!

On the contrary, there is an unmistakable spirit of race amity manifesting itself more and more on the part of the best and most representative white men, men who evidently have drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard. A few of them are to be found in every large city of the South. Some of the most stalwart and aggressive are to be found here in Atlanta. I give the names of the four most prominent and outspoken. First, Dr. C. B. Wilmer, rector of a large Episcopalian church, a man who but a few years ago came near to being elected bishop. He has always stood in the very fore front in defense of black humanity. At the time of the riot he stood out most conspicuously in our behalf. He is a member of the board of trustees of Atlanta University, and has spoken before northern audiences in company with Pres. Ware in an endeavor to raise funds for the maintenance of that struggling but most worthy school.

Second, Dr. M. Ashby Jones, pastor of one of the largest and most influential Baptist churches, a forceful and elegant writer and very eloquent speaker. I send you a clipping from the Sunday

Constitution for which he used to furnish an article regularly. Some time return the clipping, as I might need it for reference. Perhaps you might need it for the same purpose. If so, copy it on your typewriter. The only typewriter I have is my own dear, little black hands, which are not so little either; for the Lord, knowing that a little fatherless and motherless boy would have a long and hard struggle before him, gave him a pair of big hands to grapple with the difficulties of life. To the credit of these hands, too, I may say that they were never concealed in kid gloves but once, and only for twenty or twenty-five minutes, after which they disappeared, and their disappearance has remained up to date as profound a mystery as the disposal of Orontos.

There is one more word I ought to have added with reference to Dr. M. Ashby Jones. He, too, is a member of Atlanta University board of trustees.

The other two men still to be named are Dr. Plato Durham and Mr. W. Woods White. Dr. Durham is a professor in Emory University, the famous million dollar institution, founded here in Atlanta by Mr. Asa G. Candler, monarch of the coca cola world. Dr. Durham is outspoken and defiant in his advocacy of right and justice, basing his faith on the religion of Jesus Christ to solve all human problems. Dr. Durham is no stranger to Clark University. He has preached very acceptably for us.

Mr. W. Woods White is like yourself, a sturdy old Presbyterian, a business man, very practical, in his Christianity, very benevolent. He has always taken an active part in all matters affecting the welfare of the Negro. On the day of the trial of Williams, of the "murder farm", the morning *Constitution* gave a list of the prominent friends of the Negro who went to Newton county, place of the trial, to aid by their presence the administration of justice and the enforcement of the law. Among those mentioned he stood out very prominently and conspicuously. On the 5th of May, when my birthday was celebrated, he was present and made a very good speech to the school. There is one other man, an Atlantan, whom I have never met, but who is very actively engaged in service for the colored people, mainly through the Y. M. C. A. He, together with those already mentioned, went to Jacksonville, while President Harding was there, before his inauguration, and laid before him racial conditions here in the South. At least, such was the common talk here in the city. Nay

more, I believe that it was by the moral support of these men and their followers in Atlanta and over the state that Governor Dorsey was strengthened in head and in heart to publish that pamphlet discovering to the world the hideous treatment of the Negro here in the South. This I do know that but a very short time before the publication of that pamphlet Governor Dorsey invited to luncheon with him, at the Piedmont Hotel, between seventy-five and a hundred representative men of the city and the entire state. Nor did he ignore these schools. He invited the heads of them. Our president was invited.

At the luncheon with a tremulous voice and tears in his eyes, he the governor laid before that body of men the appalling condition of Negroes in Georgia.

There is one other movement that seems auspicious to me, namely, the lively interest the southern white woman is beginning to take in racial affairs. Until recently southern women of standing and culture would have regarded it an unforgivable insult to be told that they ought to meet with colored women of culture and refinement and, for their mutual benefit, talk over race relationships. They have begun to do so, and already as I read some time ago in the "Crisis", with very satisfactory results. Only yesterday I was informed that within a week a conference called by Southern white women, Presbyterians I understand, will assemble in the chapel of the Gammon Theological Seminary, to discuss with colored women the interests of the race. I spoke of this movement on the part of the southern woman as auspicious, for I long ago recognized the fact, that the Southern woman rules the South. "Bob Toombs", in one of his last fire-eating speeches at Macon, Ga., before a large Sunday school convention, declared that he still cherished hopes for the Southern confederacy; for he had never found a "reconstructed Southern woman." But *Tempora mutantur et nos in illis mutamur*.

Now I did not intend writing this sort of letter at all, but drifting off from my original intent was lured on by the usual fascination of the race question. I have, however, written you somewhat in detail as to conditions down here, leaving you to form your own judgment as to the near future.

As to myself I will write you more by and by. Perhaps I shall pass through Washington about the end of this month, making my way to the seashore for the second vacation in fifty-one years.

Most folk here skedaddle to the mountains as soon at hot weather begins, and to be sure, mountain air is exhilarating; but, for many years now I have been wishing to spend at least two months by the shore of that dear old sea on whose broad bosom I so frequently glided in my youth and early manhood. There is something about the ocean, whether in storm or calm, that never fails to awaken in the reflective mind feelings, more or less, of awe and wonder and adoration. At present, however, I am anxious to breathe in some of its salt air saturated with oxygen and ozone, so as to put a little more vigor in me.

Under another cover I send you some more items with reference to the last 5th of May, when I had reached the youthful period of sweet 16 x 5. In the "writeup" of that occasion you will notice some words crossed out. Dean Adams *did not* compare me with Wendell Phillips. He said that a New England man told him that I *reminded* him of Wendell Phillips. Comparisons, they say are odious, and a comparison of me with Wendell Phillips would be ridiculous.

And now with every good wish for you and Yours,
Semper fidelis,
W. H. Crogman.

P. S. Wrote you a card about the middle of last December, asking you to send me statement of my dues to the Negro Academy. You forgot to answer. Please do so now.

W. H. C.

P. S. No. 2. Forgot to tell you of my good luck. Carnegie folks, thinking me a good, faithful boy, have pensioned me a thousand dollars a year for the rest of my life. Now say amen! Like a good Presbyterian-Methodist.

W. H. C.

William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké

South Atlanta, Ga., 10/24/27.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I hope you are well, you and all of yours. Many thanks for your surpassing kindness to me while in the city of Washington. It, of course, goes without saying that as long as I am in Atlanta or anywhere else on the face of the earth the latch string will hang

on the outside for any of the Grimké tribe. Would the tribe were more numerous. I ordered sent you today from the Methodist Publishing House in Cincinnati a book which you and your brother will doubtless read with interest, as it deals with the eternal race question. The author was my immediate predecessor in the presidential chair of Clark University. I think, on the whole, he was the best of Clark University's long line of presidents. It is but fair to say that, while with us, he never showed the white feather on any race issue. As to the K. K. K.'s, the most scathing denunciation of it appeared in a recent issue of our *Zion's Herald*.

Au revoir,
W. H. C.

William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké

Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 28, 1927.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I received your letter of October fifth and, as usual, was made happy at the sight of the envelope.

O, what a blessing it was to me when you threw away your hieroglyphics and decided to use a modern invention to convey your thoughts to me.

I thank you very much for this, your last letter as it sets forth so clearly my life and work in the South, but especially in Atlanta.

On leaving Atlanta for Philadelphia in nineteen twenty three, I was astounded on my departure to discover that I had lived in Atlanta exactly fifty years and, in that time, connected with two or I might say three of its leading institutions for our race.

First, Atlanta University where I studied and from which I graduated in eighteen hundred and seventy six.

Next, Clark University where I spent seven years as President and thirty-eight years as teacher.

I was a member of the Board of Trustees, having been made a member when the charter was taken out and that, too, without my knowledge or consent.

In those forty five years, I never lost forty five days out of the class room. Verily, the roots of my life must have shot down very deep in those grounds. You can form some idea of the minds

I had the exquisite pleasure of reaching and teaching during this time.

My whole family of eight children were born reared and educated there. I often think, with pleasure, of the visits you paid me while there.

I think the last one was when you, together with Dr. Tunnell and Dr. Bowen visited, what is now, Spelman College and, from there, paid a visit to Morris Brown College from which place we started back to Clark University but, on the way, the carriage broke down from having such an overload of dignity.

Dr. Tunnell declared it broke down on the side on which Dr. Bowen was sitting. Don't you think he would be tickled to hear that?

Now, the third school I refer to is Gammon Theological Seminary of which I was also made a charter member of the Board of Trustees without my knowledge or consent.

Of course, these relations I sustain are pretty well known to you as your last letter would show to anyone.

I taught, for a short time, a class in New Testament Greek.

This last letter of yours following our last meeting and conversation in Philadelphia has impressed me more than any other letter or conversation we've had together; perhaps because of the near end of life approaching to all of us.

Of course, as I am ten years your senior, you will have that much time yet to preach and to fight and may God strengthen you for it all.

Just now, I may say, I am almost helpless for my eyes are in such a condition that prevents me from reading or writing and, of course you can readily imagine what that means to me.

I am realizing, somewhat, the thought of Cicero—*Vita sine litteris mors est*.

I hope that, physically, you're well and that your brother continues to improve.

Please give my warmest regards and my best wishes to him and your daughter.¹

Sincerely yours,
W. H. Crogman.

¹ Dr. Crogman meant to say *his* daughter, for Dr. Grimké had no daughter except a child that died in infancy.

Emmett J. Scott to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., November 1, 1927.

Dear Doctor Grimké:

Mrs. Scott and I appreciate more than I can possibly tell you the comforting expressions contained in your letter which followed closely upon the passing of our beloved daughter.¹

We, too, like yourself, had hoped all along for her recovery, but the Father in Heaven has called her, and we bow submissively to His will. I am frank to say that, sorely stricken as we are, it is so difficult for us to "understand". We try and try, but find ourselves more and more bewildered. It is comforting to know that we have the assurance of Jesus Christ, as you express it, that "death is not the end."

Young Delany has suffered as we have suffered, but we are all finding comfort in the cheer of good friends and in the contemplation of the beautiful life which has passed on.

Mrs. Scott asks me to tell you that she will not soon forget that beautiful letter you have written us, and that it brought her good cheer in the midst of her sorrow and anguish. It certainly helped me!

Sincerely yours,
Emmett J. Scott.

Matthew Anderson to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, Pa., November 9, 1927.

Dear Grimké:

Your letter received yesterday was read with great interest by us all. I am very glad that you have improved. Be very careful in going up and down stairs, be careful in crossing the street; do not allow yourself to become the least excited. I have had touches of vertigo—I remember one time crossing 12th Street, I think it was on Chestnut—all at once I became perfectly bewildered, and called to a gentleman to help me across the street; if a car had been coming then, I am sure I would likely have been killed. So be careful.

I received a card from Nana—she says her Father while better, is quite unwell. So we three are getting nearer and nearer the

¹Reference here is to the passing of Clariissa Scott who was the wife of Hubert Relany. She was a much beloved young woman.

shore—no question about it. I know it's coming, but I am not going to worry the least about it. I am going to try to crowd into my life all the good I can to advance the condition of our people. I know you are doing the same.

I want you to read the clippings enclosed, and express your opinion on the same.

All send love to you and yours.

Sincerely yours,
Matthew Anderson.

One of my experiences

In my experience as pastor and educator in the city of Philadelphia for nearly forty years, I have frequently been astounded by the deep-seated prejudice exhibited towards the Negro on the part of many intelligent men and women high up in the Christian Church.

In the summer of 19— at the request of a number of friends I went to Coatesville, Penna., to call upon Mr. Charles L. Huston, president of the Luke's Iron Works. Mr. Huston is a reputed philanthropist, interested in many charities, an elder in the Presbyterian Church and the Chairman of the Permanent Committee of Evangelism of the General Assembly. In addition to this Mr. Huston employs a great many Negroes in his firm and is regarded as a friend of the race.

When I reached his residence, I saw a gentleman in his shirt-sleeves walking around in his yard examining the flowers. I took it for granted that it was Mr. Huston. I went up to him and I said "I presume this is Mr. Huston"; he replied in the affirmative. I then said "I am Mr. Anderson, pastor of the Berean Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia and principal of the Berean Manual Training and Industrial School. Would you kindly give me a short interview?" He made no reply but motioned me towards the house. As he was about to enter the house and it was a very hot day and there were chairs on the veranda, I said, "Mr. Huston, could I not see you here on the porch?" He at once had me seated and took a seat beside me. I then went on to tell him about my educational work, why it was started, the success it had attained, its character, and needs. "I have come to see, Mr. Huston, whether you would not be willing to make a contribution to the school." Looking me

squarely in the face, he said, "I must tell you frankly that I am losing my interest in your race. Most of the leaders of your people are very assertive, they want to be the social equal of white people. You have come here, and look how you have introduced yourself to me. You said, 'I am, Mr. Anderson.' Now what do you mean by that? You mean simply that you are my social equal and I don't care to have anything to do with a colored man that uses any such assertiveness."

For the moment I was shocked and thoroughly indignant, felt like using all the invectives I could command. But another thought was also suggested, looking him straight in the face, I said, "Mr. Huston, may I ask you how would you have me introduce myself?" For a moment he was speechless, then scratching his head he said, "Why introduce yourself as Anderson." I said "Why, Mr. Huston, that suits me, as I don't think there is any name superior to Anderson, I am certainly proud of my name and hereafter Mr. Huston, when I come to this city to see you and gentlemen of this community, I will always introduce myself as Anderson."

I saw that I had unhorsed him as he at once began to tell me about his works. The number of hands he employed, the number of colored men he had in his employ, his great interest in temperance, his refusal to employ any one who drinks, and the improvement in his men since he took this stand. His family relation, his marrying a southern woman, a native of Atlanta, who as a girl was very much interested in charities, especially the hospitals of her own city, and it was because of this fact he became interested in her and as a result he became her husband. On their return to Atlanta with their first child the little one took diphtheria while there which was fatal. In the course of a few years their second increase and visit to Atlanta, the second child took diphtheria while there and came near dying, of his wife's great interest in the poor about Coatesville, all of which he told me unsolicited. Before leaving the thought occurred to me I might succeed in making this brother a real friend of the Berean School and turning to him I said, "Mr. Huston, you will pardon, what I am about to say, but I want to say to you, sir, that you have a great mission to fill in my race. You may not know it. I feel satisfied that you have a big heart. I believe that God wants you to help to lift up the race that has been so long oppressed, and I want you to do it. I want you to agree to take the place on the Board of a man who has been one of the best friends of my

work, namely, Mr. John H. Converse." "O, do you know I have been asked to take Mr. Converse's place on the Evangelistic Commission?" said he, "I do not have the money which Mr. Converse had, however, and I am so overwhelmed with work that I could not give it the time." I said, "Don't give an answer now, but think the matter over and pray over it." I must confess that even while I was saying this and believed all that I was saying, I could not rid myself that he ought to have been severely rebuked for the insult that he gave me. Before leaving I left him some printed matter concerning the school also one or two addresses, one on the servant question. It was the last of the week when I called. On Monday I received two letters, one from Mrs. Huston, in which she expressed her high appreciation of my lecture on the servant question, thinking it was most practical and that I was a man of hard sound sense, and she wanted to know more about the Berean School, in which letter she enclosed her check for ten dollars, saying at the same time that I would hear also from Mr. Huston. The other letter was from Mr. Huston, himself, in which he said that he hoped that I would accept his check for one hundred dollars for my most excellent work and he was sorry that he could not send more at that time. He addressed me as the "Reverend Matthew Anderson, D.D., Principal of the Berean Manual Training and Industrial School."¹

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 14, 1927.

Dear Doctor Grimké:—

My attention has just been called to the recurrence of your Birthday. Though somewhat belated, I embrace the opportunity to add my hearty congratulation to the many you have received from friendly sources. I wish you many returns, bringing health and good cheer.

I thought of you when reading Psalms, 92:12, 13, 14, especially the last verse.

God bless you.

Yours very truly,
Daniel W. Hays.

¹ Dr. Grimké was interested in this case for the reason that it justified his often disputed accusation that race prejudice had become deep seated in the Church itself—so much so that there was little room for the practice of the principles taught by Jesus of Nazareth.

Carter G. Woodson to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., November 18, 1927.

My dear Sir:

I have your letter of November 11. I thank you so much for your frank statement. Of course, I do not agree with you; but I always enjoy what you have to say because I believe in your honesty and sincerity of purpose.¹

I seriously doubt that we should underestimate the services of a public man because he was intemperate. Many Biblical characters, most princes, and a number of the presidents of the United States fall within this group. History must be studied sympathetically. These men whom you condemn were like most of their noted contemporaries of whom we speak with admiration and reverence. If we adhere to such a standard as yours there would be little history to record.

Far be it from me to condemn a distinguished man because he comes to want. It may be that I am not qualified to pass judgment in this case because of my own indigent condition. I was born of poverty-stricken parentage. I later became a coal miner. I once earned my living by driving a garbage wagon in Huntington, West Virginia. Because of giving my life to an unprofitable service I have never accumulated anything. I must, therefore, die in the poorhouse and be buried in the potter's field. Yet I do not feel that I am responsible for these untoward circumstances. The poor can die good, and the good can die poor.

Reading your letter, I cannot refrain from thinking that you would not have addressed me such a communication if you had known that the selection of the pictures to be reproduced was largely the work of a committee influenced by the law of supply and demand, that the pictures advertised were only those available at the time the circular was sent out, that numbers of other pictures have been produced since then, and that others will be brought out as soon as the photographs can be obtained.

You are not the only one offering such criticism. The other day I received a letter from a man censuring me for not producing

¹ Dr. Grimké had written Woodson a letter in which he questioned the publication for school use the pictures of certain Negroes whose careers were not altogether creditable while neglecting to reproduce the pictures of other Negroes whose lives were exemplary.

the picture of a distinguished churchman who has ignored all of our requests for his photograph. It is impossible to produce pictures from nothing. We need the photographs themselves.

Respectfully yours,

C. G. Woodson.

Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman to Francis J. Grimké

April 25, 1928.

My dear Mr. Grimké,

I am inclosing a list of questions, and ask you to look them over, and see if you can learn how to answer any of them. Of course, I don't want vague suppositions, but if you ever come across any reasonably certain knowledge that any one has, as to the facts of the life on the Arlington estate, or any of the other Custis properties, and can impart it to me; with permission to repeat privately or in publication; if I think best, I wish you would let me know. There may be some persons still living who, although very old, still do actually remember about some of these things. There must be others who, though not remembering, still have been told about them, and whose reports would be trustworthy.

But I have to say that I want all inquiry to be made as privately as possible. I have reason to believe that if it became known that I was searching for facts that implicate Lee it would, quite possibly, if not probably, come to the ears of certain persons—and they would then, suspecting that there was something to be learned, damaging to Lee, take means to nullify or suppress the evidence. Or make some sort of use of their knowledge that would thwart my efforts to get at the truth. Now I don't really know what was his character as a slaveholder or controller of the Custis slaves, as he was from 1857 to 1863. I don't know whether he was better or worse than the average slaveholder, or was one of the average owners. But I don't want any one just now to get the idea that I am trying to find out. Do you understand? Can you help me?

Love to you all.

Yours,

Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman.

April 25, 1928.

Did any of the Custis slaves in Lee's time know how to read?
If so had they been freely allowed to learn?

Speak of special slaves.

How well or ill were they housed?

One family to a cabin or more?

Were there general quarters or dormitories, for unmarried men or women or children?

What was the care of children whose mothers were working every day in the fields?

What were the hours of work?

How did they eat during working hours?

How far from the fields did the houses average to be?

Did the overseers or drivers habitually carry whips?

Was there anything like a marriage ceremony?

Was there regular religious service on Sunday?

Were the slaves encouraged or forced or uninfluenced about going to church?

Did they have to ask permission to join a church or be baptized or take communion?

Estimate of the number of slaves at Arlington or on any of the other Custis estates?

Was their appearance such as to indicate a large or small infusion of white blood?

In Lee's time, or after 1850, were the Custis slaves mainly descended from slaves long in the possession of the Park and Custis families?

Had there probably been at some former period much of either buying or selling of the Custis slaves?

After about 1840 had there been any selling of slaves from the Custis estates, evidently or probably done mainly for profit, as when a crop of tobacco or cotton was sold?

Was infant mortality great on the Arlington estate?

Who named the children,—parents, overseers or masters?¹

¹ The inquirer probably had an answer to most of these questions, but she wanted to put slavery on trial.

William H. Croghan to Francis J. Grimké

So. Atlanta, Ga., Feb. 10—1930.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Your last letter reached me in good time and as usual came with the words to cheer a friend. I have had a delightful time in spite of blindness and other troubles but I always expect your letters to be the same as they have always been, full of cheer, encouragement and exhortation to look forward and then, knowing all that you write me comes from the heart of a sincere friend. You have had your troubles of sickness and that of your brother and it was very fortunate for him that he had you in his sickness to look after him. Is there still no hope for improvement in his case? How is his daughter? Be sure to give him my best wishes and the same to his daughter.

Last night I had a very troublesome night with cold in my head and unpleasant dreams and among them was that I was in the city of Washington and was escaping from a part that was infested with robbers and that an immense wagon came near running over me in the street just as I turned a corner. This made me hurry up and write you this morning as it isn't often that I go in my dreams up to Washington and experience such things as I experienced last night.

This has been a very severe winter down here and has confined me to the house very much and deprived me of the refreshing air and sunshine and the pleasant walks that one might have which are better than medicine. I am glad to see that your President in Washington is keeping things lively. You are near by and can judge better but it seems to me that Mr. Hoover is the first president that has taken hold of the governmental affairs of this country in a natural and sensible way. He didn't depend altogether upon members of Congress and the Senate but outside of what he could get out of them he got out of the best citizens just as a man would in a small business of his own he would call in and consult his friends. I notice in some important matter that came up in his mind he invited a certain number of men he doubtless knew and among them was one of our bishops, Bishop McDowell and he was the fourth man on the list whom he invited. I had my views fixed upon Hoover in the midst of the war when he was sent abroad and I prophesied at that time he would be the next presi-

dent of the United States. His movement with reference to the conciliation of the great powers of the world showed that he wanted if possible to put an end to the wars without the slaughter of millions of men. He simply invited Mr. McDonald, prime minister of England to come over and talk the matter over with him and I admired this simple way. Now, what do you think about this step of his as far as it has gone? How does it look to you? I hope it may be a success; at any rate it has reason on its side. Give us your views on the situation.

Do you ever see anybody up in your city who knows me? If so I will appoint you to represent me to him.

I must stop right here and tell you what I think in my next letter.

Sincerely yours,
W. H. Crogman.

P. S. I am waiting to see how Mr. Hoover is going to settle matters out in Haiti.

W. H. C.
(Written by daughter Ada)

Solomon C. Fuller to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Mass., Feb. 26, 1930.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

The very sad news of the passing of my friend of many years, your brother, reached me early this morning. Though his last years had much of suffering for him and his friends who looked on helplessly, his memory for me and many others will always be pleasant. I came to know him when I was a young man. He was a great inspiration to me and I loved him from the beginning. He has gone on where all of us must follow. For me, however, he will always live.

I do hope you and Nana will keep up under this very trying ordeal. Mrs. Fuller joins me in our affectionate regards for the both of you.

Sincerely yours,
Solomon C. Fuller.¹

¹Solomon C. Fuller, was a Negro physician of Boston where he became an instructor in the Medical School of Boston University. His wife, Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, achieved fame in sculpture.

Wallace Radcliffe to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., Feb. 27, 1930.

My dear Brother Grimké:

I have only now learned of the death of your honored brother and wish to express immediately my tenderest sympathy for you and my share in the high appreciation of his ability and life work. If it were not that I am and have been for a week under special care and orders of my physician I would certainly be present at the funeral services of today. I met him several times very pleasantly, and know otherwise of his honored place and influence. He had very positive views and ably defended and proclaimed them, so that his work will follow him. I notice he was related to the Baptist Communion and can well believe that he has entered into rest and reward and the best enduring fellowship of the eternities, and where he will have explanations and interpretations of so much in this world's experiences that were bewildering and hard and repulsive. I am sure in your own darkness and sorrow your faith is distinct and true and you are unmoved from our glorious hope that is ours through Him who is Resurrection and Life. The comfort comes back to you which you have so often given to others. "Let not your heart be troubled". May our Elder Brother be still more made conscious to your heart and home.

You and I have our eyes definitely towards the west, and though the shadows are many and dark the clouds in the sky are golden and suggestive.

Loving sympathy and prayers for you and all the bereaved household.

Sincerely,
Wallace Radcliffe.

William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké

So. Atlanta, Ga., Feb. 28-1930.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

The news of your brother's death reached us in due season. Of course we were not so struck by it because of his having been crippled so long and so badly crippled. It was of course well for him that he had such a brother to take care of him together with the presence of his own daughter.

I have often thought of you during the months and years you have been carrying this strain. What you need now I suppose is chiefly rest after this long strain and I hope you will get that. I wish I were nearer you so that we could be more of a comfort to each other.

My daughter Ada who is writing this short letter to you made this remark, "It is a pity that he couldn't come down here."

The Lord help you and all connected with you in this strain that you are now passing through. Mrs. Crogman and the rest of the family here join me in sympathy to you and yours.

Yours as ever,

W. H. Crogman.

(Per Ada)

P. S. Dr. Grimké I sympathize with you so much in the loss of your brother. I have been here visiting papa and mamma for three weeks and have one more week before returning to Kansas City. I am planning to have mamma and papa come to Kansas City in September and visit me, and we all would be more than happy at the time they are there to have you come down and just spend a restful time with us.

Sincerely,

Ada C. Franklin.

William H. Crogman to M. Ashby Jones

Rev. and Dear Sir,

You will please forgive me for trespassing upon your evidently valuable time; but for quite a while I have been promising myself the pleasure of writing to you and thanking you for the brave words you have spoken so often in behalf of the Negro people, of whom I am one. We owe much to you, very much, and realizing that fact, we are, I assure you, very grateful.

I have in one of the drawers of my desk an envelope stuffed with clippings from the *Atlanta Sunday Constitution*. On the back of it is written Texts and Pretexts. How often while reading these I have involuntarily found myself exclaiming, "Why can't we have a few men of this type in the United States Congress, or even in the United States Senate—men of vision, men of conviction, men of courage!"

Of all your articles in the *Constitution* none have touched and thrilled me more than the one on the "Black Mammies' Children".¹ That ought to be the last word that need be spoken on that very interesting subject. The closing sentences, that magnificent appeal to the better South for a fair chance for the Negro, had in them a strange mingling of the tragic and pathetic. May you be blessed with health and strength for continued service to mankind.

Respectfully yours,
W. H. C.

Thomas and Ann Müller to Francis J. and Angelina Grimké

Charleston, S. C., March 4, 1930.

Rev. Francis J. Grimké and Miss Angelina Grimké,

Dear Friends:

Death brings with it sorrow and heavy bereavement whether we are expecting it or not. Your telegram was received by us and when we were by it informed that our dear friend Archie was gone a heavy sadness came over us and for days thereafter have been sick physically, but time is a great healer of sorrow, disappointment or sickness. Your brother was your closest companion almost through life. I know that the ties of love are strong and in the loss of that brother and life long companion, Anna and I sympathize with you.

Miss Grimké has lost her father, her nearest and dearest object on earth. We know that her sorrow is great, we cannot relieve the sting of death but we do say to her, look up and place her reliance upon Jesus Christ for he has promised to be our comforter at all times. Anna and I would have joined you and seen Archie's face for the last time, but neither of us was physically able to come. Never-the-less, we were with you in spirit, and we are ready to serve either of you two or both of you at any time or any way possible.

Your old friends,
Anna and Tom.

¹ At this time distinguished whites of slaveholding antecedents had become reminiscent of the heroism of their "Black Mammies" who raised them. John Sharp Williams, in taking his leave of the United States Senate, proposed that

John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké

March 4, 1930.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I have just received a copy of the *Evening Star*, sent by Mrs. Cooper, chronicling the death of your brother. While I have realized how very sick Mr. Archibald was, I had hoped, he would recover and spend a few more years with us.

Please accept my sincere and heartfelt sympathy.

Sincerely yours,
John L. Love.

Charles B. Purvis to Francis J. Grimké

Los Angeles, Calif., March 4th, 1930.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Yours came to hand this morning. I am pleased to know that Mrs. Talbert is "O. K." That the grave of Mrs. Douglass should be neglected by Mr. D's family is an outrage and shows how little those who are feasting upon the labors and savings of Mr. Douglass appreciate his splendid qualities. Long ago I characterized his issue as freaks of nature, vampires who fatten upon the achievements of a noble character. It was splendid in you to visit the grave of Mrs. D. She was an unusual woman. She not only had brain but a moral nature worthy of the highest praise. In view of the sentiment and spirit of the American people, she displayed a bravery such as few possess.

I am sorry you have a bladder and a kidney weakness. "Grow old gracefully" I wish to, but the functional changes of organs will often inhibit the wish and desire.

Take the drops I have ordered for a week and let me know how you are. The tea you can take for some time.

I leave for Boston April 20th. I shall be 4 days on the road. I know I shall be very tired by the time I reach the journey's end—

Yours very truly,
C. B. Purvis.

Congress appropriate a fund to build a monument to the "Black Mammies." Dr. Grimké and other leaders suggested that such gentlemen do something to relieve the sorely tried children of the "Black Mammies."

John Hurst to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, March 6, 1930.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I have been confined to my room since Christmas and, in a sense, shut in from the outside world, except when the physician called. I was shocked this morning when I read in the *New York Age* of the passing away of the Honorable Archibald Grimké, your brother. I feel his going away, in a sense, as a personal loss, for he was a man that I admired deeply. His many virtues imprinted themselves upon me in a way that I have never been able to deny myself of their influence. I made many efforts to emulate them.

To me he was the model American citizen; a true defender of his race and of the principles of democracy.

It was my custom to come over to see him and you at the close of the year, but I returned from South Carolina last December a broken man in health.

My wife and I join in the renewal of our interest in the Grimké family and with profound sympathy to you and Miss Grimké in the loss of such a worthy brother and devoted father.

Sincerely yours,
John Hurst.

Joseph P. Loud to Francis J. Grimké

Boston, Mass., March 9, 1930.

My dear Mr. Grimké:

Please accept my very great sympathy for you and your niece, in your sorrow and loss by death of your brother.

I had the pleasure of seeing him all too little, but look back to the days when we both were active in the work of the N. A. A. C. P., when I admired him for his open and proper stand.

With deep regrets and sincere regards

Very sincerely yours,
Joseph P. Loud.¹

¹ Joseph P. Loud was one of the few New Englanders to keep up interest in the welfare of the Negro long after others failed the race.

Irvin W. Underhill to Francis J. Grimké

Foullassi, Sangemelima, Cameroun, West Africa, July 24, 1930.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Mrs. Underhill and I often speak of you and remember you continually in our prayers. We would write more often but you can imagine how it is when there is so much to do in a land where it is a bit difficult to get up energy. I have been kept rather busy writing articles in my spare time for some of the church and secular papers.

The carbon copy letter that is enclosed is a form letter that I am sending out to quite a number of my friends who are interested in the work. I thought that you would be interested in the bit of news that it contains. I make the request that I have made to all others to whom I am sending a copy, that is, that you will not allow any of the facts in the letter to be published. One of our missionaries, a dear old Scotch Fundamentalist had to return home because of some utterances that he made against the Catholics. When the case has finally been settled and is of record it will then be quite all right to publish the facts. Until that time I fear that it would not be expedient to do so. I have informed the Board about the case and received a very sympathetic letter from them.

Mrs. Underhill and I are both very happy in our work and are enjoying the best of health at present although for over a month I was suffering from malaria. Conditions out here are very hard on the health of our missionaries. There are at least seven out here who should be going home because of their physical condition. Since we have been appointed nine have had to return home before their furlough was due and two dear souls made the supreme sacrifice. The missionaries out here are most wonderful. The head of our Mission is a pastor from Mississippi. He and his wife are more than kind to us. They often dine at our little bark house when in Foullassi and we always stay with them when we are at their Station.

Do you get the little mission magazine, *The Drum Call*, that we send you each quarter? It is one of our ways of keeping our friends informed about our Mission.

We hear of the wonderful things that our good friends at the 15th Street Church have under way for us and we are certainly

grateful. Quite a number of the congregation have written to us even though they did not know us personally. Such letters do us lots of good and bring great cheer to our hearts. One of the events to which I look forward with great joy is that of going to Washington on my furlough and meeting the dear people of your Church and seeing you once again.

Remember us kindly to all and in your prayers,

Sincerely,

Irvin.

Irvin W. Underhill to Francis J. Grimké

July 24, 1930.

The Rev. Francis Grimké,
1415 Corcoran St., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Mrs. Underhill and I are at present at Kribi assisting in the office of the Treasurer. We came here for the month of July as the Treasurer has been sick and the volume of work is very large. As I have been trained in Finance at the University of Pennsylvania the Mission sent me to help out. Although I like it here very much, for Kribi is situated by the sea, nevertheless I shall be very happy when we can return to the firing line back in the bush country.

I don't know whether I have told you of the experience that Mrs. Underhill and I had with the Catholics last March. I was advised at the time to keep the matter quiet as they were afraid that too much publicity might affect the case. While Mrs. Underhill and I were at Nkumajap, a large native village where we have a large church, a Catholic priest came one morning and severely assaulted two of our evangelists and slapped the faces of quite a number of our Christians. The natives who were afraid to retaliate, inasmuch as it is a very grave offense for a native to hit a white man even when a white man attacks him, seized the priest's horse. The priest sent a man who came with him for help. The man went and called some Catholic natives who came armed with axes and spears. When they arrived they saw the priest beating our church secretary with a rope. Thinking that this action on the part of the priest gave them liberty to enter in to the affray one

of the Catholics hit Menyengo, the secretary, on the head with an axe and another man was about to hit him with an axe also when one of our native pastors seized the axe. Mrs. Underhill and I finally succeeded in getting our people into the church to quiet them, when the priest returned with about three hundred natives armed with spears, knives, cutlasses, axes and staves. They were accompanied by another Jesuit priest and a Brother. When our people heard that the priests were coming leading a host of armed natives they ran out of the church and began seizing weapons with which to defend themselves. Mrs. Underhill and I saw that something had to be done or much blood would be shed so I instructed Sue and our native pastor to try to hold our people back while I went down to endeavor to hold back the Catholic natives. I did not speak to their white leaders but went to the head of their mob and pleaded with them to return to their homes. Most of them were very decent and more than kind to me. After quite a time we succeeded in getting the Catholics to depart but not until quite a number of our people had been injured and a pile of Bibles seized from the hands of women on the way to Church and torn. Fortunately we were able to collect quite a number of these books together with the priest's axes and the rope that he used to beat Menyengo. We turned them over to the Government when we reported the case to them. The case has been held up for several months awaiting the outcome of Menyengo's condition. He has been wavering between life and death ever since the affair and is stark mad from the effects of the blow. The physician of the Government has not turned in a statement of his condition as he does not want to say anything that would harm the "father". The Tribunal of Justice, however, has become impatient and has called the case for August 6th. Mrs. Underhill and I have received peremptory summons to go to Douala to give testimony against the defendants who are 4 in number; the first priest to start trouble, a Jesuit, who is charged with violence and assault and battery, the brother or Jesuit Frère who has those two charges against him and the additional charge of a threat that he made to Mrs. Underhill unless certain conditions were met, and the two natives who wielded the axes. The Administrator who brought us the summons told me to keep an accurate record of all our expenses to Douala as the Catholics if convicted would have to pay all of the expenses of the trial.

