

PROCEEDINGS

—OF—

Consultation Convention

—OF—

350 LEADING COLORED MEN OF GEORGIA,

—HELD IN—

Macon, Georgia,

JANUARY 25th and 26th, 1888.

—+—**CONSTITUTION AND OFFICERS**—+—

—OF—

UNION BROTHERHOOD OF GEORGIA.

—ALSO OF—

—+—**STATE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.**—+—

—OFFICERS—

PRESIDENT.....	REV. W. J. WHITE.....	Augusta, Ga.
VICE-PRESIDENTS	{ REV. J. B. L. WILLIAMS.....	LaGrange, Ga.
	{ J. H. BROWN, ESQ	Savannah, Ga.
SECRETARIES	{ A. W. BURNETT, ESQ	Atlanta, Ga.
	{ REV. C. M. MANNING.....	Aeworth, Ga.

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1888.

XXIX Consultation Convention.

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MACON, GA. January 25th, 1888.

In response to a call for a Consultation Convention of the representative colored men of Georgia, about three hundred men from all parts of the state assembled in this city to-day. No public hall being large enough to seat the delegates in attendance, the Cotton Avenue Baptist church kindly tendered the use of their house. At 10 o'clock a. m., the meeting was called to order by Rev. W. J. White, Editor of the *Georgia Baptist*, who requested Rev. C. T. Walker to read the following :

To the Colored Citizens of Georgia :—

The matter of having a Consultation meeting of the leading colored men of the State has been under discussion for some time. On the 24th day of November, 1887, a number of gentlemen met in the city of Macon, Ga., to discuss the advisability of making a call. After fully considering the matter, it was unanimously decided to invite the leading colored men of Georgia, to meet in the city of Macon, on Wednesday morning, January 25th 1888, at 10 o'clock. The Chairman of that meeting, Rev. W. J. White, was appointed to prepare and issue a call for this meeting.

It is not deemed necessary to enter into details in this call, beyond stating that we believe the time has come when the colored men of Georgia should meet, consult and agree upon some wise course of future action, for the promotion of the race's welfare. After more than 20 years of freedom and its benefits, with thousands of our people greatly advanced from the degradation of slavery days, the colored men of Georgia find a predominating sentiment among their white fellow-citizens, to keep them in a condition largely assimilating to their condition when held in bondage. But as the darkest cloud has its silver lining, so the colored men of Georgia sees some rays of hope in the fact that a large number of the best white people of the state are ready and willing to give them a fair chance in the race of life. The present chain-gang and penitentiary system of Georgia, is simply barbarous, and yet no past legislature has removed this foul blot. Every attempt at improvement has failed, and as a matter of fact; the helpless convicts of the state are being made the subjects of cruelty far beyond the limit authorized by the statutes, even in providing for the enforcement of the most rigid discipline. The educational facilities afforded by the state are totally inadequate to the needs of the people and yet the colored people are deprived of a just share of the small amount provided for this purpose. Under the influence of a senseless and unrelenting prejudice, the legislature at its last session has connected with the continuance of the annual appropriation of the *Eight Thousand Dollars* to the Atlanta University, conditions which amount to a virtual withdrawal of this money from that school. This action was taken in the face of the fact that appropriations to white institutions of learning were larger than in former years. The colored men of Georgia owe it to themselves and their children to organize and unite their strength with the good white people of the state for the removal of existing evils, and the securement of more of the benefits to which their citizenship entitles them. This call is addressed to all classes of our people and we trust the people will interest themselves in raising money to assist their leaders to attend.

Ministers of the gospel, school teachers, professional men, the farmer, the merchant, the mechanic, the artizan, and the wage worker are invited to attend. A people who will not try to help themselves cannot expect others to help them. Let us help ourselves and ask the Lord to turn the hearts of others to our help.

W. J. WHITE, Editor *Georgia Baptist*, Chairman.

W. H. YOUNG, Secretary.

Anthony Wilson Member House of Representatives for Camden Co.
 L. Crawford..... Member House of Representatives, McIntosh Co.
 Hon. P. O. Holt..... Macon, Ga.
 Hon. Jeff Long..... Macon, Ga.

John H Deveaux.....	Editor Savannah Tribune
S W Easley, Jr.....	Editor Herald of United Churches
B T Harvey	Editor Columbus Messenger
John W Marlow.....	Editor People's Choice
J T White.....	Business Manager People's Choice
Rev C H Brightharp.....	Milledgeville, Ga.
Rev T E Jurner.....	Macon, "
Rev T M Robinson.....	" "
R H Hart.....	" "
Rev Thomas Screen.....	" "
Walter Pitts.....	" "
Rev Jolly Thomas.....	" "
Rev Floyd Snelson.....	McIntosh, "
Rev E P Johnson.....	Hawkinsville, "
A Henderson.....	Macon, "
A M Hill.....	Logansville "
S Y Pope	Waynesboro, "
J W Searls.....	Jesup, "
Rev C T Walker	Augusta, "
Rev J W Dunjee.....	" "
Rev G S Johnson	" "
Rev D McHorton.....	" "
Col A R Johnson.....	" "
J W Lyons	" "
T M Dent.....	" "
A W Wimberly.....	" "
H L Walker.....	" "
P H Craig.....	" "
Isaiah Blocker, Jr.....	" "
J C Greene.....	" "
O L Chatters.....	" "
J T Russell.....	" "
Robert Battey	" "
David Lark.....	" "

Since issuing the call for the Consultation meeting, January 25th, 1888, the following names have come to us in endorsement of the call:

Hon James Blue.....	Brunswick, Ga.
Rev J M Jones	Atlanta, "
W P Golden.....	Brunswick, "
T H Gadson.....	Appling, "
Dr. Wm Troy.....	Augusta, "
Rev A W Watson.....	Covington, "
Rev W H Tilman.....	Atlanta, "
Rev L H Smith.....	Augusta, "
Rev R T Kent.....	Covington, "
Rev W S Ramsey.....	Columbus, "

Prof. T. M. Dent, of Hawkinsville, made some very eloquent remarks, setting forth the need of unity above all things, and that from to-day the colored men of Georgia should set out to work together for the up-building of the race. He closed by nominating Col. W. A. Pledger, of Athens, for temporary chairman. The motion was seconded by A. W. Burnett, Esq. Col. Pledger was unanimously elected temporary chairman. On being conducted to the chair, Col. Pledger spoke in strong endorsement of the call for this Convention and declared his willingness and purpose to do all in his power to make the business of the body a success.

On motion of Rev. E. K. Love, of Savannah, Dr. A. E. Williams, of Crawfordville, was chosen temporary secretary.

On motion of Capt. J. A. Sykes, of Savannah, a committee of five, as follows, was appointed to nominate a president, two vice-presidents and two secretaries: Capt. Jas. A. Sykes, Prof. T. M. Dent, Capt. J. W. Lyons, J. W. Marlow, Esq., Rev. E. K. Love.

The chair requested Rev. C. Max Manning to lead the body in

devotional exercises. After singing and reading a chapter, Rev. C. M. Manning offered a fervent prayer

Capt. J. W. Lyons moved that a committee of ten be appointed on enrollment.

Motion adopted and committee appointed as follows : Capt. J. W. Lyons, Chairman; Major S. W. Easley, A. W. Burnett, Esq., R. M. Logan, Esq., Capt. A. F. Hawkins, John Heard, Esq., Rev. J. N. McCombs, Rev. E. P. Holmes, J. H. Brown, Esq., D. F. Douglass, Esq.

A recess of 15 minutes was taken to allow the committee time to make up their report.

The body was called to order at the expiration of the recess.

The committee to nominate permanent officers reported as follows: For president, Rev. W. J. White, of Augusta; for vice-president, Maj. S. W. Easley, of Atlanta; 2nd vice-president, Rev. E. K. Love, of Savannah; for secretaries, A. W. Burnett, Esq., of Atlanta and Rev. C. Max Manning, of Acworth.

On motion of Rev. C. T. Walker, the report was amended by striking out the name of Maj. S. W. Easley for 1st vice-president and substituting the name of Rev. J. B. S. Williams, of LaGrange; also the name of Rev. E. K. Love for 2nd vice-president and substituting the name of J. H. Brown, Esq., of Savannah. The report of the committee as amended was unanimously adopted.

The president appointed Capt. C. C. Wimbish, of Atlanta and T. T. Thomas, Esq., of Jones Co., to conduct the president elect to the chair. The president-elect, Rev. W. J. White, was introduced to the Convention amid enthusiastic applause. The president upon taking the chair spoke as follows :

Gentlemen of the Convention :—I cannot express to you the gratitude which I feel for this expression of your continued confidence in myself, and in my devotion to your best interests and welfare. Through years I have assiduously labored through sunshine and storm to elevate and lift up my people. In the labors which I have put forth to have the representative colored men of Georgia meet and consult together, I have had in my mind no other object, purpose, or desire than to advance the interest of the colored man in Georgia, and in the doing of which the interest of every man in this grand old empire state will be advanced. Born upon Georgia soil, I claim the right to call Georgia mine, and to hold Georgia in as sacred reverence as any son of her bosom. Believing with all my heart that the time has come when the true colored men of Georgia should unite for the purpose of helping themselves in reference to a number of matters that especially affected them, I regard this meeting as in many respects likely to prove the most important meeting of colored men ever held in the state. That a wide-spread interest has been aroused, that the people from the Savannah to the Chattahoochee and from the mountains of the north to the everglades of the southern boundary of Georgia have been awakened, is proven by the presence here of nearly four hundred of the most representative men from all parts of the state. I trust I shall not be regarded as egotistical in presenting my views as to what I regard the necessary action for this Convention of the representative colored men of Georgia to take. In the first place, I would state that we ought to confine our action to matters that pertain to our home affairs, that is to matters belonging to Georgia, with the single exception of petitioning the United States Congress to pass the Blair educational

bill or one of like import. I refer you to the resolutions adopted by the citizens of Augusta in reference to the Grant memorial fund, and the erection of a monument to our colored soldiers who were killed in the late war.

RESOLUTIONS.

