

THE NEGRO IS THE SOUTH'S DRAWBACK, SAYS HOKE SMITH

But, Adds the New Senator From Georgia, in Spite of the Burden Laid Upon It by the Black Man's Presence a Marvelous Agricultural New South is Springing Triumphant Into Being.

HOKE SMITH.

How many Coatesville episodes would occur in the North if conditions like those in the South existed there?

The negro is the white man's burden, not his help, throughout the Southern States.

The New South being built not because of cheap negro labor, but in spite of it.

The farm and the farmer the most important subjects for the country now to study.

Less education in dead languages and more education in plain foods needed.

A National Divorce law necessary, and he favors a Constitutional amendment.

The importance of roads improvement emphasized. He, himself, is to go by auto from New York to Atlanta, and possibly, to Jacksonville.

By Edward Marshall.

HOKE SMITH—Gov. Hoke Smith—Senator-elect Hoke Smith of Georgia, in his own words, ought to understand the negro problem. He was born and raised where it has risen and become serious.

"What is it, really?" I asked. "What is being done with it? What ought to be done with it?"

We were talking in a room of his suite at the Holland House, and he rose and walked from end to end of it half a dozen times before he formulated his reply. It is a fine sight to watch Hoke Smith walk. He is well over six feet tall, he is not fat, but he is on the verge of it, his feet and hands are large, his head is mighty, but his step is very light. The Georgia statesman thinks things out before he speaks them out. When he does speak it is with a delightful fluency, a charming Southern accent, no waste of words, invariably sequential thought. Presently he ceased his walking and was looking at me with a slowly shaking head. When he began to speak he did not stop until he had completed what he had to say upon this topic.

He takes the negro and the problem which he offers very seriously. He is sorry we have either this country. He refuses to let a Southerner to let the blame be wholly laid upon the South. That he is very hopeful would be difficult to gather from his words; that he is hopeless is untrue.

"The negro problem," he said carefully, "is a difficult one, and no man familiar with it would undertake to formulate an exact solution of it. It is complicated by a thousand things of which one who does not live surrounded by it, as we do in the South, does not dream.

He took another pontoon but light-footed turn about the room.

"The enthusiasts of the East and North who believe that simply by education the negro's character can be changed have not given the subject that thorough investigation, and have not, therefore, that complete knowledge of the essential formation of a dependable opinion. To really grasp the problem you must go back of the negro in the United States—to the negro in Africa—and see what has been done there by the race—there where slavery in America has had no influence whatever."

"It is logical to ask the question: What have the negroes of Africa, after thousands of years of opportunity, in a country rich with possibilities, where they have had things their own way, free of the white man's control, accomplished for civilization and for themselves?"

This is a fair and pertinent question. Those who honestly consider it and as honestly reply to it, must cease to thrust back at our New England ancestors harsh criticism for having brought the negro to America and made of him a slave. They may, even admit that the negro was advanced from slavery to a position of being a slave—under an enforced advancement, to be sure, but an advancement, which, where he has had the opportunity, he has not voluntarily made. We must keep these historic facts in mind as we consider the present and predict the future."

"The South," he said, "did not, conceive the slavery idea."

"The origin of slavery in the United States is a matter of history. It is only with the historic facts in mind that in this country, where he was enslaved, he has advanced, and that in Africa, where he was not enslaved, he has not advanced, that we must consider his present and his future. It will be unwise to base a conclusion as to what may be accomplished upon what is known of a few thousands in this country of the most advanced of the race. The great problem here is with the millions here who have made scarcely any progress, and the millions elsewhere who have made none."

"Here, despite the days of slavery, they have made more progress than they have at home in freedom. They have made a little progress here and even those who have made least here have made more than the most progressive have in Africa, where they have been their own masters."

"I believe," he continued thoughtfully, "that it is a mistake for the negro to seek in any way to force himself into competition with the white man. His history and the history of his race should make his sympathies hesitate about urging him to such a course. In Georgia there are more negroes than in any other State in the Union. We find that, with few exceptions, they succeeded only in the simple work of life, and there are only when they receive the benefit of kind direction from the white man. We find that the negro does best in those communities in which the number of white men is comparatively large, and does worst in those communities where the population is most largely black."

"And this suggests, as the best way to solve the negro problem—what?" I asked.

"The logical conclusion to be derived from it is that to scatter the negroes throughout the Union as rapidly as possible if they are to remain in the Union is the best thing that can be done, not necessarily for the white man but for the negro."