I don't know how the trial will turn out but I can see but one outcome even though the French Officials who will try the case will most likely be Catholics. The actions of the priest and his followers were too flagrant to permit them to go unnoticed or unpunished. I am happy that no charges could be brought against our people and that all of the defendants are Catholics. Many of our people were ready to fight when Menyengo was so foully struck down, because he was greatly loved by all who knew him. They come and tell us how happy they are because Mrs. Underhill and I would not permit them to retaliate. It has also had a great effect upon the Catholic natives as they see that their "Sin Absolvers" stand in need of the saving grace of the very Lord that they claim to represent.

We know that the prayers of our friends back home must have been following us even though they were unaware of our predicament for all the odds were against us receiving justice. The priest thought that he could come into our church grounds and cause all the trouble that he pleased and that the Government would back him up especially inasmuch as Mrs. Underhill and I were colored, but like most children of Satan he reckoned without the Lord. We know now that the dear Lord is reigning even out here in the dark Camerouns. He promised me once as He promised Moses, "Certainly I will be with you", and He has kept His promise.

Continue to remember us in your prayers—also the work.

Sincerely and cordially,

Irvin W. Underhill, Jr.

D. Butler Pratt to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., December 3, 1930.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I thank you for sending to us a number of copies of the folder entitled "The Church Faces the College Generation." These were promptly distributed to our students as you requested. We were all very much delighted that you could be with us at the Convocation, and it seemed like old times to hear from you again.

Your presentation in the folder is beyond controversy correct. I am confident that those who read it will find themselves in hearty agreement. The only question which some might raise would concern the methods of presenting the old, old story to the youth of

to-day. The message must be essentially the same since the fundamental needs of human nature are the same. It was very thoughtful and generous in you to remember us again in this way.

My warm personal regards go with this note. Your friend and co-worker.

D. Butler Pratt,
Dean.

W. L. Wright to Francis J. Grimké

Lincoln University, Chester County, Pennsylvania,
December 4, 1930.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I thank you for remembering me with the your recent publication. I fully agree with you and I hope the church will come forward with a clear positive message and an honest determined effort to apply its message practically to the questions that are pressing on us. If it does I am sure it will not fail to rally to it the young people coming on, who to me are in so many ways so interesting and hopeful.

I returned lately from a journey through the educational institutions to the south of us with an inter-racial party. The schools and colleges are making remarkable development and many things seem to me hopeful to one who believes that education of both races will do much to bring on a better day.

With kind regards,
Sincerely yours,
W. L. Wright.

John G. Jackson to Francis J. Grimké

New York, N. Y., Dec. 6, 1930.

Sir:

I read your article in the current number of the *Afro-American* with interest. You seem to regard the religious ideas of the students of the Howard University School of Religion as foolish. From your article, the term "foolishness" might be more appropriately applied to your own opinions on the subject.

Why is it necessary to find God? Is He hiding somewhere? The Bible says that God is everywhere. Is it necessary to look for a God who is everywhere?

You say that it is the mission of the Church "to preach the gospel of the grace of God as it is revealed in Jesus Christ." It pains me to disagree with you on this point, but the mission of the Church has nothing to do with Jesus Christ. The Christian Church was conceived by Paul and established by Constantine. The Christian Church has used the name of Jesus for advertising purposes, but has never tried to live up to his teachings. Christ was not a Christian; Paul was the first Christian. Names by themselves mean nothing. A rose by any other name would not change in either form or color.

What do you mean by the phrase, "without God and without hope"? Do you mean to say that a kind and loving God would permit even the meanest of his children to depart this mundane sphere absolutely "without hope"? If God would do this, what would the Devil do under similar circumstances? Sir, your brand of theology is far too barbarous for this enlightened age. You would not desert your own children and leave them "without hope in the world", would you? Is it possible that your God is less merciful than you are?

What do you mean by the phrase, "without God and without hope"? Are you positive that you are acquainted with God's ways? Learned Doctor, this generation demands evidence, even in the domain of religion. We of the younger generation will not be scared into silence, either by threats of Hell or hopes of Paradise. To the God of the average Negro preacher, the thoughtful colored youth can pray only one prayer, the prayer of England's mightiest intellect:

"O Lord, you know that I do not believe in you as you are described in the Bible and believed in by the church. You know that I do not believe in the Bible as the word of God. If it be true, as affirmed, that you created the universe, it follows that you have created all that is in it. You have created evil as well as good, the devil as well as the angels, hell as well as heaven. If you have made men at all, you have made them as they are. If they are good it is because you have made them so, if they are wicked, it is equally your work. If you are omnipotent and universal, as you are said to be, there can be no evil thing or wicked deed that is not the result of characters and conditions which you have created. If there is a hell and men are to be burned, it is because you have wished it to be so. All things are possible with you; had you wished to

make men good and happy, you would have done so. It has pleased you to make them evil and wretched. You are not then good, nor do you love your creatures. It is evident their sufferings give you pleasure or you would make them happy. Could I believe in you, I could not worship you except through fear, the meanest of emotions, but the only one you seem desirous to excite. We cannot love you for the good you have done, for it serves only to render us more miserable by contrast with the evil you have forced us to endure. And so, O Lord, if the Bible be truly your word, and you are as the Old Testament describes you, I can only hate you and be thankful that I do not believe. And now O Lord, if I am wrong it is because you have made me so for you can make me believe and do what you please. Created by you, I am a mere creature in your hands and am responsible for nothing. I have not the power to choose between good and evil, as I am told I should do, for I can judge of right and wrong only through the use of a brain created by you in the full knowledge of the conclusions it would lead me to; with you and not with me lies the responsibility. I can only be thankful that I am not cowardly enough to fear nor weak enough to worship so horrible a creature as the God of the church. Amen."

Answer the interrogations of the New Negro if you can, O parson! Give him logic, not rhetoric. If you cannot answer his arguments, please do not resort to calling him names or attacking his character. The man who invented the multiplication table may have been a horsethief, but that has nothing to do with the validity of his mathematical deductions.

I write this letter in a spirit of brotherly love and good will. It is my hope that you will receive it in that fashion.¹

Sincerely,

John G. Jackson,

Member of the House of Bishops,
The Liberal Church, Inc.

¹ This letter came from one of the few persons who tried to answer Dr. Grimké. Communications of this type, however, rarely reached him. Most intelligent persons who did not agree with Dr. Grimké so highly respected him for his honesty and sincerity that they did not question him. If they could not approve what he said they, as a rule, remained silent.

R. D. Harlan to Francis J. Grimké

Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C.,
December 11, 1930.

My dear Mr. Grimké:—

I am gathering the materials for a biography of my father, the late John Marshall Harlan; and I am very anxious to get one or two copies of a pamphlet containing the "Proceedings of the Civil Rights Mass Meeting" that was held in Lincoln Hall, October 22, 1883, in which the speeches of Frederick Douglass and Robert Ingersoll were given in full.

I am in hopes that you may be able to find one or two copies of that pamphlet for me.

If you have any other materials, I would greatly appreciate it if you would give me the opportunity of looking over them.

Yours faithfully,
Richard D. Harlan.

Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., December 17, 1930.

With warmest Christmas Greetings.

To the best of old and true friends

Doctor Frank Grimké:

Your letter and Christmas tokens came like a benediction last night, for I was growing more and more anxious about you and had no means of tracing out your whereabouts. Not a word or a telephone call or a line since Archie's death and I knew that Nana had left you. But I am glad you decided as you did and that you are now comfortably located among friends so that your physical wants are safely provided for and you are not worried with the cares of a house.

I wrote Du Bois some time ago telling him that I was engaged in writing a life of Lottie and asking if he thot the *Crisis* would like the series for publication. I enclose his reply which speaks for itself.

I have the book by Du Bois on the Philadelphia Negro but have not been able as yet to trace the other books mentioned by him among the two or three "collections" which he says "were variously disposed of," Wish I knew where.

Now Doctor Grimké, this basic that keeps asserting itself in connection with this "Life". It is that a perfectly pure and beautiful and mutually helpful friendship may exist and has existed between white and colored persons without a suspicion of amalgamation or a thot of intermarriage.

Without sermonizing or lecturing the simple story of such a life and its congenial contacts proves my point. Now I want you to help me with as many of those contacts as you can remember or jot down from time to time. If you have or know of any book, biographical or otherwise, giving any side of any of these known friends of hers, not necessarily mentioning anything in connection with Lottie, I shall be glad to get it. For instance I remember that when she went South to teach, a small pistol was sent her by mail from some friend in Boston for self protection in case she should be attacked. Who were some of her antislavery connections at that time in Boston who might interest themselves in sending her such a gift?

Now just one point more and this may seem selfish or avaricious. You have never given me the smallest keep sake of Lottie's altho you have been most generous in other respect. There was a little red shawl that had been Mrs. Douglass' and had a history that interested me greatly. I don't know if you still have any of her things at the old home on Corcoran St. but I am frank to say that no one living in my judgment has a better claim than I or would be touched by a deeper reverence and inspiration from the associated ideas.

Annie sends love and thanks you for the gift of three dollars—but we had a conference regarding it last night and agreed to put it in bank to draw interest with her other little account to help pay her college expenses. She is now second year at Dunbar and I hope to have her go further in school, thro college if possible. We shall get to see you before Christmas comes and goes.

And now Good bye, dear Friend, which means you know, Good or God be by you and keep you truly in the hollow of His Hand, free from worry and free from want. I don't know if I told you that I retired from public school teaching last June but am still busy in the night school for adults as President of Frelinghuysen University at 217 Eye St. N. W.

As ever truly your friend,
Anna J. Cooper.

William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké

Kansas City, Mo., Jan. 7, 1931.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I haven't had a letter from you in quite a while but received a copy of the splendid address and also a beautiful Xmas card for which we thank you very much. I suppose the condition of things in your city consumes quite a bit of your time and thought but in the midst of all this don't forget that there is one out here in the middle West who has you in his thoughts continually.

No doubt you have had a good deal of cold weather and snow in your section of the country. We have been blessed with beautiful weather out here and have had very few cold days. Take good care of yourself and watch closely your health.

Occasionally I come across some one from there who knows you and they all express great respect and admiration for you and of course I am pleased to hear this. We had quite a pleasant visit of four days from Arthur Turner who was formerly in charge of the Miner Normal School in your city and now is serving as professor in the Teacher's College of St. Louis. In his early days at Clark University I had him in some of my classes and I have been made glad that he was successful in Washington and Baltimore also as a teacher. He always stood very high in the estimate of those who employed him and on the other hand you stand very high in his estimation. Mr. Turner graduated from one of our best and strongest classes and the young lady who is now writing this letter for me was a member of that class and she is my daughter Ada.

I suppose that occasionally you go over to Philadelphia, your old camping ground while your friend Dr. Anderson was living. I felt very sorry that he should die at the time he did. When you go to Philadelphia at any time you will do me a great favor by calling on my daughter Lottie and her family.

Mrs. Crogman was taken ill a week before Xmas and is still confined to her room and the Saturday after Xmas I became ill and was confined to my bed a week but at this writing I am glad to say that we are both better.

I find the colored people here to be very kind indeed and are always doing something for our comfort and I wish you were near enough to share some of this hospitality with us.

Now, may the Lord bless you and keep you for your own sake and especially for the sake of the race whom you have served so well and in whom they repose greatest confidence.

Yours as ever,
W. H. Crogman.
(By daughter Ada.)

William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké

Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 5, 1931.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Your last letter reached me in good time. I had been longing for one and hardly knew why it was I couldn't hear from you, but I know it all now. I, of course, need not tell you that you have my deep sympathy in these distressing times, and am glad that you have worthy friends to take care of you. I hope you will continue to improve and gain all of your old strength.

Of course, I need not tell you that I feel this illness of yours very keenly. Our friendship has run together in such close parallel lines that to think of you now in your present condition couldn't fail to move me and yet I know in whom you have always trusted and He is one who never fails you in the hour of distress.

As to myself you know about my condition. To live as long as I have lived to almost one hundred years of age and to have had the regular health and strength and use of my limbs in every way and now to find myself at this age in my life to be without sight and to be so dependent on others for help is, of course, not pleasant at all but I think that there are a good many others who are afflicted as I am and to be no worse off than I am is something to be thankful for. Strength gone, not a single tooth left in my head, leaves you to imagine that I too have some things that are distressing. I am now having impressions made of my gums by a former pupil of mine preparatory to having some teeth made or rather plates. The dentist is an African young man who came under my care during the Spanish American War, in fact was sent to me by his parents in Africa at that time.

Well, we will try to bear our physical infirmities as best we can with the help of the ever-living God. Now I may say to turn from a moment from these other subjects I would like to know when you write me again what you think of the political conditions of

this country at present as you are living in the midst of it. I shall be glad to have a letter from you at any time and especially on the present political conditions of this country. We are all well here now. May the Lord bless and strengthen you.

Yours as ever,
W. H. Crogman.
(Per Ada)

P. S. Dear Dr. Grimké, we have been greatly concerned over your getting hurt but trust you are improving daily. This letter may seem a little scattering but it is a little difficult to take papa's dictation now. He was so happy that your letter came as he had been wishing and longing to hear from you. Mama sends regards.

Sincerely,
Ada Crogman Franklin.

William H. Crogman to Francis J. Grimké

Kansas City, Mo., April 25, 1931.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Your letters have always been so cheering to me. I don't think that any I have received have surpassed this last one that you wrote me. I note what you say about the condition of your hand and am sorry that you are caused this suffering. You always had such strong and splendid faith in the support of an Almighty God who is well acquainted with all our joys, all our sorrows and all our sufferings. Your faith in the Almighty so often expressed in your letters has been great comfort and support to me.

I rejoice very much to know that you are so comfortably situated and so tenderly cared for by the friends of whose hospitality you have so often spoken in your letters. That is one of the greatest blessings you have now in your situation to be among those whose hospitality is evidently so sincere, making your life with them all the more pleasant. In one's sickness and weakness that sincere treatment of such friends helps one to bear pains and sufferings.

I frequently come in touch with people, friends from Washington, who have known you and it would be pleasant for you to learn as it is for me to know that your life among your fellow men has been so helpful to them as to cause them to cherish such high regard for you.

I have been somewhat longer in writing to you because it is not so easy to get letters written and then the condition of my own health has been such as to embarrass me in writing as often as I should like to. I have had no correspondence throughout all these years of our acquaintance that has always been so comforting and inspiring to me. I should so much like at this time in our life to be nearer to each other. Your friendship would be great comfort and inspiration to a man who on the 6th of this May will reach his 90th year. We can live together after all in our thoughts and you are always in my thoughts now.

There is one thing in which I have a little less advantage than you and that is that you have your eye sight and I have not.

May the Lord bless you and the friends who are taking such good care of you.

Yours as ever,

W. H. Crogman.

Per Ada.

P. S. Dr. Grimké please excuse poorly constructed and written letter as it is rather difficult to take papa's dictation now. I am having a small party for him on May 5th when he will be 90 years of age. I would be so happy to have you send him a letter on that day that could be read at the party. We all hope you are feeling better, mama sends regards.

Ada C. Franklin.

Mordecai W. Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, April 30, 1931.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I thank you deeply for your letter of April fifteenth. You have rightly diagnosed the situation here. I have been moved with great gratitude because the favorable reaction predicted in your letter is actually taking place in so strong a fashion.

I join you in the wish that Howard University may be able in some way, to overcome these periodic seasons of public pressure brought to bear upon the University through the violation of all due process on the part of individuals within. If the Committee appointed by the Board of Trustees can in some way contribute to this end, it will be of great service to our cause.

The quiet and prayerful confidence in me and in my work which your letters to me have breathed from time to time, has given me confidence and strength beyond any power of my words to convey to you. I rejoice that your benediction is upon me.

With reverent affection and gratitude, I am

Sincerely yours,
Mordecai W. Johnson,
President of Howard University.

Howard Kester to Francis J. Grimké

Beckley, West Virginia, Sept. 19, 1931.

My dear Mr. Grimké:

Your kind letter of August 17th has been forwarded to me. I hope you will pardon this belated reply but I have been "on the go" for the last three weeks, and this is my first opportunity to reply.

I appreciate your kind words more than I can tell you. I am indeed grateful for the check which you sent and I assure you that it will be used thoughtfully in forwarding our work in the South.

I was in Birmingham last Sunday and I was able to uncover further startling facts through the agency of several reporter-friends of mine. The situation has grown steadily worse and it is estimated that not less than one hundred Negroes have been killed in and around Birmingham within the last six weeks. We are hoping that no further outbreaks will occur and that some sanity will be introduced into the situation there.

May I again thank you for your good letter and check.

Very sincerely yours,
Howard Kester.

Mordecai W. Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., October 14, 1931.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

With pleasure and with gratitude I acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 12, 1931, tendering to the Board of Trustees of Howard University your collection of books, pictures and busts. I shall bring it to the attention of the Executive Committee of the

Board of Trustees of Howard University in their meeting on Friday, October 16, and shall communicate their action to you immediately thereafter. I am certain that the committee will gladly accept this valuable gift and that they will greatly appreciate the spirit which prompts you to make it.

With cordial regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,
Mordecai W. Johnson,
President of Howard University.

Mordecai W. Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., October 19, 1931

My dear Dr. Grimké:

The Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, meeting in regular monthly session on Friday, October sixteenth, voted unanimously to accept, on behalf of the University, your collection of books, pictures and busts, so graciously tendered. The Committee asked me to convey to you their warm appreciation for this gift.

I am asking Mr. Ralph J. Bunche, Professor of Political Science and Assistant to the President, to serve your convenience in the matter of transferring the books to the University from 1415 Corcoran Street. He will be calling you within a day or two.

It is our purpose to house all articles in connection with this gift in a separate room of the University until they are thoroughly catalogued as the Francis J. Grimké Collection.

With great appreciation and with cordial regards, I am

Sincerely yours,
Mordecai W. Johnson,
President of Howard University.

D. Butler Pratt to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., October 28, 1931.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

My warmest greetings and good wishes go with this letter to one who has through the years been an esteemed, personal friend and what is more an earnest supporter of the work we are trying to do at Howard.

In a few days you will receive the formal invitation to be present at the Sixtieth Anniversary celebration of the organization of the Theological Department of Howard University, to be observed in connection with our Fifteenth Annual Convocation. I wanted to do more, however, than extend the formal invitation.

Your loyalty to us through the years makes us very desirous that you be present especially at the session on Tuesday afternoon, November 17th, when we are to devote the session particularly to the history and achievements of our school. With warm personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,
D. Butler Pratt,
Dean.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore; Md., Oct. 28, 1931.

My dear Doctor Grimké:

I trust you endured the summer's heat without the loss of your accustomed bodily vigor, and that you are now in fair condition for your usual employment with voice and pen. We miss the heartening messages, formerly sent out by you in trying times like these through which we are now passing.¹ It seems the world is being shaken terribly and who knows what the end will be! Let us hope God continues to shape the course of events, and that Right is yet to triumph over Wrong. Yesterday we buried the remains of Doctor N. M. Carroll, of our Conference, age 94, had been 53 years in the active ministry. Thankful to say I am enjoying a fair portion of health. The churches are struggling hard to keep afloat. Business conditions far from satisfactory. Crime goes on undiminished. An open Sunday law is threatening Baltimore City. Best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
Daniel W. Hayes.

¹ The writer has in mind the hard struggle of the churches, those of the Negroes in particular, during the depression following the crash of 1929. Members of Negro churches suffered more than any others from unemployment.

Wilbur P. Thirkield to Francis J. Grimké

New York, December 17, 1931.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

As I gaze into your good face on the front page of the Howard University *Bulletin* it recalls years of delightful association with you and many many years of admiration of your consecrated and courageous service for Christ and humanity.

Really you are associated with a strange turning point in my career: When I came to you advocating a president of Howard, you turned upon me with the strong word "Thou art the man." It meant years of hard service, but I have been led to feel that it was in the order of Providence in opening up a new and larger day for Howard. I rejoice that you have given your library to the institution. I have high admiration for President Johnson. He is a man of noble character and exceptional gifts.

As I note the tribute paid to Dean Slowe it recalls the reward I received in having three of my own graduates made deans, namely, Dean Adams, Dean Davis and Dean Slowe.

Always with high regard and best wishes, I am

Faithfully yours,

W. P. Thirkield.

WPT:h

P. S.: You will be interested in the enclosed article. Dr. Wood of Tuskegee in commenting says: "On the whole conditions are getting better in the South while prejudice in the North appears to be on the increase. This is the reason I am fighting."

It may be you can use these resolutions to advantage. I was glad to give my protest at the meeting, speaking at Nazarene Church.

W. V. Tunnell to Francis J. Grimké

Toronto, Canada, Dec. 19, 1931.

My dear Grim:

All are hoping that the speeding year has brought you and Angelina every good and perfect gift and that you can look back at the departed days with great satisfaction and thanksgiving. Our hopes and best wishes go out to you both in the happy season into which we are about to enter and the New Year which please God will soon dawn upon a distressed and distraught earth.

The past year has brought us some sad news from Wash. in the death of several of our friends and colleagues, notably the last, Geo. W. Cook. 'Twas a great shock to us in the body, for I anticipated for him several more years, despite the fact that he was physically ripe. How glad we are that you and other ministers are still going strong, with few if any signs of weakening. Keep up the good work and go on and on and on!!

Economic conditions here are bad as they are in the States and no immediate signs of improvement. I hope they are not bad in Wash., altho I have my fears.

I am hoping the political changes in W. will not harmfully affect the great work being done at the U. and that she may escape any measures that may hamper her continued progress.

We are in a fair degree of health, altho my wife's eye sight is bad and apparently not improving with the passage of time.

We hope that the 15th St. Ch. is steadily progressing and that you can share in the joy of seeing the work of your hand and brain and heart bringing in the Kingdom.

With our best love and greetings to you both,

Yours ever,

Tun.

Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké

Charleston, S. C., January 28, 1932.

My dear Frank:

Distance is not sufficient to chill or destroy the love that exists between two faithful friends, and I am truly sorry that we are so far from each other because, nearly the end of my life, I would like to be with you that we could say to each other the things that are dearest to our hearts and the hope of a future existence.

As you know, dear boy, I have been, for the last fourteen years, trying to write the History of Reconstruction, and thereby present the Negro in his proper place in that unfortunate drama. All of my notes and histories, together with the first work done by Birdie and Anna, were destroyed by fire with my library that was worth about \$8,000. Since then I have been trying to secure and keep a competent stenographer and typist; one who has a smattering of literary English, and is a very good English scholar in other branches. I could have secured the kind of help I needed for this

work among the white women, but Anna would not permit one of them to come in my house to do the work; and then, again, I did not want them.

I have just been successful in securing a competent helper in this work. I am not able to work more than three or four hours at a time in a day! After that I am fagged. But, if the health of my new helper remains as it is today, and I do not become any more feeble than I am at present, I expect to have the book out in print by June.

The book is to be dedicated to two women—both of whom have been well known to you. I send, herewith, a copy of what I have said about each one of them. Scan said copy, and if there is anything you want added thereto, or any correction you think should be made, be frank enough, dear Frank, to give me the benefit of your desired addition or correction.

I do not know if I have told you that there is a preparation being made for my class re-union in June at dear old Lincoln. There are only two of us alive—Walter Brooks and myself. Do you think it would be possible for Frank to be there? If so, let me know and I will make this known to the faculty who is arranging the program.

The friend of your childhood, Anna, joins me in affectionate regards to you, and if Miss Grimké is near you extend to her the same greeting from us.

Your friend of life,
Thomas.

Charlotte R. Thorn to Francis J. Grimké

Calhoun, Lowndes Co., Ala., March 10, 1932.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

It was very lovely of you, not only to send us a contribution but also your note with its personal appreciation of the little that I have been able to do in the forty years I have been here. There is so much still to be done that I wonder sometimes if we couldn't have accomplished more.

It is years since I have seen you but I value the friendship of you and your brother. I used to see your brother once in awhile, especially in Boston and when there I am sometimes reminded of those pleasant calls and the interesting discussions which we almost always fell into.

This is, indeed, a very difficult year for all institutions, making us especially grateful for your timely gift. I have written Miss Shadd that I was going to try to see her sometime in Washington and, if I can do so, I will certainly try to arrange to see you at the same time. I do not make as many stopovers and special trips as I formerly did. Of course, it was impossible during my three years of illness but, to the surprise of every one, especially myself, I find myself again able to take up work. It is a delight to do so, especially at this time when all who are devoted to Calhoun want to help to tide the School over the depression which is so hard on all educational work. I have been distressed over the closing and the shortening of the terms of the public schools and the difficulties which even the largest colleges are experiencing.

With every best wish and again thanking you, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
Charlotte R. Thorn,
Principal.

✓ *Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké*

Washington, D. C., March 19, 1932.

My dear Doctor Grimké:

I am using the blessed memories of this Holy Easter Season and presuming on a long and to me very precious friendship and family tie to seek to interest you in the work I am now doing and what I expect to be the final disposition of the property I have built up through my labor and self-sacrifice. Naturally I want it in a material way to represent the ideals I have stood for and worked for and I am now planning to devote it to the education of colored people. To this end I have chosen seven trustees covenanting to carry out the terms of my last will and testament regarding the property and agreeing to serve for life,—vacancies to be filled by unanimous vote of the six survivors.

These seven Trustees are: Mrs. Joseph B. Allen of your church; Dr. Marie B. Lucas, my personal physician; Dr. S. L. Carson, Dr. Henry L. Bailey, Mrs. L. Smallwood-Pickett, Judge W. C. Hueston and myself. "The Hannah Stanley Opportunity School" is one of the group of schools for Adult Education comprised in the Frelinghuysen University and it is this school named for my mother that will under a separate charter hold the title and right

to my legacy which is leased for an unlimited period to Frelinghuysen University which pays a rental of \$760.00 annually.

So far under my arrangement the school is supported by the tuition paid by its students, half of which goes for teaching and the other half for running expenses. Now we have just the nucleus of an endowment fund only \$83.00 dollars at present which is deposited to the credit of Frelinghuysen University in the Savings Dept. of the Prudential Bank. The checking account is in the Industrial Savings, 11th and U Streets. So the Endowment Fund is not subject to check and represents every dollar given outright as a friendly donation. I have made no intensive drive for funds and do not intend to ask for money till it is clearly demonstrated that there is enough devotion to the cause of education among ourselves to sustain a work for our own working people. But I would feel proud and encouraged if you would show your confidence in the integrity of my purpose to help carry that eighty-three dollar balance over the one hundred mark for an Easter offering. I read with deep interest the list of your offering to Howard University Library—a most precious and invaluable bequest. I trust it may be worthily appreciated by coming generations.

Always your sincere friend,

Anna J. Cooper.

Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., Easter Day, 1932.

✓ My dear Friend:

I send you this beautiful lily in token of the pure and beautiful friendship that has lasted an earthly lifetime and which I have faith to believe will never die, in loving memory of Lottie whose sweet spirit I feel will always live and love the true, the beautiful, the good.

The bearer is a student in the Hannah Stanley Opportunity School. He goes to work at 3 P. M. and works eight hours; then comes to school at 11 A. M.

I want to say I cannot consent to have your gift to the School taken from your bank account as long as there is a possibility of your needing to use it. I shall, therefore, put it with my will with directions that it be drawn on only after the death of both of us.

Truly your friend and Lottie's

Anna J. Cooper.

Charles Edward Russell to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., May 21, 1932.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I am deeply moved by your kind, generous, sympathetic letter of yesterday. To feel that I have been of even the slightest use to such a cause as this, and to have the good word of one that like yourself has stood all his life steadfast for justice, fills me with an inexpressible satisfaction. I did not earn the praise that in the goodness of your heart you have given to my little effort, but I cannot but be elated that you should think I did. Surely, to speak a few words of testimony in behalf of a people so worthy, so capable, so charitable in judgment and so terribly wronged, is little enough for any man to do. I wish I could have done more.

The original intention was that I should have an entire evening to cover the whole field of race tyranny in the capital or the Republic. To that end reports were being prepared covering scientifically each important phase of the matter; for I hoped to bring the complacent, smug Nordic face to face with his own evil record and I knew we had facts from which there could be no escape. Unluckily, the original plan was changed and the subject was omitted from the program. Day before yesterday, it was reinstated to the extent of giving me part of the time yesterday afternoon, but then the reports were all unavailable and I could speak only from general knowledge, omitting much more than I used. I still hope someday to make public the astounding conditions our investigations have revealed.

I thank you for your kind suggestion that my little address be printed. I wish I could print what I had intended to say and read if I could have had a night session.

We battle surviving instincts of the jungle. In my experience nothing is so helpful in such a fight as pitiless publicity. I confess to a disappointment that we were not able to carry out the original thought in this respect, but we fight right on.

I earnestly hope your health is good. Your spirit, I know, marches on with faith and strength. We should be delighted to have you drop in upon one of our Race Committee meetings.

Let me thank you again for your most encouraging, heartening letter.

Yours very truly,
Charles Edward Russell.

John P. Green to Frances J. Grimké

Cleveland, Ohio, Aug. 16th, 1932.

My dear Sir and Friend:

You will be surprised to hear from me, I am sure, but, you know, "Wonders will never cease"; and perhaps, this is a wonder: but, although I have not heard you preach since the last Sunday in the last century, nor have I even seen or spoken to you, since, yet, strange to relate, your countenance and voice have, both, been in my mind, and your words, in my heart.

Before I, with my dear wife (now deceased) and only daughter were confirmed in Saint Luke's P. E. Church, in Washington, D. C., on the first Sunday, of the present generation—1900, it was my great pleasure and profit, I hope, to listen to your eloquent, learned and instructive sermons delivered in the XVth Street Presbyterian Church, in Washington, D. C., the good influence of which, I trust, still abides with me—to some degree, at least.

It is a source of great pleasure to me to learn that, "Dr. Grimké is still living, and in such possession of his powers as to be able to preach, about one sermon a season, to his former congregation, which continue to cherish for him the highest esteem."

I had lost your address; but by the courtesy of Mr. Montague Cobb, M.D., who has recently finished his medical course here, in the Western Reserve University, and returned to Washington in a garb of honor, I have now regained it: and, in writing this to you, I desire to impress you with the fact that, I still treasure up for you, in my mind and my heart, all the love and affections which is due to a Christian Gentleman, whose whole life has been,—and still is, an inspiration for the physical, intellectual and moral uplift of the colored class, in these United States,—to say nothing of other classes and places.

The immediate cause of the writing of this letter to you (now, in the 88th year of my age) is that, while going over some of my correspondence, of the last century, I discovered a brochure or pamphlet, entitled, *The Negro; His Rights and Wrongs. The Forces for Him and Against Him*. By Francis J. Grimké, D.D., Washington, D. C. "Right is right since God is God, and right the day must win."

By the reading of this "release," which came (like Minerva, from the brain of Jove) full fledged, from your brain, heart and

soul I have become elated and elevated in my mind and ambition, to do something "worthwhile," while I still have somewhat of a future before me.

Really, my dear friend, of whom and whom, ever since the fall of 1866, when, I think, both you and my youthful friend, Prof. James M. Gregory (since deceased) were students in Howard University I have known only to admire, love and respect; since reading those three sermons, my youth seems to have been renewed: and I dare say, when the winter comes on apace; you will hear of me again, "burning the midnight oil."

On the 17th day of August last, I was struck, forcibly in the lumbar region of my back and bruised, somewhat punctured and cut, and greatly jarred. It will have been one year, tomorrow, since the event, but I can now walk, talk and act. Thank God!! Fortunately, no bone was broken; for, had there been, I fear that, at my ripe age, it would not knit.

I am still "practicing" Law, here: and if I live to see the 20th day of September, prox.; I shall have been "at the Bar," for 63 years.

The Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, Democratic, dubbed me (on the first page (second part), "Dean of the Bar" (with about 2,400 attorneys (mostly white): also gave me an editorial notice!!!

During the thirty (30) years and seven months following our confirmation, in St. Luke's Episcopal Church, I did not miss attendance at some morning religious service, nor was I tardy (late) one minute!! During that time, I did not drive my horse or other vehicle; and in one instance, I walk'd to church, when the street cars could not operate.

During, also $\frac{3}{4}$ of these 30 years,—and seven months (until I was crippled by the "auto"), my residence was at least five (5) miles from the church!!

My dear brother and "father," please pardon errors, due to nervousness and old age (?) and believe me to be —

Sincerely yours,
John P. Green.¹

¹ John P. Green became a prominent lawyer at the Cleveland bar. He entered politics and was elected to the Ohio Legislature. He served in Washington as United States Stamp Agent. On returning to Cleveland he practiced there until he died at the age of ninety-three from an accident.

Francis J. Grimké to Walter White

Washington, D. C., October 24, 1932.

Dear Mr. White:

Before making a public protest, I am writing you as the Executive Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., in regard to a matter that has given me a great deal of pain during the last week.

In the last issue of *The Afro-American*, you may have noticed the report of a meeting of the local branch of the association here, at which Mr. Bagnall made a speech in which he gave utterance to sentiments that greatly shocked me. Among the things that he said was: "The Negro has every right in the world to support Bill Thompson¹ in Chicago, despite the fact that Thompson was corrupt, because Bill Thompson rewarded him for his support." And, by reward, clearly is meant, gave him a job, appointed him to some position by which he can earn a living. How he makes his living is a matter of no importance. Anyway, however disreputable, is all right for him to pursue, according to Mr. Bagnall.

I am writing to know whether the National Association approves of such teaching; whether it advises the Negro in politics, in pursuit of his rights, i. e., in order to get a job, to sacrifice his character, his self-respect, his sense of decency, if necessary? If not, Mr. Bagnall, as one of its secretaries, ought to be instructed to be careful what he says, lest the Association be put in a false light. Think of putting the Association in the position of encouraging the Negro to throw his influence in favor of keeping in power, or putting in power men of the stamp of Thompson of Chicago, with all the rottenness with which he is connected! With the Negro in politics, willing to sacrifice everything, and, of course, himself, also, for his better self will be sure to be lost, for a mess of pottage—for a job! How can we hope to keep the respect of decent people anywhere?