Prof. Craig arose and offered the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, It is a well known fact to all intelligent people that colored men took a prominent part in the war between the states, and

WHEREAS, It is also a well-known fact that by their courage and valor, the colored troops did much for the achievement of victory for the national cause: therefore be it

Resolved, That the colored people of Georgia hereby respectfully request the proposed Colored Convention to be held in Macon, Ga.; January 25th, 1888 to take some steps whereby a monument shall be erected by the Negroes of the United States to the memory of those of their race who died in the defense of the Union; and be it further

Resolved, That we also call upon the above named Convention to adopt some plan to cause our people to contribute to the fund that is now being raised by the colored people of the United States to the memory of that courageous and world renowned hero, General Ulysses S. Grant.

Events transpiring in our state during the past few years could but lead every thoughtful colored man to a realization of the fact that there is a rapidly growing determination on the part of the controlling element of the white citizens of the state to ignore in a large measure, the rights, privileges and immunities of the colored citizen. The general policy of the state is to ignore the claims of the colored people to have that recognition which is due them. Mr. Cagin, of Augusta, declared to Senators Blair and Pugh, when taking testimony on capital and labor, that he did not regard the colored people as full American citizens, and in doing so, he expressed a truth which the colored people have been slow to accept. Though the colored population numbers as nine to ten, with the white population of the state, the white people have so manipulated the policy of the state as to deprive the colored men of many of the benefits of citizenship. It is not necessary for me to enumerate the grievances which we have, for they are many, and well-known to you. I regard it as the duty of this Convention to make known to the white people of Georgia, the wrongs which we wish righted, and the grievances which we wish abated. This should be done, not in harsh or unkind language, but plainly, strongly, earnestly. The colored men of the state should in my opinion unite their influence and their votes to be used conjointly with the fair minded and just white people of the state for the securement of those things of which we are now wrongfully deprived. To do this we must have a state organization through which the end sought may be reached. We must do more at this meeting than make fine speeches, and pass good resolutions. We must organize. Organize colored men, and go to work. Self preservation is the first law of nature, and if the colored man ever hopes to be a full, free citizen of Georgia, he must unite his power in the use of the ballot, so as to compel that recognition which otherwise, he will never get. This body is made up largely of Christian men and ministers of the gospel. It is a good sign for all classes of the people of Georgia when these men come together with deep earnestness to consult for the welfare of those of whom we are largely, both temporal and spiritual leaders. Let us invoke divine guidance in our deliberations, that whatever is done may redound to the good of all the people, and the glory of God.

The hours of meeting were fixed at 9 a. m., 3 p. m., and 7:30 p. m. Adjourning at 1 p. m., 5 p. m., and 10:30 p. m.

A resolution was adopted that all resolutions be referred to appropriate committees without debate.

Maj. S. W. Easley offered the following resolution, which was referred to committee on resolutions:

WHEREAS, In a country where all creeds, colors and individuals are in the full possession of an equal enjoyment of the rights, privileges and immunities guaranteed alike to all of its subjects, without a restriction to a portion of its citizens, a convention of any particular class, color or creed, would be unwise and impolitic; but

WHEREAS, In a government where the law and its administration gives a partial promise of "equal and exact justice before the law," of all men and fails to guarantee or to protect its citizens in the fundamental principles of all true government and a portion of its citizens are deprived of the full privileges and immunities of a more fortunate class, then a conference of the "*proscribed citizens*" under the circumstances, is justified, and cannot be looked upon as drawing a line of color or creed. It is therefore

Resolved, That the partial laws, particularly the school laws, of Georgia, is a justification for this Convention.

The committee on enrollment made report showing about 350 delegates from all parts of the state.

John T. White, Esq., moved that the president appoint a committee on State Organization, to submit to this body a plan for organizing the colored voters of the state. The motion prevailed.

The committees were fixed at eleven, and the privilege given the president to increase them if he wished.

Maj. S. W. Easley moved that committees be appointed by the president on Education; the County Chain-Gang; the State Penitentiary; the Jury System of Georgia; the Ballot; a State Agricultural Society, State Fairs, and other industries; Temperance; Resolutions; Railroad Discriminations.

Capt. J. W. Lyons opposed the appointment of a committee on Temperance as this would necessarily introduce the question of Prohibition. He regarded it as unwise for this Convention to endanger its own harmony by introducing the question of prohibition, upon which subject there are differences of opinion that cannot here be reconciled. He regarded the matter of unity in this body as of the very greatest importance, and no subject should be introduced where unity of action cannot be secured. We cannot, he said, afford to have division in this body where the whole colored people of Georgia have so much at stake. He moved that all committees named, be appointed, except committee on temperance. While B. T. Harvey, Esq., was speaking in favor of appointing this committee, the president announced the hour of adjournment for dinner, and the body adjourned till 3 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

The President called the Convention to order at 3 o'clock. The body was led in prayer by Hon. A. Wilson. Mr. Harvey resumed his remarks on the temperance resolution. Col. W. A. Pledger favored the motion of Capt. Lyons, and said that in coming to this Convention he came, not to talk about rights which we possess, but about those things which we are entitled to, but do not get. This is not a prohibition convention. He is not opposed to temperance, but to prohibition, and would not object to a temperance report that did not involve the question of prohibition in a political sense.

A motion was made to lay the question of a temperance committee on the table. This motion was lost.

Rev. E. K. Love said that he understood this Convention to aim at the elevation of the colored people of Georgia; that he knew of no

better way by which his people could be elevated than by sobriety : no race can be elevated, save by economy, unity, sobriety and virtue. We must protect the virtue of our women, above all things, and unless we do this, we will never see success as a race. We must learn to look out for number one. We do not mind stepping upon a harmless worm, but we take care not to step on a rattlesnake. We must show to the world, it must not step on us, as a race, for we will bite.

Rev. C. T. Walker said that he was willing to use the word temperance, and not take up prohibition in any political sense.

The motion of Capt. Lyons, not to appoint a temperance committee was lost.

The motion to appoint a committee on temperance, was put and unanimously adopted, upon an agreement that the question of prohibition in a political sense would not be inserted, but that the committee treat on moral methods of extending temperance.

Rev. E. K. Love presented the following resolutions, which were referred to the committee on resolutions :

WHEREAS, Many of the representative men of the Negro race are assembled in the city of Macon, in Convention, for the purpose of considering the best means to be employed in the elevation of our race, and to win for them that respect, recognition, right, and every privilege with which an American citizen should be clothed ; and

WHEREAS, Past methods have failed to demand these. Therefore be it

Resolved, 1st, That this Convention regard the acquisition of a good English education, the accumulating of property, and the making and saving money, the thing to do.

2nd, That we urge our people, and do all in our power to form, and cause to be formed, Real Estate and Mercantile Associations ; that our people unite and purchase and operate Co-operative Farms, Loan and Trust Associations, Co-operative Stores, and sell the Negro all that he has to buy from his cradle to his grave. Sell the Negro his cradle and swaddling clothes, and his coffin and death shroud, and everything he may need. That we urge our race that each man work just as though he felt that the elevation of the race was enjoined upon him individually, as no people can be collectively great, until they are individually great. There is no good reason why the Negro should not control the Negro trade, and handle the money the Negro has to spend.

3rd, That we urge and endeavor to perfect a closer union of our people in business enterprises, educational matters, supporting the newspapers among us, protecting each other when imposed upon, and in everything that conspires to make a people refined, influential and great, as nothing can be accomplished by a weak, ignorant, poor and divided people. If we will unite on such solid and praiseworthy basis, we will be great. By this means, we can do more in one year, than we have accomplished by the ballot in 20 years. It is a great privilege to vote, which we would not disparage, treat lightly or, discourage, but voting can never take the place of industry, education economy, virtue, or manhood. If we will do nothing, we will be nothing, and if we own nothing, we will control nothing,

4th, That we oppose legal or illegal amalgamation, and regard it as fatally detrimental to the race. That we will do all in our power to break up co-habitation between white men and Negro women, and that wherever and whenever this comes under our knowledge, whether forced or otherwise, we will unite and put our practical condemnation upon it. For until we unite and practically frown down upon women of our race giving birth to bastard children, whose fathers are white, we cannot get the respect and recognition for which we clamor. If a race would rise, be cultured, influential and great, the women must be pure. Therefore, we pledge ourselves to unite in every town, city and locality, and protect with a ghastly courage, the virtue of our women—even those who do not want to be protected. For some of the white people who call us impure, helped to make us so. To be virtuous is to have power.

5th, That we condemn lynching as lawless and barbarous, such as heathen lands could scarcely excel. We feel that the good citizens could stop this lawlessness if they would. We are sure that it can be stopped.

6th, That we pray the passage of the Blair educational bill, as being just,

patriotic and wise, and that Senator Blair is worthy of our confidence, love and praise, and that the same are hereby tendered.

Rev. W. H. Smith presented the following resolutions, which were referred to the committee on resolutions:

As it is the design and purpose of this Convention here met, to formulate and put into execution, some plans for the further uplifting and bettering the condition of our people, and as there are here gathered together some of the brightest stars and most intellectual minds in the State of Georgia for the same; be it

Resolved. 1st. That it is the sense of this Convention, that committees be formed in each and every county in the State of Georgia for the purpose of forming clubs, to be known as clubs of union, and that they be taught unity.

2nd, That the clubs have presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries, board of managers and a treasurer, and that members of said clubs pay in monthly, or quarterly, such sum or sums as shall be designated by each club, and such money shall be deposited in some safe place or bank, until enough shall have been paid in to warrant an outlay in lands or other materials for the benefit of said members.

3rd, That said clubs have some one in the county, and invite others when practicable, to lecture from time to time on unity, and the betterment of the race.

4th, That each club, for its own maintenance, and the good of the race, loan money to its members on small interest, or buy provisions, and let them have them to run farms, and take a lien on said farms, where it does not come in contact with the owners of the land: and where this is the case, then upon such materials, as will secure the club against loss.

5th, That each club be instructed to teach by practice, precepts and examples, and to cultivate among our people everywhere, as a race, self-respect, race pride, and confidence in each other, whereby good may come to the race from them who now hiss and scorn us as a race, on account of color and previous condition.