"Is there any possibility of sending them outside of the United States? You imply there is a possibility in what you say."

He shook his head a little but did not otherwise reply to this question. Instead he went on gravely with a sentence which had hidden in it a sharp sting for the Northerners who criticize the South, but a sting well hidden.

Of course the plan of scattering the negroes is attacked by the difficulty that it is hard to obtain from them, that they are located in any considerable numbers at any point outside the South, the same fair, kindly, and considerate treatment which they really receive from those who know them for more than a hundred years, and being familiar with their good qualities as well as with their bad qualities, treat them with forbearance and a comprehension of their limitations."

Earlier in the talk, asked the massive Governor to comment on the recent terrible affair at Coatesville, Penn., but he had passed the question over.

Now he turned back to it, making of it, very ably, an illustration of his point.

"We were, throughout the South, distressed at the reports of the horrible Coatesville incident. There were many in which were comparatively very few negroes and a large preponderance of whites. Suppose there were two negroes in Coatesville to every three whites. How many such incidents would take place there then?"

It was rather a fine forbearance. He did not speak again of Coatesville.

"Racial prejudice seems to be instinctive," he went on, instead. "The trouble is that as the negro begins to occupy in any section a position which a white man wants, friction becomes possible, at least, still the negro problem must be considered, here, the white man's burden—not the burden of the white men of the South alone, but the burden of the white men of the whole United States. It is illogical, it is unjust, to place it only on the South. The whole country should be willing to share it and to help bear it, and should be willing to help toward the distribution of the negro with something like equality throughout all the States of the whole Union."

"But has not cheap negro labor in the South been a tremendous advantage to the section?"

Gov. Smith stopped in his twisting march about the little hotel table and obstructing trunks, and, from his towering height, looked down quizzically at me. He has one of the most mobile and expressive faces I have ever seen, and his message now was that he understood but did not quite appreciate my joke. But, really, I had not aimed at humor.

"The South has carried a tremendous burden, far more than her proper burden, in being forced to bear, alone, the weight of negro labor," he said slowly. "The bad agricultural methods which for so many years checked the advancement of the very garden spot of this great continent have been due solely to the presence of the negro. During the days of slavery they were compelled to work, and thus accomplished something, possibly, toward the development of the South, but even then their work was performed under a system, encouraged by the existence of ample, splendid lands in the undeveloped country, which permitted the exhaustion of the fields. Other fields were waiting there ready to be broken up. The negroes could be moved into them and permitted to wear them out, also."

"This wasteful method of procedure has been followed even up to the last ten years. It is the outgrowth solely of reliance upon negro labor in the agricultural districts, and, under the circumstances, it has been inevitable. It has been the curse of the whole South."

"What is the change which has occurred during the last ten years?" I asked, expecting to hear of improvements in the methods of managing black labor.

"A change from reliance upon black labor to reliance upon white labor," said the Governor to my astonishment. "Fifteen years have seen a vast improvement in the agricultural methods of the South, made possible by more white and less black labor in proportion. The last five years have comprised a period almost of revolution. White men have been buying land in pieces small enough to permit personal supervision, living on it, and cultivating it. They have, frequently, hired a few negroes to do a part of the work—that part needing least exact intelligence—but they have done the major portion of the work themselves, or hired white laborers to do it."

"The method of producing scientific methods of soil study and plant propagation has headed the great lessons which this research has revealed. When they have hired negro labor it has been because they were unable to get white labor, and they have met its dangers by personal presence on the farm and personal direction of each detail of the preparation of the soil, its fertilization, the planting of the crop and its subsequent cultivation."

"What is the result? In spite of negro labor, not because of it, lands which a few years ago were considered almost worthless for agriculture, which had been abandoned to be almost worthless, are now producing to-day, under white man's labor and white man's direction, fifty to one hundred bushels of corn, and, in other instances, over a bale of cotton to the acre. The splendid agricultural resources of the Southern States were so repressed and hidden by the incubus of negro labor that they are not, even yet, really understood by people living in other sections of the country."

"In these days the majority of white farmers, instead of considering their land less valuable after it has been cultivated a few years, as it surely used to be, recognize that each year intelligent cultivation adds to the productivity of the soil. While, a few years ago, under the old negro farm system, ten bushels of corn and a quarter of a bale of cotton to the acre were in the South Carolina, on the average, decreasing as the years passed, she has now beaten the world's record in corn production to the acre."