I am,

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

¹ Thompson was generally denounced as a politician who owed his election as Mayor of Chicago to corrupt practices. The Negroes of Chicago, it is said, warmly supported Thompson. There were not a few Negro leaders who endeavored to justify such action by pointing to the various high positions in Thompson's administration which Negro politicians held. To this Dr. Grimké objected. He would never sacrifice the right for filthy lucre.

Walter White to Francis J. Grimké

New York City, October 25, 1932.

My dear Mr. Grimké:

I haven't seen the account in the *Afro-American* quoting Mr. Bagnall's recent speech at Washington. I am sure that the paragraph quoted—if Mr. Bagnall is correctly quoted—would be more clearly understood as not to be in conflict with the ideals of the Association if one knew what he said just before and after the quoted sentence.

I am, therefore, asking Mr. Bagnall to answer your letter.

I am sure you know that the Association has not changed from its standards and ideals and those ideals will ever be zealously guarded.

Thank you very much for writing as frankly as you did.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White,
Secretary.

Robert W. Bagnall to Francis J. Grimké

New York, October 25, 1932.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Mr. White has referred to me your letter of October 24th. Do you not think that before you accepted a reporter's statement of what I said you should have tried to find out from me whether or not I had said it? Your long experience in public life must have made you familiar with the fact that speeches are not always accurately reported, especially when the manuscript is not available and a stenographic report is not taken.

I did not make the statement given in your letter. What I said was as follows:

"Owing to the conditions he faces in America, the Negro must think first of his group rather than the social whole. He must stand by those who stand by him, regardless of whether they are the best men for the community as a whole. If a man proves himself to be a friend to the Negro and is a candidate for office and another man who undoubtedly is a better man for the community manifests hostility to the Negro, the Negro has a perfect right to stand by his friend.

"We wish it were so that the Negro might forget all about himself or his group and think only in terms of the good of the whole community, but American prejudice makes it necessary that he look after himself.

"A case in point is that of Bill Thompson of Chicago, who undoubtedly was not the best Mayor that Chicago has had, but it was manifested that he was friend of the Negro. When it came to the question of Negroes supporting Thompson rather than someone who might have been a better Mayor but less friendly to Negroes, they were perfectly right in doing so."

I did not say anything about rewards or jobs or appointments to positions for earning a living. I must protest against your interpretation of even the inaccurately reported statement where you say in your letter: "How he makes a living is a matter of no importance; anyway, however disreputable, is all right according to Mr. Bagnall." Never in public or private utterance have I stood for any such statement, but I do maintain that the interests of his own group must be the first consideration in the mind of the Negro as long as his status is what it is now in America.

May I state that I have not seen the *Afro-American* report, as it does not appear in the edition which we received here.

With every good wish, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Robert W. Bagnall,
Director of Branches.

Francis J. Grimké to Walter White

Washington, D. C., October 27, 1932.

My dear Mr. White:

I thank you for your prompt reply to my letter. I am glad to know that the National Association is still strong in its adherence to high moral principles in all its efforts for the advancement of the race. It can never afford to pursue any other course if it hopes to retain the confidence and respect of the right thinking people of the world. It is in this spirit that it has fought all of its great battles of the past, and in which it must continue to do its fighting. Our rights must not only be earnestly contended for, but it must always be by lawful means, means that are in harmony with the dictates of an enlightened conscience—with what is right and hon-

orable. It will never do for us to take the position taken in the statement, "I am for my country, right or wrong." Or for the one so hotly repudiated by the apostle Paul in his epistle to the Romans (Romans 3:8), where we read: "As we be slanderously reported, and as some affirm that we say, Let us do evil, that good may come." It is never necessary to do evil that good may come. All we have got to do is go on pursuing the right, and in the right way, and success will come.

The question that I am raising here is an important one, and should receive serious consideration. My concern is not with what Mr. Bagnall, as an individual, may think about the matter under consideration. His views he has a right to,—it is none of my business. What I wanted particularly to find out was the attitude of the National Association on the matter. And for the obvious reason, it is the recognized and outstanding organization that represents the race in the battle for its rights. I received Mr. Bagnall's letter at the same time that I did yours, and will answer it later.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am,

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

Francis J. Grimké to Robert W. Bagnall

Washington, D. C., November, 1932.

Dear Mr. Bagnall:

I am not well, and will be able to reply only briefly to your letter. I read it over very carefully, and am sorry if I have misrepresented you in any way. I assumed that the report of your speech in *The Afro-American* was correct. Your position, as set forth in your letter, is that the Negro, "owing to conditions he faces in America, must think first of his group." Again, "The interest of his own group must be the first consideration in the mind of the Negro as long as his status is what it is now in America."

That sounds very well, but must be carefully guarded. To make the interest of an individual or a group paramount is a safe principle to follow only provided, in so doing, one follows always what is right, just, honorable. The interest of no group or individual can be held above what is right. Mr. Darrow, acting on the principle that, as a lawyer, the interest of his client is to be held paramount,

made a fool of himself and brought upon himself the contempt which he deserved when he went down to Honolulu and threw the weight of great influence in an effort to save a bunch of confessed murderers from the sentence which they justly deserved; and when he failed, after a closing appeal to the jury lasting over four hours, and his clients were found guilty and sentenced to ten years in the penitentiary, he also used his great influence again in having the sentence commuted to two hours, thus making a farce of the administration of justice in Honolulu. So you see, great care must be taken when we attempt to make the interest of any group paramount. All that we can do to further our interest should be done, but always by ways and means that are right and honorable.

I can't conceive of myself voting for a man like Thompson under any circumstances, unless it be to send him to the penitentiary as an enemy of society and as a disgrace to humanity. The Negro cannot afford as a political factor to throw his influence in favor of corruption, or of bad men and measures. One of the five great objects of the National Association is "To secure the vote for Negroes and teach its proper use." Voting for a man like Thompson and for continuing the awful corruption that prevails in Chicago cannot certainly, by any stretch of the imagination, be interpreted as a proper use of the ballot.

I hope that the time will never come—I know that it will never come if as an Association it continues true to its high ideals and lofty principles,—when it will sanction the prostitution of the Negro's vote to such base purposes.

But here I must stop. In writing to Mr. White, in my letter to him it was not with any view of calling in question your right as an individual to entertain any view you may see fit on any phase of the Negro question. It was only as to what your views were as one of the secretaries of the National Association. That Association, standing as it does as the foremost representative of our rights and interests before the public, can afford to stand only on the highest moral grounds. There it has stood in the past, and there it must continue to stand if it is to hold its place in the public esteem.

It is a great cause in which we are engaged, and we must make no misstep, must not allow ourselves to be influenced by wrong principles.

Please accept my kindest regards and best wishes. I am,

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

Robert W. Bagnall to Francis J. Grimké

New York, November 7, 1932.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I want to thank you for your letter. I think, after all, as I imagined, we are not very much in disagreement. I certainly agree with you that any general statement has to be carefully guarded, and the statement that the interest of his own group must be foremost in the mind of the Negro as long as his status is what it now is in America is a general statement. We are in agreement that no real interest of an individual or of a group is safeguarded by a dishonorable or immoral act. If such appears to be the case, examination and experience will show it to be empty appearance.

I am sorry that you are not well and trust that you will soon have recovered your health. May I state that there are many of us who have appreciated the very fine work you have done for the race during the long years of your life and who wish for you many more years of usefulness.

Sincerely yours,
Robert W. Bagnall,
Director of Branches.

Robert W. Bagnall to Francis J. Grimké

New York, November 17, 1932.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I have the clipping from the Afro-American with your comment on the speech which I made at the commencement at Hampton Institute. I am very glad to get this and I want to thank you for the exceedingly strong words of commendation of what I said in the address. You will be interested to know that there were many comments made on this address and a strong editorial in the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*.

I was born, as you know, in Norfolk in the Tidewater region, and I realize how the people in that section as well as the Negroes all over the country, need to be stirred to protest continually against segregation and injustice.

I feel highly grateful for your hearty endorsement of my utterances.

Sincerely yours,
Robert W. Bagnall.
Director of Branches.

Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., December 5, 1932.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of December 3. I rejoice to know that my article, "Hamlet and the Negro," meets with your approval for there is no one whose wisdom I respect more than I do yours. Along with your letter came one from Bishop Thirkield mentioning the reprint in *The Dunbar News* and speaking especially of the part you played in his being called to Howard as president. You see how people remember your good work and disinterested service.

Sincerely yours,
Benjamin Brawley.¹

Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., December 12, 1932.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Once more you have placed me under obligation to you by your kind word with reference to the little article "Art Is Not Enough." Just today there came to me a letter about the same article from an earnest member of the Catholic Church. More and more I am impressed that in this country of ours there are souls devoted to the Master who simply cannot approve the pagan tendencies of our civilization and are determined to strive for something better. You say "Let the good work go on." I promise you that I shall labor to the extent of my ability.

Meanwhile it must be very gratifying to you to know that everybody feels that in your long years of valiant service you have ever striven to uphold what was best in our country's life and ever held aloft the highest ideals.

I know you pray now that those whose are termed intellectuals among us may more and more have the truer light and the deeper wisdom that can come only from the Cross.

Sincerely yours,
Benjamin Brawley.

¹Benjamin Brawley was a teacher of English and while thus engaged he wrote many books on the Negro and occasionally preached. He taught at Morehouse, Shaw and Howard. He was a gentleman of a high order.

Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., December 14, 1932.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

You may be interested to know that every day since Saturday I have received letters about the article, "Art Is Not Enough," from earnest and thinking people. That fact makes me very humbly grateful. Your letter, however, received today makes me feel like falling on my knees (as I have in fact already done) and asking God to make me worthy and capable of helping at least a little in the great work that needs to be done. I want to thank you for your kind thought of me and your prayers in my behalf. Your quotation from Edwin Markham was certainly most apt.

On Friday night I am to address a group of college people in Baltimore and I shall speak along the line of this latest article. As soon as possible, within the next week or so, I hope to come in to see you again.

Sincerely yours,
Benjamin Brawley.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., December 18, 1932.

Dear Doctor Grimké:

I was pleased to find in the *Dunbar News*, your picture, with a brief biographic notice, with this gratifying statement: "Today he is alert as ever in all the currents of thought." This implies there remains an ample store of unspent vigor ever ready for use as occasion may require. It is cause for thankfulness that although retired from active work your words of counsel and encouragement are available to the younger men of the generation. I would consider it no small honor to have served fifty years of effective pastorate of one of the princely churches of the Capital City, leaving an example of spotless integrity and loyalty to the Truth, which if copied would, doubtless raise the type of our ministry throughout the country.

Your career in some of its features, at least, reminds me of some of the outstanding features in the career of Gladstone. I count it a privilege to have been honored with your acquaintance and my prayer is that you may be spared many years yet, enriching the age by your experience and ripe counsel.

I am headed toward my eighty-third milestone. Could wish the years behind had been better spent, scattered as they have been over a wide territory. The Lord has dealt very graciously with me. I close, wishing you a joyous Christmas and Happy New Year.

Yours very sincerely,

Daniel W. Hays.

Clara Burrill Bruce to Francis J. Grimké

New York City, January 17, 1933.

My very dear Dr. Grimké:

I hasten to acknowledge and to thank you with all my heart for your gracious and inspiring letter of recent date regarding my controversy with the managing editor of the *Herald Tribune*. I am very happy at the successful outcome. Letters have come to me from Tuskegee and Hampton, from the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as well as from many other individuals. But I want to assure you that the letter from you I deem most precious.

With heartfelt good wishes from Mr. Bruce and myself, as well as from all our children and our one beloved grandchild, I am as ever

Affectionately yours,

Clara Burrill Bruce.

Toyohiko Kagawa to Francis J. Grimké

Tokyo, Japan, January, 1933.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Your letter regarding the book by Dr. Axling has been received and appreciated. We are glad for spiritual fellowship with friends in other countries, in America especially.

Under another cover one of my helpers is sending copies of the magazine, *Friends of Jesus*, to which we shall be glad if you can subscribe in order to continue to receive word from our movement here. We shall be grateful for your cooperation in every way possible.

Sincerely yours,

Toyohiko Kagawa.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., March 24, 1933.

My dear Doctor Grimké:

Am pleased to acknowledge the receipt of your Quadrennial Message, which I have read with much pleasure. It is informing, inspiring and laden with weighty counsel, which I am persuaded will engage the serious consideration of members of our race group, and prove the means of developing a keener sense of obligation to strive to conserve the spiritual values for which the Institutions pointed out stand, and thereby rise steadily to a higher plane of social, moral and religious life among the nations of the earth.

I am quite sure your friends, who have from time to time, been favored with messages coming from you will sorrow on account of your declaration, that on account of the swift gliding of the years beyond foreshore, you shall not again send them another message. May God bless you, my friend, and add somewhat to your span of life, and enable you to see a good crop spring from the good seeds you have been allowed to sow through the years.

Yours very sincerely,
Daniel W. Hays.

John Hope to Francis J. Grimké

Atlanta, Ga., March 15, 1933.

My dear Mr. Grimké:

Thank you for a copy of your interesting Farewell Quadrennial Message to the Race,—“The Three Most Important Agencies in the Uplift of the Race.”

I am glad to have this, for myself personally and for the Atlanta University Library.¹

Sincerely yours,
John Hope.

¹ This short letter was characteristic of John Hope. He had little to say on most matters and never wrote much—not even long letters except when required in the routine of his administration as the head of the Morehouse College and Atlanta University. Yet he thought seriously of matters pertaining to his people and stood loyal to their cause.

Leonidas S. Coleman to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, March 17, 1933.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

The message to the Race which you sent me has been received. I thank you very much for the copy you sent. I was so well impressed with it as the message for the Race today that yesterday I presented it to Central.

After the service I had a great many requests from the congregation as to how they could obtain a personal copy of your message for a permanent record.

So at the request of my people I am asking if it is possible for us to secure seventy-five copies of this message for which we will be glad to pay.

I earnestly hope that it will be possible for us to have these copies of your message.

I sincerely trust that you and family are well. I remain,

Respectfully yours,

Leonidas S. Coleman.

Walter White to Francis J. Grimké

New York, March 27, 1933

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Students of the race question and especially those who harbor notions of racial inferiority and superiority would certainly learn something from the fact that in the same mail with your "Farewell Quadrennial Message to the Race" came a long document from Huey Long. In contrast with the scholarly presentation of your message and the broad humanitarianism and high idealism of it, Huey Long's fulminations, bad enough under ordinary circumstances, seem even more puerile when contrasted with your message.

The use, however, of the word "farewell" by yourself causes great sadness. Never before in our history have we needed men like yourself as we do now.

I shall treasure this and I am grateful to you for your thoughtfulness in sending it to me. I only wish that you had autographed it and put a personal inscription therein.

May I also tell you how very grateful we are for the fine tribute to the N. A. A. C. P. You may rest assured that there has been no change in our program nor in the spirit with which we are trying to carry on. Dean Miller misinterpreted the statement of

the *Crisis* concerning articles it proposed to publish during the year and incorrectly attributed it to a change in the Association's program and principle.

With cordial greetings and warm personal regards, I am

Ever sincerely,

Walter White,

Secretary.

J. C. Napier to Francis J. Grimké

Nashville, Tennessee, March 27th, 1933.

Dear Sir:

Your "MY FAREWELL QUADRENNIAL MESSAGE TO THE RACE" came to me this morning. Of course the very appearance of your name called to my mind the pleasant associations which I had with both you and your brother in the days when all of us were young men.

When I opened it, I thought I would read a sentence perhaps a paragraph, but as I went along each succeeding word so fastened me to all that followed that I was unable to lay aside your words of wisdom until I read every word of it. I haven't just now the time to go into full details of my admiration of all that you have said but I am writing this to say that never from the lips of man fell words more fitting and of greater wisdom than did these on this occasion. Particularly have I been interested in your advice to young people assuming the responsibilities of married life.

You have indeed described most minutely the feeling, determination, devotion and the love which actuated one couple within my knowledge who have followed the line laid down in your message, lived together happily and contentedly for now nearly fifty-four years.

I am sure that Mrs. Napier will be glad to peruse this message as have I and she, together with myself, will thank you for it.

Again thanking you for sending me this message I am,

Very truly yours,

J. C. Napier.

P. S. For several days I have been in poor health and more painful than ever before in my life.¹

J. C. N.

¹ J. C. Napier was an attorney and banker in Nashville. He participated also in politics, and under W. H. Taft was Register of the United States Treasury.

Walter H. Brooks to François J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., March 28, 1933.

Dear brother :

I write to thank you for your "Farewell Quadrennial Message To The Race." It was received many days ago, but not until now could I find time to read every word of it thoughtfully, seriously, both for my own good, and for the good of others. The message is indeed timely. It is a serious pleading with the race to conform to the highest moral standards, to be true to itself in all its endeavors, to give God his rightful place in our lives, to accept and follow the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, to be like the Christ of God in spirit and conduct, and to be uncompromising in standing for what is justly ours as American citizens. I am fully satisfied that the Lord himself has spoken through you in this message. If it is the Lord's will, may you be spared to speak to this people of ours in other quadrennials. Why should not the last be in your ninety-fifth year?

Yours truly,
Walter H. Brooks.

D. O. W. Holmes to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., 29th March, 1933.

Dear Rev. Grimké :

I want to thank you most heartily for the invitation to hear your discourse delivered at the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church on March 5th, and for the copy of this discourse which you sent me. Mrs. Holmes and I appreciate both and have read the latter with much interest. I regret that we were not able to be present at that time, our absence being due to the fact that we spent the 4th and 5th of March in New York City.

It is superfluous, of course, for me to tell you how I enjoyed reading your discourse and what great value I put upon its clearness, its simplicity, its common sense, and its great depth of understanding, suffused throughout by the high idealism and Christian knowledge which have been characteristic of you as long as I have known or heard anything about you. I sincerely hope that the words that you have delivered, not only in this particular address but throughout your pastoral career, may find rich fruitage in the

forward movements of the race and in the practice of Christianity.

I read with great emotion your statement that this will be your final message. I sincerely hope that you are wrong and that we may have you with us as an inspiration for some time to come. Whatever kind of hereafter there may be, of this I am sure; that when you do lay aside the cares of life you will certainly receive in the fullest measure whatever is in store for those who in this life have been exemplars of the good, the beautiful and the true.

Mrs. Holmes joins me in sincerest greetings and good wishes.

Very truly yours,

D. O. W. Holmes.

D. Butler Pratt to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., April 3, 1933.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

You have again placed the School of Religion in your debt by your generous contribution of copies of the sermon delivered by you on March 5th, 1933. It gives me pleasure as well as profit to read your clear cut analysis of the present needs and the suggested way of meeting critical situations. I have long recognized that you were a true prophet and that your utterances come with a depth of conviction and an appeal to intelligence and to conscience worthy of the utmost respect.

The copies which you so kindly provided have been distributed among our faculty and students and I am attempting to voice for them the gratitude we all feel. It is my hope that your "Farewell Quadrennial Message" may be supplemented by yet another, four years hence. With warm personal regards and best wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

D. Butler Pratt.

John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké

Cleveland, Ohio, April 4th, 1933.

My Dear Friend and Brother:

Very great pleasure and profit has been afforded me, by the reading of your very valuable Last (or Farewell Quadrennial) Message, which you recently, so kindly, mailed to me: and, I heartily return to you my thanks for the same.

It would be a great blessing to the youth of our distracted country, if each and every one of them could hear or read it, and, I hope a way will open, "sooner or later," for circulating printed copies of it in our educational establishments throughout this benighted land.

I recall with great pleasure, that, in 1866 I was introduced to you, by my boyhood friend, the late Prof. James M. Gregory, when I visited Washington. Since then, I have sat at your feet, and been inspired by your learning, wisdom and honesty: and I rejoice to know that you still "live and reign," so to speak: and since I have just passed my 88th year of age (1845-1933, April 2nd), and you are so able, in Your 83d Year, we may yet, meet again.

You may be surprised to learn, that, during the last month, I successfully defended the Honorable Harry C. Smith in two jury cases, for \$25,000 damages: one brought by Mr. Alex H. Martin, Atty. at Law, and the other by Mrs. Martin for the same amount:

The first trial lasted four days, and the second, three days. They were "libel" cases, but the two juries construed them differently.

Mrs. Green joins me in gratitude and all best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

John P. Green.

Georgia Douglass Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., April 17, 1933.

Dear Rev. Grimké:

Thank you so much for the sermon. I think it is remarkable and thoroughly agree with you in your diagnosis for the race. My only regret is that I was not able to hear you. Wish you would let me know when you will preach again. I would have liked to have heard you Sunday. Sorry to say, was not impressed with the sermon that I did hear. Perhaps I am prejudiced, in that I feel that you are a sincere and good man and I must be convinced of this fact before I care to hear what is said. But the Church does me good. Just the atmosphere and the signs and the devout appearance of the congregation.

I always feel ashamed when I come up the stairs and read, "What kind of a church would it be," etc.

I feel that I need to talk with someone like you every now and then. I would like to talk with you again some day if it would not worry you or put you to inconvenience. I have never forgotten how splendidly you came to my aid when I was so very depressed years ago. I am not in the valley like that now, as I have a certain peace, but I do need strength and encouragement now and then. And one must believe in the person to whom one goes for guidance. I feel that you believe, and I am like the apostle who said, "Lord, I believe; help thou my unbelief."

You spoke of this being probably your last message "quadrennial." That made me exceedingly sad. I don't like to think of Washington without you nor the church without you. I associate that church with you and I lean upon it, although you may not have the evidences of it. I would so miss you, and I do hope that I shall be able to hear you many, many times before either of us goes away.

There are many people more frail than myself who lean upon me, but I also lean, and spiritually I lean upon you!

Again with thanks for your kindness to me, and with a heart full of prayers that you may be blessed and spared for many a long year to come, I am,

Gratefully,
Georgia Douglass Johnson.

Georgia Douglass Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., April 25, 1933.

Dear Rev. Grimké:

Again let me thank you for your more than generous response to my need. Perhaps I would never have read this book if it had not come to me in this way. I am reminded of the chapter under "Life's Littles." That you thought kindly enough of me to take the trouble to send it and also take the infinite pains and the time to mark the passages that would touch me most closely makes this gift more precious to me and it therefore received my most earnest attention.

That you realize that life is hard for me while the world seems to think otherwise makes me know that you are very comprehending. I was amazed by the expression of such faith that the missionary William Waddell showed. I always feel that such trials

are too much for mortal strength to bear. I am far, far away from such utter faith. But am so glad that there are examples like these for me to look up toward.

I've been helping prisoners for some years in the various penitentiaries and have felt that such work was very futile, but when you are so magnanimous to me I feel repaid for every sacrifice of time and money in their behalf. There is one now whose parole I have signed. He is here in the city at a friend's home working, and I shall be glad to have him do anything you might wish done at your home for almost nothing, as he realizes the strenuousness of the times and will do anything I ask for anything or nothing. This is just in case you happened, at short notice, to need the assistance of anyone in this way.

I shall write a philosophy on the idea of the significance of LITTLE THINGS very soon, or as soon as I can digest the thought and make it mine as I see things from my coign.

I do hope that you will be spared to the world for many and many a year to come, for it would indeed be a much poorer and far more cheerless place without you.

Sincerely,

Georgia Douglass Johnson.

P. S.: Sometime I want to ask you about the kind of type-writer you use, as it is splendid for copying of speeches, poems, etc., for talks, as one could see them without glasses. I just put this down that I may remember. I won't tax you to remember.

Georgia Douglass Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., Friday, 1933.

Dear Rev. Grimké:

I have stopped reading my book on page 105 just to say this is the most wonderful treat in a book that I have ever had. I feel that I must say thanks again. I shall write you or see you when it is finished, but I can't wait until then to tell you how I am already helped in so many ways.

The poem by Abigail Cresson I have copied to have a friend read. One who needs consolation, I feel, but, unlike me, never says so. I cry out. I am not a good martyr.

There are so many tender, beautiful thoughts that seem to hold one's hand. I would like everyone who bears burdens to read this

book. It shall always be near me and I know that I shall be stronger, braver and very much more worthwhile because of reading it.

I saw you crossing Ninth Street Wednesday and my boy expressed himself as being very solicitous about your making it across safely. I appreciated that in him. I was glad to know that he had such a fine regard for you.

I am just hurrying this little note to you as a partial report on my progress . . .

Sincerely and gratefully,
Georgia Douglass Johnson.¹

Charles S. Freeman to Francis J. Grimké

Jersey City, N. J., April 21, 1933.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I recently received your quadrennial message to the people, and thoroughly enjoyed reading every word. I am planning to have the entire message read in the church at some service in the near future.

We are all grateful that a kind Providence has spared you these years to sow such precious seed and to have the joy of seeing some of the harvest being gathered. I am sure it will continue to bear fruit to your joy and the glory of our gracious God and Father.

I heard one recently say he was going to reach the one hundredth year on life's road or die trying; so I hope this will not be your last quadrennial address to your beloved church and the large group of your admirers throughout the nation, but through the mercy of our Heavenly Father we shall have the pleasure of hearing and reading others by you.

Hoping you have had a pleasant Easter season, and with every good wish for your continued blessings of physical and spiritual health, in which Mrs. Freeman joins me, I am,

Fraternally yours,
Charles S. Freeman.

¹ Georgia Douglass Johnson, the widow of Henry Lincoln Johnson, the noted politician in ascendancy before the first World War, developed into a highly literary woman, most seriously interested in humanity.

Nannie H. Burroughs to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., May 9, 1933.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I have just received your farewell quadrennial message to the race. I wonder why you presume to call it farewell? Do not be too sure. You do not know how long the Lord is going to let us have you to instruct and inspire us. You might change your mind about what you should do next year.

I am very pleased to read this message in which you glorify the place and power of our three greatest institutions for human betterment and human advancement. This is a challenging message. The writer has set a fine example through the years by his faithful and efficient service to these three institutions.

I have been trying to impress upon the multitude of the race the importance of making our home life rich in spiritual and moral power. Your message challenges me to cry aloud, and above all to continue the work of preparing our girls for finer and better service in their own homes. The crux of our problem is in the Negro home, and I am hoping and praying that our mothers and teachers will unite to send into the church a finer brand of young people. It is their duty.

I thank you a thousand times for the message, and above all I thank God for your beautiful life.

Sincerely yours,
Nannie H. Burroughs.¹

James E. Clarke to Francis J. Grimké

Nashville, Tennessee, May 9th, 1933.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Thanks for sending me that clipping with reference to the Scottsboro case. I am in accord with practically everything you say, but there are two or three points where I think you are mistaken and I feel sure you will accept a frank statement of my different views, remembering that I am myself a native of the North, though I have lived in the South for forty years.

1. You speak of Negroes in the South as "in the midst of un-

¹Nannie H. Burroughs was nationally known for her work in education and religion. She founded and directed in the District of Columbia a school for girls.

friendly environment." I think that is a mistake. I am persuaded that on the whole the environment is friendly but, on the other hand, there is a class of white people, mainly what we would have to call the lower class, plus some few people of more intelligence but greater prejudice, that is always inclined to put itself first and use the Negro or exploit the Negro for its own purposes. That, however, is just as true in many a Northern city concerning some other class of people. Just now also it is true in Germany with reference to the Jews. I think it a grave mistake to assume that most of the people of the South are unfriendly to the Negro. They regret as much as anyone the injustice which often happens; but they see the same kind of injustice manifested toward the less developed white people as against the Negroes.

2. You think the verdict in the Scottsboro case shows the attitude of the South as that of hatred to the Negro. I believe you are not altogether correct at this point. Of course there is such an attitude on the part of some. It was appealed to by the women who sought to escape some punishment or disgrace themselves by putting the blame upon Negroes—a very common method for a low grade of white people, male or female. But, on the other hand, what did so much to arouse prejudice, which I have no doubt was aroused in the minds of those jurors, was the indiscriminate attacks of the New York lawyer upon the South in general. People naturally rise up in defense of their own section, just as you properly felt stirred to defend your own race. I wish there were more like you in that particular; but, on the other hand, I wish there were more of us who could keep our prejudices from spoiling our loyalties.

I do not blame those Southerners in the least for loving the South; but that love should never permit any man to display prejudice toward any other group.

3. You speak of the general protest that has been made "in other sections of the country," but you have no doubt observed that Southern papers have protested just as much as papers anywhere else.

4. Finally, it is, of course, true—as it is true everywhere in connection with every effort on behalf of mistreated groups—that there is a small minority of people in the South who are earnestly and diligently seeking to have Christian principles applied in all respects in relation to the Negro. Yet my observation teaches me

that the proportion of people who are interested in the Negro in the South is just as large as those who are interested in the Italian in New York or the Japanese in California.

I am writing these words not in criticism of what you said, but merely to give the judgment of one who has lived here and watched the situation for many years, for I know you are personally fair-minded and want to do all you can to establish better relations between the races.

With best wishes, I am

Very cordially yours,
Jas. E. Clarke.

James D. Burton to Francis J. Grimké

Oakdale, Tennessee, May 9th, 1933.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Dr. James E. Clarke, editor of "*The Presbyterian Advance*," Nashville, has referred to me your letter of May 5th. Dr. Clarke is State Chairman of the Tennessee Interracial Commission, and the writer is the Executive Secretary of the Commission.

I am attaching herewith copies of two pronouncements of this Commission with regard to race relations in Tennessee. You will note that we have enlisted the cooperation of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

I think the churches must be aroused to their duty in this direction, and honor the Lord whose name they profess.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely,
James D. Burton,
Executive Secretary
Tenn. Interracial Commission.

RIGHTS OF NEGRO VOTERS ASSERTED

A meeting of the white section of the Tennessee Interracial Commission was held in Nashville, Monday, August 1, 1932. In addition to actions relating to certain specific injustices to Negroes, a paper with reference to the cultivation of interracial prejudice through political campaigns was adopted. The paper was signed by Dr. James E. Clarke, president of the Commission and Dr. Julius Mark, chairman of the executive committee. It is as follows:

The white section of the Tennessee Interracial Commission, concerned for the conservation and development of the highest type of citizenship in Tennessee and especially interested in the preservation and promotion of such interracial relations as shall work for the highest good of our colored citizens, deplore the agitation incident to the present political campaign as tending to intensify race prejudice.

In the name of that liberty guaranteed by the State Constitution, we assert that no citizen, white or black, who expects to support the nominees of any political party, should be denied the right to vote in the primary elections of that party. To deny such a right is to violate the Constitution, and any individual or group willing to violate the Constitution in one particular for selfish ends cannot be trusted to obey the Constitution in other particulars or to administer government in accord with its provisions.

In the name of clean and honest government we maintain that we cannot hope for such government at the hand of any who, by bribery or undue pressure upon the weak and ignorant, secure illegal votes for themselves or their partisans, and any who resort to such practices should be repudiated as unworthy of trust.

In the name of law and order and of that human brotherhood we seek to establish we call upon all good citizens to protest against every attempt to stir up interracial prejudice, and to demand that every citizen be accorded his full right under the law.

INTERRACIAL COMMISSION

(Minutes of the Synod of Tennessee, meeting in 115th annual session, Lebanon, Tenn., October 13th, 1932. Page 35. Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.)

A resolution in regard to the work being done by the Tennessee Interracial Commission, which was referred to the General Council, was reported and adopted as follows:

“Being the guests of a city of Christian culture, where but recently an attempt at mob law was successfully thwarted, the General Council recommends the adoption of the following resolutions:

“Resolved, That the Synod of Tennessee congratulates the citizens and officials of Lebanon on their firm stand against mob law and the prevention of a threatened lynching and commends their

example to all other communities, that law and order may everywhere prevail.

“Resolved, That the Synod reaffirms previous deliverances in encouragement of the valuable work being done by the Tennessee Interracial Commission and its local committees and earnestly recommends that such local committees be organized in at least all county seats and that our ministers and members, especially elders and members of women’s societies, become identified with such committees and give all possible support to efforts to promote better understanding and full cooperation between good citizens of the white and black races to the end that justice may prevail for all and that each may help the other in building truly Christian communities.

Respectfully submitted,

Jas. E. Clarke, Chairman.

Jas. D. Burton, Inter-State Secy.

Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

A. C. Griggs to Francis J. Grimké

Augusta, Georgia, May 11, 1933.

Dear Rev. Grimké:

It has just come to our attention that the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church under which Haines has operated for the last forty-seven years is to be discontinued as an institution in the city of Augusta to affect a merger of Haines and Boggs to be located at Keysville, Georgia under the title of Laney-Boggs Institute.

We feel that such an act is a serious indictment of Miss Laney’s work that is too well known for repetition here. This is quite a shock to the city of Augusta which will be left without one of its much needed high schools for colored children as the city does not provide one for them. Then again it does seem that we owe it to Miss Laney to perpetuate this work as a lasting monument to her exemplary life of love and service.

We feel that your influence with the National Board would greatly help in reversing their decision to discontinue the work. We are appealing to the alumni and friends all over the country to back this request 100%. We are requesting that you express

this desire to our Board as soon as possible in order that we might not have Miss Laney's condition made worse through such an announcement. Her physician says such an announcement might prove fatal. We are asking that you communicate with Dr. J. M. Gaston, 509-511 Bessemer Building, Pittsburgh, Pa., about the situation.

Yours truly,
A. C. Griggs.

Francis J. Grimké to James D. Burton

Washington, D. C., May 13, 1933.

My dear Mr. Burton:

I thank you very much for sending me the two pronouncements of the Tennessee Interracial Commission. I have read them with deep interest and appreciation. The Commission is doing a noble work, and I am glad to know that Dr. Clarke is Chairman of it. I think very highly of him for his fine Christian spirit, his sanity, and his sympathetic understanding of conditions.

With Interracial Commissions throughout the South, and the Christian Church earnestly cooperating, decided changes for the better will be sure to take place. As I said in my letter to Dr. Clark, while rejoicing in all that these Interracial Commissions are doing, the responsibility mainly, I believe, rests upon the Christian Church for bringing about better conditions. It must face its responsibility in this matter, and address itself earnestly and courageously to it. How to bring that fact home to the consciences of the pastors, officers, and members of these churches scattered in every community throughout the South, is the problem. Let us hope that the Spirit of God, in answer to prayer may bring it about. The aim, of course, in this as in every other matter, is the triumph of Christian ideals and principles in all our relations, one with the other. It is only as these ideals and principles prevail that there will ever be any progress made.¹ Again thanking you,

I am,
Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

¹James D. Burton, of Oakdale, Tennessee, was the executive secretary of the Interracial Commission of that state.