The following resolutions were presented by Maj. S. W. Easley, Jr., and referred to the committee on resolutions:

Resolved, That this Convention will, before it shall have adjourned, organize a State Agricultural Association, having for its aims and objects the giving of annual State Fairs, exhibiting the mechanical genius, agricultural productions, industrial pursuits, and professional advancement of the colored people of the State. The organization shall consist of a president, general secretary, a treasurer, ten vice presidents, one from each congressional district, who, with the president, shall constitute the executive board. The order of vice-presidents shall be from the first congressional district to the tenth; the one from the first shall be the first vice-president, and so on. Each vice-president shall organize his district into county clubs, with a president, and with as many vice-presidents as the club may desire, and a secretary and treasurer. The executive board shall issue monthly, an agricultural journal. The membership shall be from the following occupations: Farming, Mechanics, or professors of trades, in which genius is required.

On motion, a committee of five, as follows, was appointed to prepare a program of subjects for discussion: D. F. Douglass, Esq., Revs. J. C. Bryan, T. E. Turner, W. G. Johnson, D. S. Harris.

The president called the attention of the body to the fact that each delegate had been requested to contribute one dollar, and urged that the request be complied with, as this was the only way to meet the expenses connected with the calling and holding this meeting.

It was moved and carried that a committee on finance be appointed. The president appointed finance committee as follows: Nelson Lowe, Esq., chairman, Rev. T. M. Robinson, Rev. C. Max Manning, A. A. Gordon, Esq., Sheppard Peak, Esq.

Maj. S. W. Easley, offered the following resolution and requested that it go to Committee on Education. (So ordered.)

Resolved, That we condemn the act of the legislature of 1886 and 1887;

for establishing a technological school, to be supported by the State, from the money of the tax-payers of the State, for white children, and a failure to establish a like one for the colored children of the State, the same being contrary to every principle of honesty and faithful stewardship of public servants.

The president announced the appointment of the following

COMMITTEES :

On Jury System—J. W. Lyons, C. C. Wimbish, P. O. Holt, H. Watts, P. W. Wingfield, S. B. Morse, J. W. Upshaw, Manuel Persons, Henry Rudisell, Wm Brooks, Henry Coleman, E. J. Tatum, H. M. Williams, J. W. Jones, R. S. Lovinggood, G. W. Bentley.

On Penitentiary System—Hons. A. Wilson, Ishmael Lonon, L. Crawford, J. F. Long, W. A. Pledger, Revs. E. P. Holmes, N. J. McCombs, Kitt Williams, L. Solomon, Capt. A. F. Hawkins, A. W. Burnett, C. J. Beason, W. R. Gray, G. W. Byran, Whitman Chapman.

On Education—Revs. E. K. Love, E. J. Fisher, W. H. Smith, E. W. Walker, Derry Murden, Dr. A. E. Williams, Hamilton Brown, R. S. Lovinggood, J. Sinton, John W. Marlow, J. S. White, J. A. C. Dixon, H. J. T. Hudson, Ned McWhorter, J. W. Jones, B. H. Huff.

On the Ballot—W. A. Pledger, Revs. L. S. Smith, E. J. Fisher, T. J. Hornsby, G. W. Grinage; James A. Sykes, R. M. Logan, A. S. Beasley, P. Andrews, W. R. Young, R. C. Smith, Seaborn Brazel, Prof. A. Graves.

On State Organization—John T. White, Hon. A. Wilson, Dennis F Douglass, T. M. Dent, Rev. C. T. Walker, T. M. Robinson, John H. Brown, John Heard, F. H. Hutcherson, H. M. Williams, Rev. C. H. Brightharp, J. W. Marlow, P. T. Grant, Daniel Grant, B. H. Huff, Squire Owens, C. C. Clarke, Wm. Smith, T. T. Thomas, J. E. Drake, D. L. Solomon, Rev. D. Murden.

On State Agricultural Association, Fairs and other Industries—Maj. S. W. Easley, Jr., Hons. Nathan Toomer, L. Crawford, Rev. D. McHorton, Isaiah Ellington, J. W. Searles, Rev. E. D. Jennings, Jos. Levell, A. S. Thurman, W. F. Bailey, P. Andrews, B. T. Harvey, Thomas Thomas, John Glenn.

On Lynch Law—Rev. L. Solomon, Robert Odom, Wesley Paschal, F. F. Dillum, P. H. Lee, R. Jackson, Cyrus West, George Lewis, J. M. Gibson, A. T. Turner, Jackson Eldridge, S. B. Burgess, Revs. George Banks, C. Barker, A. D. Simmons, Wm. Williams.

On County Chain-gang—Rev. J. M. Bunn, J. J. Lee, J. W. Williams, D. Brown, Rev. J. D. Donaway, L. Jordan, J. E. Tripp, Nelson Lowe, M. D. Dennard, Rev. M. E. DeLaney.

On Railroad Discriminations—Rev. S. C. Upshaw, Robert Henry, Revs. L. Solomon, D. Murden, R. Taylor, D. Lewis, J. D. Reid, S. Paschal, Rev. Jolly Thomas, Rev. R. Scott, Joseph Jones, Rev. C. T. James, W. Chapman, F. Kellum, Rev. E. L. Martin.

On Temperance—B. T. Harvey, Esq., Rev. W. G. Johnson, T. L. Searles, Rev. Lewis Williams, Isham W. Wood, S. H. Hamilton, J. H. Brown; Rev. T. B. Steward, Ellis Lewis, Prof. A. Graves, Rev. S. C. Upshaw, Bishop H. M. Turner.

On Resolutions—Rev. J. B. L. Williams, Capt. J. A. Sykes, Hon. A. Wilson, Capt. J. W. Lyons, Capt. C. C. Wimbish, Rev. C. Max Manning, Col. W. A. Pledger, Rev. Lewis Williams, Prof. A. Graves, J. T. White, Esq., B. T. Harvey, Esq., A. W. Burnett, Esq., R. S. Lovinggood, Esq., Maj. S. W. Easley, Jr., Rev. C. H. Brightharp, Rev. J. C. Bryan, Prof. T. M. Dent, Rev. E. K. Love, Rev. W. H. Smith, Hon. Ishmael Lonon, P. O. Holt, Esq., J. W. Marlow, Esq.,

John Heard, Esq., W. F. Nicholson, Esq., R. H. Hubbard, Rev.
E. P. Holmes, Dr. W. J. Guines.

Adjourned to 7:30 p. m.

WEDNESDAY EVENING SESSION.

The president called the Convention to order and requested Rev. E. L. Martin to lead in prayer.

On motion, it was voted that in discussing the program the gentleman opening shall have whatever time he wishes, and those discussing the paper be restricted to five minutes, and that the discussion of one subject be restricted to 30 minutes after the opening address.

"National aid to education" was ably discussed as follows by Rev. C. T. Walker:

It has been well said that the safety and well-being of the general government depends greatly upon the intelligence of its citizens. Like the prosperity and perpetuation of a government like ours—of the people, for the people and by the people—demands a well instructed citizenship. The census of 1880 shows that there were 3,300,000 white persons in this country that could not write. One million white adults who cannot write. That there are 3,600,000 colored persons in the United States over 10 years of age who cannot write, and 1,022,151 colored male persons who cannot write. Georgia has a population of 1,542,180, and she has 169,505 who cannot write. The statistics shows that in the great city of New York there is only one voter to every five in South Carolina who cannot write. The last census shows that there are 6,239,958 people of this country above the age of ten years, who cannot write, which is about one-eighth of our entire population, and that 4,715,359, or 75 per cent of these illiterates are in the recent slave states. Alabama has 120,858 illiterate voters.

Georgia has 145,087 illiterate voters and 116,516 of these are colored and 28,571 white. North Carolina has 145,000 illiterate voters. South Carolina has 117,000. Mississippi has 111,545 illiterate voters. Louisiana 102,932. There are 1,354,974 illiterate voters in this country and 944,424 of that number are colored. This shows the vast ignorance of a large number of the voting population of this country. There must be a remedy for this malady and the remedy must be the education of the masses. Ignorance is the prolific mother of weakness, the bane of society, the mother of bigotry and superstition. Men who are clothed with the power of franchise should possess sufficient intelligence to know their rights and the required amount of manhood to demand them. Ignorance destroys manhood, creates a dead mind. It is an evil that produces crime, pauperism and misery. The ignorant is easily deluded and manipulated. The colored man is not responsible for his ignorance; it is the effect of slavery which was a curse upon our national escutcheon. It is the duty of the national congress to pass the Blair educational bill, for by so doing they will do more to build up an intelligent citizenship than all the legislation that could be enacted in a generation. Inasmuch as the several states are unable to move the illiteracy existing in them on account of financial inability, the general government couldn't do no nobler service than to appropriate national aid to dispel this illiteracy. Since it is true that intelligence and integrity are essential to the honorable success, and permanence of good government and since our government is made up of the individuality of citizenship; how important that the government should provide instruction for all of its citizens. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and John Q. Adams favored national support to education, and Mr. Washington said: "In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion be enlightened." James Madison said: "It is universally admitted that a well instructed people alone can be permanently a free people." When Napoleon passed over Prussia like a sweeping tornado, and left every thing in ruin, and destitution, the leaders called the people together to devise plans for their restoration to happiness and prosperity. They decided to educate the people, the masses, all the people, and as a result Prussia has become a most powerful country and humbled the successor of its conqueror. The south has not sufficiently revived from the ravages of war and devastation to provide instruction for her youths, hence the importance of the national government rendering assistance. Our government, unlike the Queen Regent of Spain, in emancipating the Cuban slaves, who gave

them all a start in life; but our government emancipated the Negro peniless, friendless, ignorant and without experience, and upon that the responsibility of citizenship was thrust upon him at a time when he was not at all prepared for it. No people should be more interested about federal aid to education than the colored man. It is a lever that will lift him from the grave of ignominy and hatred and give him a prominent place on the stage of progress. The time has fully come in the history of the colored race when the Negro must no longer be a chattel and a tool. If he has any manhood he must assert it, if he has ability he must demonstrate it; if he expects to be a citizen in all that constitutes citizenship, the time has come for him to play the man; emancipated more than 21 years he is full grown, and the time has come to speak and act like a man and put away childish things. The Negro has been told to wait, don't be hasty. If we are citizens why wait any longer than others, we have proven to the government that we are a peaceable, loyal, law-abiding people. Let us no longer lie supinely on our backs hugging the delusive phantoms of hope supposing our wants are already known, and will be attended to. Heretofore we have asked for nothing and have received nothing. For all time to come let none be more solicitous for our welfare, than we ourselves. Let us crowd our petitions into the national halls of legislations, let us solve our problems, shape our destiny, make for ourselves a history, and take our places in the onward march of progress along side with the other races of this country. We thank God that we have no anarchist, no liberalist no communist among us. We are bona fide citizens of this country; we have bedewed the soil with our sweat and tears. Our fathers cleared the forest, felled the timber, built up and perpetuated its history and the National Congress could not bestow upon us a more appreciative benediction than to appropriate national aid to education.