"One man—a white man—so prepared his land and so cultivated it that on one acre were produced 240 bushels of corn. Another white man, working with the negro in his own field, just north of Atlanta, Ga., produced twelve bales of cotton from three acres of land."

"We have been handicapped, we are still handicapped, but we are determined that our section shall contribute its full part to the splendid growth of our native country and to the preparation of the United States for the vast population destined to live within its boundaries. We are establishing agricultural schools and colleges. We have eleven separate agricultural schools in my own State, for instance, and a splendid State College of Agriculture."

"We are having elaborate and comprehensive soil surveys made, so that the particular field may be understood and the lackings of the field may be made known and remedied intelligently. We are having the plants, themselves, scientifically studied, so that the food required by each one may be known with accuracy and the fertilizers to the men who cultivate the soil in all parts of the State."

"We are conducting university extension work from our State College of Agriculture and furnishing, to whomsoever wants them, bulletins of information upon accurate and practical subjects which can help the farmer. We are conducting experiments in seed selections; studies are being made of the diseases of the cotton plant, of fruit trees and, in other lines. A majority of our white farmers, are, to-day, eager for information and ready to put into immediate practice what they learn."

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"But you do not get as many requests for information from the negro farmers?"

"We get a few. A few of the negroes are willing to learn, but as an almost unbroken rule it is essential, for negro efficiency upon the farm, that the white man stay close by his side, direct him and control him. It may surprise some Northerners to know that fifty years of freedom have not, substantially, increased the efficiency of the negro even at farm labor."

"There are a few who have progressed, but their improvement is offset by the fact that many are far less efficient under freedom than they are under slavery. They were under slavery, and through the realization of the part of the whole country that the Southern white man has no prejudice, peculiar to himself, against the negro race."

The Governor had come north to attend the conference of Governors at Spring Lake, N. J. In the minds of many these conferences are likely to result eventually in the adjustment of much of the con-

tendency toward progress, save as they are compelled to make it under the direction of white men.

"We are doing fine things in the South. In the progress which we are making, and which can scarcely be imagined by one not familiar with its details, the entire elimination of sectionalism—of prejudice against the South among the people of the North and of prejudice against the North among the people of the South—is a substantial help. Even our greatest handicap, the presence of the negro, is lessening by the distribution of the negro population throughout the entire country, and through the realization of the part of the whole country that the Southern white man has no prejudice, peculiar to himself, against the negro race."

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tioning legislation now existing in the various States and thus weld the Nation into a more homogeneous whole than it has been in the past.

"What common legislation do the States need?" I inquired.

"That is still a matter which must be discussed."

"Do we not need, for example, a general divorce law, regulating what may be termed inter-State matrimony, as much as we have ever needed an inter-State commerce law?"

He answered with considerable emphasis. "Something of the sort must certainly be managed. I very cordially approve of the idea of an amendment to the Constitution providing for a National divorce law. The fact that so many men of eminence have already expressed themselves in favor of such legislation makes the hope that it will come without too much delay quite reasonable."

"It is absolutely inexcusable that a citizen of one State should be permitted

to slip across a boundary into another State and there obtain annulment of a marriage which he could not have obtained in his own State in which the marriage ceremony was performed, and that then he should be able to go back to his own State, having, perhaps, remarried again contrary to that State's laws, and live there, undisturbed, by one whom, under that State's laws he could not marry. It is almost incredible, often, to a willful, but unpunishable, defiance of the sentiment of the community and of the laws born of that sentiment and present on the statute books."

"There is no more vital error remaining now to be corrected in our national life than this one. The readiness with which divorces have been granted in some States has rightly become an international scandal. It might, if unchecked, lead to a disastrous deterioration of American appreciation of the holiness of the home life, which is the most essential safeguard of our civilization."

"This whole matter, I am firmly convinced, must be transferred to the National Government. A constitutional amendment doing this should be supported by the best people of the Nation in all sections. It would be so plainly for the benefit of all the people of all the States, and it is so clearly the only way in which the matter can be handled properly that even an old-fashioned State's rights advocate ought not to hesitate about it."

"I believe in a constitutional government. I do not believe in breaking the Constitution at any time as a matter of expediency. But where the interests and the advantages of our people require it, as they do, undoubtedly, at present, in the face of the disgraceful state into which affairs have fallen, I think we should not hesitate. Conditions have changed greatly, and the Constitution must be changed to meet them."