Francis J. Grimké to Bolton Smith

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Since writing you, I have read Judge Lindsey's article in the April number of *Red Book*. While there is much in it that should give us serious thought, I fail to see that anything which he has suggested is an improvement on the great law laid down by God in his holy Word governing the relation between the sexes. Among the ten great commandments given to Moses on Sinai, one of them, the Seventh, has to do with this very question: and it is to be presumed that Moses under the Divine guidance, knew quite as much about all the matter, in all its bearings, as Judge Lindsey does. This Seventh Commandment, which is one of the great basal commands looking to the welfare of humanity, reads: "Thou shalt not commit adultery." And by adultery here is clearly meant, all carnal sexual intercourse between the sexes out of lawful wedlock, or its equivalent. The Divine purpose, as revealed in this command, is that this life-generating power with which he has endowed man, shall be exercised only within the family circle. It is in this way, through this channel that the race is to be perpetuated. Judge Lindsey has had a wide experience, but I can find no warrant in the Scriptures for the kind of sex relation which he advocates. Many attempts have been made to override, to set aside the code of morals in the Bible; but in vain. It still stands, and will stand to the end of time, as the only true, the only wise, the only safe course to pursue. However far, for the time being, we may get away from it, sooner or later, we will be sure to get back to it, as the only enduring foundation upon which to build character and ensure right conduct. It is a bad policy to be playing hide and seek with morals; it is a bad policy to get into the minds of young people that it is all right, outside of lawful wedlock, to have these sexual relations, and that it is a thing that they need not be ashamed of. When that becomes general; when young people everywhere begin acting on that code of morals, the end of decent society will have come. We are safe as individuals, as families, as communities, only so long as we hold to the lofty standard of morals laid down in the word of God. Those are my views on the matter, and nothing that Judge Lindsey may say, or a thousand Judge Lindseys may have to say will change in the

least my views. Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid. Jesus said in winding up his great sermon on the Mount :

“Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken unto a wise man, who built his house upon the rock : and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house ; and it fell not : for it was founded upon the rock. And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man who built his house upon the sand, and the rain descended and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house ; and it fell : and great was the fall of it.” Only as we build on the Word of God : only as we are following the line marked out there are we building on rock foundations. If we build on anything else, sooner or later, the structure is bound to go down. The more I study the Word of God, the more am I impressed with its superlative value, its transcendent importance to the human race. In it are great truths, noble ideals, lofty conceptions of God that we find no where else. It is a treasure house, a mine of the most precious and valuable thoughts and ideas touching life here and life beyond the grave. As Cowper has expressed it :

“A glory guilds the sacred page,
Majestic, like the sun ;
It gives a light to every age ;
It gives, but borrows none.”

Francis J. Grimké.

J. M. Gaston to Francis J. Grimké

Pittsburgh, Pa., May 19, 1933.

Dear Mr. Grimké :

We have your letters of May 15th and May 16th. In reply would say that on account of an accumulated deficit of the Board of National Missions, amounting to \$1,100,000, together with our inability to secure from the banks as large loans as formerly, it was necessary for the Board to cut its budget to the extent of \$1,100,000. This means that it is impossible to carry on as much work as has been carried on by the Board because of the falling off of contributions and a greatly lessened credit.

In order to meet this emergency the Board ordered each Unit

to balance its budget by reduction of expenses and by elimination or consolidation of work. The Unit of Work for Colored People therefore had to close twenty-five of its day schools, cut the salaries of its workers approximately 15% and consolidate a number of its boarding schools—for example in North Carolina three schools were consolidated, known as Redstone-Mary Potter-Albion. In Georgia, Gillespie and Selden were consolidated; also Haines and Boggs, the new name to be Laney-Boggs Academy, located at Keysville, Georgia, the understanding being that this would become an accredited high school. We have reasonable assurance that the rating will be given this fall. It was the feeling of the unit that in so doing the great work of Miss Laney would be perpetuated in this consolidated school and we felt sure that our great Church would be glad to honor her work in this way. She has a big place in the life of the Presbyterian Church, and I think no Negro educator is quite so much honored by the people of our Church as Miss Laney.

In being forced to make all these consolidations because of the financial situation we desire to assure all those interested that we are making the best possible disposition of the money which our Church at this time is able to give, and we earnestly solicit the hearty and sympathetic cooperation of all the friends of this work in accomplishing the greatest results in these most difficult and trying times.

It should be borne in mind that while a few years ago it was possible to carry on 138 schools for our group under the leadership of the Presbyterian Church, that the number we are now able to support has been reduced to 20.

Very sincerely yours,

J. M. Gaston,

Secretary.

Roy W. Wilkins to Francis J. Grimké

New York, June 7th, 1933.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

We are acknowledging with grateful appreciation, receipt of your contribution of \$15 to the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Not only have you been a consistent friend, adviser, supporter and contributor to the work of this Association for a number of years, but our books show that

within the first five months of this year you have contributed \$40 to our work.

It is difficult to put into words and into a business communication the gratitude which we feel for support such as you have given, and when we express our appreciation it is, of course, not only for ourselves, but for the colored people generally who benefit by your support of this Association. There are times when the lethargy and seeming lack of interest on the part of colored people in their own welfare discourages us deeply, but ever so often there come letters from persons, white and colored, who, like yourself, see clearly the necessity for an organized, persistent, uncompromising fight, and who are willing to make personal sacrifices in order that the fight may go on. From these we gather the inspiration and encouragement to proceed steadfastly in spite of discouragements on every hand.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins,
Assistant Secretary.

John L. Love to Francis J. Grimké

Kansas City, Mo., June 16, 1933.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Ever since my receipt of your kind and helpful letter of June 7th, I have been wanting to write to thank you for it, but my strength has not been quite equal to it. Today I feel able to write you a short note and very happy over the fact. My illness has not been of a nature to confine me to the bed but to render me unable for any energetic effort. It has been a rather severe case of high blood pressure which, not heeded as early as I should have, has brought my system to a very run down condition.

However there are signs of rejuvenation and by the exercise of care and patience, I think I'll be quite myself in a few weeks. My wife is strictly on guard to see that I do not over exert and to give me every attention that will bring back my strength. We are both very grateful to our Heavenly Father for the progress made in the restoring of my health and for all the other blessings with which he has favored us. Especially are we grateful for the consolation of the sympathetic cheer given us by our friends like you and others.

For a long time before I became ill, I had planned to write you but did not seem ever to get just the opportunity I wished to do so. When the last quadrennial sermon came, I sat down and read it through and resolved I would write you at once though I did not do so. Then too I had been laboring under the hope that I might some how have the pleasure of seeing you and the friends that way during this summer. Now I have to cast aside such happy expectations for the present. It would be a very great happiness to see you again soon.

A letter has just come from Mrs. Cooper which I am very glad to receive. Happy to learn that she is happy and contented with life as God has given it. She does mention the funeral of Miss Merritt. It is the first intimation I have had of her passing. Reading about her services for the N. A. A. C. P. there, I have thought of her as being strong and vigorous and in the best of health.

Perhaps I had best try not to write more, although I feel like doing so. Again I want to assure you of the very great cheer your letter brought us and ask for your prayers for us.

May God continue to pour out his blessings upon you and to enrich more and more your ministry towards others.

Very sincerely yours,

John L. Love.

Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké

Charleston, S. C., July 8, 1933.

Frank, My dear friend:

It gave us pleasure to receive your letter of July 3, and we rejoice to know that though bound down with age you are still spared and able to raise your voice occasionally in the service of God and man. Yes, I received your last public sermon, but my infirmities and Anna's need of a minor operation so troubled me, I neglected to thank you for the gift of your last great effort.

Anna stood the operation, and the cut is healing nicely—I can not see to read hence, in the next ten days, I will have one of my eyes operated upon.

You know I have never had any too much religion, but I have never left God out of my transactions, for I not only believe, but know that Christ is the son of God and through him we will be saved. I have never bothered God too much, knowing that he helps

them who help themselves; but I have never denied him—my words of praise, thanks and faith in the power of Jesus Christ to wash away and destroy my shortcomings, or my sins. Relying upon God I have lived an open life laboring for the good of humanity and, seeing that the end is near, my only regret is that I have not been able to do more. I enjoyed your sermon and thank you for it. Knowing that you have lived the life you have professed it is my hope to meet you after we cross the river.

Give my regards to your niece

Your old, true friend,
Tom.

J. M. Porter to Francis J. Grimké

Germantown, Pennsylvania, July 25th, 1933.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

It has been sometime since I was in Washington. I was more than glad, being my first time in my life below the Mason and Dixon Line.

Your inaugural sermon impressed me so much that I would be willing to travel any time to hear a grand sermon like that you delivered on March 5th of this year. I hope you will pardon me for not writing sooner; of course, you know how it is with business men. I like your clean city and had no trouble in getting around, had dinner at the Y. M. C. A. and walked around the city till train time after giving a synopsis of your sermon to many of our friends. I must thank you for your kind remembrance; by sending me a copy of the sermon made me be able to loan the copy to many friends around our city.

I would like to call on you some Tuesday when I am at leisure as to the spiritual welfare of the church or some day that will be convenient to you. I hope you are well and having a pleasant summer.

I am very sorry that our country is getting wet. As a temperance man I never lose hope. My sisters and daughter wish to be remembered to you and when you are able to preach, kindly let me know. I will be glad to hear you again.

I remain
Yours very truly,
John M. Porter.

John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké

Cleveland, Ohio, August 14th, 1933.

My dear-good Friend.

Trusting that this will find you in the best of health and happy, I send you my love and best wishes: as for myself, I am "praising Him, all the day long": for that, th' now, in the 89th year of my age, I am still, "ever and anon," making myself heard and felt, in the courts of this great city, when ever I am employed to be active in them.

In reading, an hour ago the second time,—1883-1933, the panegyric bestowed—by the author of—*A History of Our own Times* (Justin McCarthy), on Rev. Dr. Newman, I was so forcibly reminded of you, my dear friend, at a time when you were in your "prime", that I determined to write to you and call your attention to it.

Turn to Chapter 10, page 142, and read the whole page, and you will see how you stand in my mind and could wish that I were near you, so as to see you once in a while.

Please let me hear from you again. I am with profound respect and admiration,

Sincerely your friend and admirer.

John P. Green.

1845-1933.

Wm. Hallock Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Lincoln University, Chester County, Pennsylvania,

August 14, 1933.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I have never thanked you for kindly sending your "Farewell Quadrennial Message to the Race." I mislaid it when it came but discovered it lately and it furnished some pleasant and profitable Sunday afternoon reading yesterday. If the members of both races would take your message to heart and act upon it, it would be a better and happier world. I believe that by reason of age you have won the position and privileges of an honored semi-retirement, but it is pleasant to observe that there is no evidence of any abatement in intellectual vigor or clearness of spiritual vision. A copy of the *Lincoln University Herald* (which comes out more irregularly than I could wish) is just being mailed and

quotes a tribute which was taken from *The Southern Workman*.

With cordial greetings and wishing that you could honor us some time with a visit at Lincoln,

Faithfully yours,
Wm. Hallock Johnson.

Wm. Lloyd Imes to Francis J. Grimké

New York, Aug. 22, 1933.

My dear Dr. Grimké—

After finishing the note on both sides of the other page I thought to add a few things that might interest you in some plans that are shaping up for the near future.

It now looks as if I shall be able to take a few weeks out of the parish work to begin on a long-cherished project, a book on *The History of the Negro Pulpit*.

There is considerable source material in the Schomburg collection in our 135th St. Branch Library and for the other documents, it is in most cases possible to get in touch with families or individuals who hold unpublished records. I shall want, of course, to have access, with your permission, to your file of pamphlets on religious and social topics and especially your sermons. If it is possible, I trust to see you in November, as I expect to fulfill an engagement to preach in Howard University chapel on one Sunday in that month.

Are you feeling able to travel this fall? My family and I would greatly enjoy having you in our home and our church people would appreciate seeing you again. Do let me know and try to say the word "Yes".

Yours,
W. L. I.

Georgia Douglass Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, Sept. 27, 1933.

Dear Rev. Grimké:

You cannot imagine how my heart was lifted when I found that I was again remembered so sympathetically by you. It makes the world so much easier to tread when a friend on the long march reaches out a hand now and then to say "Hail, comrade, I am ever mindful of you and am wishing you well".

I shall read this book with care for I know it will bring me a double comfort, one for what its pages hold and another for its being a thoughtful gift from you.

Mrs. Coralie Cook wants to come over to see you some evening with me. I enquired of the lady next to the "Y" about your telephone that I might make the time we shall come right for you as well as for Mrs. Cook. I shall tell you what I thought of the book then.

With boundless thanks, believe me to be

Ever gratefully yours,
Georgia Douglass Johnson.

B. F. Glasco to Francis J. Grimké

N. S. Pittsburgh, Pa., Sept. 27, 1933.

Dear Dr. Grimké:—

I am writing to inform you that the Presbyterian Council is meeting again in the Bidwell St. Church, Oct. 4-8th. I am sure it would be a great delight to the Council as well as to the congregation to have you present with us. I want you to know that we shall never forget you and the high standards which you have always held up before the Council.

May God's richest blessings rest and abide upon you. I am sending you a program.

With best wishes, I am,
Sincerely Yours,
B. F. Glasco.

Francis J. Grimké to A. C. Griggs

Washington, D. C., October 24, 1933.

Rev. A. C. Griggs:

Your telegram, announcing the death of Miss Laney, was duly received. From her age and from what I understood her condition to have been, I was not surprised. How greatly she will be missed. In her death, not only the Negro race, but the human race loses one of the noblest specimens of heroic womanhood. How wonderful has been her record! For fifty years, in season and out of season, with tireless energy, she gave herself with all that she possessed of heart, soul, mind, and strength, with never a thought of self, to the great task of uplifting a poor, struggling, depressed race out of the ignorance and degradation in which three hundred

years of slavery had left it. Has the race produced, or any other race, a finer example of loyalty, of sanctified, consecrated, unselfish devotion than we have here in Lucy Laney? This is the estimate that we put upon her and her work; this is the esteem in which we, as a race, will ever hold her. We will not forget her. She shall always have a warm place in our hearts. Beside her bier we stand, as a race with uncovered heads, and sorrowful, but grateful hearts, as the last words are being said over her mortal remains.

Servant of God, well done!
 Rest from thy loved employ;
 The battle fought, the victory won,
 Enter thy Master's joy.

F. J. Grimké.

John H. Gross to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, Pa., November 6, 1933.

My dear Brother,

It was a pleasure to read your gracious word in reference to the recent check for \$50.00 which went to you from the offices of the Board.

How heartening is your attitude of praise and gratitude to God as you have come to the full age of eighty-three years. May every blessing be yours in the days and, if it be His will, in the years which are still granted to you in this land.

Fraternally yours,

John H. Gross,
 Treasurer.

C. G. Woodson to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., November 11, 1933.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I thank you very much for your letter and for the beautiful words conveying the serious thought that you have of me and my work. It gives me the inspiration which I need to press forward with this tremendous task which dear friends like you have assisted me in performing.

With best wishes, I am

Yours very truly,

C. G. Woodson,

Director of the Association for the Study of
 Negro Life and History.

W. W. McCary to Francis J. Grimké

New York City, November 25/33.

My dear Dr. Grimké;

Your letter opened a flood-gate of pleasant memories. We often speak of you, and wonder whether Time's hands are gently caressing, or rudely buffeting. And through all of our guessing and wondering there is intermingled a prayer for your encampment under the shadow of THE PRESENCE at whose right hand are pleasures forever more.

Now that I have retired from the activities of community life, I find myself gazing into the retrospective camera, and marking, as they appear, the figures of the men with whom I was in intimate contact in the yesterdays of life. Believe me, it is a very interesting study and exceedingly mosaic in its paintings. My interpretations take a peculiar slant some times, for, strangely enough, I often forget that I, too, am in the sere and yellow leaf. And just as often am I reminded of the passing of the years, my mind immediately reverts to that little poem by Wilfred J. Funk, entitled

GOOD BYE TO YOUTH

This then is age; a soft crumbling
Of shining palaces; and icy wind
Blowing between dead worlds; a toothless mumbling;
The burning blood of passion cooled and thinned.

This age then; a sleep and a forgetting;
The loosening of fingers formed to hold
The loveliness of life; a broad sun setting,
Pilfering the last hills of their gold.

Satiety; nor any further thirsting;
Nor a sharp thrill to meet the eager buds
Of a young spring; dreams, iridescent, bursting
As bubbles do, in drops of bitter suds.

When the reminiscent mood engages me, I sit at my south window, and, after watching the sun paint its good night kiss upon the cheek of the departing day, I close my eyes and turn on today's radio to catch the voicings of yesterday.

Presto! The transcription reel starts unwinding and the kaleidoscopic procession moves forward. I look, study and **appraise** as the figures pass. Then, as though a special dispensation

had been granted, coming through the mellow glow of the years is the dignified, scholarly, Christian gentleman, Dr. Grimké. And immediately my appraisement whispers—"The Noblest Roman of them all".

Who will be the historian capable of recording the true evaluation of your life in its touch with the Nation's capital? Washington without Dr. Grimké would be a much depleted Washington, a Washington robbed of much of its clerical glory, sterling manhood and Christian steadfastness.

May God bless you, etc. Numbers 6:24-26. All send love.

Yours in friendship, love and truth.

W. W. McCary.

Thomas Walker to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., December 21, 1933.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

It has been a long time since you sent out your last farewell message to the Race. It was not possible for me to be in Church in person and hear from your lips the delivery of this message, but I received a copy of it and I read it and I have had different friends read it with me, and I am sure that if each member of the Race could read it and study it and take it to heart it would be a benefit to us all.

When I first received my copy it was in my heart to make a small donation to help the expense of printing, but this has been put off from day to day until now. I am, at this moment, however, enclosing a small money order, which I beg you will accept and let it go in on the expense of printing this valuable, wholesome advice to the people who stand in so much need of it.

Withing you a pleasant Christmas and a happy New Year, I am as always,

Sincerely and

Very truly yours,

Thomas Walker.¹

¹ Thomas Walker began his career in politics in Selma, Alabama, during the Reconstruction. The mob ran him out because of his stand for justice and equality. He went to Little Rock, Arkansas, and from that city came to Washington where he achieved a fine reputation as a lawyer and business man.

John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké

Cleveland, Ohio, January 1st, 1934.

Dear Friend and Brother.

Your kind remembrance of the 24th of Dec. ult. was duly recd. and contents of the same noted, with a degree of great pleasure; and this is written simply to thank you for your kindly carrying me in your mind as well as in your heart.

I have before me now, copies of *The Negro: His Rights and Wrongs*; also, *The Lynching of Negroes in the South* containing sermons preached by you during my brief residence in Washington, 1897-1906.

Considering the strenuous mental effort put forth by you, during said years—before and since, I am not surprised that your health is not as vigorous as we could all wish; but, thank God, you are still “up and going!” and my whole family join me in expressing the same prayer. As for myself (from a physical point of view) I am still able to plead in the courts of law, the causes of such as are willing to confide in me: and being the oldest attorney of the *Cleveland Bar Association* (numbering more than 2500 lawyers), I continue to “praise Him all the day long.”

I trust that you will honor me, by reading the foregoing; and believe me, I am not expecting an answer from you. Mrs. Green and my family join me in sending to you our love and best wishes.

John P. Green,

April 1845—January 1935.

Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., January 1, 1934.

My dear Doctor Grimké:

You know before I write it my prayer and heart's desire for your health, happiness and long life in this and many succeeding new-years.

You have received ere this a copy of Elwood Street's communication concerning the Social Settlement Fund of \$3078.08 entrusted to the Trustees of Community Chest to be by them invested as a perpetual foundation bearing interest to be expended for the social betterment of colored people thro agencies recognized by the Chest. I rejoice in this happy termination of a rather protracted struggle to bring about what seems a most just and reasonable recognition of the life history of the first colored Social Settlement and I want to thank you for your consistent cooperation

and support in that struggle. It is morally certain that without this persistent and insistent effort on our part, no such satisfactory result would ever have been accomplished.

Now I have in this New Year letter another proposal to make to you looking to the extension of your beneficent purposes and sacred memories by a worthy and dignified bequest to posterity.

I am returning your kind and generous check which you meant as a scholarship fund for my niece, your god child, who entered freshman at Howard U. this fall. I regret to have to tell you that I cannot use it, as Annie has left school and married giving up all hope of a college career. A great and sore disappointment to me for I was building great hopes on her becoming a teacher to succeed me in the work I am now doing. Nevertheless, if you think well of the proposal, my suggestion is that this check which you have already dedicated to scholarship be deposited as a nucleus for a Charlotte Grimké perpetual scholarship in the Hannah Stanley Opportunity School of Frelinghuysen University and that this with whatever subsequent bequests shall be added in the future shall become the Charlotte Forten Grimké Foundation bearing interest to be used as set forth for Education of worthy adults in the Constitution of the Opportunity School. I believe you will never regret such a provision.

Sincerely and faithfully yours,

Anna J. Cooper.

John H. Gross to Francis J. Grimké

Philadelphia, Pa., January 5, 1934.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

Thank you so much for your letter which came recently. It is a kindness on your part to have told us of the Rev. Joseph T. Kelly who had been pastor of the Fourth Church for more than fifty years and who was taken by death the middle of last month. What a record of faithful ministry and witnessing he has left. Few men indeed are permitted to serve in one place for half a century. He must have been an inspiration to you and you must have been a help to him. What more can a man write of another than what you wrote of him—that he was a Godly man, a man who lived close to Christ, who loved his Bible, whose soul was fed on great Scriptural truths, and whose sermons were saturated with Scriptural ideals. The ministry of such a man naturally would be fruitful and a blessing to those with whom he had contact.

It is gracious on your part to have written in such kindly fashion your wishes to us for a helpful as well as a happy New Year.

Faternally,

John H. Gross,

Treasurer of the Board of Pensions of
the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké

January 22, 1934.

My dear Friend:

You are right to obey your own conscience and "not let your right hand know what your left doeth" in your many charities and benevolences; but my Bible does not tell me that I must not bequeath to posterity thro the work I have planted here in name and memory of my best loved friend, Charlotte F. Grimké; and among a people who have learned so little to revere tradition and respect the life and labors of their forebears, I feel it almost as solemn obligation to put into an investment that cannot be wasted or expended whatever treasure I can dedicate to that sweet memory.

The fifty dollars therefore which you had already devoted to the education of a poor and struggling colored girl I mean to dedicate to that purpose and it is already deposited in the re-organized Industrial Bank with the understanding that it serves as a nucleus for the *Charlotte Grimké Scholarship Fund*, the interest from which shall be perpetually available for the education of some worthy and indigent student of the Hannah Stanley Opportunity School.

I hope this meets your approval and that at any time in the future that you may have occasion or may feel the impulse to provide for the enlargement of this fund, you will do so in all confidence that such is a permanent investment in Education just as the Slater Fund from which part of my tuition was paid when I was studying in Oberlin. The principal may be added to at any time and from any source but it must never be withdrawn or in any way alienated from the beneficial purpose for which it was planted.

I hope you keep well.

I am always,

Faithfully yours

Anna J. Cooper.

Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., February 20, 1934.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

While I have thought of you many times, I am reminded once more that so far we have not definitely thanked you for the deeply spiritual calendar you were so good as to send us at Christmas. We appreciated it very much, and it is in a place where my wife and I can both refer to it any day.

I am sure that you must be gratified to know of the progress Howard is making these days. The new classroom building has already been begun; the work on the great new library will probably be started next summer; and there will also be some internal reorganization, with a dean for the Graduate School. One has the feeling that things are going forward.¹

It has been a little while since I saw you, but I trust this will find you in good health. Any thought of you is an inspiration, and actually to be in your presence is to receive a benediction.

Sincerely yours,
Benjamin Brawley.

Carter G. Woodson to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., March 23, 1934.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I want to thank you sincerely for the copy of your address entitled "What is to be the Real Future of the Black Man in this Country?" I have read it with much interest and thoroughly agree with you in your presentation of the status of the Negro in this country and our duty in this crisis.

Thanking you for thus remembering me, I am

Yours very truly,
C. G. Woodson,
Director of the Association for the
Study of Negro Life and History.

¹ At this time the Federal Government in trying to make work for the unemployed did much building, and some of it was timely and appropriate. For the reconstruction of Howard the Public Works Administration spent about 18 million dollars.

W. L. Wright to Francis J. Grimké

Lincoln University, Chester County, Pennsylvania,
March 24, 1934.

Dear Dr. Grimké,

Again I thank you for another of your addresses. I agree with it with hardly a dissent worthy of mention. Our future must be worked out together.

I believe in education, for ignorance will solve no problems, but without the moral and religious backgrounds it avails little. I take it we have not lacked for brains or training but the break down in character in the business and political worlds has brought us perilously near destruction. I hope that out of it all will come better, fairer attitudes toward all men.

In so much of my personal contact with men and young men of both races I see so much to encourage. Yet so many things, some of which you mention, fill us with dismay.

Our work at Lincoln goes on well though the financial problems are difficult. We need greatly funds available for aid to young men of promise—ability and character and outlook who are self dependent in times when it is hard to get vocation work to help. May we yet live to see the dawning of a bright day. With kindest personal regards and appreciation,

Sincerely yours,

W. L. Wright.

President of Lincoln University.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., March 28, 1934.

Dear Doctor Grimké:—

Have read with much pleasure and profit the Sermon you were kind enough to send me. It is timely and forcible. It deserves wide publicity among our group, and the whites as well. Our newspapers, could greatly help a worthy cause by aiding its circulation among the masses. I think you were divinely moved to give us this, "Supplement." It covers a field which greatly needed exploration. Many of us are confused as to what course we ought to pursue in order to better our deplorable situation. I think you have made the course quite clear, and it is to be earnestly hoped,

we may not be found lacking the wisdom and courage needed to pursue it, as God may give us the strength.

I am glad to note that your power of thought and expression, still retains the Gladstonian vigor and aptness, so much needed in these trying times through which we are passing. Accept my hearty thanks for the Sermon sent me. May heaven's rich benediction rest upon you alway.

Yours very sincerely
Daniel W. Hays.

Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké

Charleston, S. C., Mch. 29, 1934.

My dear Frank:

Thank God all of us are up, thank God you are able to raise your voice in behalf of our group in the name of a Crucified Savior.

I have been unable to do any thing for a year and six months. The cataract has been removed from my eye, and I hope to be able to get to work on my book within the month.

Archie had promised to lend me the book with the trial and conviction of Denmark Vesey but, he became ill before I could get it. Please get it and send it to me as I want to make use of some of its parts. I will return it to you.

I thank you for your great address; it has been read by several of my friends among them Mrs. Beck Wilkinson Oliver, a relict of old Coming St. Please send me a few copies, as I have promised them to friends.

Have you in your will provided for disposing of your library? If not I wish you would give it to the State College at Orangeburg, S. C., your native State.

I would like the youth of South Carolina, to know more about you.

Where is Miss Grimké? and how is she? Did she erect the stone to Archie?

We celebrated our sixtieth wedding anniversary Feb. 26, with the loved ones who were near enough to be with us.

We expect to return to our Phila. home in May.

Mattie has been with us for over a year; we depend on her for many things.

May the blessings of God rest upon you, keeping you in health and with good sight, that you may continue to serve our God and man!

Anna and Mattie join me in love to you.

Your old friend,
Tom.

John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké

Cleveland, Ohio, April 7th, 1934.

My very dear Friend:

The copy of your recent deliverance, *What is to be the Real Future of the Black Man, in this Country?* was duly received, read and highly appreciated by me; for that it is to me a source of much information and value.

I shall place it in the hands of our temporary Rector, tomorrow; and being connected more or less, with our great Cathedral, I feel sure it will be carefully read and reflected on by not only our learned and divine Bishop, but, also, by the Dean (who is a learned and religious man, but, is also quite practical; and, has had, at Hampton, Va., much experience, as to the status and needs of his colored brethren).

When they return it to me, I shall be pleased to lend it to others of my acquaintance who will make practical use of it.

My acquaintance with the learned and active persons of our class, has not brought me in touch with any one, who has contributed to our cause as much as you have, during the sixty (68) years which have elapsed since my lamented friend, Professor James M. Gregory, introduced me to you, when you, both, were students, in Howard, and I was delivering a lecture in old Bethel Church and the learned John Mercer Langston follow'd his Law class there to hear it.

During three years of the nine which I passed in Washington (1897-1906), I was a constant attendant at the Presbyterian Church over which you so ably and helpfully presided: and had my wife and only daughter not become members of Saint Luke's Church, I would have continued with you.

I regard you as being the most scholarly and Christian minis-

ter of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at the feet of whom I have ever sat and knelt.

I am constantly wondering why you are not still preaching in that or some other pulpit. "God knows," you are needed. True it is that, "old age is creeping on apace"; and perhaps, you, like many others, can bear witness to the fact; but, a heart like yours, which has never "beat one throb of disinterested love", and a brain replete with maxims and messages not only Christian, but also philosophic, for the uplifting of such a class, as you describe in your latest deliverance, can never die.

On Monday, April 2d, 1934, I began my 90th year of age,—1845-1934: My dear Father and I have lived in three centuries! Father born November 1793, died November 24th, 1850; this humble scribe, born April 2d 1845. Each of us has lived in two centuries, I, being the oldest lawyer at this Bar, of 2500 lawyers. I am the "Dean" of the Bar: actually trying cases to juries and judges. How old are you, my very dear friend? Thanks for the address, and love of an old man.¹

John P. Green.

P. S. Please excuse shaky hand, and all errors. J. P. G.

Wm. Hallock Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Lincoln University, Chester County, Pennsylvania,

April 24, 1934.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I am writing just a line to thank you for sending me a reprint of your sermon "What is to be the Real Future of the Black Man in this Country?" It strikes a splendid note and points the only way to real progress for any of us. I sincerely hope that this will not be the last of your "Farewell Messages". It would indeed be a pleasure if you could journey as far as Lincoln and honor us with your presence at our Commencement on June 5.

Faithfully yours,

W. Hallock Johnson.

¹ Notwithstanding his age John P. Green practiced law in Cleveland until he was killed in an accident in his ninety-third year.

Nannie H. Burroughs to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., May 1, 1934.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Accept my sincere thanks for your fine letter of appreciation for what I tried to say to keep our people from thinking that the world is coming to an end because one man reverses himself and at the same time, slaps a friend in the face.

Several weeks ago, I went to Shaw University. I took your 1934 message along to read on the train. It set my soul aglow. It helped me to talk to the State Teachers Association about "When the Word Becomes Flesh," better than I could have talked, had I not been stimulated by your fine challenge to the race.

God bless you, fine Comrade of the Cross, and give you many years to speak to the people that they go forward.

Sincerely yours,
Nannie H. Burroughs.

A. P. Holly to William V. Tunnell

Miami, Fla, May 15, 1934.

My dear Tunnell:—

Once more I have to thank you for some very interesting clippings.

From their appropriateness, and that of the numerous previous ones, you have shown that both you and I must be of "kindred mind", or "twin-spirits", when viewed from the topics of these clippings.

Please "be not weary in well doing"!

The article by Dr. F. J. Grimké particularly appeals to me. Like most of our thoughtful leaders who are visioning the future, it is evident that "the iron has entered into his soul".

For several years, in my public addresses, esp. to students and teachers, I have been warning against the "boomerang" effect of interracial thoughts. To my mind the Negro esp. in the South, is not sufficiently grateful or appreciative of the sacrifices made in his behalf and for his welfare, by philanthropists of the other group, such as Jeanes, Peabody, Rosenwald et al. This is woefully and glaringly deficient—hence the sempiternal reaction based on psychological reasons.

Before closing, allow me to inform you that your letter came and found me mourning yet another death in the Holly family, that of Dr. Ambrose Theodosius Holly. He was graduated (Honor) of the Mass. Sch. of Pharmacy and also of the Med. Dept. of Univ. of Pennsylvania—He was 65.

Wish best regards to all yours,

Fraty.
A. P. Holly¹

P. S. Have never again heard from that ministerial nephew!

John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké

Cleveland, Ohio, May 27th, 1934.

My dear Good Friend.

I am some what anxious to know how you are, and what you are doing. You are such a good, active and useful man that, I love to think of and admire you: and if I am spared to visit Washington again your dwelling will be one of the first which will attract me, for an hour, at least.

All the members of my family have disappear'd, for the remainder of this afternoon, and in order to pass my time pleasantly, I am writing this letter to you: and, I am proud to realize that I still have on my list of correspondents one whose life and good name gives me this honor.

This is Sunday afternoon; of course, I was in my pew, in church during the forenoon; and I feel sure that you, also enjoyed that blessing.

"By the way"; when I carefully read, during my early life, Boswell's *Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson*, I made on the blank pages of all three volumes, hundreds of quotations (citations): and in referring to one of them, a few days ago, I read the following:

"Scheme of Life For Sunday."

1. "To rise early, and in order to do it, to go to sleep early on Saturday.

"2. To use some extraordinary devotion in the morning.

¹ A. P. Holly was the son of James Theodore Holly who worked for the emigration of American Negroes to Haiti. The father became the bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Haiti. The son finished a course in homeopathic medicine and practiced in Miami, Florida.

“3. To examine the tenor of my life, and particularly, the last of the week; and to mark my advances in religion or my recession from it.

“4. To read the Scriptures methodically, with such helps as are at hand.

“5. To go to church twice.

“6. To read books of Divinity, either speculative or practical.

“7. To instruct my family.

“8. To wear off, by meditation, any wordly soil contracted in the week.”

I am pleased to tell you that I have many books, in four languages: English, French, Latin and Greek; but I have small acquaintance with any of them (just a smattering).

A few evenings ago, I opened a little Greek Testament, haphazard, just to see whether I could read any of it; and God led me to this wonderful passage. John. Chap. IX. Verse 4. “I must do the works of Him that sent me, while it is day: The night cometh, when no man can work”.

May God bless us and inspire us to do His will.

Sincerely yours,

John P. Green.

(Now in 90th Year of his age)

Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., May 28, 1934.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I was just thinking yesterday that I must come in again very soon to see you, and to-day I found your excellent letter in the new *Crisis*. Let me congratulate you on it. Dr. Du Bois seemed to me in his reply to miss the point completely. I can see no real difference between his position and that of Booker Washington which he opposed thirty-five years ago. As you so well say, we may from time to time be forced to accept segregation but we must ever oppose it in principle. Otherwise we can never come into the full heritage of American citizenship. Thank you very much. You are always an inspiration.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Brawley.

W. E. B. Du Bois to Francis J. Grimké

Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, June 27, 1934.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I am no longer Editor of THE CRISIS, and therefore I am returning your manuscript. Some of the things that you have said I naturally resent. I had no intention of embarrassing the Association in any way. My intention was to help it, and it seems that the best way that I can help it is to cut myself off entirely from it, which I am doing.

With highest esteem

Very sincerely yours,
W. E. B. Du Bois.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

June 26, 1934

TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

In deference to your desire to postpone action on my resignation of June 11, I have allowed my nominal connection with THE CRISIS to extend to July 1, and have meantime entered into communication with the Chairman of the Board, and with your Committee of Reconciliation.

I appreciate the good will and genuine desire to bridge an awkward break which your action indicated, and yet it is clear to me, and I think to the majority of the Board that under the circumstances my resignation must stand. I owe it, however, to the Board and to the public to make clear at this time the deeper reasons for my action, lest the apparent causes of my resignation seem inadequate.