The vast amount of illiteracy among our people should call forth united efforts in petitioning our Congressmen and Senators to give their votes and influence for the passage of the Blair bill. We are not asking Congress for the mule and 40 acres, but for an appropriation to educate its citizens. An appropriation that will produce a crusade of virtue against vice; an appropriation that will dispell ignorance where it is now predominating, that will obliterate buying and selling of votes; an appropriation that will produce a happy, prosperous and intelligent citizenship. To-day, the Savannah Valley Convention is assembled in Augusta. Parts of Georgia and South Carolina have assembled to memorialize Congress to make an appropriation for the Savannah River. So we, in common with other citizens, must ask for what we most need. We are not making an unreasonable request. We will not call upon them in the language of an ambitious Hannibal, to scale the cloud-capped Alps, nor with the voice of a Napoleon to dig our way through ice and snow to a Moscow. Nor do we ask to have uncapped the cloudy Andes, but we simply ask for federal aid to education. If it is the duty of Congress to grant appropriations to harbors, rivers, armies, military institutions and expositions, and if these grants are not at variance with the Constitution, is it not the duty of Congress to grant an appropriation for education, and thereby lift its citizens from ignorance to civilization and honor, to activity and respectability? for in this grant it would open to its citizens the gates of virtue, glory and immortality. Many claim the Blair bill to be unconstitutional; and yet some of the ablest lawyers advocate its passage. It may not be inappropriate to mention the statements of some of the leading journals and sentiments of our law-makers, and moulders of public sentiment.

The "Birmingham Age" said recently editorially, "Congress appropriates money, and your anti-Blair-bill Congressman votes for it without hesitation or without the slightest qualm of conscience, to educate Indians and soldiers and also sailors and yet when it is proposed to appropriate some of the surplus in an overflowing treasury, to the education of illiterate whites or blacks, it is called the most monstrous scheme of the age. How inconsistently absurd!" A Philadelphia paper says: "We can see no adequate reason for opposing the Blair bill, aiding common school education in the southern states where the illiteracy is the greatest. There is money enough in the treasury; in fact every one acknowledges there is too much." The only semblance of a real objection that we have seen, is the assertion that the proposed aid will tend to pauperize the aided States, encouraging them to depend on the general government, rather than on themselves. But this objection does not seem valid. Is not the case parallel to that of the aid given by the several states to the towns? The state says to a town, we will give you so

much on condition that you raise so much. There is no tendency towards pauperization in that, it is for the interest of every state that the people of every town and county should be educated. It is for the interest of the whole country that the people of each state be educated; and why should not the nation help the states out of the common fund? Senator Vest in his recent speech in the United States Senate, in opposition to the Blair bill, said that "the enthusiasm which represented the bill as a panacea for all the evils which affected the body politic was both monstrous and fanatical." The people should see to it that such men stay at home. In petitioning Congress for national aid to education we are only joining in with citizens, who are agitating this great question. Senator Blair said, in advocacy of his bill: "Education, physical, intellectual and moral is the primal necessity. The fathers and founders of our government thought that a republic could stand only on the intelligence and virtue of its citizens." President Monroe said in 1870: "Let us, by alwise and constitutional measures, promote intelligence among the people as the best means of preserving liberties." The lamented Garfield said: "All the constitutional power of the nation and of the state should be summoned to meet the danger by the saving influence of universal education." In a memorial to Congress, signed by Dr. Straiby, Dr. Hartzel, Dr. Moorehouse, Dr. Sheldon Jackson, Dr. J. L. M. Curry, agent of the Peabody fund, Prof. Painter, of Fisk University, and Prof. Armstrong, of Hampton Institute, they say that there should be help for the common schools. The safety of the republic is the supreme law of the land. They state to Congress that the help should be immediate and not remote; the fortunes of war and the necessity of legislative action, have made citizens of a large mass of ignorant men, whose votes are to shape, for weal or woe, the character of our laws. Education alone can convert this mass of ignorance an element of danger into one of the enlightened strength and safety. The same committee says the power to grant national aid to remove illiteracy is co-ordinate with the power that enfranchised the illiterate voter. Our late state school commissioner, the distinguished Dr. Gustavus J Orr, said before the United States Senate: Georgia has a school population of 434,444 and 198,000 of that number are colored, 86,000 colored children were in school that year, leaving more than 100,000 colored children out of school. Dr. Orr paid a glowing tribute to the colored man, for the progress made in the accumulation of property since emancipation and stated that Georgia for one was unable to educate her people, and that he believed the education of the masses to be greater than questions of commerce, than questions of currency, than questions of tariff, than questions of constitutional law; greater than any question that statesmanship will have to contend with and settle, because we make the people and without the people we can do nothing else." Many of our Southern Senators favor federal aid to education.

Senator Lamar, who has been recently elevated to the Supreme Bench, said in favor of this bill: "I regard it as the logical sequence and the practical continuance of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments. It is fraught with unspeakable benefits to the entire population of the south, white and black." Senator Garland said: "I implore all sides to come together and vote for this bill to extirpate illiteracy." We should respect and honor the men who are interested in our progress and elevation irrespective of party; and we should remember that many of our Southern Senators and Congressmen are our true friends. Senator Pugh, of Alabama believed the subject of national aid to education to be the most important measure before the Senate. Senator Vance, of North Carolina said: "I shall vote for the bill." Senator Brown, of Georgia said: "Without education the voter cannot be a safe intelligent voter. I am therefore very clearly of the opinion that there is no constitutional difficulty in the way of the passage of the bill." There are other Senators, such as Senator Jones, of Louisiana, George, of Mississippi, Ransom, of North Carolina, Jones and Call, of Florida, Riddleberger, of Virginia, Hampton, of South Carolina who said as a citizen, a patriot and a Senator, he would vote for national aid. Then there are Northern advocates: Senators Blair, Edmunds, Evarts, Sherman, Hoar, Miller and others. Is it not our duty as representatives of an oppressed people to urge our representatives in Congress to do all in their power to secure an appropriation for national aid to education? And has not the time fully come for the Negro to rise from his long sleep and see about his interests? Does not our own professions, the claims of suffering humanity, the moral and intellectual culture of our people, and all that is sacred and dear to us call upon us to work, pray, talk, preach and vote for

the men and things that will accelerate the education of our people. We are nearing the close of the 19th century, the greatest of all the centuries, an age of progress, of mental excitements, of wonderful developments, a century in which Abraham Lincoln, by one stroke of the pen, liberated more than four millions of slaves, which was the central act of his administration and the greatest, event of the 19th century. We owe to this century as a race, some demonstration of our progress, morally and intellectually and let us learn to-day that race pride, confidence in each other, unity of action, the possession of intelligence, the accumulation of wealth are the guarantees of honorable success and elevation. Let us remain in this southland, let us stand together, let us prove ourselves worthy of citizenship, let us know our rights and demand them. Let us agitate those questions that will result in good to our race. Let us agitate together. Let us sit down upon fraudulent leaders, office-seekers and tricksters. Let us write our name on the pages of future time as legibly as the stars on the brow of evening.

Prof. T. M. Dent made an eloquent five minutes speech endorsing the paper in the most complimentary terms.

Bishop H. M. Turner was called upon and held the audience spell-bound, while in glowing sentences and well rounded periods, he set forth our many wrongs and deprivations which we suffer, and recommended, with some revision, the paper be printed and sent to every member of the United States Congress, in the hope that in its perusal by the members of Congress, it may fructify and its effect be felt the country over.

It was voted by motion of Bishop Turner, that the paper be turned over to the Committee on Education to be embodied in their report, said report to be printed and distributed among the members of Congress.

The Penitentiary System of Georgia was ably discussed by Hon. A. Wilson, member of House of Representatives of Georgia:

The penitentiary system of Georgia is the most cruel in the country. The abuses are greater than anywhere else. Notwithstanding the agitation of years, the system has not been changed. A convict is sentenced to hard labor, but he is fed hard, clothed hard, and treated harder, and does not dare exhibit to the world the inside workings of the atrocious system. Going out to a convict camp unexpectedly, we had an opportunity of seeing what it really was. Although the law requires dry bedding, change of clothes and a weekly bath, all of these are denied them, and some of the convicts, having the courage to speak up, and tell us their condition, were beaten so bad that they were unable to work, and the doctor going out to see them found their backs so badly blistered that the flesh was dropping from their backs. Such is the inward workings of the penitentiary of Georgia. Can Georgia stand it longer? May every voter in Georgia see to it that they cast their votes only for men that will consider the better treatment of those poor unfortunate beings. Georgia is disgraced by the management of such a system. As there is one Creator there is one law-giver and His will is the foundation of all law and authority, that is the God of heaven; for the securement of man's well-being, God ordains government. But the people are not the sole authority, and the citizens owe obedience to the rule, because every true ruler of every grade represents in his office not merely the will of the people as giving form to the constitution and law of the State, but that which underlies it and gives it all the authority and power it has, the Divine law and constitution of the universe. The Apostle Paul exhorts citizens to obey rulers as the representatives of the Divine authority. Those who administer a just law by legitimate authority represent in the sphere of this office, God. Authority is derived from the people only in that it is the office of the people to determine the form of it. The right to do this depends upon its being so done as to conserve the ends God designs government to secure. The punishment of crime is a part of the business of human government only because it is necessary to punish crime in order to accomplish the ends of government. The right of the people to punish crime by methods prescribed by law is perfect; people living under organized government have absolutely no right to punish any offender without law; to punish without law is the greatest violation of law, it is crime. Lynch law wherever it exists, is brutish, and it is

the evidence of an undeveloped, or of a degenerated social order. Why are criminals punished? Let a sane and just man ask himself the question. In his own thoughts he will find a threefold answer.