"We should be just as willing to add, to-day, by constitutional amendment, to the power of the National Government in this matter, when it will promote the interests of the people of the entire Nation, as we were, when the Constitution was first framed, to give to the National Government the power then placed in it. Nothing, of course, can come so close to the lives of all the people as this problem of marriage and divorce."

"It ranks in its importance with the problem of our agriculture, ranks even higher for while the problem of our agriculture has a mighty bearing on our comfort and our National prosperity, the other has a mighty bearing on our morals and our spiritual and intellectual progress."

"Material, intellectual and spiritual comfort are interdependent. The clear, although, perhaps, unavoidable mistake of concentration of our population in the cities, has been responsible for some of our worst errors and some of our greatest unhappiness."

"The loneliness of country life is as much of a mistake, far more easily corrected, and, further, when it is corrected, will best be solved by similar cooperation. The advance of science has now made it wholly possible and it must be studied and worked out. The hard conditions of farm life must be ameliorated. Too little thought is given to rural problems. There must be a concentration upon investigation, both by Nation and by State, upon the development of agriculture. It is of greater moment than the study of the industries of manufacture and mechanics."

The small farmer is the greatest citizen. His greatness must be recognized. One cannot work alone. The great problems of the farm, alone. The cotton problem, in the South, demanded the cooperation of the farmers with each other and the co-operation of both State and National Governments with them. There has been a similar cooperation in the inter-State railroads, and that which is essential to the Nation's welfare as inter-State railroads are, but they certainly are not far behind the railroads in importance."

"I am intensely interested in the great highway which we are seeking to create by the improvement of a chain of roads and which will connect New York City with Atlanta in my State, and later with Jacksonville, Fla. I think it is quite safe to predict now that this enterprise will be carried to completion, and that will be a great step in advance. It will bring our people closer together; it will help us to know each other better."

"It will give us many opportunities of getting really acquainted which train-travel does not offer and section on the fast train sees really but little of a contact. The man who passes through it in a carriage on a public highway, be the carriage horse-drawn or propelled by gasoline, must, necessarily, see much of it and become acquainted with its people."

"The good-roads movement is of great importance to the welfare of the country. The automobile has, of course, helped greatly in encouraging our people to their building. The increase of inter-State roads is of more importance than that portion of the public which is not directly interested in them."

"My interest in the highway from New York to Jacksonville is so acute that I shall take part in the long journey over the route which will leave New York Oct. 14. I hope that in each State which I pass through the Governor, or a Senator, or both, will join me as my guest. I am arranging these meetings now."

"All these things help; this one will help tremendously toward the solution of what I have been forced to think is the very greatest problem of our National life—the problem of our farmers and their farms. The Federal and State Governments have, as I have said, no greater duty to perform than to promote the agricultural interests of the country. If you asked me what I think has been the greatest deficiency in the work of State and National government in this country during the past century I should unhesitatingly reply that it has been neglect of the farmer and the farm."

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Senator Hoke Smith.

take themselves so seriously there'd be some hope for them. This blooming cub over here [he turned a page] is a standing joke because of his habit of addressing entire strangers in the gym, and asking the class: 'When they answer, he demands to know their ages, and repeats the reply with, 'Well, I'm only 19, and I'm a grade 10.' Sometimes he forgets and asks the same thing twice of the same fellow. Another of the same species was in the freshman debating society, and made his appearance on the platform wearing a regular grown-up dress coat, low-cut vest, and stiff evening shirt, above his knee pants. He was so satisfied with the effect that it never occurred to him what the audience was laughing at."

"Isn't there anybody to—to explain to them?"

"What'd be the use? They're quite sure they know it all. The normal freshman would have sense rubbed into him quickly enough if he happened to be that kind of an It when he arrived; but—there's the worst phase of it, Nam. 'The young man's face gray sober, they haven't any friends, these freak infants. I don't assert that they are the physical equals of football stars (they are not), but they are not the physical equals of the big husky fellows that they find in their classrooms. And they haven't had the everyday knockabout give-and-take experience that fits the average boy for college and the life after, or they wouldn't lose their heads as they do. Normal boys of their own age fight shy of them, because of their conceit, and the men don't want such undeveloped kids tagging them particularly close about, give-and-take experience that fits the average boy for college and the life after, or they wouldn't lose their heads as they do. 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