Many friends have truthfully asserted that the segregation argument was not the main reason for my wishing to leave this organization. It was an occasion and an important occasion, but it could have been adjusted. In fact, no matter what the Board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People says, its action toward segregation has got to approximate, in the future as in the past, the pattern which it followed in the case of

the separate camp for Negro officers during the World War and in the case of the Tuskegee Veterans' Hospital. In both instances, we protested vigorously and to the limit of our ability the segregation policy. Then, when we had failed and knew we had failed, we bent every effort toward making the colored camp at Des Moines the best officers' camp possible, and the Tuskegee Hospital, with its Negro personnel, one of the most efficient in the land. This is shown by the 8th and 14th Annual Reports of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The only thing, therefore, that remains for us is to decide whether we are openly to recognize this procedure as inevitable, or be silent about it and still pursue it. Under these circumstances, the argument must be more or less academic, but there is no essential reason that those who see different sides of this same shield should not be able to agree to live together in the same house.

The whole matter assumed, however, a serious aspect when the Board peremptorily forbade all criticism of the officers and policies in *THE CRISIS*. I had planned to continue constructive criticism of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in *THE CRISIS* because I firmly believe that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People faces the most gruelling of tests which come to an old organization: founded in a day when a negative program of protest was imperative and effective, it succeeded so well that the program seemed perfect and unlimited. Suddenly, by World War and chaos, we are called to formulate a positive program of construction and inspiration. We have been thus far unable to comply.

Today this organization, which has been great and effective for nearly a quarter of a century, finds itself in a time of crisis and change, without a program, without effective organization, without executive officers, who have either the ability or disposition to guide the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the right direction.

These are harsh and arresting charges. I make them deliberately, and after long thought, earnest effort, and with infinite writhing of spirit. To the very best of my ability, and every ounce of my strength, I have since the beginning of the Great Depression, tried to work inside the organization for its realignment and readjustment to new duties. I have been almost absolutely unsuccessful. My program for economic readjustment has been totally

ignored. My demand for a change in personnel has been considered as mere petty jealousy, and my protest against our mistakes and blunders has been looked upon as disloyalty to the organization.

So long as I sit by silently consenting, I share responsibility. If I criticize within, my words fall on deaf ears. If I criticize openly, I seem to be washing dirty linen in public. There is but one recourse, complete and final withdrawal, not because all is hopeless nor because there are no signs of realization of the possibilities of reform and of the imperative demand for men and vision, but because evidently I personally can do nothing more.

I leave behind me in the organization many who have long thought with me, and yet hesitated at action; many persons of large ideals who see no agents at hand to realize them, and who fear that the dearth of ability and will to sacrifice within this organization, indicates a similar lack within the whole race. I know that both sets of friends are wrong, and while I desert them with deep reluctance, it is distinctly in the hope that the fact of my going may arouse to action and bring a great and gifted race to the rescue, with a rebirth of that fine idealism and devotion that founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Under those circumstances, there is but one thing for me to do, and that is to make the supreme sacrifice of taking myself absolutely and unequivocally out of the picture, so that hereafter the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, without the distraction of personalities and accumulated animosities, can give their whole thought and attention to the rescuing of the greatest organization for the emancipation of Negroes that America has ever had.

I am, therefore, insisting upon my resignation, and on July 1st, whether the Board of Directors acts or does not act, I automatically cease to have any connection whatsoever in any shape or form with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I do not, however, cease to wish it well, to follow it with personal and palpitating interest, and to applaud it when it is able to rescue itself from its present impossible position and reorganize itself according to the demands of the present crisis.

Very respectfully yours,
(Signed) W. E. B. Du Bois.

Francis J. Grimké to W. E. B. Du Bois

Washington, D. C., July 13, 1934.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am sincerely sorry that conditions in the N. A. A. C. P. are such as you see them, or that your views have so changed in regard to certain things that you feel compelled to sever your connection with it after having been with it from its inception. The forces that are working to despoil us of our rights and to keep us as a segregated group, are just as rampant today as they were years ago. The need for such an association as the N. A. A. P. C. was never greater than today. If things are still bad, terribly bad, what if there had been no National Association? How much worse they would be than they are. That it has had some influence in staying the tide of injustice and oppression, there can be no doubt, it seems to me.

This is no time for dividing our forces. We must present an undivided front to the enemy. Your leaving the Association, I hope, doesn't mean that you are stacking your arms, that you are giving up the fight. As long as you live I hope that you will continue to speak out bravely as you have for so many years in behalf of our rights as men and as American citizens. This you owe to yourself and to the race.

I am,

Yours truly,
Francis J. Grimké.

Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., July 31, 1934.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Thank you very, very much for your kind letter. I feel that you will be praying for the service next Sunday morning. There is such great spiritual need in our churches today that we need the fullest measure of the strength the Father is willing to give us.

I shall look up very quickly the articles in the *Christian Century*.

Since I saw you I have found and read with intense interest the article in two parts contributed to the *Atlantic* in May and June, 1864. I thank you more than I can say for reminding me of this,

The description of Shaw was vivid, but in general I was impressed by the fine taste and the literary skill of the writer. Better than ever I can now understand your devotion to such an unusual spirit.

With every good wish, in which my wife joins,
Sincerely yours,
Benjamin Brawley.

Otelia Cromwell to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., August 7, 1934.

My dear Mr. Grimké:

Thank you for the copy of your discussion of the Negro question which you delivered last March in the Presbyterian Church. You have made a discriminating analysis of the issues and with your characteristic vision and fearlessness have set before us the factors concerned and the part each takes in this struggle.

It is with a feeling of deep respect and comfort that I read what you write. You can always be depended on to be unflinching in your position.

To God we are grateful that you have been spared in your leadership.

Very respectfully and sincerely yours,
Otelia Cromwell.¹

John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké

Cleveland, Ohio, Sept. 22d, 1934.

My dear-good Friend:

I thank you cordially, for sending to me a copy of your *Valiant Men and Free*, recently published in *Opportunity*.

We have read it and re-read portions of it; and the highest compliment I can pay it (herein), is to say, it has the Grimké stamp on it.

For many years, now, the devil has been "unchained," and his roaring is louder and louder in that poor-benighted "South Land." Originally settled by convicts sent and confined there by their "mother land."

¹ Miss Gromwell taught English at Miner Teachers College. She was the daughter of John W. Cromwell, the historian.

My good Friend, I shall mail to you on Monday (I am writing this Saturday P. M.), a copy of a little book, which I wrote and published during the Garfield presidential campaign (anonymously); but had it "copyrighted" in the Congressional Library. I cannot ask you to read the entire book for I feel sure that the greater part of it would appear "puerile": but, the reading of your scholarly and much needed "release" brings back to me many of my sore experiences during the 2½ years of my legal practice in South Carolina, in 1870-71 and 72. After you have read such portions of the book as you and your patience will allow, kindly return it to me as I am preserving it as a reminiscence of that portion of my life "down home" and my activities at the legal Bar down there.

A large number of copies were sent to the Press; some of which praised it; but none save my most intimate friends knew that I was the author of it.

By the way! my dear Friend, on the 20th day of this (September) month, 1870, I was admitted to practice the law and laws of this land, "in one way and another" and now, in the 65th year of my practice, and the 90th of my age, I am still in the regular practice of both civil and "criminal" law.

Mrs. Green—my dear wife—joins me in kindest remembrances and best wishes to you.

Respectfully,
John P. Green.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., Sept. 24th,

Dear Doctor Grimké:

The Package of Tracts, "Human Accountability" came promptly to hand, and I thank you for sending them.

I am taking the liberty to add your address. I am starting them on their errand, near and distant. One is now on the way to Kansas City, and others are to take their turn.

I mentioned your Tracts on Prize Fighting, at the Preacher's Meeting, on yesterday, which aroused some interest. A brother remarked that Bp. Edwin Hughes, of your City, while on a visit to Baltimore, last week, speaking at a church meeting, delivered himself in a like strain.

He too, is reported to have advised our group to cease wasting time lauding prize fighting. He thinks as you, that we need to find worthier men on whom to bestow applause. Doubtless, you are engaged in a good fight. It's a good war, and may your Sword be long in finding its way back into the sheath.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Daniel W. Hays.

John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké

Cleveland, Ohio, Oct. 12th, 1934.

My dear good, valuable Friend:

Yours of the 8th instant was duly received, with the enclosure: and both were read, immediately and highly appreciated: Especially, the compliment, with reference to the book.

I deeply regret that, at my advanced age, I have no Fídis Achates, with whom I can associate; for since I was injured, by the "auto," now, three years ago, I have had, comparatively, little to do, professionally; and were it not for the fact, that, I can occasionally, contact with such wonderful friends as you, Judge Webber, our rector and a few others, at a distance from me, I don't know what would become of me.

"By the way," my dear friend; in all due modesty, may I ask you; Is Mrs. Grimké still living or is it the death of your loveable brother that is still in my mind? You know, I suppose that twenty-three years ago, my first dear wife died: and I have been married twenty-two years to my present beloved wife.

Have you ever read a book written by me in 1920, entitled *Fact Stranger Than Fiction?*

It is out of circulation now: but was in the hands of many people, of both classes, until the latter part of the last year.

If you have never read the book, and do not now have a copy of it, I will mail you a copy of it: but, it is in a damaged condition, having been ruined in so far as its appearance is concerned: but I can fix it so that it will not soil your hands in the reading of it.

Please be advised by me, if in corresponding with me, as you have been, you have necessarily, neglected any duty or impinged

on your time, don't hesitate to tell me so: for, I am aware of the fact that, during the long period of your active life, in the pulpit, engaged in arduous services, you doubly earned the right to rest in peace and pleasure. Well Mrs. Green has just returned from a much needed "outing" and with the best wishes of us both to you, and I am with great respect,

Sincerely your friend,
John P. Green.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 22, 1934.

Dear Doctor Grimké:

A Copy of "Our Young People, How to Deal with Them" has reached me by mail, and I have perused it with deep interest, having hitherto given some thought to the subject. What you have said is timely, and I am persuaded it will serve to awaken thought and lead to a change of method on the part of some whose misdirected effort has proven of slight avail, and maybe caused some harm.

A careful reading of your Paper ought to enable both Preachers and Teachers, to be on their guard against the "assumption" pointed out by you. Doubtless there is urgent need of a "New Deal" with regard to our dealing with young people, and I think you have pointed straight to it.

Trust your health continues unimpaired and that abiding Peace is your portion.

Yours very sincerely,
Daniel W. Hays.

John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké

Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 23rd, 1934.

My very Dear Friend.

Your last letter to me, was duly received, and contents noted with "mingled feelings of joy and regret."

Thank God, you are still able to be "up and doing," even though you are not enjoying vigorous, physical health; and I thank you, cordially, for that, you, notwithstanding, have been able to honor and encourage me to the extent that you have.

You are a great-good man; and the good that you have done and inspired can never be known, save by "Our Father who art in Heaven." It rolls onward and upward,—beyond the ken of us human beings: but, for us, it is a superlative pleasure and even, a blessing to know that much.

Enclosed, you will find an excerpt, from *The Union* of Cincinnati. I would have enclosed the whole article (by the editor), but, the "proof reader" failed in so many instances to do his duty, that I would not publish it, in full.

Don't forget me, dear Brother: for the memory of you and your kindness to me shall always be predominant in my heart. With respect and love. I am sincerely your brother and Friend,

John P. Green.

John P. Green to Francis J. Grimké

Cleveland, Ohio, 1934.

My dear Friend and Brother:

I fear, I have not written to you since you mailed to me that wonderful copy of the *Castigation*, contained in the *Crisis*, some months ago, apropos of the utterances made by Professor Dubois, relative to the segregation of colored people in the United States, by the white people of the same country.

It was such a remarkable "release" as could have been published by no person, less talented than you, related to the Colored America.

I thank you for sending it to me: for, at that time, our subscription had expired, for the first time, in many years.

My dear wife reads with me all the valuable and interesting letters and documents which you kindly mail to me: and she always joins with me in our highest and best regards.

I am enclosing, herein, a letter recently received by me, from a dear (white) friend, which "speaks for itself." I am sure you will enjoy the reading of it, since Judge Webber is now and always has been, an earnest, and helpful friend of our class, in this section of the U. S.

Also, I am enclosing a "clipping" from one of our (white) newspapers showing my present status at the Ohio Bar. The death of Mr. Henderson leaves me the oldest practitioner at the Cleveland Bar, consisting of more than 2,500 members:—the "so called"

Dean of the Cuyahoga County Bar, of which the City of Cleveland is the capital.

I am not bragging: I am thanking God, for that He has kept and preserved me to be "praising Him all the day long;" and for the fact that I have done something towards the advancement and elevation of our class in this wonderful country!

Join me, my dear, talented and helpful brother, in praying to Almighty God, that He will preserve and aid me in doing much more.

Kindly return to me the Webber letter; and believe me, that my whole family and I do honor, respect and love you, for who and what you are.

John P. Green.

Georgia Douglass Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., Nov. 25, 1934.

My Dear Rev. Grimké:

Again your very kind notice found me in bed with a cold. I was terribly disappointed as I particularly needed a sermon such as you preach then as now (do remember me next time) for I have had and am having a long siege of disappointments regarding work. Haven't found anything as yet but am hopeful.

Nina¹ is here as you know and has done some verses that I think are splendid as is everything she attempts. She is doing some short bits of the Hokku variety. I am trying to get her two novels printed, but she says they are no good. I think them better than anything any of the race group has done.

I am now working on a poem that I have set to music with a hope that it shall be used at the meeting of the World Fellowship of Faiths that convenes in London in 1936. I am sending you a copy of the words. I would love above everything to go there as I want to see Paris before I die and I am far from feeling tip top now.

I hope you are preaching again soon!

Ever sincerely,
Georgia Johnson.

¹ "Nina" refers to Angelina Grimké, his niece.

COME ALL NATIONS

Fellowship, let there be comradeship.
 Into every land we call,
 Brotherhood, all for the common good
 All for one and one for all.

CHORUS

Come all nations let us gather
 Into one triumphant band,
 Let us learn to know each other,
 Know and love and understand;
 We must fall or rise together
 Let us march to God abreast!
 Come all nations let us gather
 Into one triumphant band.

Bitterness, distrust and prejudice
 Fade when heart to heart we meet,
 When we bring our common burdens
 All before one common seat.

Sympathy cooperation!
 Let this mighty slogan rise,
 And beneath this lofty banner
 Let us face tomorrow's skies!

Georgia Douglass Johnson—for World Fellowship of Faiths at London, 1936.

Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., November 26, 1934.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

It is an inspiration always to see you, and I am glad you could be at the service at Professor Johnson's home last Thursday.

The circular addressed to the Young People I have read with intense interest, and I pray that it may bear fruit a thousandfold. More and more I am convinced that the errors in men's lives today go back ultimately to the pride of mind and heart, a cheap intellectualism that fancies that God must satisfy the human intellect. Christ in John XI:40 said that he who believes will see the glory of God. Many people today want to see before they believe, so that they expect God to satisfy their reason and their logic. They do not seem to realize that, while science may be good in its own sphere, it and religion really belong in different worlds—

worlds controlled by different laws. Not realizing this, they drift into agnosticism and materialism.

Your own good fight for the faith extending over many years is an inspiration to all of us.

A happy Thanksgiving to you!

Sincerely yours,
Benjamin Brawley.

More and more am I reminded of your great contribution to Howard University. Within the last few days I have had occasion to use the Memorial volume of Robert Gould Shaw presented by the mother of the hero to Mrs. Grimké. It is beyond all value and, I said to the librarian, must be kept as one of our greatest treasures. We are expecting that the new library building will have special space for our rare books and notable collections.

With all kind regards,

Sincerely yours,
Benjamin Brawley.

W. W. McCary to Francis J. Grimké

New York City, Nov. 27, 1934.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I thank you very much indeed for the pamphlet on "Our Young People! How to deal with them." It is splendid. I am with you one hundred per cent. Time and time again have I denounced the kind of life—the gin guzzling, cock-tail all night drinking life—our young folks have adopted as their challenge to the finer and higher ideal life of twenty-five years ago. Add to this their "companionate marriages" of indefinite length without the formality of written agreements, and you have the whole Hell bent existence thousands of the young are living.

From too many of our pulpits are popularity seeking utterances coming, saying "our young folks are all right, they are simply trying their wings like little fledglings from the mother's nest"; "they are no different from the young of other days," etc. The preachers who proclaim this kind of a lie from their pulpits know they are lying and know they are seeking applause from these misguided youths.

Please send me six of these pamphlets. I am anxious to have

several fellow ministers of my acquaintance read and study carefully the force and accuracy of your remarks. When you send the pamphlets, the sooner the better, state the cost. They are worth their weight in gold. A powerful rebuke, simply and directly administered. Dr. Imes commended certain parts he read to his congregation last Sunday morning to the careful study of his young members.

All join in love and best wishes.

Yours in the Master's cause,

W. W. McCary.

P. S. I pray God that you will be with us for many long days.

William V. Tunnell to Francis J. Grimké

Toronto, Canada, Dec. 10, 1934.

My dear Grim:

We are hoping that all goes well with you at this happy Xmas tide—good health, good eyesight, good digestion and all the other “higher” goods.

Your letter came to hand in good season, was immensely enjoyed also your magnificent article which we welcomed with its clarion call. Immediately despatched it to Bp. Holly's son, a man keen and alert and active in his community along the best and most progressive lines and I asked him to acknowledge it in his and my own behalf. I addressed the envelope which will bear this missive, accumulated the clippings, but the letter got stalled.

I noted with great sadness the acct. you gave in your letter of the prevalence of drunkenness in Wash., and I see by the papers here as well as of the *N. Y. Times*, which I see occasionally, that what is true of W. is true everywhere not only in the U. S. but here in Canada. The Liberal Party has just come into power and are carrying out the same policy advocated by the Conservatives whom they replaced, so it looks as tho we have slipped back to a worse condition than in the pre-prohibition days, because the women and the youngsters are debauching themselves as well as the men. 'Twas bad enough, when drink was the prerogative of the male—'Tis horribly worse in its moral effects for the curse of drink to effect all classes. It looks as tho what the Senator from Kansas said has come true—“that the Am. people propose to drink themselves into prosperity.”

The acct. of the great transformation that has taken place at the Univ.—the millions spent to improve the plant, grounds, salaries and etc. reads like a story from the Arabian Nights—as tho they have rubbed the lamp of the Genii! and that under a Democratic regime, the regime which in times past gave us the jitters. And now I see that there is a Democrat elected to the House in the place of De Priest! It now looks as tho the spell of the Republicans has been broken and that henceforth the colored brother proposes to make the parties guess about his vote.

You wrote me about Dubois' advocacy of segregation and isolation and shortly I saw in the N. Y. *Times* that he had resigned from the *Crisis* after something of a "row." With you I am persuaded that he has made an error that the way—the long trek! which faces the Am. Negro is complete identification with the best in the national life and cooperation with the best people in all that will make for the higher and nobler life of all the people irrespective of race and color, etc. The fundamental weakness in Am. psychology is the "dead hand" of "isolation" advocated by Washington and Jefferson in the infancy of the Republic—a policy necessary perhaps when a country and a people are not grown up but impossible for "man." The selfish policy of the U. S., the idea that we can sell to everybody and buy from nobody, that we can dictate to every nation and people, but resentful of any criticism by them, is puerile and impossible; that we are so "idealistic," that we can invade other peoples—Haiti, etc., etc., and they must think us "benevolent", etc., etc.—is all unworthy of a thoughtful and well balanced people.

I am distressed to read of the prevalence of lynching with the usual barbarities—that in Florida is especially atrocious and I observe that the Eastern Shore (Md.) defeated Richie largely because he attempted to enforce the law vs. lynching. There was here some time ago an attempt by a dentist, a member of Ku Klux Klan, to interfere with a colored man and a white woman who were about to be married. He, the dentist, was arrested and fined by the magistrate. He appealed the case and the Court of Appeals continued the fine and gave him in addition 3 months in jail. Since then there has been no sign of a Klan in these parts. Every now and then they used to burn a fiery cross, but that is history since the judges violently snuffed it out and warned the KKK that their order or rather dis-order would not be tolerated here.

I hope the dear 15th St. Ch. which I attended as a college lad

in the early 80's is still going strong, unaffected not only by the financial slump, but by the general spiritual, if not moral slump (they are akin). I have heard that Brown at St. Lukes has been retired and I am in hopes that he has been succeeded by a good man in every way. I haven't heard very much as to the Ch. life in the old town so can only hope and pray!!!!

I am wondering how the new post grad theological course at Divinity School of the Univ. (Howard) is succeeding. I have a sort of fear that there is not a large number of the Col. ministry capable of doing advanced theological work—that the great desideratum is a great group of men with good college courses prepared to enter upon an advanced theological course that would equip and prepare them for the regular work of the ministry. The weakness of the old regime was that the ministerial material was too ill-trained academically to profit by what a rather good faculty—these men some strong, able men on it—had to give them. This is no criticism of the present effort, for 'tis quite possible that the picture has completely changed since my day. I having handed over the whole thing to younger, abler, wiser and better hands, hearts and hands!!!

My good wife and I am pegging along, mounting in years, but we fear we can't pull it as long and as well as we have done and are doing. How glad we are that you are going so strong.

Keep up the good work and rival those O. T. heroes which strike (?) us as we read them. "Eye not dim and natural force not aborted."

We send you our best love and congrats. which includes Angelina.

Affec.

Tun.

W. W. McCary to Francis J. Grimké

New York City, December 10, 1934.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I thank you very much for the pamphlets. I shall gladly place them where they will do their best missionary service. It is certainly disgusting to me to hear preachers who know better, or at least, should know better, talking and preaching that rot about the average life of the average youth of today being all right. The devil never told a more uncalled for lie.

Young folks leaving home at 10:30 for an evening dance, which means "midnight supper and sunrise breakfast." The breakfast to wind up the affair after an orgy of gin and whiskey high balls, cocktail contests to see who could drink the most and not "pass out" (too drunk to navigate) and still be able to choose the one with whom they wish to stage a prolonged petting seance, with trimmings.

A young married woman, in describing the kind of affair above-mentioned, said, "Dr., every one was stewed. They were swapping husbands for the evening, and not hiding their choices. I don't know which husband took me home in the morning. I was alone when I awoke." In reply to a few of my questions, she said, "What I have told you may not go on every time, but it is a common practice, and that, too, among folks considered respectable by society. It's awful, simply awful."

If I were with you I could start your eyes from their sockets. I know of no word that can accurately describe the life of the young as told to me by white and black folks of my acquaintance.

I have seen young women walking the highways without stockings on their legs, painted toe nails plus painted lips and cheeks, and smoking cigarettes. Are they too "All right"?

* * * * *

What is the matter with the home church? Every once in a while some one, usually a preacher, says to me, "It's too bad that Dr. Grimké and Dr. Taylor can't get along together." "What's the matter with Dr. Grimké's church? I hear it seems to be dying out."

These folks are evidently fishing, but I am not a pond of information. "I am not in touch with my home church, and don't know anything about its present day workings," is my invariable reply. If things are not as they should be, I am extremely sorry.

It is time for the loyal children of the kingdom of righteousness to tighten their armor and press the battle to the gates.

I know where you stand on every outstanding moral issue. I wish there were thousands like you.

All join in affectionate greetings and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

W. W. McCary.

Wm. Hallock Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Chester County, Pa., December 21, 1934.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I am sending under separate cover one of our booklets in which we have the honor to include your picture. This may serve as a Christmas greeting conveying from my colleagues and myself our best wishes for the season and for continued health and usefulness. That was a fine letter you wrote for the Alumni gathering at Washington before Thanksgiving. I hope you keep me on the mailing list for any of your printed sermons or addresses. I enjoyed especially what you said to young people.¹

Cordially yours,
W. Hallock Johnson.

If you would like more of these booklets, we shall be glad to send them.

J. D. Eggleston to Francis J. Grimké

Hampden-Sydney, Virginia, December 18, 1934.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I have just read in the December issue of the *Southern Workman* your admirable statement regarding the Negro's attitude toward Christianity.

It couldn't be said better, and what you said is exceedingly timely.

There are Christians, and there are professing Christians, white and non-white, who bring reproach upon the name of Christ and upon Christianity by their personal contacts and attitude, and by their daily walk and conversation. But that constitutes no reason why the Negro, or anyone else, should turn away from Christ—the only real hope for mankind.

With best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,
J. D. Eggleston,
President of Hampden-Sydney.

¹ By this time Dr. Grimké had forgiven his alma mater after the appointment of Negro trustees and teachers became the new policy.

J. D. Eggleston to Francis J. Grimké

Hampden-Sydney, Virginia, January 2, 1935.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I greatly appreciate your letter of December 24, and rejoice in the sturdy stand you have taken in reference to the matter under discussion.

We can understand why unconverted men make the vain attempt to transform conditions without Christ; but it seems too bad that so many of our Christian people follow the lead of such men, and attempt to take short cuts for the transformation of the human kind without the regeneration of human hearts. It cannot be done, and all of these quack remedies will come to nothing except disaster. You are absolutely right in your viewpoint.

Thanking you for your letter, and with the prayer that God will bless you richly in your work, believe me, with best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

J. D. Eggleston,

President.

P. S. Your circular, giving extracts from a recent sermon to your young people, is packed with real gospel and with real and uncommon common sense. I do wish that ministers of the Gospel all over our country would take this viewpoint and proclaim it as you are doing.

Isaac Fisher to Francis J. Grimké

Hampton, Va., January 4, 1935.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I am glad to have your note relative to the publication of your article in the *Southern Workman* and am also glad that it has brought forth commendation from Dr. Eggleston. He wrote me also of his pleasure at reading your article.

In the matter of the return of the check sent by me to you for your article I regret exceedingly that the acknowledgement of your fine courtesy was overlooked. The first step being taken was to cancel the school's indebtedness by making the proper return to our Treasurer's office. In correcting this, inadvertently the sending of the note of thanks to you was omitted. You will please

pardon this to the newness of the work which we had just begun. And now please let me express our appreciation for your fine spirit in contributing your article to the *Southern Workman* without charge. Both the article and the spirit shown by you were distinct contributions to the general good.

I am glad you sent me a copy of your sermon to young people. I am certain that at some time I shall want to use that also, although you did not send it for publication.

With all good wishes for your happiness and success, I am

Very truly yours,

Isaac Fisher,
Editor, *Southern Workman*.

Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., January 4, 1935.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

My wife and I thank you very much for the calendar sent to us at Christmas, and now I am placed under further obligation to you by these three circular letters you were so good as to send me. It is amazing, as you suggest, how weak some men can be when they come to stating and applying the principles laid down by Christ. No; we need no new center of gravity; Jesus is quite sufficient for our needs. Nor need we be affected by what Darwin or any other great secular thinker has to say.

It is inspiring to note how you continue the good work. In more than one way you have made me feel that I must strive to emulate you in Christian service. I am under pressure in many ways, but even now I must begin to find the time and the means to write and to send forth letters suggested by the Holy Spirit.¹ Thank you for everything. My wife joins me in every good wish for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,
Benjamin Brawley.

¹ Brawley was a very busy man. He undertook many things. Once he brought out as many as four books in one year.

Leonard Z. Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., January 13, 1935.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I assure you of my appreciation of the pamphlets you recently sent me, appreciation both of their gift and of their subject matter.

What you say is true, cogent, timely and bespeaks you the thoughtful, efficient, and faithful champion still of human freedom, Negro rights, and Christian consistency you have ever been.

God bless you, my beloved old friend and revered father in the ministry, for the light and power of your tongue and pen and life to the community, the race, and the nation you have served, still serve, so nobly.

Most sincerely yours,

L. Z. Johnson.

Thorn Dickinson to Francis J. Grimké

Calhoun, Lowndes County, Alabama, January 16, 1935.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Please accept our very hearty thanks for your very helpful gift, and for advancing the date of your contribution in response to the Trustees' appeal. You and other faithful friends of Calhoun have brought us real encouragement at the beginning of the new year.

I also sincerely thank you for the copies of your sermons. Careless thinkers seem to let the current phrase, "Oh, young people will be young people," cover a multitude of indiscretions. Your showing up of the situation is timely and much needed. I am glad also that you draw a distinction between Christianity and the brand of it displayed by some of its adherents. It is lamentable that so-called Christians fall so far short of the spirit of Christ but, I agree with you, we should not on that account give up the ideal. I shall pass on your articles where they will be appreciated and helpful.

The enclosed reprint of a letter by Mr. Loud will give you an excellent idea of present conditions with us. We observed Emancipation Day as usual January 1st but we miss now the vivid recollections of the older people who have left us. Preparations are

already under way for Negro History Week in February, the next special event.

It is good to feel that you are with us in all that is undertaken here.

With very best wishes for 1935, I am,

Yours very sincerely,
Thorn Dickinson,
Treasurer.

J. D. Eggleston to Francis J. Grimké

Hampden-Sydney, Virginia, January 22, 1935.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I greatly appreciate your letter of January 21, with enclosures—all of which I have read with keen interest.

I think your little circulars are just as timely and well put as possible; and they are bound to do great good.

Your "Farewell Message" made in March, 1934, is a strong paper; and your counsel is wise.

As a member of the Caucasian race, I am distressed that we are not more unselfish, more just, more patient, more Christian in our attitude toward the Negro race. This is no new feeling on my part.

It seems almost impossible for one of your race to write an article or to deliver an address on the matters touched upon in your paper, without mentioning Abraham Lincoln. Usually he is mentioned as the great Emancipator, who took the first occasion possible to free your people because of his deep interest in the Negro. And yet I make bold to say that this belief is very far from the facts.

There were hundreds—even thousands—of citizens throughout the country, including very large numbers of them in the South, who had a more sincere interest in emancipating the Negroes than Mr. Lincoln had; and showed their interest by their actions and by their efforts.

Your mention in your address of Stephen A. Douglas reminds me of the Negro slave Douglass who became eminent in this country as a platform speaker and as a proponent of freedom for his people. I have far greater respect for him than I have for Mr.

Lincoln. He endured sufferings and persecutions for the Negro; Mr. Lincoln never put himself to any suffering in that cause.

I am taking the liberty of sending you an address on "Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession"; and you will notice that when I make statements as to the attitude of the North and of Mr. Lincoln, I quote Northern men and Mr. Lincoln as my authorities.

I am placing your address in our College Library, where it may be accessible to students and members of the Faculty.

Thanking you for your letters and papers, and with best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

J. D. Eggleston.

It isn't necessary for us to "agree" on many things, but I thank God we are one in looking to Jesus Christ as the one solution of all problems.

J. D. Eggleston to Francis J. Grimké

Hampden-Sydney, Virginia, January 26, 1935.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I greatly appreciate your letter of January 25, with the extracts from your diary.

God allows people to be punished for their sins; and He allows nations to inflict punishment on other nations which deserve discipline; but God does not hold guiltless the instruments of punishment, which, in His wisdom, have been permissive instruments.

He permitted certain nations to discipline the people of Israel; but He did not hold guiltless these nations, when they also had violated God's laws.

I do not for one moment believe that God brought on the useless conflict of 1861-65. It has long been my conviction that He permitted the people of the South to be put through very drastic disciplines; and the instrument He used during that period was the Government of the United States then in control. I have often wondered why the people of the South were punished so terribly, not only in the period 1861-65, but just as severely in the frightful days of reconstruction, and later. But it was God's permissive will, and we cannot question His wisdom and justice. But this does not clear the guilty—those of the North and East who brought on this useless conflict. If their wrong-doing has not

received God's discipline, it will certainly do so. Sometimes it takes a long course of years for an evil to ripen to God's judgment. We can safely leave the matter in His hand.

If there had been no war, slavery would have been abolished completely by 1865, or sooner. Public sentiment in the South was growing steadily towards that end; and public sentiment throughout the world was making itself felt in the same direction. Slavery in the United States was doomed without any conflict of arms.

As I have indicated in a former letter, you and I see eye to eye in the matters that are vitally essential; so there need be no arguments between us.

And now I wish to express my very sincere appreciation for your very kind remarks in reference to my address at Westminster Seminary on September 26, 1934. On yesterday I received a number of extra copies of the January and February numbers of *Christianity Today*; and I sat down and made off a list of twenty names of those to whom I wish to send marked copies. Your name was in the list, and I was just about to mail you these copies, when your letter reached me.

This address is, quite naturally, highly endorsed by some, and highly condemned by others. It is not an address in the nature of a straddle, and will, therefore, provoke commendation or condemnation. I made the gist of this address on a platform, and a modernist came to me after the meeting and said, "I am a modernist, but I am glad to hear a man who does not carry water on both shoulders."

It is most interesting to me to know that you have passed your eighty-fourth year, and that you graduated from Princeton Seminary under the great Dr. Hodge. What a man of God he was!

I have an uncle, now eighty-six, a minister of the Gospel, now on the retired list. In the nature of things, he will soon pass into the presence of the Lord and Saviour whom he has served so faithfully. I was saying to Mrs. Eggleston a few days ago that probably in the near future he would leave his body here, pass into the presence of his Master, and at once receive a wonderful welcome and greeting from his wife, from his father and mother, from my father and mother, and from other dear ones who have preceded him.

I pray God that His richest blessings may be upon you always.

Very sincerely yours,

J. D. Eggleston.

W. W. McCary to Francis J. Grimké

New York City, June 17, 1935.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Your letter and the pamphlets arrived Saturday. Always glad to hear from you. The expression—"I am still here, but weak and good for but little," saddens me more than you are able to understand. In my defense against the doctrine of "a man is a man, with all the passions and appetites of a man, and must indulge in the sexual improprieties, whether he is preacher or layman," you were my illustrious illustration of the fallacy of such doctrine. You were my defense in that I could always refer to you as supporting the correctness of my argument, and request my opponents to accept my challenge and talk with you concerning the matter. But with Dr. Grimké gone, my strongest argument leans a little upon crutches. However, I maintain that a man can be clean in body and mind if he so desires. And that a Christian minister should be, regardless of surrounding circumstances, a living example of the teachings of the Christ.

The implications in the sentence above-quoted paints Washington without its Dr. Grimké, the outstanding figure in the Christian life of the place. I refuse to entertain the thought of your passing.

I pray that God will keep you in mental and physical vigor for years not yet recorded.

Dr. Amos sends best wishes and acknowledges with thanks the pamphlets. He and I were speculating upon the possibility of underwriting quite a number of them, should we find fields enough to circulate them.

We have not gone beyond wondering just where we could sell enough of them to pay expenses. Should we become active in the matter, I will keep you advised of our steps. Of course, you know nothing will be done without your consent.

The weather tonight is torrid. I hope you are more pleasantly surrounded.

What do you think of this, my boy enters the Junior High this fall with the record "for the rapid advanced class." He is eleven and eight months. A regular old man in his philosophising. His graduation date is the 28th instant, and all of us are worked up to fever heat concerning it.