1. For the safety of society, for grave offences criminals are locked up or put to death, to protect the law abiding people.

2. Punishment is to deter them from repeating their evil deeds and to warn others not to imitate their example.

3. In a sensible and good government, a real thorough and incidental design is punishment, that is capital, is the criminal reformation. His reformation is sought for two reasons. First, as a guarantee to society that he will not continue attacks upon its order and peace. Secondly, to make him a better man. The second consideration though a noble one is perhaps least considered.

NO MAUDLIN SENTIMENT IS ADVOCATED.

Reformation of criminals has nothing in common with the Maudlin sentimentalism that makes martyrs out of condemned murderers: heroes out of convicted felons. It does not send women to the cells of the justly condemned with rare delicacies and costly flowers; it is ashamed of those who do such things. It does not sign petitions for executive clemency simply because somebody presents them, it judges those who do such things with indiscriminating sensibility to be foolish and weak people who have small comprehension of the true principles of social order. The doctrine of prison reform believes in the enforcement of law, it insists upon the proper punishment of criminals as necessary to the security of society and the promotion of virtue, and as best every way, for criminals themselves. Underlying and vitally related to prison reform are certain simple and obvious truths that hardly need statement, much less argument. No government has a moral right unnecessarily to put the bodily health of its criminals in jeopardy. When governments lock a man up it is sacredly bound to make its hygienic conditions of his incarceration as good for him as prison life allows. There are to be no good excuse for doing less than this when the prison is filthy, so crowded, so badly ventilated, so hot, so cold, so poorly fed, or so cruelly governed, as to make the breeding of disease a certainty, lawlessness lies at the door. No government then has a right to imprison men, that is so poor that it can not provide reasonably for their health. When the prison death rate is exceptionally large, it is the evidence of negligence or oppression. The government that neglects or oppresses its prisoners, is guilty of an unpardonable sin. It makes punishment, persecution and justice, vengeance.

A CHANCE FOR BETTER.

1 No just government will utterly deprive prisoners of the opportunity for mental and moral improvement. The right to punish crime does not involve the right to reduce to mental or moral imbecility.

NORMAL SCHOOL OF CRIME.

2 No good government will allow conditions of prison life that make increasing immorality a certainty as the normal and inevitable result of these conditions. For example: Government in the name of the law violates the law and commits a crime against God and man when it incarcerates mere youths and hardened, accomplished villains in common prisons. In such a case, the government supports and conducts a normal school of vice. It has often come to pass, that what was ostensibly designed to protect society against criminals, has turned loose upon men graduated in the arts of crime, good people, by taxation, paying the tuition of those who learned in prison how to prey upon them upon their release. For example again: Government that allows the herding of men and women together, is not only criminal, it is barbarous. It promotes vice, and taxes the virtuous for the expense account. An illegitimate birth in a jail or penitentiary, is an appalling moral monstrosity in a civilized and christian country.

CONVICTS FARMED OUT.

No government can be true to itself and adopt a plan of keeping criminals simply for the sake of making or saving money. Good and wise legislation never yet existed where money considerations were paramounts. Farming out the inflictions of the penalties of law, morally and politically, falls below the old Roman and the modern Turkish practice of farming out the taxes; it is no better than selling out the poor to the lowest bidder. History has made record of the atrocities of the system of farming out the taxes. It debauches government; it made the tax-gatherers corrupt, rapacious, cruel; it

defrauded and oppressed their miserable victims. No government, for any consideration, least of all, a money consideration, has a right of any sort, to transfer to its citizens its divine trust of enforcing law by punishing its violators. That the punishment of crime may be undertaken as a legitimate business is untenable. When the government transfers to individual citizens the executions of the sentences of criminal courts for money, it is wrong; it dishonors the subjects and betrays the trust committed to it by the Almighty God. It does such a thing to avoid the trouble and burden of caring for its criminals; it is weak and cowardly. The convict's lease system would never have existed, would never have been thought of, but for money considerations. If it was devised for the sake of the hire of convicts, or to save the government the expense of caring for the criminals, in either case, it was the consideration of money. Nobody ever voted for such a system; it was thought better for the convicts, or because it was thought to be safer for society. I appeal to you as Georgians to come to the front in this matter, and help to rid Georgia of this foul blot. We owe to Georgia, to ourselves to the world, and to suffering humanity. Georgia's honor and glory are at stake. Will you come up at the ballot box and help the grand old Empire state of the south?

Rev. E. K. Love was intensely moved by the speech of Hon. A. Wilson. He declared that the present penitentiary system of Georgia must be revised or abolished. It must go. He declared that he never had known the barbarities and cruelties practiced upon the convicts of the state. His very blood boiled within him. The Negro of Georgia must put his foot down upon this penitentiary system of our state, and never rest until it is rooted up, if it has to be rooted up with a crowbar. This penitentiary system is doomed to-night, and doomed to die. After hearing the words of this eye-witness, he felt as he had never felt before.

Capt. A. F. Hawkins said for the young men that the funeral sermon of the penitentiary system is being preached to-night. We must not vote for any man who will not pledge himself to do everything in his power to remove this monstrous evil and foul blot from our State.

Col. W. A. Pledger said three-fourths of the members of this body are ministers, and the preachers say they are going into politics enough to lift this people from the slough of despond and place them on a plane of equality with any other race. They say that the sun of our progress will reach its zenith ere long, and, please God, those of us who are here to witness the realization of hopes and aspirations for which our fathers have spent their lives working will shed tears of joy, and honor those who have given their lives for these things.

Mr. Hamilton Brown spoke strongly in regard to the importance of paying their taxes and utilizing their privileges as tax-payers by either sending men to the legislature to do our biddings or going ourselves.

J. F. Long, Esq., said that until our people learned how much it cost the government to place the ballot in our hands, we would not be worthy of the right to vote. He would ask this Convention, are we going home better and stronger to vote and work for the elevation of the race, or are we going home to sell out? He sometimes wondered what the colored man was coming to and declared that we were often our own worst enemy. He declared that the Republican party established the chain-gang in Georgia. He urged that every county in the State do as Bibb county had done—by sending to the State Legislature such men as Hon. A. Huff and Hon. Mr. Scofield.

W. R. Gray, Esq., said we need men who will stand up for the race whether they live or die. We need men whose backbone is so strong that they may sink to their neck, but will never break.

Bishop H. M. Turner replying to the charge made by Mr. Long

that the chain-gang system in Georgia had been established by the Republican party, stated that the present penitentiary and chain-gang system of the state was established by the Democratic Legislature and Governor James M. Smith. He showed that when the Republican Legislature met, Governor Jenkins and John Jones, the state treasurer, had sent every dollar of the State's money out of the State and that there was not a dollar to feed and clothe the State's convicts. To save convicts from starving they were hired out temporarily, but not as at present. The paper was referred to the penitentiary committee. The order of business was suspended to allow presentation of resolutions. The following resolutions was read and referred without debate:

BY J. W. SEARLES,

WHEREAS, There are many colored voters who fail to pay their poll-tax, therefore be it

Resolved, That each member of this Convention not only pay his own poll-tax but urge every man in his county to do the same.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution of Rev. C. Max Manning referred to Committee on Penitentiary.

A public collection was taken. Adjourned to 9 a. m., Thursday.

THURSDAY MORNING.

The President called the Convention to order at 9 o'clock. Prayer was offered by Rev. J. B. L. Williams. Minutes of Wednesday were read, corrected and approved.

Col. W. A. Pledger offered the following which was referred to Committee on Resolutions :

WHEREAS, There is constant complaint concerning the Negro not learning trades and producing more thieves than the Caucasian race.

Resolved, That we suggest to those who complain that they open their doors to machine shops and establish Technological schools out of the state treasury as is done for the white youth, and raise the wages of colored female cooks and common laborers and such mechanics as we have to the extent that the laborer receives the worth of his hire ; and then will there be plenty Negro mechanics and no more Negro thieves than whites.

A. S. Thurmond, Esq., offered the following which was referred to Committee on Resolutions :

Resolved, That the Anarchist troubles at Chicago in 1887 is sufficient notice that the lives of American citizens are in danger so long as the United States is the dumping ground of Foreign criminals.

Maj. S. W. Easley moved that a committee of five, including the president and one secretary, be appointed to have the proceedings of this Convention printed in pamphlet form provided the means can be raised for so doing. Motion adopted.

Col. W. A. Pledger offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That while we deplore the necessity, we commend the courage of the colored people of Charleston and Greenville, S. C., in raising money to defend the colored men who lynched the white man who had outraged the colored woman near Greenville, S. C., thus carrying out the idea of imitation of our white brothers.

This resolution was adopted, but after some further discussion by Rev. E. K. Love, Bishop Turner, Capt. J. W. Lyons, Rev. D. McHarton, Col. W. A. Pledger, Rev. C. T. Walker, Capt. Wimbish, Vice-President Brown, the resolution was reconsidered and referred to a committee of three, consisting of Capt. J. W. Lyons, Col. W. A. Pledger and Rev. E. K. Love to be remodeled.

A number of resolutions were offered and referred to appropriate committees.

The special committee on Pledger resolution reported as follows :

We utterly repudiate and condemn lynch law, but commend the course of the colored men of Charleston and Greenville, S. C., who are trying to raise funds to secure a fair trial for the colored men who are charged with lynching the white man who committed an outrage upon a colored woman near Greenville, S. C.

The report was unanimously adopted.

The President had the following letter read :

McINTOSH, LIBERTY COUNTY, GA., Jan 23, 1888.

Dear Brethren :—I cannot express my regret in words in not being able to be with you in your meeting of Consultation. My plan and purpose was to be with you without fail, but it seemed that Satan stepped in the way and as soon as I found it out, I wrote to my good Bro. White to see if it was possible to change the time of meeting lest many others might be prevented from attending for a similar cause. But he informed me that it was too late.

