

**THE HUMAN WAY: ADDRESSES
ON RACE PROBLEMS AT THE
SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL
CONGRESS, ATLANTA, 1913**

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The Human Way: Addresses on Race Problems at the Southern Sociological Congress, Atlanta, 1913 by James E. McCulloch

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JAMES E. MCCULLOCH

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*Dr. Charles W. Eliot
Compliments of
James H. Dillard*

THE HUMAN WAY

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AT THE
SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS
ATLANTA, 1913**

**EDITED BY
JAMES E. McCULLOCH**

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

AT the closing session of the conferences on Race Problems held during the meeting of the Southern Sociological Congress in Atlanta there were numerous and emphatic expressions of opinion that the addresses, in addition to their incorporation in the general publication of the Congress, should be issued in a separate edition. Pledges were promptly given in support of the plan. In response to this demand the present volume is published.

JAMES H. DILLARD, *Chairman.*

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THE PRESENT SITUATION

JAMES H. DILLARD, M.A., LL.D.

At the first meeting of the Southern Sociological Congress, held last year in Nashville, there were two conferences on race problems. These conferences were well attended and proved most interesting. There were present a number of representative men of both races, and it was found that there was not time to hear all who wished to speak on the subject. During the session of this first Congress a committee was appointed on Race Relationships consisting of the following: A. J. Barton, Waco, Tex.; Miss Belle H. Bennett, Richmond, Ky.; C. E. Branson, Athens, Ga.; William H. Fleming, Augusta; H. B. Frissell, Hampton, Va.; J. D. Hammond, Augusta; G. W. Hubbard, Nashville; G. H. Huckaby, Shreveport; W. R. Lambuth, Nashville; John Little, Louisville; J. D. Snedecor, Tuscaloosa; A. H. Stone, Dunleith, Miss.; W. P. Thirkield, New Orleans; C. B. Wilmer, Atlanta; W. D. Weatherford, Nashville, Secretary; and James H. Dillard, New Orleans, Chairman. Of this committee, ten are present at this second Congress.

There was also formed at the first Congress what is known as the University Commission on Race Questions. This Commission consists of representatives from ten Southern State Universities as follows: Alabama, J. J. Doster; Arkansas, C. H. Brough, Chairman; Florida, J. M. Farr; Georgia, R. J. H. DeLoach; Louisiana, W. D. Scroggs; Mississippi, W. D. Hedleston; North Carolina, C. W. Bain; South Carolina, Josiah Morse; Tennessee, J. D. Hoskins; Texas, W. S. Sutton; Virginia, W. M. Hunley, Secretary. Five of these gentlemen are on the present program.

Our present program contains the names of nineteen who are to read papers or make addresses, and of the nineteen appointees five are colored. Seventeen of the nineteen are present. The addresses will be followed by discussions which I hope will be freely participated in, so far as time will permit, by members and delegates of both races.

The facts which I have just stated tell the truth which, in calling this meeting to order, I wish particularly to emphasize. This truth is that the time has come when the earnest and thoughtful white people of the South have determined to face the problems involved in race relationships, and to cooperate with each other, with the colored people themselves, and with friends in the North in promoting better conditions than have existed since reconstruction days.

In those early days of reconstruction the great trouble was caused by the predominating influence of men who, however sincere they may have been, attempted to do the impossible overnight. I can never think of those days without calling to mind an illustration which was being exhibited about the same time in the Old World.

Fifty-odd years ago Italy was an expression, not a united country. There was a bundle of divided States, but not one country as it is to-day. All great Italians, both statesmen and men of letters, earnestly desired union. Three great men stood out among many as the champions of a United Italy. These were Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour. Mazzini was uncompromisingly in favor of a republic, and worked largely by secret associations and conspiracy. Garibaldi was always ready for fight and for any extreme measures. Cavour was the statesman, the greatest, I think, with his contemporary Lincoln, in the nineteenth century. Cavour said that a republic at that stage of the game was impossible. He knew that Europe would not allow it, even if the Italians were ready for it. He said: "I will work for the possible. I will take the kingdom of Sardinia and unite Italy around that." And he did.

Mr. William R. Thayer, one of our American historians, has written the standard life of Cavour, one of the greatest books ever written in America. In speaking of Cavour he used the expression that Cavour had "an enthusiasm for the possible." It is a great expression. Most "enthusiasts" have an enthusiasm for the impossible. The impossible may be the ideal, may come later on, but if it be impossible at the time, the highest wisdom is to be enthusiastic for the possible, and to wait.

In our own country, after the civil war, if statesmen like Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens had attempted less, they would have accomplished more in the long run. Idealists ignore the fact that we are walking on the earth. We humans will not be pushed too fast. We have to grow. If the forward push be too rapid or too far, reaction is inevitable. In all forward movements this is a fact which it is the part of highest wisdom to remember. Sumner and Stevens ignored this fact. I think we may guess that Lincoln, had he been spared to deal with reconstruction, would have taken a different course. I think that, like Cavour in Italy, Lincoln would have had an "enthusiasm for the possible," and would have foreseen that it was impossible to do outright what later events have shown to have been impossible of accomplishment in such hasty way.

But we had the reconstruction days with their trail of ill will. It is needless to dwell on the ugly details. I am not claiming that there were no well-meaning efforts in the process of reconstruction, or that the men engaged were all of them nothing more than selfish and unscrupulous politicians, but we know the results. For forty years the well-disposed have been suffering from the bitterness that was begotten. Let us be glad that what may be called the post-reconstruction period seems at last to be drawing to a close.

This is the truth which I wish to emphasize at this time. I sincerely believe that the day of better feeling is at hand. I believe that the day has come when we shall, if I may say so, start over again and develop right relations in the right way. We Southern white people now realize two facts in regard to the relationship of the races. First, we realize that the old relationship, so frequently typified in the affection of the black mammy, is one that must pass. Second, we realize that the spirit of no relationship, no responsibility, no coöperation, is impossible. We see that our whole public welfare requires the education and improvement of the colored people in our midst. We see that public health depends on common efforts between the races. We see that the prosperity of these Southern States is conditioned on greater intelligence among the masses of all the