I really am an old man at last. I hardly realize it until something of this sort springs up. Were it not for the absence of my

wife, the time of life would not matter so much. Struggle as I may, I am still rambling in the desert of grieving spirits. However, I know that, if my work is not yet finished, I shall stay on awhile longer. The fact of the need of my boy, and that need spells Grandpa's teaching concerning the path that leads into eternal peace, makes me strive to be content to stay on, love on, and work and pray on that he will be rooted and grounded in the demands of the Christian religion. He is now on the "Honor Roll" of the Sunday School of St. Martin's P. E. Church, Cor. Lexington Ave., and 122d St., Rev. Johnson, pastor. His membership in this school is a concession to his father's family, who are Episcopalians.

All of us send love.

Yours sincerely,
W. W. McCary.

P. S. Have you read a book review of DuBois' book—"Black Reconstruction," by The New York Times Book Review of June 16, 1935? If not, get a copy of the paper, it is worth the price—ten cents.

Albert H. Hammond to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Maryland, July 3, 1935.

Dear Doctor Grimké:

At the Baltimore Preachers Meeting, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held at Sharp Street Memorial Community House, today, your letter addressed to Rev. Daniel W. Hays, was introduced, referring to the case of the Scottsboro boys, now on trial for their lives in the state of Alabama. After due consideration of the matter presented, the Secretary was instructed to write you that the meeting is in thorough sympathy with you in your earnest desire to save them from their pending fate, and trust their friends everywhere will pray for their deliverance, thoroughly persuaded of their innocence of the crime for which they are being held. Should they be made to suffer the death penalty, we agree with you that it will be because God intends that it shall prove the means of bringing benefit to the group of which they are the unfortunate members.

Wishing you length of days and extended usefulness on behalf of our people here and elsewhere.

Respectfully,
Albert H. Hammond,
Secretary.

D. O. W. Holmes to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., August 9, 1935.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

This is to acknowledge with thanks the two tracts which you were so good to send me concerning Italy and Ethiopia and the Scottsboro boys. I have enjoyed reading them very much.

If we condense the volumes of news articles, magazine contributions and state papers concerning the crisis in Ethiopia, I think we would find that most of it is insincere, superficial and a subterfuge. What you have written in your little tract represents, in my opinion, the distilled essence of the truth about the situation. If you had written a volume you could say no more. Particularly striking is the point you make that Rome is the capital of the nation making this unjustifiable attack upon the weaker state and, at the same time, it is the center of Christianity. It is very disturbing that the Pope has had something to say about Hitler, birth control and other things remote from Rome but that, in this startling attempt to rape Africa of its last independent spot, he remains discreetly silent. I feel at times that modern nations have made the religion of Christ but a cloak to cover up their perfidy. It is quite as startling that such protests or implied protests as have come from the remainder of the European nations are not made on the basis of Christian choice but only with reference to political expediency.¹

I hope with you that the Scottsboro boys may be freed. I hardly believe that there is enough active Christianity in America, however, to bring this about. If they must die, may their blood wash away some of the brutalities involved in the race situation in America. One is certainly constrained to feel that, in this year 1935, the Lowly Nazarene is being crucified again.

I hope to drop in and see you again in the near future and possibly we may have another little ride and an exchange of opinions. I remember with gratitude our last brief conference.

Yours very truly,

D. O. W. Holmes.

¹ At this time Benito Mussolini, the dictator of Italy, was conquering Ethiopia.

J. D. Eggleston to Francis J. Grimké

Hampden-Sydney, Virginia, November 25, 1935.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I appreciate very much your thoughtfulness in sending me the two copies of your address on "Conditions Necessary to Permanent World Peace."

You start out well with the quotation from the Prophet Micah, and you discuss the subject logically and with clearness.

According to my reading of the Bible, the time referred to by Micah and other prophets is when Jesus Christ in His capacity as Lord and King shall have returned to the earth to rule from Jerusalem. There will be no world peace until he comes in person to establish righteousness and peace; and it will be noted that the Bible never puts peace before righteousness, but always righteousness before peace.

When He comes, it will be necessary for Him to use terrific force; and we are told in the Second Psalm that He will dash His enemies into pieces like a potter's vessel, ruling with a rod of iron.

The usual belief that He will return to be the mild and meek Jesus is far from the truth. Mildness and meekness are not going to establish righteousness, and the only force that will be just will be the force used by Him.

To me the many signs point to His coming in person in the not distant future. I pray it may be soon.

Thanking you for remembering me, and with best wishes, I am
Very sincerely yours,
J. D. Eggleston.

Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké

78 Radcliffe St., Dec. 2, 1935.

Dear Frank:

Your address delivered November 3, upon "Conditions Necessary to Permanent World Peace," and your other address on the "War In Africa" received. I thank you for them. I would have written you ere this, but I can not see to read or write and am dependent on the service of friends. You have said all in each of those addresses that could have been said, and I hope that mankind will take heed and stop their hasty greed before it is too late.

There is a God, and his movements and wishes are unknown to us. He has permitted the wicked to prosper that in his own time and way they would be punished; hence I join with you in putting my trust in God. The Negro everywhere, seems to be helpless and friendless, but it is my prayer that somehow those who are defending their homes in Africa will conquer. Day by day we are getting nearer to the end of our earthly fight. Anna is as feeble as any one at 82 could be and I am not much better. Our children and grandchildren are well and thank God, off of the bread line so far. All join me in love to you.

Your old friend,
Tom (Thomas E. Miller)
Per L.

D. O. W. Holmes to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., December 3, 1935.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

On returning home at the close of the Thanksgiving season I found awaiting me the printed copy of your discourse on "Conditions necessary for World Peace" which you delivered on November third, last. I immediately read it with great pleasure and found in it, as I always do when reading what you have written, the essence of statesmanship seasoned with good common sense and high idealism. To read what you have written here after perusing the newspapers during the past year or so is like reaching the cool shade of an oasis after a long time exposed to the burning sands of the desert.

It does seem to one that there is not much more decency among the wise of the earth or clear thinking among the leaders of men than in the days of the brutalities of the Roman Empire and in the midst of that brutality the man was burned who gave a simple cure for all man's struggles to satisfy his greed and it is the policy of that man that you recommended in your sermon as the way that we can find our path into the open by the establishment of brotherhood among men. I do wish that more people in high places could think as you do and had the courage to put their thoughts into action.

Thanking you again and with sincerest good wishes for your continued health and happiness, I am

Yours very truly,
D. O. W. Holmes.

W. L. Wright to Francis J. Grimké

Chester County, Pa., December 28, 1935.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I have enjoyed greatly the copy of your sermon on peace. There is so much that is superficial in the public press that it is most helpful and satisfying to find one who goes to the root of the matter both as to the authority of God's Word and the thorough interpretation of it. I hope that out of the present turmoil there will come a clearer vision of the fundamental issues and remedies both abroad and at home in our distressing unfairnesses both of class and race.

I am glad to be reminded that your mental vigor is still unimpaired and I hope you continue in a fair measure of physical health. With kindest regards and best wishes for the new year,

Sincerely yours,

W. L. Wright.

Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké

Charleston, S. C., Jan. 22, 1936.

Dear Frank:

Your very affectionate brotherly letter was received some time ago, but my affliction and my wife's caused the delay in answering.

About three years ago Anna was operated on for the removal of a bruised mole, which was pronounced cancerous. The trouble has returned in a vulgar form and my wife, the friend of your childhood is confined to her room with little or no hope for recovery, but possessed with a lingering malady.

Fortunately for me and mine all of our seven children, especially the girls are devoted to us and no sacrifice is too great for either of them to make. The lovable possession of my children is due to the rearing and care of my dear wife. Thank God each one has responded to her every admonition. Excuse this short note, but I am not able to say more.

Thank God we are possessed with efficient nurses in the bedroom and a splendid cook.

Depression or no depression, your old friend has been able to meet all financial demands.

We trust you are quite well. A Rev. Hughes of N. Y. came the first of the year to St. Marks Church, and is getting the work organized in a fine way. The people are responding nicely.

All join me in love to you—

Your old friend,

Tom.

Wm. Hallock Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Chester County, Pa., January 25, 1936.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I appreciate more than I can say your kind letter of January 21 alluding to my retirement from the presidency at the end of this month. Such expressions of good will and appreciation make it easier for me to give up the work and fill me with gratitude for the privilege I have enjoyed and the progress I have witnessed. Under its new administration the University must now look to the future and we shall all hope and pray for its enlargement and prosperity and greater usefulness in the years to come. We hope also that the principles which guided its founders and have inspired its graduates to worthy and noble achievement will still be influential in the lives of future generations of students.¹

I want to thank you for the pamphlet on conditions of World Peace. From your watch tower of experience and insight you have stated times and conditions as clearly and eloquently as I have ever seen them expressed, and of course, as you say, you have kept close to the Word of God which is the only lamp to our feet and light to our path. I trust that after my retirement from active educational and administrative work I may have the opportunity of saying something that may be helpful, and that it might be in my power to express my thoughts with the clearness and beautiful rhetoric which you command. With heartiest thanks and every good wish for your continued health and comfort.

Faithfully yours,

Wm. Hallock Johnson,

President (of Lincoln).

¹ At this time Lincoln faced a problem. The Presbyterians who established it had less to give, especially during the depression; and foundations were accustomed to appropriate funds only for Negro colleges in the South where they could not attend white colleges as they could in the North. Lincoln is located in the North.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., January 31, 1936.

Dear Doctor Grimké:

I commend you for having made clear, in your remarkable address, the unmistakable way to secure permanent peace in these troublous times, through which we are making our perilous journey. To me it seems strange that those upon whom chief responsibility rests to end strife and bloodshed, in this and in other lands, persist in going on blindly, pursuing some other way than that which God has shown by his Prophets, and the teachings of the Bible.

I could wish for your Address wide circulation! It would open the eyes of some, to see the mistake being made by our leaders of public affairs, attempting to secure permanent peace, overlooking the plain fact it cannot be secured on other terms than pointed out by you in your able address.

Could nation-wide circulation be given your Message, doubtless it would help thinking in the right direction toward securing permanent peace on the line you have pointed out.

May the Lord give you continued health and strength to keep up the fight on the divine plan.

Yours very sincerely,
Daniel W. Hays.

Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., February 1, 1936.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I have in hand the copy of the sermon, "Christ's Program for the Saving of the World," and the leaflet, "Emperor Selassie's Appeal to the Nations," and thank you for both.

As to the Emperor's Appeal, you know how heartily I am in agreement with you. I rejoice to have this clear statement of your views, however, for I must tell you that I am putting by in a special place the letters and pamphlets which you have been so good as to send me from time to time, and in the years of the future they will be among my most cherished possessions.

As to the sermon I am sure we could use to advantage forty, perhaps even sixty copies. Since I received your letter I have been trying to get in touch with Dr. Benjamin Mays, the efficient

new dean of the School of Religion. He has been out of the city, but I hope to see him within the next two days. He will want some copies, I know; and I can also use to advantage a number in a class in the forms of Public Address that I have, beginning this week. You will not have to take the trouble to send copies; after two or three days either Dean Mays or I will send or call for some. You are very kind to think so constantly of us.

As to the biographical series I did not have chance to speak when we called on Thursday night, but I can say now that we are endeavoring to effect an arrangement by which at least one of the little volumes will appear in the very near future. It seems to me highly necessary to get the series started; and since some of those connected with the big boards who want to help me, have been a little slow in getting the money, I have the feeling that the actual appearance of even a single volume will encourage those who might contribute and at the same time be an incentive to make some of the authors complete their assignments.¹

Once more let me thank you for all the inspiration and encouragement you have given me.

Sincerely yours,
Benjamin Brawley.

J. D. Eggleston to Francis J. Grimké

Hampden-Sydney, Virginia, February 5, 1936.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I greatly appreciate your kindness in sending me a copy of your sermon on "Christ's Program for the Saving of the World."

I have read it with deep interest and hearty approval. Your congregation is fortunate in having a minister who preaches the plain, straight Gospel, and is not afraid to do it. It seems to me that more and more of our preachers are getting away from the old-fashioned Gospel, and I believe that this is one of the chief reasons this country is in such a bad spiritual, moral, and economic condition.

Again thanking you for remembering me, and with best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,
J. D. Eggleston.

¹Brawley planned to edit a series of a dozen volumes of biographies of outstanding Negroes, and prior to his death three or four of them were produced.

W. L. Wright to Francis J. Grimké

Chester County, Pa., February 10, 1936.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I am sure that the men in the Theological Department would be very glad to receive copies of your sermon. There are twenty men in the Seminary. I shall be very glad to see that they are distributed if you send them. I am very sure of one thing, namely, that they will be very much more valuable men if they follow your leading.

I can hardly express to you my appreciation of your kind letter. Many years ago I came into some realization of what you and your brother, whom I had the privilege of knowing, had stood for and the way in which you had labored. Those of us who are a little bit younger have, I hope, entered into your labors, and I trust that the generation coming after will have the same ideals and devotion.

With kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

W. L. Wright,

President of Lincoln.

Linn R. Blanchard to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, February 10, 1936.

Dear Sir:

Your friend, Mr. Robert A. Pelham, recently called at the Library and expressed an interest in making the Collection of Literature by American Negroes as complete as possible in the Library of Congress. He told me that he felt sure that you have written several works that are not represented here and suggested that you might be able to supply complimentary copies if we would write to you. The simplest way seems to be to list those of your works that we have. They are as follows:

The Atlanta Riot (1906).

Christianity and race prejudice (1910).

Equality of rights for all citizens, black and white, alike (1909).

Excerpts from a Thanksgiving sermon, Nov. 26, 1914 (1914).

Fifty years of freedom (1913).

Gideon bands for work within the race and for work without the race (1913).

God and the race problem (1903).

The lynching of Negroes in the South (1899).

The Negro; his rights and wrongs (1898).

The progress and development of the colored people of our nation (1909).

A resemblance and contrast between the American Negro and the children of Israel in Egypt (1902).

If you can supply any additional titles we can assure you that they would be put to good use and would be greatly appreciated. The enclosed penalty label may be used in sending them to us.

Sincerely yours,

Linn R. Blanchard,
Chief Division of Accessions,
Library of Congress.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., February 17, 1936.

Dear Doctor Grimké:—

Your printed Sermon, "Christ's Program for the Saving of the World," with additional Papers, on live subjects, have been received, for which I heartily thank you. Like those which have hitherto been sent me, from time to time, they are timely, strong and inspirational! The topics discussed, are vital, and are characterized by a fearless religious tone, kindred to that which was evinced by the prophets, who are known to present the Truth, without fear, having received their commission from God.

I am persuaded, many will regret learning your decision to cease publishing your Sermons and Papers, which have brought strength and cheer to many, especially members of our group, in defence of whose rights and welfare, in Church and State, you have contended at all times, with boldness, tempered with reason, and good sense. Allow me to say, in words duly weighed, you have given to our people, especially our youth, an example of the kind of leadership needed for today. Too many who aspire to lead, show lack of vision, and balance, and loyalty to God.

It is to be hoped a way may be discovered for the publication of a select number of your Sermons, and special addresses, in a well bound Volume, to be read after you are gone where there is no dimness of sight and lumbago; and other ills are no longer experienced. God bless you and the work of your hands.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel W. Hays.

Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., February 25, 1936.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Thank you very, very much for your letter enclosing two recent tracts. These will be placed among my prized possessions. As you doubtless know, I am keeping together everything pertaining to you and your work that I can get. As to Scottsboro and Dr. Kagawa, I am in the most hearty agreement with you. My only regret is to have you say that, as far as you can see now, these will be the last of your publications. As George III said to Dr. Samuel Johnson on an occasion, "You would indeed have written enough if you had not written so well."

Will you not look over your photographs and see if there is not one that you can spare for me? I should value it more than I can say.

I am glad Dean Mays called for the copies of the sermon. Within just a few days I hope to come in again and see you. Several of our teachers have been sick lately, and because of the illness of Dr. Burch of our department of English, I have been carrying an extra class for the last few days.

Sincerely yours,
Benjamin Brawley.

Walter H. Brooks to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., March 3rd, 1936.

Dr. F. J. Grimké,

Dear Friend of Many Years:

The literature, which you sent me recently is indeed a revelation of your own soul. To me you are like the true prophets of God, who, in the name of God, and in the Spirit of God, were living witnesses against the sins of their day. Your paper on the Scottsboro Case is timely, fearless, just. Only God knows what is in reserve for the people of these United States, in their unjust and wicked dealing with the weaker element of our citizenship.

Your paper on Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa is what one would expect from you. As I read it, I thought of the fact that the two most Christlike Characters in the world today are to be found among the Brown and the Yellow races. We turn to India and to Japan for these souls, who love all men, as brothers, and are mighty in

influence and power, men who glory not in the desolations of war, but are "meek and lowly in heart", men, whom kings and nations fear, because there is a power mightier than that of the sword, and these heroes of truth and justice fear not man nor dread to die, in their struggle for the triumph of human justice.

I have read only enough of your sermon to be satisfied that you have no substitute for the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It is that which frees men from error, from the bondage of sin, and sanctifies and ennobles the life of men and nations, in Christ Jesus.

The Lord bless you ever in contending for justice, righteousness, and the truth of God in all its applications to human relations.

Yours truly,
Walter H. Brooks.

D. O. W. Holmes to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., March 4, 1936.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I wish to acknowledge with thanks your letter of February 25, 1936 enclosing copies of your articles on the Scottsboro case and on Dr. Toyohiko and also your sermon on Christ's program for the saving of the world. I have read them all with care with the resulting spiritual uplift which I always experience when reading what you have written or hearing what you have to say.

With reference to your letter I wish to say that I appreciate very much the kind words which you say there. I want you to know, however, that the statement that you have trespassed upon my time is carrying your habitual modesty a little too far. I count it a rare privilege to have known you through so many years and look upon the time that I have spent either talking to you or reading what you have written as golden moments which I shall always treasure.

While I realize that your strength is not as great as it once was, I sincerely hope that you will not refrain from continuing to speak and write unless, of course, you find that it is too great a tax upon your powers. I do not question this infinite wisdom of the Creator but I do often wonder why such a rare person as yourself must finally pass from the stage of action while so many persons, absolutely worthless according to any criterion that we

poor mortals can set up, are permitted to clutter the landscape and desecrate the earth. I realize, of course, that there is injustice in this statement due to the limited vision that all mortals have and our inability to penetrate the meaning of the Divine plan. Nevertheless, such thoughts do occasionally arise when we view with contemplation the passing scene.

After an unusually hard winter we are beginning to see signs of spring which remind me that you and I must take a nice ride in the very near future in order to see the worldly signs of the reality of the resurrection. For spring always means to me that however cold and wet and uncomfortable the winter has been it does not last always. That is a very comforting thing. Otherwise in our worldly progress we would often become discouraged and downcast with things as they seem to be. The warm breezes and the green trees, however, are always a reminder that behind the snow and chill there is warmth; that behind all darkness there is light; that behind all evil there is good; that behind all sorrow there is joy; that behind all misery there is hope. You have insisted upon these things for many years, both in your pulpit and in your life; and as a result thousands have hoped and smiled where otherwise there might have been despair and tears.

So look for me in the near future. I want to enjoy with you the coming of spring.

Very truly yours,
D. O. W. Holmes.

Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., March 10, 1936.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I count myself exceedingly fortunate. I now have a total of not less than thirty-two of your pamphlets, and these range all the way from your consideration of "The Atlanta Riot," "Fifty Years of Freedom," and "Rev. 'Billy' Sunday's Campaign" to "Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa" and "Emperor Haile Selassie." More and more I am impressed by two things, your emphasis upon the fundamentals of Christian character and your insistence upon justice for all Americans irrespective of race. These booklets and leaflets will be placed among my most treasured possessions and I shall have them at hand for reference whenever I wish to speak of your sterling contribution to the Christian life of the country.

Since you gave practically all of your books to Howard it is probable that you did not keep an extra copy of Bishop Payne's *Recollections* containing your notable Introduction; but I am trying to find a copy of that book. If also you find that you have anything pertaining to your brother, please know that I should value that also. You see you have spoiled me by your generosity. The fact is, however, that sometimes people do not realize the full value of some of the things I have mentioned until those things are no longer accessible.

Sincerely yours,
Benjamin Brawley.

Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., March 18, 1936.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Thank you very, very much, both for your letter and the pamphlets you enclosed. These now give me a total of forty of your pamphlets and leaflets, and I feel rich indeed. Did you realize that you had written so many? All I have will be invaluable to me for reference in the future. Along with the other things I have placed the article on Frederick Douglass that you contributed to the *Journal of Negro History*.

I have read with interest your letters to President Wilson and appreciate your forthright words. I recall also what grave concern many of us had about the time of the Trotter incident.

What you say about my literary efforts is very inspiring to me. No one has given me encouragement more than you.

With every good wish until I see you again,

Sincerely yours,
Benjamin Brawley.

Arthur J. Lanen to Francis J. Grimké

St. Paul, Minn., February 28, 1936.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I am very much interested in your letter to Mr. Carter G. Woodson, relating to your acquaintance with Mrs. Keckley, which was published in *The Journal of Negro History* for January 1936.

Of course Dr. Barbee's claim that Mrs. Swisshelm actually wrote *Behind the Scenes*, which was issued over Mrs. Elizabeth Keckley's signature in 1868, has aroused a storm of comment.

In Mr. Woodson's editorial comment on your letter he speaks of "Persons who were personally acquainted with Mrs. Keckley and knew this book as being the product of her own pen." Did she have a copy of it in her possession? It occurs to me that she may have spoken of this book to you in the course of the thirty years during which you served as her pastor.

I am greatly interested in settling this problem. It so happens that I recently edited a volume of letters written by Mrs. Swisshelm. My interest in the case, therefore, is legitimate. When I was editing these letters I had not heard of this claim, and I now wish to accumulate every bit of evidence that I can obtain to prove or disprove the statement. I certainly do not regard it as improbable that Mrs. Keckley should write such a book. At the same time it would not be impossible for Mrs. Swisshelm, or any other person of literary training, to have assisted her in the editorial work. Any information that you can give me will be greatly appreciated.

You say that you have a picture of Mrs. Keckley. I wonder if some time later it will be possible for me to obtain a copy of that picture. It probably will be very useful in illustrating an article on this subject which I hope to prepare in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Lanen.

Employe of The Minnesota Historical Society.

From

MINNESOTA HISTORY: A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

March 1936

Evidence purporting to show that Jane Grey Swisshelm is the true author of a volume entitled *Behind the Scenes*, which was published in 1886 and was written, allegedly, by a Negro dress-maker named Elizabeth Keckley, is presented in an article in the *Washington (D. C.) Star* for November 11. The book is a revelation of the private life of the Lincolns during their residence in the White House and for a few years after the death of President

Lincoln. One or two contemporary reviewers of the book expressed doubt as to its authorship, and in general the volume was not favorably received. Friends of the Lincoln family are reported to have bought all outstanding copies, and the entire edition was supposedly recalled. It is now so rare that only three copies are listed in the Sabin bibliography of rare books—one in the Library of Congress, one in Harvard University Library, and one in the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts. The article in the *Star* is based on the researches of David R. Barbee, a student of the Lincoln period. Mr. Barbee goes so far as to say that he is convinced that Mrs. Keckley never existed. He bases his claim that Mrs. Swisshelm is the author of the book on certain alleged similarities between incidents related in the Keckley book and in Mrs. Swisshelm's autobiography, *Half a Century*, published in 1880; on supposed similarities of style between the writings of the two women; and on a statement of a gossiping Washington reporter who, Mr. Barbee says, shortly after the publication of *Behind the Scenes*, referred to Mrs. Swisshelm as the "author of the Mme. Keckley book." Other writers have been quick to come to the defense of Mrs. Keckley. On November 15 the *Star* published a letter from J. E. Washington, in which Mr. Barbee's charge that Mrs. Keckley is a fictitious character is vigorously denied. Mr. Washington claims to have ample proof of her identity, and says that she is the author of the volume. In the *Journal of Negro History* for January appears a communication from Dr. Francis J. Grimké of Washington, D. C., who states that for over thirty years Mrs. Keckley attended the church of which he was pastor. Although Dr. Grimké does not claim that Mrs. Keckley wrote *Behind the Scenes*, he creates the impression that she at least was capable of doing so. The controversy rests at this point. No detailed exposition of Mr. Barbee's claim has yet been published, and it is, therefore, impossible to pass judgment on the validity of his charge. Until such proof is forthcoming, it would seem that Mrs. Keckley must be accepted as the author of *Behind the Scenes*. Mr. Barbee's conclusions, as published in the *Star*, have been used as the basis for articles in the *St. Cloud Sentinel* for November 14, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 26, and the *Minneapolis Journal* for December 29.

A. J. L.

Carrie Syphax Watson to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., March 19, 1936.

My dear Rev. Grimké:

I acknowledge yours of the 12th inst. regarding the late Mrs. Elizabeth Keckley—Aunt Keckley more familiar to me.

I am glad to reply to your questions: to one, who was dearly beloved by her, and to one, who knew her so very well.

It has been amusing at times and even ludicrous to listen to the babble of recent publicity and questions put to me, by some who didn't even know Aunt Keckley, nor had ever heard of her until the recent articles published. To all of these inquires I referred them to you, who were her pastor and who committed her remains to mother earth and removed all doubt of her existence.

Aunt Keckley never divorced from her life her book—"Behind the Scenes", nor the circumstances leading up to its publication. It seemed to be the drama of her life, and as she lived on she lived over chapter after chapter with precious reminiscence.

As you know she was an unusually bright woman, mind alert to worth while things in life, and had she been fortunate to have been educated would have been a most brilliant woman, and outstanding in any group or community affiliated with her.

The publishers of her book "Behind The Scenes" or "Thirty Years A Slave, And Four Years In The White House" were G. W. Carleton and Co., New York City, N. Y.

The book bears the following: "The New York Printing Company, 81, 83, 85, Centre Street, New York."

"Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1868, by Elizabeth Keckley, In the Office of the Clerk of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of Pennsylvania".

In her preface, she signs her name Elizabeth Keckley 14 Carroll Place, New York City, March 14, 1868.

Aunt Keckley spoke of G. W. Carleton and Co. with great appreciation for the manifest interest and kindness in her preparation of this book. I gleaned from her conversations with me that the chapters were of her own assembling. The Carleton Co. may have, in their review made corrections in construction of phrases and grammatical errors.

It would be expected that such assistance would be given to an author of limited education and experience.

I do know that Aunt Keckley had a copy of her book in her possession when she returned to Washington from Philadelphia Pa. as many times, I would read to her from it, certain chapters and passages that seemed to cling to her.

I have a copy of her book, but preciously keep it in a safe deposit. I will be glad to let you see it sometime when I can conveniently get it and if you desire to see it.

I, also, have several books she gave me with her signature—her very own hand writing, which would remove any doubt of her having lived as has been questioned.

I do regret my extreme tardiness in replying. I am very busy at this particular time, and I did not want to answer you hurriedly. If I can give you any further information do not hesitate to call on me.

In this day and time of swift thinking and doing, the past is a closed book to the "crowd" and it is refreshing to talk to some one who tenderly remembers the "long ago" with its joys and its sorrows. And, so, I am glad to talk with you tonight concerning Aunt Keckley, for whom I was named, and whose memory follows me with affection through the years.

Best wishes for you and God's blessings.

Sincerely,
Carrie Syphax Watson.

J. Paul Slaybaugh to Francis J. Grimké

West Nottingham Academy, Colora, Maryland.

April 17, 1936.

My dear Mr. Grimké:

I accept as altogether justified the letter of criticism I received from you this morning.

It is, no doubt, true because of the limitation on our physical equipment and the peculiar situation of dormitory accommodation that we should probably hesitate to accept an application from a colored student.

I do want to assure you, however, that such action would be prompted by no personal prejudice on my own part. The college which I attended admitted colored students, and I would have no personal objections to them in the student body at West Nottingham.

If in the future I fail to omit you from our mailing list, which is based on the roll in synod's minutes, I trust you will accept whatever comes to you as information about the work at the Academy and certainly without any personal feeling on your part.

Cordially yours,

J. Paul Slaybaugh,

(Headmaster of West Nottingham Academy)

William V. Tunnell to Francis J. Grimké

Toronto, Canada, May 9/36.

My dear Grim:

I am just crawling out of the ice in which we have been held fast for months in a winter of portentous severity. We have had disastrous floods but, thank God, we escaped the tornadoes which wrought such terrible damage and suffering in the South. We are therefore thanking God for the rays of a rather hot sun today.

I have, I humbly confess, been remiss in not promptly [acknowledging] the receipt of and the exquisite pleasure and profit I enjoyed from the packet of your great, timely and splendid utterances. They do not read like the utterances of a mid-octogenarian, but more like the trumpet-call of a physical and mental giant!! They rang like an alarm bell in my soul and I breathed a prayer of thanksgiving that the brain still registered its pristine clarity and vigor and that the tones of that voice still rang in the nation's Capital. How much poorer the nation will be when that voice is stilled!!!

May God raise up a thousand Elishas to carry on the work of our Great Elijah!!!

Mordecai Johnson visited the city latterly to speak at a Jewish forum and I had the pleasure of meeting him at his hotel the following day. He told me of the munificence of the Federal Gov. and of the great material changes at the Univ. I dare indulge the hope that the intellectual and above all the moral and spiritual fabric has kept step with the physical and the spectacular.

Thoughtful educators are deploring more and more the marked declension in the latter and an article with statistics galore just read shows a marked decline in the Protestant Chs. and an alarming falling off in contributions to Ch. support, missions and etc. and etc. In the last days of my service at the U. there was steady, con-

stant pressure vs Chapel, prayer meetings, religious exercises on the part of the students and the younger teachers and a steady yieldance to the pressure, so that the Bible was practically a closed book, except at the ill-attended Ch. service (vespers) on Sunday. I am hoping that there has been a contrary swing of the pendulum.

Would that they would sit at your feet and be taught by you the things that belong to their peace!!!

I note with great shame and sorrow that there is a recrudescence of lynching in the S. despite the effort of many of the most enlightened southerners. No wonder the U. S. is silent and acquiescent at the rape of Ethiopia. "Curse Ye Men", "Gallio cared for none of these things". "The Jericho road."

My good wife and self are still carrying on altho the days are taking their toll. You go on to the century mark and beyond!!!!

Love and benisons on you and Angelina and God have you both and all in His Holy Keeping.

Affec.

"TUN"

J. C. Napier to Francis J. Grimké

Nashville, Tenn., May 30, 1936.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I have received and carefully read your two leaflets, "Senator Borah and the Negro" and "The Negro and Political Parties."¹ I thoroughly agree with you in your question propounded to Mr. Mitchell, member of Congress, this I am sure he can not and will not answer.

I had for a great many years been an admirer of Senator Borah of Idaho and continued to feel that he would be an excellent man for President of the United States, until he issued his lengthy invective against the protection of Negroes in this country.

You have done our group a great service in the issue of these two papers and you have earned the gratitude of every thinking member of our race. I am always pleased to read whatever you send to the press. Wishing you health and happiness, I remain,

Very truly yours,

J. C. Napier.

¹ Borah was supposedly a Republican but he was not loyal to any party. He had little or no sympathy for the Negro. On the Negro question Borah stood with the South.

Henry M. Edmonds to Francis J. Grimké

Birmingham, Alabama, June 26, 1936.

My dear Mr. Grimké:—

I appreciate your letter and the statement of your feelings in the matter of the Scottsboro case.

It will be of interest to you to know that from the first trial we have endeavored to get in on the defense of these Negroes. Two representatives—a man and a woman—on behalf of the Interracial Commission were at that trial to do their best to get from the boys a power of attorney. The I. L. D., however, presumably with extravagant promises, beat us to it and have held their ground. At one time we had Arthur Garfield Hayes, Clarence Darrow and Roderick Beddow, one of the leading Alabama criminal lawyers, lined up to cooperate in the case, but the I. L. D. again refused to give place—and there we were. It has been only since the I. L. D. merged with the other groups in the handling of the situation that we have had our opportunity. Things are going rather well and I believe that the way is open now for a fair trial and a better understanding on the part of all concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Henry M. Edmonds.

J. D. Eggleston to Francis J. Grimké

Hampden-Sydney College, Hampden-Sydney, Virginia,

July 24, 1936.

Dear Mr. Grimké:

I have read with much interest and pleasure the two addresses, or sermons, you were kind enough to send me—one on *Prize Fighting*, the other on *Samuel's Farewell*.

They are excellent, and I wish we could have sermons or addresses of this wholesome tone throughout our land.

The present condition of our country depresses and alarms me. Our people seem to have gone mad over every kind of amusement: over jazz music; over the degrading comic sheets, which our young people are feeding upon; over prize fights; over any and everything that takes them away from the things that are high, and clean, and ennobling.

No wonder the country is filling with crime, and that the people are trying to forget God.

Our economic and political evils will not be cured until our people get right with God spiritually.

Again thanking you, and with best wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

J. D. Eggleston,
President.

Henry Topping to Francis J. Grimké

KAGAWA FELLOWSHIP IN JAPAN,
303 Hyakunin Cho, 3 Chome, Yodobashi Ku,
Tokyo, Japan, July 27th '36.

Dear Dr. Grimké:—

Many thanks to you for your Cheque for Ten Dollars. At your request I set aside Three Dollars for Kagawa Calendars (50) for 1937, and the balance goes to Kagawa's work fund. He will be very grateful for your gift when he returns.

There is barely time to get a letter to him before he sails for home. He is expected to arrive here late in September. Meantime Mrs. Kagawa, to whom he commits much of his financial affairs, will be carrying out his wishes and plans.

Many thanks also for the leaflet you had printed about Kagawa. Your estimate of him is so just and discerning that we want to use it, if we have your permission.¹

We are much impressed with the loyalty of his associates. He inspires them. Many of them are University graduates, specialists in various lines who had Government positions, but gave them up to help Kagawa work out his plans for a better world. Of course they are all Christians and we admire their devotion all the more when we learn that they gladly work for Kagawa at $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ what they were formerly receiving. We feel that we are indeed fortunate to be in such a noble fellowship!

Gratefully yours,
Henry Topping.

¹ Kagawa had some followers among the Negroes of the United States. Dr. Grimké was an ardent admirer of this Oriental Christian.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., July, 1936.

Dear Doctor Grimké:—

I have on my File, two papers which you mailed to me some days ago for which an earlier acknowledgement should have been returned. I agree with you in your estimate of Borah, who has been beaten in his race for the presidential nomination. His defeat was predestined. We certainly need to give more attention to Political Parties, claiming our support. As stated by you folly would be shown by giving allegiance to the Democratic Party—a Party which has always been our foe. I think you have pointed the direction we ought to travel to find our party affiliation. Although we constitute only a minority group we must not give up the hope of being able some day to succeed in finding a Party which comes nearer measuring up to our ideal, especially when men like you are found hammering away, giving steady blows. We will have a better chance to win, when we are given a better type of Negro leadership. We need men of Vision, honest men, men versed in the history of the times, men ever ready to spurn bribery in whatever form presented. May the prayer, heard ascending from many faithful men and women who rightly prize the worth and sanctity of humanity, be soon answered. Am wishing you a happy vacation, fruitful on the mental and spiritual sides.