The cause of my absence is this : This new Denny School law requires that the examination of public school teachers throughout the state, shall be on certain day or days, appointed by the State School Commissioner and there shall be no other time except on a special condition. My position requires me to provide colored teachers for five counties, very largely, which is no light duty. As the existence of our people's schools depends so largely upon me and as the State School Commissioner has seen fit to appoint almost the very day that we were to meet, viz.: we on the 25th and his appointment on the 26th, 27th and 28th, inst. I could not possibly be present. Allow me to say brethren, that I look upon this meeting as one of *very, very* great importance, and especially at this time ; because you know there are many evils existing to the injury of our people that can be remedied if we will only plan wisely and move together in the execution of these plans when we return to our people. Brethren, I believe you will do it, and I shall look with great anxiety to the result of your deliberation. Respectfully yours,

FLOYD SNELSON.

Adjourned to 3 p. m.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

President called meeting to order at 3 p. m. Prayer was offered by Rev. J. C. Bryan.

Col. W. A. Pledger presented the report of the Committee on the Ballot, as follows:

WHEREAS, After the late rebellion between the states, the Negro of the state of Georgia was clothed with every right of an American citizen as to the discharge of his duty at the ballot box that his interests as a freeman might be protected, carrying out the adage that the ballot is the palladium of liberty, and

WHEREAS, Since that time he has been murdered from one end of the state to the other, and his properties destroyed by every means foul, his wives and daughters outraged ; and has been generally intimidated at every attempt to exercise the use of the ballot, by white men whom he had formerly served at home and in war when it was to his detriment to so do ; whose wives and daughters he had protected and cared for during the strife that led to his emancipation when the use of the bludgeon and torch would have hastened the breaking off of the shackles that held him in an ungodly bondage. These men, while consenting now to his retaining the right to hold the ballot, refuse him in many sections of this state, as in Putnam, Lincoln, McDuffie, Oglethorpe, Elbert, Talbot and other counties in this state the privilege of using it. These men assert that no instances of late of outrage upon the Negro vote can be pointed to. While we grant that but few instances can be named now, we refer the public and sentiment makers to the fact that the Negro abstains from voting, except in local contests; where all men running for office are white men, and to contests such as the fence law and prohibition questions, where all are white men who are interested. For he well knows the consequence of taking part in any other contest.

WHEREAS, The Negro groans in silence and unrest, because of having majorities in six Congressional districts in Georgia and no representation in the National Congress, and though seemingly passing happily the hours away, is laboring in a discontentment that does the country no good, and

feeling the pangs of the injustice perpetrated upon him, sends forth at every opportunity a prayer for the oppressed Irish in Ireland who are similarly situated, and loving this southern territory and form of government, feels every obstacle to the full enjoyment of his rights, as guaranteed by the organic law of the land, should be removed to the end that there should be no murmuring in this country of the "brave and the free." Therefore be it

Resolved, That we in Convention assembled respectfully but earnestly demand of the powers that be that the Negroes be given what, and only what, he is entitled to.

Resolved further, That never until we are in the fullest enjoyment of our rights at the ballot box will we cease to agitate and work for what justly belongs to us in the shape of suffrage.

Further resolved, That it shall be the policy of the colored race to vote so as to bring the greatest division to the white voters of this country, for in this we believe lies the boon of our desire.

Col. Pledger addressed the body upon the use of the ballot. He referred to the indignities suffered by the colored men of Georgia at the ballot box unless he was voting upon some question that did not involve his political opinions. These indignities often amount to abuse and violence. He declared that the time had come when every man should do his part toward delivering the people from their present disadvantages. It is, he declared, the duty of the minister to take part in this contest because if the people went back into bondage the preachers would have to go into bondage with them. By means of voting and political discussion the American people are free to-day to worship God in whatever manner they desire, by means of voting the colored man has been set free and by means of voting he must keep his freedom. What we want as a race is representation not individual representation. Race representation we must have or as a race we go back to a condition worse than our former bondage.

Rev. E. K. Love, Rev. D. McHorton, Capt. C. C. Wimbish, Capt. A. F. Hawkins, and R. S. Lovinggood, Esq., spoke in strong and eloquent language of endorsement of what had been said by Col. Pledger.

Prof. A. Graves presented the following report on Temperance which was unanimously adopted :

ON TEMPERANCE.

Mr Chairman: We, your Committee on Temperance, beg leave to submit the following report :

Believing that God looks with disfavor upon the use of liquor, and that the habit of liquor drinking is ruinous to the best interests of any people, destroying manhood, homes and families, defenseless women and children, yea, the very life blood of the nation, and especially our race, we deem it our imperative duty to set forth our position to the people of Georgia, upon this most important subject. We pledge our support to this great reform, and recommend that every man in Georgia lend his support to the suppression of the liquor evil.

W. G. Johnson.
Isam W. Wood,
T. B. Stewart,
S. C. Upshaw,

B. T. Harvey, Chairman,
T. L. Searles,
S. H. Hamilton,]
Ellis Lewis,
H. M. Turner, Committee.

Lewis Williams,
J. H. Brown,
A. Graves,

THURSDAY NIGHT

President called Convention to order. Rev. J. D. Donaway led in prayer.

By motion of Col. W. A. Pledger, Rev. Mr. Rose, of the Congregational church, was invited to read a paper which he had prepared on liquor and the liquor traffic. Rev. Mr. Rose not being a member of the body his paper was not discussed. It was an able review of the evil effects of liquor and the great injury done by the liquor traffic in

all parts of the world. A vote of thanks was unanimously tendered the reader.

Col. W. A. Pledger made report for the Committee on the
PENITENTIARY SYSTEM.

WHEREAS, In civilized forms of government that mode of punishment for crimes committed is selected which is most in consonance with the dictates of humanity, and less shocking to the impulses, which actuate a true course in the furtherance of the causes of such civilization; and

WHEREAS, In the state of Georgia, a system known as the chain-gang system has been criticised, and pronounced inhuman and unchristian, tending to shock the very foundation upon which the structure of equity, and the plan of right is erected; a system that puts unprincipled men in charge of culprits who use the most barbarous means of chastisement and thrusts women and children in chains with the most hardened male criminals; that puts libertines as guards in charge of females, and causes the woman, in order to secure kind treatment, to become the kept mistress of the guard or boss, leading her to giving birth in many instances, to illegitimate children, as in the case of Carrie Williams, of Bibb county, and divers other instances as reported by the Principal Keeper of the penitentiary; that causes men to be stripped and beaten with clubs and trace-chains, till disabled, or death produced; that permits the half-cladding of the convict, and often permitting the convict to go as long as months without change of clothes, and with food that produces emaciation and scurvy; and

WHEREAS, These hardships are chiefly confined to the colored convicts—there being but few white convicts, and they, in most cases, being trustees, without chains and with good food.

WHEREAS, Such distinguished white statesmen as Hons. W. A. Huff, W. H. Felton, J. S. Schofield, and others, have examined, by the power delegated them by the people, into this iniquitous system, and pronounced it a blot upon this age of progress and Christian civilization; therefore be it

Resolved. 1, That we, the colored representatives of the Afro-American race of Georgia, demand of the next Legislature, a change in the system, and urge upon the one hundred and forty thousand Negro voters of this state, the necessity of paying their taxes, and voting for no man, save he is pledged to the modification or change of such system. We demand a change in the jury system, so as to enable the people who form more than four-tenths of the population of the state, to be represented upon the jury, as intended by law, that unrest may be dispelled, and fair trials in court assured; for in this republican form of government, a fair and impartial trial is intended—a trial by a jury of the peers of the accused—that contentment may be, for where there is discontentment, there is no complete security for the peace, happiness and prosperity of the people.

2. That to secure the end desired in the foregoing resolutions, we invoke the aid of Almighty God, and the conservative element of the white race, whose interest in good government—and impartial administration of affairs—should be as exalted as ours.

3. That we recommend that the state take charge of the convicts, and work them to the best advantage of the state, and for the prevention of the commission of crime.

Signed, A. Wilson, Chairman.

Ishmael Lonon,
W. A. Pledger,
Kitt Williams,
A. W. Burnett,
G. W. Byrum,

L. Crawford,
E. P. Holmes,
L. Solomon,
C. J. Beason,
Whitman Chapman.

J. F. Long,
N. J. McCombs,
A. F. Hawkins,
W. R. Gray,
Committee.

After a few remarks by Col. Pledger, the report was adopted. A. A. Gordon, Esq., submitted report of committee on

COUNTY CHAIN GANG

as follows, which was adopted, after remarks by Revs. E. K. Love, C. H. Brightharp and Col. Pledger:

WHEREAS, We find on our chain-gangs, many abuses of power, both cruel and illegal: Some males and females are chained together on the public highways, convicts are often poorly clad, whipped inhumanly by white bosses who are ostracized by their own race, which destroys in the convict all moral respect, and hardens the criminal; and

WHEREAS, Working convicts in inclement weather, and putting long sentences upon convicts for trivial offences, is against the letter and spirit of the law, as well as common humanity; therefore be it

Resolved, That we recommend the separation on all county chain-gangs, of male and female convicts, and that they be required to work not more than 10 hours daily; that they be furnished with clothes sufficient to have more frequent changes; that they have some one to preach to them at least once a month.

2. That we recommend that females be confined in some private enclosure and there be required to do such work as is suitable to their sex and that under no circumstance, men and women be allowed to work together.

3. That the president of this body appoint a committee from the different parts of the State to ascertain more fully the workings of the chain-gang.

4. That we appeal to every citizen of Georgia to unite with us in having this great evil corrected.

Signed, J. M. Bunn; Chairman.

J. J. Lee,

J. D. Donoway,

Nelson Lowe,

A. A. Mathis,

J. S. Mason,

Whitman Chapman,

J. W. Williams,

L. Jordan,

M. D. Dennard,

A. A. Gordon,

G. W. Tally,

E. Brown,

J. E. Tripp,

M. E. DeLaney,

J. B. Davis,

S. W. West,

Committee.