Yours very cordially,
Daniel W. Hays.

Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., September 8, 1936.

✓ My dear Doctor Grimké:

I found your letter on my return from a trip to Raleigh to attend the wedding of a niece or more correctly a grand niece of mine, daughter of Dr. Urbane Bass, killed in the World War, who became Mrs. C. C. Spaulding, married to the eldest son of Spaulding of Durham, N. C. I thank you for the brochure on "Prize Fighting" and I assure you I agree whole heartedly with you in your strictures on that brutal pastime. In fact I have just written Maud, my niece, mother of the bride mentioned above that in my opinion the plaudits of the race should go not to the Jesse Owens

and the Joe Louis who have by their exploits won only what a good race horse or any trick animal wins—better oats, a good stable, and comfortable blanket for himself and a big bag of money for his master. Our true heroes are the men and women who establish homes, rear families, and bequeath substantial citizens for the upbuilding of the social structure and the purifying and strengthening of civilization.

I am glad that you wrote me about the sketch of our dear Lottie's life which I submitted to Dubois before he left the *Crisis*. He answered praising the idea and said that he thot the *Crisis* ought to publish it but that it was too long for an article. I suggested that it run as a serial thro several successive numbers. I did not hear from him again. Nor did he return my notes. I shall try again this winter, however, to reproduce my preface and personal tribute and follow it up with the writings of Lottie herself for publication in book form under your own editing if that is satisfactory to you.

Sincerely yours,
Anna J. Cooper.

Frank C. Shirley to Francis J. Grimké

Charlotte, N. C., Sept. 8, 1936.

My Dear Dr. Grimké:

There will be two days in 1936 that I will never forget. One is June 9th when it was my privilege to meet you for the first time. This was at the home of Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Hall where we were guests for dinner.

For many years I have heard of the great work you had accomplished at the 15th St. Church. While a student in college and Seminary I read a number of sermons and addresses from your pen. These sermons and addresses made a great impression upon me, and I found myself in those early days desiring to pattern my life after the man who had given himself so unreservedly unto the calling of the ministry. As the years came on this desire deepened more and more within me. Hence you can imagine the joy which came into my heart when I was able to grasp your hand for the first time on June 9th.

Yet I was not satisfied when we separated on that day because I did not get a chance to talk with you as I desired. I longed for

another opportunity, and especially so after I read the sermons and addresses which you gave me when you left Mrs. Hall's. This opportunity came to me on Aug. 3rd when I was returning from Philadelphia. It was then that I was privileged to say to you how much I had been helped by the contacts I have had with you.

Yours has been an eventful life. You have been an inspiration to thousands of young men and women. Even after more than three score years in the active ministry your utterances are clear, courageous, forceful and convincing. I have noted with much interest your pronouncements upon the current economic, social and religious problems, and have said how blessed we are in days like these to have one who has borne the burden in the heat of the day to speak out of the richness of his experience upon the matters that are giving the world so much concern at this time.

I wanted to write this letter to pay this personal tribute to you, for what your life has meant to me. There have been times since I have been grappling with the problems which face us on the southern field, when I have become discouraged and have asked myself the question "What is the use"? But when I think of your uncompromising stand for over sixty years in the ministry I take fresh courage and determine to press on and up.

I pray God's continued blessing upon you and hope it may be my privilege again to talk with you.

With very kind personal regards to you and members of the Gray family who made it so pleasant for me while I was there, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Frank C. Shirley.

Walter H. Brooks to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., September 29th, 1936.

My dear friend of many years:

You always think of me when you write, and allow me to share your thought and spirit. For this I am grateful, for no one can read thoughtfully your writings without being edified.

Your articles on prize-fighting are deserving of the most serious consideration, as are your sermons and papers on the unrestrained lawlessness, which abounds in portions of this land, to the shame

of the American people, their civilization, their form of government, and their claim as followers of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Not alone are the better classes among us advocates of prize-fighting and certain forms of public gambling, but their leaders in pulpit and class room are often, too often, chief offenders in "sports."

If, at times, in this battle for what is right and proper in the sight of God; if in your zeal to lift up a standard for this people of ours, they appear to be indifferent to the great task you have assumed, think not that you are alone in the fight. There are others, true and steadfast in doing the will of God. May the Lord continue to use you, with voice and pen, to the glory of his cause in the earth.

Yours truly,
Walter H. Brooks.

Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., October 16, 1936.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I was very happy to see you looking so well last Wednesday when I called.

Simply for your private information I have thought I should like to tell you that last night the Library Committee passed the following motion:

"In view of the fact that the Reverend Dr. Francis J. Grimké gave to Howard University two thousand five hundred valuable books, and also served the institution for forty years as a trustee, the Library Committee recommends to the President and Trustees that consideration be given to the matter of permanent and formal recognition of the gift."¹

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,
Benjamin Brawley.

¹ While most of Dr. Grimké's works went to Howard, he gave some valuable books also to Lincoln as provided in his last will and testament. The Howard gift was made several years before he passed away.

Carter G. Woodson to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., November 16, 1936.

My dear Dr. Grimké.

I thank you very much for the two articles which you left for me. We are delighted to know that you were sufficiently interested in Dr. Wesley's article on "Religious Attitudes" to make such a comment thereupon. A book is not a book unless it is read. So it is with an article. This particular one attracted the attention of a great mind in thus interesting you.

I am especially delighted to have the comment on Mr. Thomas Walker. I heard you deliver this address on the occasion of his funeral. It is fortunate that we have it in print to go into our records as another valuable comment on the career of a useful man.

Thanking you again, I am

Respectfully yours,
C. G. Woodson,
Director.

Joseph P. Holmes to Francis J. Grimké

16 North Ave., Kingston Gardens,
Kingston P. O., Ja., B. W. I., Nov. 30, 1936.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

How are you? Mrs. Holmes and I are so anxious to know how you are. We haven't heard from any one at the Church for some time. Mrs. Boyce was the last one to write to us. Now that the cold weather has come we trust that you will take every care of yourself.

I trust that the Church is on the upward march. We are praying for you all every day. Please remember us to the friends at your home, then all the members of the Sunday School Class, the prayer meeting, the members of the Church and Dr. Taylor.

I heard from Dean Pratt and he informed us of the death of our beloved friend and brother, Dr. Gordon. He was a great Christian and a friend. His memory will always be with us.

Now about ourselves:

We are well, my father is getting weaker, yet cheerful. I saw him in May last. My wife's mother is fairly well. Our other relatives too are well.

Work: Although I preach almost every Sunday and make addresses at Missionary Meetings and other functions, I have no steady work. The recognized churches here do not use one who has not been trained by their school. Nor do they want to employ one who has a wife or is above 27 years of age. Then their budgets are made at Synod which is generally met in Jan. or February. After this synod they have no extra money to employ the service of any one. So that when I serve any church I can get only travelling expenses.¹

The standard of a minister here is high, that is, he must pay for everything he wants done. He must have servants even to look after the lawn, clean his car, etc. We find it harder to live here now than when we were in D. C.

There are many U. S. A. churches here, e. g., A. M. E., Church of God, 7th Day, Holiness, Father Divine, and many other sects, but none of the better organized denominations. These are always fighting among themselves; therefore, there is a suspicion on all who come from U. S. A. as church leaders.

Yet we believe in the goodness of God and each day we place our cause before Him feeling that He will in His own way place us where we will be of the best service to humanity. We are leaving no stone unturned. We use every wise opportunity to testify for Him. His honor, His glory and His praise is all our delight. Although we are fighting against financial odds we are happy in that we believe just what Ps. 21:1 says.

We had hoped to return but the U. S. A. Consul here is not inclined to visa our passport yet.

May God bless and keep you and let your evening days be as mornings of joy and may His spirit ever abide with you. We miss your helpful sermons.

Mrs. Holmes joins me in saying God bless you.

I should have asked you for a recommendation before I left but in my hurry it slipped me. I would appreciate it if you will send one to me.

I am

Yours in His service,

Joseph P. Holmes.

¹ This is evidence of the fact that church control in the West Indies is much more rigid than in the United States—so much so that freedom of religion is indirectly restricted.

Madge Herndon to Francis J. Grimké

727 St. Nicholas Ave., New York City, Nov. 24th, 1936.

Dear Sir:

In reading the *Philadelphia Tribune* I was surprised to read the article that you had on Joe Louis why I don't see how you could ever feel that he is such a discredit to the race because although he has not been through all the Colleges that some of the so-called negroes children has he showed more decency and also lives a cleaner life than children of such Educated Fathers as the Debois and Kelly Miller his first ambition was to see his 52 year old mother living equal to any White Woman he also has helped a plenty negroes on their feet he does not smoke, drink or live the way that some of your professional men or women who come to New York to hide their dirt that they are afraid to be caught in over there and according to the *Afro American* I wonder if any one lives decent in Washington they either taking money from the mails or there wife is suing the husban or in court on one thing or the other and I want to say that the boy don't care what is said and perhaps his secretary will not even read it to him but I think he is the best for his age in our race in my time and I'll venture to say that no Colored man becomes a minister to save nobody's soul but because it is an easy living and they no how soft each is and also how ignornent on the question of religion they will give the Preacher when they have nothing there selves that is why I don't worship in none of there Churches and go where I feel like it and I want to say if you could see some of Your teachers who come here to take a summer course at Columbia they are a disgrace they drink, smoke and sit at Card tables Gambling and I know so I think you should give the boy credit you said nothing at all about Braddock and all the old bums they are hungary and is such a drawing card that they are all get rich through him and they better thank God for Joe Louis for they even Fly From California and every and I belive that in the sight of God he will far above some of his Knockers and if they would try to stop some of the predjussee that goes on there in your City you and all others would be doing something I visited there in 1918 and I was disgusted with it what I saw and would not want to even die there. I am no young woman but I have sense to know that the boy deserves all the credit that could be given him and even those who have him in charge is not worthy according to there life and his

but all the world wants to know have You got the Almighty dollar not how you get it that they don't care about and to Professional here in New York I would not have them for a Cat of mine.

Please to inform you,
Mrs. Madge Herndon.

Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., November 26, 1936.

Happy Thanksgiving, Dear Friend:

I received the leaflets on "Highest Values" and "Religious Attitudes" and thank you very much for sending them. I always pass along your thoughts and writings to my students in the School of Religion. On Tuesday evenings I have the class myself from 7 to 8 and we read aloud and discuss the Radio sermons from Sabbath Reveries; we have just finished Dr. Goodell's series which all of us enjoyed very much. I am now writing for Dr. Fosdick's in Evening Vespers. There are eight in the class this year and each member has his own copy for keeps. If you can spare seven more copies of the leaflets you sent me I assure you the class will appreciate, and I shall take great pleasure in re-reading them, aloud, with others. There was, some weeks ago at Dr. Brooks' Church (19th St. Baptist Church), a memorial service for Mrs. Lawson. I was asked to speak and took along your brochure on Rosetta Lawson and left it with the presiding officer who had not heard of it before. You may replenish my supply of that copy also for my class and an extra for the school library, if you please.

It was such a pleasure to have you with us last month to bring back old memories, old times, old friends and associations. You must not grudge this pure and exquisite joy to yourself and your friends for the short while we are in the flesh. You must come again and eat a baked apple with us and brew your own cup of tea. I am expecting Lula from Chicago to spend a few days with me next week. She is very sad and lonely since the death of her husband—you remember James Lawson, of course. She needs rest and change and I hope you will come in for just a little call some morning while she is here. I shall let you know more definitely and shall prepare and expect you. Don't say you can't.

As ever

Truly your friend,
Anna J. Cooper.

Benjamin Brawley to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., November 28, 1936.

✓ Dear Dr. Grimké:

I am very, very happy that the book on Dunbar was able to win your approval, for I value your opinion most highly. And you will be glad to know, I think, that the engagement in the Auditorium at the University of Pennsylvania on Tuesday night seemed to be very successful. The audience was very generous in its applause. There were three main points in the address, though I used numerous illustrations. First, I undertook to show that the emphasis on realism in Negro literature in recent years had tended unduly to cultivate the sordid and mean, and not to make for the best things in the racial genius. Second, I pointed out that what was said about the literature of the Negro would apply to literature in the large. The Nobel prize, for instance, was by the terms of the donor's will, to be given for idealistic literature; but more and more the provision about idealism has been disregarded, so that twice the prize has been given to Americans whose work is sordid, realistic, and even unhealthy in tone. Finally, I undertook to show that the forces working in literature applied to life in the large. The so-called realistic statesmanship of Europe, for instance, has given us the seizure of Ethiopia and the sad pass to which we have come to-day in world politics. All means that we must look not so much into the gutter as at the stars. The address, in short, was a plea for the idealistic principle in literature and in life.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Brawley.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., December 4, 1936.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Your latest Essays, including the one dealing with the Problem of the Jews, have been received and read with much interest; and I may add profit, for they not only convey instruction, but stimulate thinking as well. What you have said respecting prize fighting, its degradation and blighting influence, ought to help much towards creating public sentiment against it, and thereby put a ban on it, and curb its demoralizing influence.

I think you do well in calling attention to the Jew of today, their attitude towards Christianity, denying Christ as the Redeemer, and clinging tenaciously to the unbelief which called forth his wrath, still hanging over their heads. It is time steps were taken to lead them to a knowledge of the Truth, as set forth in the New Testament, toward which they persist in showing stubborn opposition.

"Religious attitudes of Negro Youth," like the other papers, is cogent, and deserves careful consideration. Whatever tends to put youth on the wrong path, leading to the formation of unsound religious character, ought to be strenuously opposed. Your pen is being employed in a good work, scattering leaves which, it is to be hoped, are to be used in bringing healing to our depressed nation, which is found to be in a bad state. May the Lord cause your bow to abide in strength, and give you sure aim, while contending with the foes around us. With best wishes, I am

Yours truly,
Daniel W. Hays.

W. B. Shedd to Francis J. Grimké .

Princeton Theological Seminary Library,
Princeton, New Jersey, February 23, 1937.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

The Library is in receipt this morning of three contributions which have been made to the welfare of your church members by you. You will remember that I have written to you before in appreciation of the evangelical and ethical messages which you have printed and sent to us for our Alumni Alcove. It is fine that God has kept you useful so long and that you have felt that even the disabilities of old age do not forbid a man from being of some value in the world.

Personally I am highly gratified to find that you and I are at one in so many things. I too am astonished to find so much indifference today among the so-called respectable people in regard to prize fighting, gambling, social drinking of alcohol and all that goes with it. I too believe that all citizens, of every race, color and creed ought to be on a level before the law. It is impossible to treat everyone alike in personal relations but again I agree with you

that the differences among men ought to be based on character and that this is a matter which even God takes into account.

I note your hope to be permitted to attend once more this year the Commencement at Lincoln University. I am sure all your friends will join with you in the hope that you may thus round out your long years of devotion to your Alma Mater and to Princeton Seminary.

Very truly your,
W. B. Sheddan,
Librarian.

Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., February 23, 1937.

Doctor Francis J. Grimké

My dear Friend:

✓ I thank you for the copy of your very interesting and impressive sermon on the occasion of our quadrennial inauguration. I mean to read it with my class tonight in the School of Religion. I think it peculiarly opportune in view of the flippant way in which some of our younger representatives talk and seek to lead the thought of the age. For instance at the meeting in Richmond a week ago a Howard University Professor speaking before the Southern Negro conference, used these words: "Being good might get you to Heaven but it will not do a damn bit of good on earth. It has no more social significance than a good drink of liquor" and it is such "leaders" that get quoted in the papers and command the big salaries in institutions for the training of our young people.

I sent you a copy of our Lincoln-Douglass Day program and hope you like it. My own slogan on the title page "Character and service not promotions and profits the ultimate test of that knowledge which is power and of any education that promises to be worth what it costs." This is the mainspring and motive force behind what we are trying to do here in our contacts with the adults we are able to reach. It may not go far in leavening the whole but at least we shall have done what we could.

There are many of the prominent of our own race who misunderstand or choose to stand aloof till sure they are not needed, but I am convinced that the work is worth while and that the

strengthening of the purpose to serve rightly, intelligently and efficiently in the heart and mind of one even is worth the sacrifice to carry on.

Sincerely your friend,
Anna J. Cooper.

Anna J. Cooper to Mordecai W. Johnson

Washington, D. C., February 24, 1937.

My dear Doctor Johnson:

✓ After giving equal honors to Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln in our recent celebration at Frelinghuysen, I can but deplore the unfortunate slant given by headlines in a February issue of the *Washington Tribune* taken in connection with more extended remarks of a professor of Sociology at Howard University.

The headline, for which of course you are not responsible reads: Howard University, Pres't slaps the old leaders at Southern Youth Congress; but the professor's dicta in so far as it may be construed as a line of instruction to guide Negro Youth or any other educable human beings, is to my mind highly objectionable. I quote as follows: "The salvation of the Negro does not rest upon being good. Being good might get you to heaven but it will not do a damn bit of good on earth. It has no more social significance than a good drink of liquor," In contrast with the above I commend to you the slogan of Frelinghuysen as printed on our Lincoln Douglass program enclosed. "Character and Service, not promotions and profits the ultimate test of that knowledge which is power" and, I may add, of any education claiming to be worth what it costs. We do not teach "Being good" for value received or as a bargain with dominant social forces. Nor have we been subsidized by "Rolls-Royces" for any line of teaching at all peculiar to Negro Youth. We believe that righteousness, and righteousness alone exalteth a people, and we look to the award of Him who taught Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness sake whatever their race, creed or condition. Decent behavior may or may not receive due recognition in modern affairs or even specifically in our own topsy turvy U. S. A. but such a contingency does not altar the great fundamental basis of the eternal verities nor, as it seems to me should it excuse the time serving and trimming for expediency which teaches or seems to imply that only what pays is worthy the aim of a purposed life.

I sincerely hope that these words of Professor Frazier with all their implications do not represent the principles of your great institution or views that you yourself would like to emanate from Howard University. I am,

Very truly yours,
Anna J. Cooper.

Walter H. Brooks to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., February 25, 1937.

Rev. F. J. Grimké, D. D.

My dear Friend:

I have just finished reading your last message to the people of this community, which was delivered in your stead, by Dr. G. Lake Imes, a few Sundays ago.

You may pass to your heavenly reward when you will, but the influence of this message, and of others which you have been delivering for a half century, in regard to the things which count for most, in this life, and in the life beyond, will remain, to bless and ennoble individuals, families, the community and the race.

Your life and service have been a benediction to mankind, for in you the truth of God, and the Spirit of God have wrought mightily all these years.

The Lord continue to be with you, and glorify himself in you while life remains.

Yours truly,
Walter H. Brooks.

Anna J. Cooper to Francis J. Grimké

Sunday, February 28.

My dear Friend:

Your sympathetic and wholly understanding letter encouraged me greatly. There are so few among our own people and particularly among those who come closest and with whom we have to work most intimately, that seem to have any conception whatsoever of the importance of our part in the fray. Their whole range of vision seems focused on the white man's favors and what they as individuals can wheedle or brazen into their selfish little market-baskets.

It seems increasingly difficult to get anything like sober consideration of big basic principles and even the least concerted action for the common good. In fact they don't mind saying to your face that working in self-forgetful devotion for the general welfare is simply foolish and impractical. It isn't done.

There will be more who heed the teaching of that Howard University Professor and act upon it as sound worldly wisdom than will listen to your advice as to what is best for the race.

The reaction among our students on the reading of your sermon last Friday night was wholly satisfactory. I shall be happy to give each of them a copy for his own if it does not tax you overmuch. I should have asked it at first but I know printing is quite an item of expense, and you do a great deal of it without letting your public share the cost.

Sorry to learn you are having trouble with your teeth. I am in the same fix and I have fallen into hands far less considerate of the extent of my purse strings than was Dr. Sumner Wormley of lamented memory.

I am so glad you have radio in your room. It opens all the best doors in modern American life without segregation or discrimination and one may select the bill of fare that suits his individual taste without fear of being snubbed.

Sincerely as ever,
Anna J. Cooper.

Mordecai W. Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., March 5, 1937.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Please allow me to acknowledge and to thank you for your letter. You are quite right in judging that I have no sympathy with the view that being good is no good on the earth. Quite to the contrary, I am of the opinion that whatever we do by way of political and economic procedure that is not associated with reverence for other life and truthful relations thereto will be utterly futile in the long run.

May I ask you to disregard wholly the purported quotations from the address delivered by me in Richmond, Virginia, set forth in the February twentieth issue of the *Washington Tribune*. The reporter undoubtedly meant well but he was so astoundingly in-

accurate that he wholly misrepresents both my spirit and purpose in the address.¹ I am writing a vigorous letter to the editor in relation thereto.

Sincerely yours,
Mordecai W. Johnson.

Jerome F. Kidder to Francis J. Grimké

Calhoun, Lowndes County, Alabama, March 9, 1937.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

Your splendid tribute to Miss Thorn, in your letter enclosing your generous check, has been an inspiration to us all. Our gratitude to you is very genuine for your friendship and that of your brother have meant more to the School during these many years than we can express.

This letter gives me opportunity to thank you personally for the copy of your Quadrennial Message to the Race. It seems to me a very masterly piece of work, and I am going to take the liberty of using it in a talk to our students, for I feel that they should become acquainted not only with this special message but, through it, with you. May I also thank you for the little paragraph essay on Vital Christianity.

This year the School has been working to re-establish some of the activities to which Miss Thorn gave such devoted service. During the depression it became necessary to restrict the work more than the staff wished but we are hoping to be able to restore most of it during the coming year. The county is very poor and will always need the help of Calhoun. From time to time we are sending the friends of the School brief statements of the work and of the changes, and our hope is that more of these friends can visit us yearly. If at any time you can find it convenient to come to Calhoun, we shall welcome you most happily.

With every good wish, believe me,

Faithfully yours,
Jerome F. Kidder,
Principal.

¹ Certain professors at Howard University at this time were boldly attacking religious principles, and Dr. Grimké wanted to be sure that the head of the University at least was orthodox.

Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké

Charleston, S. C., Mar. 19, 1937.

Dear Frank:

Your sermon "A Good Name is rather to be chosen than Great Riches" is a masterpiece. When Anna read it to me I said aloud "I wish I could see Frank, thank him and hug him for this sermon." If there is one man in America who has labored for man and God unselfishly, that man is my friend Frank. While so laboring you have achieved a good name, spotless, cloudless, clear. I thank you for the sermon. It is the best of the many you have sent me.

Your letter quoting Dr. Watts beautiful hymn, never to be forgotten hymn, received. I have striven all my life to believe all the hymn states. God has been all to us that Dr. Watts says to us in that hymn and more too.

I pity the man or woman who has gone through life without treasuring that hymn and making it a part of their life.

Frank: God has been good to both of us. Here I will be 88 in June, afflicted yet every comfort is administered to me by loving hands of one of my children. I have seven, not one of them has caused me to shed a tear because of their behavior or life; all of them love and cherish me, either of them will sacrifice their position to serve me.

I have been confined to my room since Dec., at times I did not have the strength to comb my hair. Anna Cooke has given up her home to serve me. She was with us caring for Anna seven months. Went home for two, and has been with me since Anna's death.

Your marriage terminated early with the loss of child and wife. All other blessings have been showered upon you, but none of the blessings can fill the void made by home ties. Yet you have had the care and attention of loving friends.

I have been prepared for the end, and there is nothing unsettled between me and my God.

During my affliction I have not murmured nor complained, but give God praise of thanks from night to night for being as I am.

I have but one wish in life, and that is to meet you and Walter Brooks at Lincoln this Com. I know if it is His will, you, Walter and I will be there.

I hope you have been able to carry out all your plans for Lincoln. I have done my little by sending a check for one thousand dollars. I wish it could have been ten times that.

My life's work, "Negro in The Reconstruction" will have to be printed by my children, after I am gone.

I hope you will leave among your valuables a story of the life of the Grimké boys.

My children join me in love to you and best wishes for your comfort, peace and happiness.

Your old true friend—

Tom.

B. F. McDowell to Francis J. Grimké

Greenville, S. C., March 25, 1937.

My dear Brother:

The copy of your "Quadrennial Message to the Race" came duly. I assure you it was read with real interest and profit. This is a splendid custom of yours, and one which I hope you will be able to keep up until HE says, "It is enough".

Your message is comprehensive and full of wholesome advice that should help, not only our race, but others. I thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending a copy of it to me. It is my hope and prayer that you and your old schoolmates will be able to accept the invitation of President Wright to be present at the Commencement exercises of your Alma Mater.

The stand which you take for the race on almost all vital questions is one to be admired.

I am thankful to say that my health is fair, but for the handicap of the sense of vision. Also I do not hear as well as of old. I hope you and yours enjoy fair health. Sister Mc joins me in extending best wishes for the Easter Season.

Yours in HIS name,
B. F. McDowell.

P. S. As you say, the Democratic Party is in power for another four years, possibly longer. In my humble opinion, whichever party is in power—it means nothing more or less than abject slavery for the Negro.

Daniel W. Hays to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Md., April 1, 1937.

Dear Doctor Grimké:—

I thank you most heartily for your Quadrennial Message, sent me some time ago. Personal illness delayed an earlier acknowledgement. I think all who may give it a careful reading will find that it is an able and timely production, which is destined to exert a positive influence for good, wherever read and seriously pondered. There is an urgent need of sounding a note of warning against the error of underrating the value of a Good Name, weighed in the Scriptural balance. Your note of warning is timely, and it is hoped its publication and spread abroad, may prove the means of turning many away from sin to Righteousness.

I am sure many who have shared your fruitful Ministry, regret to hear it announced that the present Message is likely to be the last that may be expected coming from you. You have made many of us your debtors, whether allowed to sit in the pew, and listen to your discourses, or read what you had published and sent here and there.

I think all who are acquainted with your long Ministry, will acknowledge you have served well your generation, as a Good Minister of Jesus Christ.

Our best wishes attend you while you await the Voice, saying "Well done. Come up higher."

Yours sincerely,
Daniel W. Hays.

Thomas E. Müller to Francis J. Grimké

Charleston, S. C., March 26, 1937.

My dear Frank:

My one hope of the last few months has been my joining you, and Walter at Lincoln for Commencement, but that hope has vanished. The spirit is willing but the flesh weak.

I will not be able to meet you at the dear old shrine. Neither am I physically able to write a message.

I will be 88 yrs. June 17th. The years have worn heavily upon me for I am very infirm, but able to be out of bed.

I am convinced that there is no Educational Institution that has done so much to make great leaders of the Negro as Lincoln Univ.

May all of her alumni and friends continue to be great leaders in the moral life of the Race. Her religious work is known the world over, but the moral is only known in the homes.

To have educated thousands in the way we have shows the great strength and worth of the faculty during the years of her existence.

Trust you are greatly improved in health and that you are having a glorious time.

Your old friend,
Thos. E. Miller,
Per A.

W. L. Wright to Francis J. Grimké

Lincoln University, Chester County, Pennsylvania,

May 27, 1937.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I am very sorry to hear that your health will not permit you to come on Tuesday.

We shall appreciate the address you are sending through Dr. Imes, but we shall greatly miss your presence.

With kindest regards,
Sincerely yours,
W. L. Wright.

W. L. Wright to Francis J. Grimké

Lincoln University, Chester County, Pennsylvania,

June 3, 1937.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I am writing to express my appreciation of your message sent by Dr. Imes. I assume that we shall have it in permanent form for our records here.

May I again express our deep regret that you were not able to be here in person and my kindest regards and appreciation of the personal contacts with you through the years.

Sincerely yours,
W. L. Wright.

Kelly Miller to Francis J. Grimké

Washington, D. C., June 3, 1937.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I learn of your illness with deepest sympathy and sincerest hope for your early recovery.

During the last few years I have not seen much of you and have not kept up the close acquaintance and lively intercourse sustained with you and your brother in the good old days of old. Nevertheless, you have been constantly in my thought as I have followed your career in your dignified retirement.

I shall never cease to think of you as the genuine priest of God who devoted himself and all of his powers to the promotion of the kingdom of righteousness. When I think of such men as yourself, the late Dr. Matthew Anderson, Dr. Walter H. Brooks, Rev. D. F. Rivers and Rev. D. E. Wiseman, all past eighty, I am reminded that the admonition "The wicked shall not live half their days" was an indirect assurance that the righteous shall enjoy long life.

You have in your life and experience vindicated the value and advantage of the higher education of colored youth. There is no institution in America that would not be proud of such an alumnus.

May that blessed assurance which has sustained you for four score and four years abide with you till the end of your days which, I hope, will be long deferred.

Yours truly,

Kelly Miller.

My own sight is improving satisfactorily.

Charles S. Freeman to Francis J. Grimké

166 Clerk St., Jersey City, June 3rd, 1937.

Dear Dr. Grimké:

I was at Lincoln's Commencement and was deeply moved to hear from you, through the Paper read by the Rev. Lake Imes.

We were all uplifted with the manly, Christian views presented, and the applause gave evidence that all present united in the noble sentiments expressed. We with you have prayed for this day to come, a just, wise and loving Father of us all, has heard and answered.

Dr. Wright has wrought well and wisely, in his few brief years, in which he has served the institution, as its beloved and honored President, all others made their unforgettable, and under God, their most worthy contributions, for which we shall ever be grateful.

May the blessings of a Loving Heavenly Father be and ever abide upon you and yours,

Fraternally yours,
Charles S. Freeman.

Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké

Charleston, S. C., June 19, 1937.

My dear Frank:

The anticipation was more than our endurance, hence neither of us attended Lincoln's Commencement. I know you had an excellent paper.

I do not think people living beyond the Potomac will see me again on earth unless they come here, because I am getting weaker under my spell of sickness and have given up all hope of being able to travel any more.

I have been blessed with attentive, loving children since my wife's death. Anna Cooke has just left to see her son graduate Monday June 21, in Wisconsin. He will receive his A. B. Before Anna left Pansy and Birdie were here to care for me.

I have had no report of the Lincoln Commencement, only a short letter from Walter and a short letter from the President.

Pansy and Birdie join me in love and best wishes for your recovery.

Your old and true friend,

Tom,
Per P.

William V. Tunnell to Francis J. Grimké

Toronto, June 21/37.

My dear Grim:

I hope the days are bringing you every joy and satisfaction, happy days and nights, good friends and health and an abundance of God's blessings. From the news that comes to us there appears to be great prosperity in the D. C. thro the expenditures of vast sums in buildings and the various bureaus in which I hope all

classes share. Surely for H. U. it has been a happy dispensation—to have gotten so many fine buildings for their material equipment and high salary compensations. During the War and in the period of the Coolidge “New Era,” ’twas all that men like Miller and myself with our large families could do to make ends meet on acct. of the prices.

It is to be hoped that our successors in this new era of prosperity may stress the ethical and spiritual in education while they sedulously practice bachelorhood or in the alternative, birth control if not prevention. Dean Slowe, advising her young women remarked: “We are always in the *first generation*”, i.e., the educated are not building families. As we trace family after family of an acquaintance in W. we have been struck with the fact of so many who have passed or are passing out.

I have been greatly intrigued by the problems the whole world and all humanity face today and especially those in our own dear country. It has surely been a decade of confusion and suffering with staggering questions, many of which persist—that of unemployment appears not only tragic, but permanent, with its resultant overwhelming national, state and municipal debt with no prospect of solution.

You are a WONDER to carry your years so youthfully! We hope you are still *going strong*. With “eye undimmed and natural force unabated”. Hutchins Bishop has gone along 78. Keep on, dear Yoke-fellow—till you surpass your millionaire contemporary “John D.”! We are plugging along some how. Our best love to you.

Angelina, who we hope is well, prosperous.

Affec.

Tun.

Thanks again for the pamphlets. Great!

Thomas E. Miller to Francis J. Grimké

Charleston, S. C., July 8, 1937.

My dear Frank:

Words are not at my command with which to express the grave disappointment at your and my not being able to meet at dear old Lincoln's last commencement. But I am thankful for **having**

received your very plainly spoken address and extremely happy to know that your conclusions are really in favor of Lincoln; Lincoln having changed her front in management. Your address was as able as any you have ever delivered and as manly and truthful as you could have made it. I enjoyed hearing it. I wish for Dr. Wright and Lincoln bigger and better success.

I continue to hear that you are sick and you continue to hear that I am. I am not bed-fast, but I am mostly confined to my room. I have all the attention that love and money can produce, and so far I want for nothing.

Anna, Mrs. Cook, spent months with her mother and months with me. I have with me now Mrs. Earle, Dean of Women at State College and Pansy. Our cook is faithful and tries to do everything she can in her line to assist my daughters.

I hope you have gotten your business arranged as you intended and that your publication will come out as you desired.

If you are able physically let me hear from you.

Your old true and tried friend,

Tom,
by P.

William Hallock Johnson to Francis J. Grimké

Lincoln University, Chester County, Pennsylvania,

July 19, 1937.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

It was a great pleasure to read your Address at the Commencement Exercises of Lincoln University. I am sorry that you were not able to be present to deliver it in person. Your kind allusion in the mention of my name is much appreciated.

I thought of you several weeks ago when I had occasion to preach a Fourth-of-July sermon, and made use of a printed sermon of yours that I had before me on "The Inheritance Which All Parents May and Ought to Leave to Their Children."

Although I have joined the grand army of the retired—the G. A. R., some call it—I find much to keep my mind and hands busy, and find myself as much interested in current events, in Washington and elsewhere, as I ever was.

I hope and pray that your life may be spared and your health improved, and that you may continue to enjoy in full measure evidences of the Divine favor and blessing.

With many thanks for sending me the Address and with high regard,

Cordially yours,
Wm. Hallock Johnson.

G. Lake Imes to Francis J. Grimké

Lincoln—Sat. 6:30 A. M., 1937.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

Ever since arriving here I've been lost without my pen: but getting out of bed early this morning I looked in one more place and put my hands on it immediately. And so I have come 14 miles to the train to write this letter, so it will get to you today.

I've been having an interesting time, doing a great deal more than I had counted on before I came. I've shown my CCC movies twice besides my daily class, and have been asked to preach for the Young Peoples' Conference on Sunday, which I shall do.

I hear more talk about my joining the faculty at Lincoln, but I don't know how much fire there is behind the smoke. But I shall probably know more before I return.

I am writing this hurriedly so as to get this to you today. There have been many inquiries about you, to which I have replied with as much encouragement as possible. I've been wondering how you fare these hot days. I'd like to have you out to my place where it is always cool. If you would like it go right ahead and take the girls with you.