Maj. S. W. Easley submitted the report of committee on

JURY SYSTEM.

as follows:

WHEREAS, Being, very largely, the producing element—bone and sinew, at least,—of the state, the most important of her prosperity and glory, and the class that should be subjected to as few deprivations of the earmarks of freedom as possible, and,

WHEREAS, The law prescribes only intelligence and respectability as the qualifications for the jury services, frowning upon all discrimination, in its sweeping provisions on this subject, that would flow from race, or previous conditions of servitude; and

WHEREAS, Inheriting this privilege, immunity and right, as one of the great foundation rocks upon which our superstructure of government is erected, hence it is our stern duty to insist, as defenders of the faith of republican civilization and liberty, to be called to the discharge of this responsibility and service; therefore be it

Resolved, That the colored citizens throughout the State be advised to pass resolutions at their monthly or yearly gathering, urging in a respectful way, the jury commissioners to revise the list, so as to draw colored tax-payers to the discharge of this great function of citizenship, remembering that republican liberty is the result of ceaseless agitation, and they be admonished to continue the discussion of this righteous cause of remonstrance, until their rights in the premises, are freely accorded and acknowledged.

Signed, J. W. Lyons; Chairman.

C. C. Wimbish,

P. W. Wingfield,

Manuel Persons,

Henry Coleman,

J. W. Jones,

S. W. Easley,

P. O. Holt,

S. B. Morse,

Henry Rudisell,

E. J. Tatum,

R. S. Lovinggood,

Ab Watts,

J. W. Upshaw,

Wm. Brooks,

H. M. Williams,

G. W. Bently,

Committee.

Capt. C. C. Wimbish said the Jury System was as old as civilization itself, and it was quite time the colored man of Georgia were enjoying this privilege to which he was entitled, and that by the proper use of the ballot it would come. To sit on the juries of our country he said, was more important than the privilege of voting. Hundreds of colored men have been sent to the chain-gang, the penitentiary and to the gallows, not because they were guilty, but because they were tried by juries wholly white and who were controlled rather by their prejudice than by the evidence. By denial of the right to sit on the jury the colored man is deprived of the power to protect his life, his home, and the virtue of the race, which is sweeter than life itself. He knew of one case where a colored man was convicted and sent to the peniten-

tiary for 16 years on evidence that would not convict a dog. It was because no colored man was on the jury. The report was received and adopted.

J. W. Marlow, Esq., submitted the following report of the committee on

EDUCATION.

which was adopted :

WHEREAS, We, the representatives of the Negro of the state of Georgia, in Convention assembled, know the great need of a thoroughly practical English education among our people, to enable them to become proper leaders, intelligent voters, loyal and patriotic citizens. We regard it of equal importance that the youth should be trained in practical and scientific farming, and the various mechanical arts; and

WHEREAS, We know that in the absence of these qualifications, the future will present insurmountable difficulties, when our people are brought in contact with those races that are giving more attention to the training of the young; and

WHEREAS, It seems that the efforts of the state to educate the youth, is not soon to receive any aid from the nation; and

WHEREAS, The aid rendered by the state, for which we are grateful, is doing vast good, yet we believe that the present three months school in many of our counties, is wholly inadequate to the proper education of the youth; and

WHEREAS, We feel the colored citizens are becoming too largely defaulters as tax-payers: therefore be it

Resolved, 1st, That we urge this Convention to use every method possible to secure six month's schooling from the state for our children.

2nd. That we urge upon our people, the importance of paying their poll tax, in order that there may be a larger fund from which to draw for said purpose.

3rd, That we endorse the Blair educational bill as being just, practical and wise, and that Senator H. W. Blair, and the supporters of his bill are worthy of our confidence and respect.

4th. That we deprecate the cowardly act of the Georgia Legislature in the withdrawal of the Eight Thousand Dollars from the Atlanta University, and not appropriating it to the educational advancement, in any wise, of the Negro race.

5th. That while we do not ask co-education, we condemn, at the same time, any attempt by legislation to prevent co-education. We endorse the manly course of the teachers of the Atlanta University.

6th, That we urge upon our people the importance of so supplementing the fund appropriated by the state, as to keep the schools running nine months in the rural districts. We recommend that a committee of five be appointed, together with Dr. A. G. Haygood, to so arrange the address of Rev. C. T. Walker, as to make it the voice of this Convention, and address the same to the senators and representatives of the United States Congress, to-wit:—Bishop H. M. Turner, D. D., L. L. D., Rev. W. J. Gaines, D. D., Rev. W. J. White, J. W. Marlow, S. W. Easley.

7th, That we urge the importance of having State Normal Schools. We feel that the state ought to furnish said schools, and we urge that the state legislature be petitioned for the same, and that these resolutions be laid before the legislature by the above named committee. We feel that it is unfair that the legislature should provide for a State Technological School for whites, and do nothing for the Negro. We are tax-payers and citizens of this grand state, and should have every right anyother citizen has. The Negro has as much right to be educated as skillful workmen at the expense of the state as anybody else.

Signed, E. K. Love, Chairman.

H. J. T. Hudson,
R. S. Lovinggood,
J. K. Sinton,
H. M. Turner,
W. H. Smith,
J. S. White,

H. B. Brown,
J. W. Jones,
T. M. Dent,
E. J. Fisher,
Derry Murden,
Ned McWhorter,

J. A. C. Dixon,
J. T. Stephens,
E. Walker,
J. W. Marlow,
A. E. Williams,
B. H. Huff,
Committee.

Rev. S. A. McNeal submitted the report of committee on
LYNCH LAW,

which was adopted as follows:—

WHEREAS, We are surrounded with such a condition of circumstances, known as lynch law, and

WHEREAS, The Negro is the victim nearly all the lynchings in this state, and all other states in this country; and

WHEREAS, It has come to your committees notice through public print, that 123 persons were lynched in the United States last year, and

WHEREAS, This unlawful and inhuman practice is becoming so alarmingly great, that we, the colored men of Georgia, in Convention here assembled, denounce the same, and offer the following:

Resolved, That it is a fundamental idea of our theory of government, that no man shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law. It is therefore barbarous, cruel and an alarming outrage of law, that what is known as lynch law, should, under any circumstances, be tolerated, suffered or endured.

Resolved, further, That it is the duty of every true citizen to do all in his power to break up this infamous practice and outrage of law.

Signed, L. Solomon, Chairman.

Robert Odom,
P. H. Lee,
George Lewis,
A. T. Turner,
S. B. Burges,
A. D. Simmons,

W. Paschal,
R. Jackson,
Madison Epps,
Jackson Eldridge,
S. A. McNeal,
William Williams.

F. F. Kellum,
Cyrus West,
J. M. Gibson,
George Banks,
C. Barker,
Committee.

Committee on state organization submitted their report through J. T. White, Esq., which was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATION.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:—

We, your committee on State Organization, after due deliberation, a free interchange of ideas and opinions, have concluded our work, and ask that while we come to you, to give an account of our stewardship, you give us your earnest attention. We have gone into the discharge of our duty, deeply sensible, we trust, of the solemn responsibility placed upon us, and sincerely anxious to so work, as to have the approval of our own consciences first; your plaudits after. The paramount consideration with your committee has been, "How can we best unite our people, so as to secure concert of action upon those things which vitally affect our highest interest as citizens of this grand old commonwealth." Realizing as we did, that the action of our committee must bear the crucial test of your criticism, we tried, so far as the power in us rested, to present that plan which would best accomplish the end desired and at the same time, meet your approval. Our people are now in an interesting, but not necessarily embarrassing, position. True, perplexing problems continually present themselves, but it is with no small degree of race pride, that I stand in my place as a member of this Convention, and declare in the most emphatic terms at my command, that there is no phase of the Negro Problem, as it presents itself in this country, which Negro wisdom cannot properly comprehend and *ably* solve, if given a fair opportunity to work out our own salvation. Work it out in "fear and trembling," it may be, but work it out; demonstrate it so plainly, that "he who runs may read." From this Convention, there must go no uncertain sound. The eyes of the country are upon us, and accordingly, as we perform our duty, will the verdict upon us be; well or illy done. All of the remedies provided by the highest civilization, must have been applied and failed to effect a cure; statesmanship must have confessedly exhausted itself, ere my race in this state, will accept as a fact, the statement of the white people, that there is no balm in Gilead. We took, it, Mr. President, that from this Convention, there would be demanded some tangible evidence that we are here for the people. Something must be done to show that we know the situation; sympathize with existing conditions; recognize the fact that desperate diseases demand desperate remedies; know our duty in the premises, and knowing it, dare to perform it, let the consequences be what they may. Momentous times are upon us. Upon our shoulders as leaders are fearful responsibilities. Now, if ever, in the history of our people,—"He who dallies is a dastard, and he who doubts is damned."

To the following plan of organization, we invite your attention:—

UNION BROTHERHOOD OF GEORGIA—STATE COUNCIL.

WHEREAS, It has been found necessary in all ages of the world's progress for men engaged in a common cause, and aiming to accomplish purposes beneficial to all alike, to form some sort of compact; and

WHEREAS, There are a number of objects that pertain to the best interest of the people of Georgia, and in which the colored people of the state are specially interested, because of the fact that some of the matters bear specially upon them, and

WHEREAS, We, the colored people of Georgia in Convention assembled, realize the importance of more unity of action in the use of the ballot, and

WHEREAS, We believe that such an organization will tend, not only to prevent the prostitution of the ballot which is so largely prevalent in our state at the present time, but will elevate the franchise to that higher use which will make the voice of the people the voice of God; and

WHEREAS, We regard such consummation as most desirable to all classes of our state; therefore be it

Resolved, That we do here agree to form an organization, the objects, aims and purposes of which shall be as follows:

OBJECT AND NAME.

1st. The object of this organization shall be to so unite the colored voters of Georgia through local organizations, that they may so cast their ballots as to effect the best interests of the state, and of all classes without regard to race or creed.

2nd. To this end each member of the organization will be held in duty bound to vote in state, county and municipal elections, for such men or measures as shall be endorsed by the state or local councils of this organization. It being distinctly understood that this organization has to do, only with state, and not national affairs.

3rd. This organization shall be known as the Union Brotherhood of Georgia.

4th. It shall have a State Executive Council, a State Council, and local organizations as hereinafter provided.

MEMBERSHIP.

The membership of this Union Brotherhood shall comprise the members of all local organizations in the state, organized under this Constitution.

STATE COUNCIL.