I'm planning to go to Cheyney next week to an inter-racial conference, tho I may find it hard to stay a week. I miss home very much and my friends, too. I'd like to have my own black-berries: they were just getting ripe when I left. If I were home I would pick some of them for you.

Always I think of you with concern and affection. As I used to say to Mrs. Imes: "Don't go away till I get back".

Time to stop: God's care and comfort be with you always.

Affey,
G. Lake (Imes).

G. Lake Imes to Francis J. Grimké

Lincoln Univ., July 11th, 1937.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

I am about to leave Lincoln for Phila., and before leaving I want to pass on to you a bit of news in which I think you will be interested.

Last evening I had a long conference with President Wright in which we discussed the matter of my affiliation with the university somewhat as director of public relations. This is not as yet the official designation, but it is descriptive of what my functions will be if and when I undertake the work.

It will involve strengthening the contacts of the University with the Alumni, the Presbyterian Church, the Educational Foundations, the Press of both races and the general public. The objectives will be to increase knowledge of and interest in the work and needs of Lincoln and to secure additional funds for its support.

I need'nt tell you that the proposal appeals to me very strongly, and I may add, that there is a mutual understanding that I will undertake the work. It offers a large field of service and carries strong implications for the future.

It will not involve a change of residence, but accommodations will be provided for me here whenever I am in residence at the University. I shall be working in close cooperation with Dr. Wright both on the campus and on the field. The prospect is very inviting, especially as it involves no conflict with aims which I have previously cherished with which Dr. Wright is in entire sympathy.

I shall have much more to say to you when I return, which I now plan to do by the week end. I look forward to your advice and blessing.

Affectionately yours,
G. Lake (Imes).

Francis J. Grimké to W. L. Wright

Dear Dr. Wright:

I want to acknowledge receipt of your letter conveying advices of the generous action of the Board of Trustees of Lincoln University and their kind sentiments concerning my illness and my services to Lincoln and to my people and country. I greatly appre-

ciate their thoughtfulness and wish you would convey my thanks to them for it.

Under separate cover, thru the good offices of Dr. Imes, I have sent to you fifty copies of my address which he was kind enough to read for me at the commencement exercises. I leave with you to dispose of them in whatever way you think will best serve the University, but I would be pleased if you would send a copy to each member of the Board of Trustees. If you will send me the address of Dr. William Hallock Johnson, I would like myself to send him a copy direct, having made reference to him in the address. Perhaps the remaining copies might go to various members of the Presbyterian Board of Education and the Board of Home Missions. But that is left to your discretion.

I have asked Dr. Imes, Mr. Booker and Mr. DeBardeleben to arrange for the distribution of the remaining copies that I have here. They will probably advise you of their plans so as to avoid duplication.

I am still suffering greatly and will probably continue to do so until the end: but there is great satisfaction in having been permitted to render this last service to my beloved Alma Mater. With continued prayers for your success and the progress of the University, I am

Sincerely yours,
Francis J. Grimké.

J. W. Haywood to Francis J. Grimké

Baltimore, Maryland.

My dear Dr. Grimké:

The little circular containing your discussion of the topic, *The Church Faces the College Generation*, was received some days ago. Frankly, I am glad to get your point of view. I have watched with silent but intense interest the fine work you have done as a pastor in Washington during the long period that you have been there. I wish it were possible for me to accept your point of view, but unfortunately, I cannot. Perhaps I need either to be pitied for my stupidity or censured for my perversity.

You are right in your definition of terms, and in your assignment of the reason for calling attention to this group. You ask the question: "Will this influx of knowledge in possession of this col-

lege generation alter the mission of the church?" I answer, no. Nobody claims that, either explicitly or implicitly. But it seems to me that no one would deny that it will alter, necessarily, the method of the church. Two crimes were recently committed here in Baltimore. In one case, a man murdered another man; in the other case, a ten year old boy shot his playmate. Clearly the state has one and the same mission in connection with both cases. But I don't believe that Dr. Grimké himself would say that the State ought to use the same method in handling the two cases. You say that the underlying assumption of the gospel is, that all men are sinners. Granted. But does the gospel say either explicitly or implicitly that all sinners ought be dealt with in the same fashion? It seems to me that, to take the position that the experiences that men live thru, make no difference in the men, is to take a position that is so repugnant to psychology, so innocent of empirical common sense as to be not only utterly untenable, but incomparably fatuous.

Now about Paul's preaching. Paul's recorded sermons, for the most part, were merely a recounting of his conversion experiences. Now, I think I am ready to admit that such a sermon would be effective always, if the preacher had such a conversion as Paul had. Well, I am one preacher that did not have; I wonder what about you. Then, I do not think it is quite the whole truth to say that Paul approached all of his sinners in exactly the same fashion. His message on Mar's Hill, when he faced the sophisticated Athenians, was not like his message, say, at Derbe and Lystra. He had one gospel certainly, but not one method of presentation. The multiplication table is the same all the time, but one would not present it in the same fashion to a pupil of six and one of thirty six. Would you teach a Fiji Islander religion in the same fashion that you would teach Einstein? There is no valid evidence that even Paul would have done that.

"All that is needed is to preach the plain, unvarnished truth of God". Yes; I agree with that statement. But I raise two queries; first, what thought and language modes will you use, those of the first century of the Christian era or those of the twentieth century of the Christian era? Does the gospel message like other things that human beings have to learn and accept, need to be adapted to the people for whom it is intended, or, is there some

magic in ancient, dogmatic formulas that makes them effective without regard to the laws of the human mind? Second; the phrase, "simple, unvarnished truth" is a very facile and euphu-mistic combination of words. I am not sure that it is as easy to define the purport of that phrase as it is to make it. Washington and Baltimore are full of Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Catholics, Holy Rollers and all the rest of them. They all have a message; who has THE message?

"You can't make men better, you can't save men by cramming their heads full of secular knowledge." That is well said. No-body can believe that proposition more than I do. Men cannot be saved by scientific knowledge. Tell it to Eddington, Millikin, Ein-stein and all the rest. But the theologians must all remember that another fact must always be set over against this fact; YOU CAN-NOT SAVE MEN BY IGNORING THE FACT THAT THEY HAVE SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE.

J. W. Haywood.

INDEX TO VOLUME IV

A

Abolitionists, reference to, 49
 Abdul Baha, mention of, 211
 Academy, the American Negro, 356
 Addison, Joseph, reference to, 188
 Aery, William Anthony, letters from, 208-209, 255-259
 Africa, letter from, 437-440
 Allen, Mrs. Joseph B., 456
 Amalgamation, fear of, 445
 American Christianity, 190, 192, 193, 194
 Americans, manners of, 42
 Anderson, Blanche, 321-334
 Anderson, Dr. Caroline Virginia, daughter of William Still, 162-163
 Anderson, Matthew, mention of, 288; letters from, 78-80, 150, 162-163, 165-169, 273-275, 321, 322-334, 413-414, 423-426
 Anti-Lynching Bill, 364
 Atlanta riot, 98, 99, 100

B

Bagnall, Robert W., letters from, 462, 466; letters to, 464-465
 Bahaism, comment on, 209-210, 211
 Bailey, H. L., mention of, 456
 Balloch, Dean E. A., of the Howard Medical School, 241; letter from, 311-314
 Barber, David R., 547
 Barber, Max, reference to, 298
 Barnett, "Lonnie," mention of, 105
 Barrier, Ella, comment on, 114; letter from, 382
 Bass, Urbane, relative of, 554
 Beard, A. F., letters from, 119, 163
 Bell, Mary, a thought concerning, 275
 Bentley, Dr., of Chicago, a leader, 298
 Best, Nolan R., letter to, 247-249; letter from, 250
 Bethel Literary Society, 9, 45
 Biddle University (Johnson C. Smith), 358

Bindford, J. H., letter from, 36
 "Birth of a Nation, The," protest against, 150, 151, 152, 153-154
Black Reconstruction, mention of, 532
 Blanchard, Linn R., letter from, 540-541
 Blyden, Edward W., letters from, 11-21, 22-24, 30-34, 38-48, 67, 80-81, 86, 113-114.
 Board of National Missions, policy of, 483-484
 Board of Trustees of Howard University, letter to, 403-404
 Bolshevism, reference to, 265, 266
 Booker, Charles A., mention of, 579
 Bordentown, school of, 79
 Bowditch, William I., letter from, 74
 Bowen, J. W. E., letter from, 87-88; mention of, 422
 Bowen, Miss, member of the Reading Circle, 21
 Boyce, Stansbury, letters from, 132-133, 198-203
 Boyd, Bessie B., letter from, 61-62
 Brawley, Benjamin, letters from, 467-468, 500, 507, 511-512, 518-519, 526, 538, 542, 544-545, 562
 Breckenridge, Robert J., 357
 Brooks, Walter H., letters from, 303-304, 473, 542-543, 556-557, 566; mention of, 573
 Brown, William Wells, the historian, 170
 Browning, Robert, death of, 19
 Brotherhood, Christian, 306, 308
 Brownsville, the shooting-up of, 122, 123
 Bruce, B. K., mention of, 23
 Bruce, Clara Burrill, letter from, 469
 Bryan, William Jennings, 139, 140, 373-375
 Bryce, James, works by, 11, 200
 Burrill, M. P., mention of, 346
 Burroughs, Nannie H., letters from, 479, 505
 Burton, James D., letter from, 481; letter to, 484

Butler, Benjamin F., mention of as a speaker, 170

C

Cameron, Margaret, book by, 275, 341-342

Cameroun, Africa, letters from, 437-440

Canal Zone, conditions in, 322-334

Capital City Presbyterian, The, letter to, 406-407

Carlile, James G., letters from, 292-293, 304-306, 390-391

Carnegie Corporation, pension from, to Crogman, 420

Carroll, Dr. N. M., the passing of, 452

Carson, Dr. S. L., interest of in education, 456

Cato, passage from, 188

Cedar Hill, mention of, 6; the saving of, as a monument, 173-176, 177-179

Centenary, the Douglass, 177-179

Chase, W. Calvin, comment on, 8

Cheyney, Ednah D., letter from, 63

Chinaman, attitudes toward, 410

Christianity, American, 120, 125, 127, 133, 139-140, 145-147, 149-150, 158, 235

Church, the Christian, 442, 579, 581

Clark, John Brittan, letters from, 385, 401

Clark University, invitation to, 18

Clarke, James E., letter from, 479-481

Coleman, Leonidas S., letter from, 471

Coleman, W. J., letter from, 195

College Board, letters to, 222-223, 223-224

College, the Christian, 223

Colombia, a visit to, 329

Color question, 336, 337, 338

Constitution, article in, 433, 434

Continent, The, letters to, 134-135, 247-249

Cook, George William, letter from, 401-402; death of, 454

Cook, H. O., letter from, 335-336

Cook, John F., mention of, 8

Cook, M. F., information from, 173

Cooper, Mrs. A. J., mention of, 21, 38, 114; letters from, 411, 444-445, 456-457, 497-498, 499, 554-555, 561, 563-564, 564-565, 566-567

Coué, Emile, 365, 366

Cowan, Dr., work of, on a committee, 167

Cox, candidate for the presidency of Howard, 288

Crawford, George W., proposal concerning, 297

Cresson, Abigail, poem by, 477

Crogman, William H., letters from, 34-35, 56-57, 67-68, 70-72, 195-197, 246-247, 343, 355-357, 366-367, 382-383, 384, 393-395, 407-408, 416-422, 430-431, 432-434, 446-449

Cromwell, John W., reference to, 196

Cromwell, Otelia, letter from, 512

Crummell, Alexander, letter from, 4-6

Cumberland Church, mention of, 94

Custis, the slaves of, 428-429

D

Darrow, Clarence, 464-465

Davis, Benjamin, letter to, 373-375

Davis, George, a minister, 274

Davis, T. E., letter to, 127

Dearborn Independent, mention of, 334

De Bardeleben, mention of, 579

Democratic Party, 127-130, 133

Des Moines, training camp at, 509

De Large, Robert C., 170

Depression, of 1929, 509

Dickey, Sol. C., letter from, 147-148; letter to, 148-150

Dickinson, Thorn, letter from, 527-528

Dorsey, Governor, of Georgia, 419

Douglass, Frederick, letters from, 1-4, 6-10; home of, saved, 173, 174-176, 177-179; mention of, 528, 529

Douglass, Helen Pitta, courage of, 1-9; letters from, 10-11, 36; effort of to save the Douglass Home, 173-

179; character of, 435; mention of, 445
 Downing, George T., letter from, 54-55
 Du Bois, W. E. B., letters from, 89-90, 346-347, 508-510, 511; mention of, 77, 92, 210, 284, 297-298, 444, 560; position of, on segregation, 507, 508, 509-510, 521; book by, 532
 Dumas, M. O., 318, 342
 Dunbar, Alice M., letter from, 159
 Durham, Plato, 418
 Durkee, J. S., 276, 278, 268, 310-311, 312-317, 318-320; 388, 342, 365, 399-400
 Dyer Bill, to prevent lynching, 364

E

Eastman, of Rochester, 268
 Easton Jail, reference to, 3
 Editor of *Association Men*, 207-208
 Edmonds, Henry M., letter from, 552
 Eggleston, J. D., letters from, 524-525, 528-531, 534, 539, 552-553
 Eighteenth Amendment, 305
 Elaine, Arkansas, the riot at, 840
 Ellis, Havelock, 310
 Evangelism, 148-150, 225, 226
Evening Bulletin, letter to, 242-243

F

Ferris, Wm. H., letters from, 57, 247, 297-298
 Fifteenth Amendment, 117, 271
 Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, 179, 180, 181, 523
 Field, Henry M., letter from, 50
 Filipinos, attitudes of, 410
 Fisher, Isaac, letter from, 525-526
 Fleck, Dr., attitude of, 167
 Foraker, J. B., letters to, 112-113, 122-123
 Forbes, F. L., proposal by, 169
 Forte, Ormonde A., letter to, 221-222
 Forten, James, mention of, 96

Fosdick, Harry Emerson, reference to book by, 238
 Foster, J. P., letter from, 264-265
 Fourteenth Amendment, 271
 France, attitude of, toward Negro soldiers, 226-231
 Freedmen's Board, question concerning, 165-169
 Freeman, Charles S., letters from, 478, 573-574
 Frelinghuysen University, 456, 457
 Frissell, Hollis B., letter from, 153; letter to, 153-154; position of, on racial matters, 190
 Fuller, Solomon C., letter from, 431

G

Garnet, H. H., a leader, 170
 Garrison, Francis J., letter from, 96, 102
 Garrison, Wm. Lloyd, 170
 Garrison, William Lloyd, Jr., letters from, 74, 80, 101
 Gaston, J. M., 167, 168, 169, 348, 484, 486-487
 George, Lloyd, mention of speech by, 285, 288
 Georgia, appalling conditions in, 419
 Germany, reference to, 339
 Gheradi, Admiral, and Haiti, 10
 Glasco, B. F., letter from, 493
 Gold employees in Canal Zone, 324, 325, 326
 Gordon, Dr., the death of, 558
 Granger, C. Everett, letter from, 145; letter to, 145-147
 Grant, U. S., tomb of discussed, 25
 Great Commission Prayer League, letter to, 191-193
 Greboes, war of, 31
 Gregg, J. A., president of Hampton Institute, 258, 259
 Gregory, J. M., 79, 460, 503
 Gregory, Montgomery, letters from, 399-400
 Green, John P., letters from, 459-460, 491, 497, 474-475, 512-513, 514-515, 515-517

Greener, Richard Theodore, letters from, 24-26, 104-109, 109-112, 180-181, 236-237
 Griggs, A. C., letter from, 483-484
 Grimké, A. H., mention of, 283, 354; death of, 431, 432, 433, 435, 436
 Grimké, Angelina W., letter to, 434
 Grimké, Charlotte, Forten, 21, 38, 444, 445, 457
 Grimké, John, letters from, 35, 37-38; death of, 285
 Gross, John H., letters from, 494, 498-499
 Guthrie, Charles, 64

H

Hagan, Ernest P., letter to, 144-145
 Haiti, characterization of, by Frederick Douglass, 9-10
 Hall, William Ralph, letter to, 377-379; letter from, 379-380
 Hamilton, Gail, remarks by, 4
 Hammond, Albert H., 532
 Hampton Institute, mention of, 151, 152, 153, 154; attitude of administration of, 256-259
 Hanen, Joseph H., letter from, 209-210
 Harding, W. G., speech by at Birmingham, commented on, 336-337, 338
 Harlan, John M., 148, 149
 Harlan, Richard D., letter from, 444
 Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins, letters and poems from, 77, 81-85
 Hart, A. B., discussion of the case of, 268, 269
 Harvey, Colonel, mention of, 151, 152, 254, 255; letters to, 259-260, 306-307
 Hays, Daniel W., letters from, 302-303, 372, 384-385, 392, 396, 402, 426, 468-469, 452, 470, 501-502, 513, 514, 515, 522, 539, 541, 554, 562, 563, 571
 Haywood, J. W., letter from, 579-581
 Herndon, Madge, letter from, 560-561

Hershaw, L. M., secretary of the American Negro Academy, 298, 356
 Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, the desire of, 255
 Hilyer, Andrew F., letters from, 141-142, 160, 164, 276; letters to, 315-317
 Holliday, Carl, letter to, 161
 Holly, A. P., letter from, 505-506
 Holly, James Theodore, a minister, 506, 520
 Holmes, D. O. W., letters from, 404-405, 473, 474, 533, 535, 543, 544
 Holmes, Joseph P., letter from, 558-559
 Holtzclaw, Wm. H., book by, mentioned, 173
 Home Betterment League, the, 405, 406
 Home Missions, Board of, question before, 232
 Home Mission Problem, discussion of, 232
 Hope, John, letter from, 470
 Howard, O. O., mention of, 25, 170
 Howard University, 25, 161, 170, 266, 267, 269, 270, 276, 277, 287, 299, 302, 310, 311-314, 315-320, 450-451, 498, 522, 575
 Hueston, W. C., a trustee, 456
 Hurst, John, letter from, 395, 436
 Huston, Charles L., the attitude of, 150, 424-426

I

Imes, B. A., letter from, 27-29
 Imes, G. Lake, letters from, 577-578; mention of, 579
 Imes, William Lloyd, letters from, 492, 577-578; mention of, 520
 I. W. W., the work of, 269
 Interracial Commission, 481, 482, 483, 484
 Ingersol, Robert, mention of, 372
 Ingersoll, W. H., a minister, 30
 Investigation, private, of the Canal Zone by Matthew Anderson, 323-334

Irish, attitudes of, 410

Irish Party, the, 3

Islam, thoughts on, 16, 17, 20

J

Jackson, A. B., the case of, 318

Jackson, John G., letter from, 441-443

Jackson, May Howard, work of, in sculpture, 346

Jamaica, stop at, 329, 331, 332, 333; a letter from, 558-559

Japan, reference to, 339

Japanese, attitudes toward, 410; in California, 481

Jefferson, J. B., letter from, 206

Jenkins, Edmund J., a musician, 283

Jew, feeling against, 289; reference to, 339

Jewish Peril, discussion of, 334

Johnson, Andrew, President, 170

Johnson, E. A., a minister, 169

Johnson, Georgia Douglass, letters from, 345-346, 476-478, 493, 517-518

Johnson, Herrick, letter from, 93-94, 102

Johnson, Howard Agnew, letter to, 94-95

Johnson, J. Albert, letter from, 72-73, 78, 212, 231, 386

Johnson, L. Z., letter to, 130-131; letters from, 156-157, 527

Johnson, Mordecai, letters from, 449-450, 450-451, 550, 567-568

Johnson, Wm. Hallock, letter from, 491-492, 504, 524, 537, 576-577, 579

Jones, Anna H., a citizen of Kansas City, 140

Jones, M. Ashby, letter from, 384; mention of, 417, 418; article in the *Constitution* by, 433-434; letter to, 433-434

Jones, Thomas Jesse, letter from, 196, 242

Jubilee Singers, the work of, 202

K

Kagawa, Toyohiko, letter from, 469

Keckley, Elizabeth, author of *Behind the Scenes*, 545-549

Kelley, Joseph T., letter from, 395-396

Kennedy, D. S., letter to, 126

Kerlin, Robert Thomas, letter from, 340, 346

Kester, Howard, letter from, 450

Kidder, Jerome F., letter from, 568

Koran, a discussion of, 17, 20

Ku Klux Klan, 98, 99, 100, 364, 417, 421, 521

L

Lane, Franklin K., 255-256

Lanen, Arthur J., letter from, 545-546

Laney, Lucy, letters from, 92, 93; work of, 483, 484, 486-487; death of, 493-494

Langston, John M., 7, 170, 503-504

Latrobe, J. H. B., the colonizationist, 13

Lavigerie, Cardinal, book on, 23

Lee, George W., a minister, 47

Lee, Joseph, of Florida, a politician, 199

Lee, Robert E., inquiry into, 428-429

Lee, Dr., a minister in Philadelphia, 168, 169

Lewis, W. H., a Boston attorney, 342, 376

Lewis, Lawyer, of Sierra Leone, 22

Liberal Church, the, ideas of, 441-443

Liberal Party, mention of, 520

Liberia, reflections on, 8, 283-285

Lincoln, Abraham, 529; his family, 545-549

Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, 358, 571, 572, 574

Louis, Joe, adverse criticism of, 554-555; praise of, 560-561

Loud, Joseph P., letter from, 436

Loudin, F. J., letter from, 64-65

Love, John L., letters from, 140-141,

159-160, 161, 162, 179-180, 232-234,
237-238, 412-413, 435, 488-489
Lucas, Dr. Marie B., interest of, in
education, 456
Lynching, reference to, 67, 417

M

Mahy, George G., letters from, 156,
225-226; letter to, 225-226
Mark, Dr. Julius, and interracial co-
operation, 481
Martin, Alexander H., a Cleveland at-
torney, 475
Martin, John Sella, a minister, 170
Marquis, John A., letter from, 143
Marriage of Frederick Douglass pro-
tested, 1
Maryland, experience of Frederick
Douglass in, 3
Matthews, James C., nomination of,
opposed, 4, 6
May, Joseph, a minister, 83
McAdoo, Martha A., letters from, 399-
300, 320
McCary, W. W., letters from, 495-496,
519-520, 522-523, 531-532
McCormick Theological Seminary, 14,
15, 158
McCrorey, H. L., president of John-
son C. Smith University, 348
McCulloch, J. E., letters to, 309, 405-
406
McDowell, B. F., letter from, 570
McGill, Charles, the death of, 31
McKinlay, Whitfield, 376
McKinley, William, the assassination
of, 72, 74
McMiller, G. F., letter to, 136
McNeill, W. C., the case of, 276
Medicine, the evils of it, 348-350
Mehlinger, Louis R., letter from, 226-
231
Members of the Princeton Theological
Seminary Class of 1878, letter to,
215-216
Mercier, Cardinal, letter concerning,
213-214

Meriwether, Mrs., reference to, 295
Mill, John Stuart, the economist, 186
Miller, Ann, letter from, 434
Miller, Kelly, paper by, mentioned,
338, 353, 560; letter to, 87; let-
ters from, 204-205, 301, 573
Miller, Thomas E., letters from, 283,
434, 489-490, 454, 455, 502, 503,
569, 534-535, 536-540, 571-572, 574-
576
Mississippi, a minister in, 383
Mole St. Nicholas, the controversy
over, 9, 332
Moorland, Jesse E., letter from, 206-
207; letters to, 262-264, 278
Morgan, Campbell, letter to, 139-141
Morris, Joe, mention of, 283
Morrow, Governor, of the Canal Zone,
322-323
Mossell, Gertrude, letter from, 60
Moton, R. R., letters from, 75, 137,
387; letters to, 216-217, 218, 220-
221
Murray, Freeman, a leader, 298

N

Napier, J. C., letters from, 318, 551
National Association of Colored Wom-
en, letters to, 173-176, 177, 178,
179; the work of, 210, 297, 354,
412, 461, 487-488, 489, 508-510, 511
National Independent Political League,
131-132
Negro, attitude toward, 76, 98-100
Negro Academy, the American, 263
Negro History Week, 528
New York *Independent*, letter to, 58-
60
Noble, F. P., secretary of the Afri-
can Congress, 30

O

Odell, Joseph H., letter to, 212
Owens, Jesse, mention of, 554-555
Owington, M. W., letter to, 279-280

P

Page, Bessie Taylor, letter from, 181-185; letter to, 185-189
 Panama Canal, an investigation of, 322, 327
 Parke, the slaves of, 429
 Parker, Joseph, mention of, 21
 Parks, Edward L., letters from, 205, 391-392
 Patterson, W. R., letter from, 232; letter to, 235-236
 Patterson, of Oklahoma, appointment of, as Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia, 132
 Patton, W. W., president of Howard University, 403
 Payne, Daniel A., a religious leader and educator, 24
 Pelham, Robert A., an editor, 356, 540
 Pemberton, Caroline H., letters from, 55-56, 58
 Phillips, Wendell, the orator, 124, 125
 Pickett, L. Smallwood, a trustee, 456
 Pillsbury, Albert E., letter from, 66
 Pinchback, P. B. S., letter to, 171-172; letter from, 179
 Porras, president of Panama, 322-323
 Porter, Esther C., letter from, 414
 Porter, John M., letter from, 490
 Pratt, D. Butler, letters from, 440-441, 451-452, 474
 Prejudice, race, discussion of, 344, 347-348, 409-410
 Presbytery of Washington, letters to, 115-116, 381
 Presbyterian Assembly, 165-169
Presbyterian, The, a letter to, 347-348
 Preston, William C., a donor to a library, 108
 Prize fighting decried, 513, 514, 554-555, 556-557
 Prohibition, 305, 306, 353
 Prostate gland, the treatment of, 371-372
 Protest against the marriage of Frederick Douglass, 1
 Purvis, Charles B., letters from, 8, 10, 104, 116, 120-122, 127-129, 154-156,

170-171, 172-173, 219, 240-241, 243-245, 253, 259, 261-262, 268-270-272, 275-277, 278-279, 289-290, 290-292, 293-297, 298-299, 301-302, 309-311, 314-320, 334-335, 336-339, 341-342, 348-350, 351-355, 363-366, 370-372, 377, 409-410, 435

Putnam, Caroline F., letter from, 98-100

Putnams, the, mention of, 7

Q

Quarterly, Episcopal, reference to, 5
 Queries as to Custis, slaves, 428-429
 Question, the race, 118, 139, 145, 146, 147, 149, 257, 305, 308
 Questions as to racial bounds discussed, 144, 145, 146; as to Christianity, 182-185; on Panama answered, 324-325

R

Race prejudice, 344, 347-348, 409-410
 Race problem, 247, 248, 249, 308
 Races, attitudes toward, 409-410
 Radcliffe, Wallace, letters from, 152, 165, 241, 252, 289, 300, 339-340, 368, 369, 391, 342
 Rainey, Joseph H., a member of Congress, 170
 Randolph, A. P., attitude toward, 262, 263
 Rankin, J. E., president of Howard University, 25
 Reading Circle in Washington, D. C., 14-15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 45, 114
 Reeve, J. B., a minister of the Presbyterian faith, 168
 Remond, the family of, a visit to, 7
 Republican Party, 271, 288
 Resurrection, discussion of, 187
 Reyburn, Robert, letter from, 67
 Richter, Jean Paul, the views of, 183
 Rivers, D. F., mention of, 573
 Rockefeller, John D., reference to, 268
 Roosevelt, Theodore, letter to, 76

Roosevelt, Theodore, Jr., the case, 268
 Root, Elihu, the statesman, 285
 Ross, John W., letter from, 73
 Russell, Charles Edward, mention of, 363; letter from, 458
 Russian Revolution, mention of, 265, 266, 268

S

Saloon League, the work of, 305
 Scarborough, W. S., the Greek scholar, 26
 School of Medicine, the Howard, 310-317
 Scott, Emmett J., 217, 342; letters from, 311, 376, 386-387, 423; letter to, 377
 Scottsboro case, 480, 532
 Segregation, the evil of, 203
 Sheddan, W. B., letter from, 565-566
 Shirley, Frank C., letter from, 555-556
 Sinclair, William A., 318, 365
 Silver employees of the Canal Zone, 324, 325, 326
 Slaybaugh, J. Paul, letter from, 549-550
 Slowe, Lucy D., a request from, 359
 Smallwood, Mrs., assistance for, 295
 Smith, Bolton, letters from, 408, 411, 415-416, 485-486
 Smith, Harry C., an editor and politician, 475
 Smith, H. M., letter from, 52
 Smith, Mrs. Johnson C., 347
 Smythe, Mrs. J. H. (Mrs. Fannie S.), 8, 21, 22, 23, 31, 113
 Soldiers, Negro, in France, 226-231
 Somerville, Ella, a teacher in Washington, D. C., 114
 Southern people, their attitudes, 409-410
 Soviet, the principles of, 152
 Spaulding, C. C., a relative of, 554
 Sprague, Florence, letter from, 76
 Spillman, James B., letter to, 281-282
 Spingarn, Joel E., letter to, 137
 Stafford, Wendell Phillips, letter to, 124-126; letter from, 143
Star, the Washington, letter to, 265-266
 State School at Orangeburg, 106, 107
 Steward, Captain T. G., letter from, 29
 Stewart, Alice (Mrs. T. McCants), letters from, 359-362, 367-368, 369, 397-399
 Stewart, T. McCants, letters from, 283-285, 350-351; mention of, 359-362, 367-368, 369
 Stevenson, J. Ross, letter from, 307
 Still, Ella, of Philadelphia, 275
 Still, William, the family of, 162-163, 273-275
 Stoddard, Lothrop, book by, 337, 339
 Stone, John Timothy, letter from, 91-92
 Storey, Moorefield, mention of, 290
 Stowe, Lyman Beecher, letter to, 386-387
 Strain, Miss, letter to, 344-345
 Straker, D. Augustus, letter from, 103
 Straus, David Frederick, views of, 186
 Stuart, Moses, position of, on wine, 342
 Sumner, Charles, the statesman, 342
 Sunday, "Billy," the evangelist, 211, 244
 Sunderland, B., letter from, 53
 Swisshelm, Jane, mention of, 547

T

Taft, W. H., 118; letter to, 116-118
 Talbert, Mary F., work of, in saving the Douglass Home, 173-176, 177-179, 277
 Taylor, Coleridge, death of, 201
 Taylor, H. B., 558
 Temperance, 305, 306, 353
 Tennessee, Interracial Commission in, 481-483; Synod of, 482-483
 Terrell, Mary Church, mention of, 298
 Thanksgiving, comment on, 290-292
 Thirkield, W. P., letters from, 64, 453

Thirteenth Amendment, 271
 Thompson, E. D. L., a minister, 113-114
 Thompson, W. H., of Chicago, 461, 462
 Thorn, Charlotte M. R., letters from, 68-69, 455-456
 Thornton, Maud V., of Kansas City, 141
 Topping, Henry, letter from, 553
 Trotter, James M., appointment of, 4, 6
 Trotter, Wm. Monroe, letter to, 189-190
 True Reformers, a secret society, 200
 Tunnell, W. V., 365, 422; letters from, 385-386, 453-454, 520-522, 550-551, 574-575; letter to, 505-506
 Turner, Arthur, a teacher, 446
 Turner, H. M., a minister, 23, 86
 Tuskegee, hospital at, 509
 Tyler, Ralph, mention of, 221

U

Underhill, Irwin W., letters from, 437-440; wife of 437, 438; missionary troubles of, 438-440
 United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor, letters to, 197-198
 Universal Negro Improvement Association, 297

V

Vashon, George B., a leader, 170
 Vernimont, Raymond, letter from, 203-204
 Villard, Fanny Garrison, letter from, 97
 Villard, O. G., an editor and reformer, 297
 Volstead Law, the, 305, 306

W

Walker, Thomas, letter from, 496
 Waller, O. M., a leader, 298
 Waller, Mr. and Mrs., 323
 Ward, William Hayes, letters from, 48, 49; letter to, 48-49; reference to, 51, 53-54, 69, 91, 95-96
 Warfield, Benjamin B., a minister, 357
 Warfield, Ethelbert D., letters from, 357-358
 Waring, J. H. N., 318; letter from, 389
 Washington, Allen, letters from, 137-138, 142-143, 190-191
 Washington, Booker T., letters from, 49, 51-52, 70, 75, 88-89, 97, 119; reference to, 87, 358, 507
 Watson, Carrie Syphax, letter from, 548-549
 Wells, H. G., book by, 319
 Wesley, Charles H., article by mentioned, 558
 Weston, John Stumps, 283
 Wheelock, F. D., letters from, 239, 251-252
 White, Edward Douglass, letter to, 203
 White, Walter F., letters to, 461, 463-464; letters from, 462, 471-472
 White, W. Woods, 418
 Wilkins, Roy W., letter from, 487-488
 Wilkinson, F. D., registrar of Howard University, 119
 Wilkinson, G. C., assistant superintendent of schools, D. C., 119
 Wilkinson, J. W., an employee of the Federal Government, 118-119
 Williams, E. V. C., letter to, 264-265
 Williams, conviction of, for peonage and lynching, 418
 Williston, E. D., a physician, 364
 Wilmer, C. B., a minister of Atlanta, 417
 Wilson, Butler, of Boston, 151, 290, 297, 298
 Wilson, Wm. J., an author, 170
 Wilson, Woodrow, letters to, 129-130, 133-134, 216-217; letter from, 218; mention of, 261, 278

Waldron, J. Milton, letters from, 131-132, 138

- Wilson College, prejudice at, 357
 Win the War Committee, letter to, 239-240
 Winthrop, Charles R., letter from, 157-158
 Wiseman, D. E., mention of, 573
 Witness Bearing Committee, letter to, 193-194
 Woman Suffrage, the approval of, 346-347
 Wood, Charles, letter from, 238-239
 Woodard, D. W., a professor at Howard, 391
 Woods, E. F., a sister of Mrs. Johnson C. Smith, 347
 Woodson, Carter G., letter to, 267; letters from, 266-267, 307-308, 426-427, 494, 500, 558
 World problem, a reality, 308
 World War, the first, 509
 Works of Francis J. Grimké desired, 540-541
 Wright, J. M., of Kansas City, 140
 Wright, Major R. R., letter from, 60-61
 Wright, W. L., letters from, 441, 501, 536, 572-573, 574; letters to, 578-580
 Wyche, R. P., letter from, 27
 Wyman, Lillie Buffman Chace (Mrs. John C.), letters from, 151, 152, 253-255, 290, 402, 403, 428-429
 Wynkoop, T. S., letter from, 307-308

Y

- Young, the attitude of the, in Latin America, 329, 330
 Young people, American conference of, 379, 380; the influence of Dr. Grimké on, 404-405
 "Young People, Our, and How to Deal with Them," 515
 Youth, new proposals for the training of at Hampton Institute, 251-252, 256; education of in South Carolina, 264-265