The State Council of this Union Brotherhood shall consist of the President, 13 Vice-Presidents, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, the Chairman of each Senatorial District Council, and the Chairman of each County and City Council as hereinafter provided.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

The officers of the State Council of the Union Brotherhood shall be a President, 3 Vice-Presidents from the State at large, 10 Vice-Presidents to be chosen, one each from the ten Congressional districts of Georgia, a Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer and Chaplain. These officers shall constitute the State Executive Council. They shall have the general oversight and management of the Union Brotherhood, when the State Council is not in session. They shall be elected annually at the regular meeting of the State Council of the Union Brotherhood, and shall hold their office one year, or

until their successors are elected, and take their seats. Provided, that the officers elected at the organization of this Union Brotherhood shall hold their seats until the annual meeting in 1889.

MEETINGS.

The meetings of the State Council of this Union Brotherhood shall be held annually at such time and place as may be fixed by the State Executive Council.

SENATORIAL DISTRICT COUNCIL.

In each of the Senatorial Districts of Georgia, the Vice-President in whose Congressional District said Senatorial District is located, shall call a meeting of delegates, to be elected by the people in each district, who, when assembled, shall constitute a Senatorial District Council of the Union Brotherhood of Georgia. The officers of this Senatorial District Council shall be a Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer. The Chairman of each Senatorial District Council shall be *ex-officio* a member of the State Council of the Union Brotherhood of Georgia. Should any Senatorial District be located in two Congressional Districts the Vice-President in whose district two counties are located, shall have jurisdiction over the whole.

COUNTY AND CITY CHAIRMAN.

In each county of the state, and in the cities of Atlanta, Augusta, Savannah, Macon, Athens, Rome, Columbus and Brunswick, the Vice President in whose district said county and city is located, shall call a mass meeting for the purpose of choosing a county and city chairman who shall be *ex-officio* members of the State Council of the Union Brotherhood of Georgia. Provided, that the county chairman in counties where above cities are located, shall not have jurisdiction within the corporate limits of said cities, nor shall a city Chairman have jurisdiction outside of said city.

SUB-ORGANIZATIONS.

The State Executive Council shall provide for the organization of as many sub-councils of the Union Brotherhood in counties and cities, as they may from time to time deem advisable. The State Executive Council shall have power to make all necessary by-laws, rules and regulations for the carrying out of the objects of this Brotherhood. The President shall, by the concurrence of any four members of the State Executive Council, call extra or special meetings of the State Council. The Executive Council shall have power to fill any vacancies that may occur in its own body.

Committee on State Organization,—John T. White, Chairman; A. Wilson, Dennis F. Douglass, T. M. Dent, C. T. Walker, T. M. Robinson, John Heard, John H. Brown, T. H. Hutcherson, H. M. Williams, C. H. Brightharp, John W. Marlow, Daniel Grant, Squire Owens, Wm. Smith, J. E. Drake, D. L. Solomon, D. Murden, P. T. Grant, B. H. Huff, C. C. Clarke, T. T. Thomas.

Remarks were made by the President, Col. Pledger, and Bishop Turner.

The Committee on State Organization reported the following names for officers of the State Council of the Union Brotherhood:

	For President,	
Rev. William J. White,	- - - -	Augusta, Ga.
	Vice-Presidents, State at Large,	
Hon. Anthony Wilson,	- - - -	Bailey's Mills, Ga.
Col. W. A. Pledger,	- - - -	Atlanta, "
J. C. Beall, Esq.,	- - - -	Hamilton, "

Vice-Presidents. Congressional District.

1 J. H. Brown, Esq.,	-	-	-	Savannah, Ga.
2 Hon. Ishmael Lonon,	-	-	-	Albany, "
3 Prof. T. M. Dent,	-	-	-	Hawkinsville, "
4 B. T. Harvey, Esq.,	-	-	-	Columbus, "
5 Maj. S. W. Easley, Jr.,	-	-	-	Atlanta, "
6 Hon. P. O. Holt,	-	-	-	Macon, "
7 Rev. C. M. Manning,	-	-	-	Acworth, "
8 Capt. A. F. Hawkins,	-	-	-	Athens, "
9 Thos. Morris, Esq.,	-	-	-	Gainesville, "
10 Capt. J. W. Lyons,	-	-	-	Augusta, "
Recording Secretary,				
D. F. Douglass, Esq.,	-	-	-	Augusta, "
Corresponding Secretary,				
John T. White, Esq.,	-	-	-	Macon, "
Treasurer,				
Robert R. Battey, Esq.,	-	-	-	Augusta, "
Chaplain,				
Rev. E. P. Holmes,	-	-	-	Macon, "

Rev. E. L. Martin submitted report of committee on

RAILROAD DISCRIMINATIONS.

Mr. President and Members of this Convention:—Your committee on railroad discriminations, beg leave to submit the following to wit: During these twenty-three years of freedom we have made every effort for the betterment of our conditions, financially, morally and intellectually and have reasonably well succeeded. We have accumulated a million acres of farm lands, have large interests in city properties, have year after year reduced the per cent of our illiteracy, till we are able, with our chaste and virtuous sons and daughters, to deck every militia district with teachers and ministers and have to share to other states. In the face of our growing wealth, good development, culture and intellect, we are denied on account of our color, the accommodations accorded the lowest vagabond of the white race; though we have to pay as the richest nabob of the white race. Feeling the injustice on the trains, and in such sheds as the Atlanta union depot, we are actuated to make an effort to better this condition of affairs. Therefore we, the members of this Convention, which is now assembled in the city of Macon, have under our most earnest consideration, the welfare of the colored people in the state of Georgia. The most barbarous discriminations is made against us on the railroads and public highways, in compelling us to purchase first-class tickets, and then forcing us, and our wives and daughters to ride in smoking cars, and rejecting us from first-class accommodation. Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of this Convention denounce and condemn it and put forth every effort in our power to put it down. Be it further

Resolved, That every member of this Convention be instructed to go home, and instruct our people to vote for no man, white or black, democrat or republican, that will not pledge us, that he will use every effort to put a stop to this most diabolical practice.

Resolved further, That a committee be appointed to see the State Commission and the railroad authorities to have first-class and second-class accommodations. Therefore be it further

Resolved, That the Inter-State Commerce Commission, the Congress of the United States, the Legislature of Georgia and the Railroad authorities be requested and urged to change this mode of treatment so that there shall be no unjust discrimination.

Resolved further, In the event of a failure to correct the wrong in this mode of treatment that we abstain as much as possible from travelling on such railroads, and patronize those railroads that treat us best.

Signed: S. C. Upshaw, Chairman;

R. Henry,
J. D. Reed,
Whitman Chapman,
D. Murden,
R. Scott,

D. L. Solomon,
Jolly Thomas,
E. L. Martin,
Daniel Lewis,
C. T. James,

R. Taylor,
Joseph Jones,
J. W. Neal,
S. Paschal,
F. Kellum,

Maj. Easley objected to naming Atlanta's depot particularly. Dr. Gaines spoke warmly of the treatment received by colored people on the railroads. He had no particular desire to ride with white people but when he paid first-class fare he claimed the right to ride where other first-class passengers rode. If the colored men of Georgia would carry out the recommendations of this committee we would soon have proper accommodations on all railroads. The report was adopted with some amendments.

The following committee was appointed in accordance with the above resolution:

Rev. W. J. White.....Augusta, Ga.	Rev. J. B. S. Williams..LaGrange, Ga.
Bishop H. M. Turner....Atlanta, "	Rev. E. K. Love.....Savannah, "
Rev. J. C. Bryan.....Americus, "	B. T. Harvey, Esq....Columbus, "
Rev. W. J. Gaines, D. D..Atlanta, "	Rev. Ishmael Lonon...Albany, "
Col. W. A. Pledger.....Athens, "	Hon. L. Crawford.....Darien, "
Capt. J. W. Lyons.....Augusta, "	Col. J. H. Deveaux...Savannah, "
Hon. A. Wilson...Baily's Mills, "	Capt. A. F. Hawkins...Athens, "
Capt. C. C. Wimbish....Atlanta, "	R. M. Logan, Esq....Macon, "
Maj. S. W. Easley, " "	J. T. White, Esq.....Macon, "
Rev. S. C. Upshaw, " "	Jno. Heard, Esq....Greensboro, "
Rev. W. H. Tilman, " "	Rev. L. Williams...Washington, "
Rev. E. R. Carter, " "	

A statement was made in behalf of Col. J. H. Deveaux, of Savannah, expressing his sorrow at not being able to attend the meeting.

Maj. S. W. Easley submitted report of Committee on State Agricultural Society as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.

Mr. President:—We, your Committee on State Agricultural Society, respectfully and unanimously submit the following report:

We recommend the immediate organization of an Agricultural Association among the colored people of the state, for the purpose of giving, annually, state fairs, exhibiting the mechanical genius, agricultural productions, industrial pursuits, and professional advancement of the colored people of the state. The organization shall consist of a president, a general secretary, a treasurer, and ten vice-presidents, one from each congressional district in the state, who, with the president, shall constitute an executive board, to conduct and manage the affairs of the Association. Each vice-president shall organize his respective districts into county clubs, with a president, a secretary, a treasurer, and as many vice-presidents as they may desire. The Executive Board shall arrange the plans of organization, draw up a constitution and by-laws for their government, and submit the same for approval to the members of the Association. The Executive Board shall issue monthly, an agricultural journal, for the benefit of the members of the Association. This Board shall also arrange the prizes and premiums for exhibits. It shall also fix the salaries of all officers, and other expenses of the Association. Any person may become a member of this Association upon the payment of one dollar in the general funds of the Association, for which they shall receive a certificate of membership, signed by the general president and general secretary. The Board shall, if possible, arrange for a general state fair this year, in whatever city they may select. In submitting this report, your committee wishes to remind this worthy gathering of the grand, glorious and fruitful results that accrue from the establishing of a State Agricultural Association, to the colored people of our beloved state, and that too much attention cannot be paid to the agricultural interests of a well regulated government. For upon the industrious farmer, the skilled mechanic, the faithful and honest laborer, and a jealous pride for the production of this useful and indispensable class of citizens, the glory and the stability of all government depends. It is in this particular field that the Negro is to rise in the scales of wealth and recognition among other great nations of the world. Let us bend our energies to the developing of its resources, that will add to the fame and glory of our race, and make our old state one of the brightest stars that adorn the galaxy of the illustrious sisterhood of States, which is controlling the world in advanced civilization. We recommend that the Executive Board shall at once open a subscription book for stock, and when a sufficient

amount shall have been subscribed and paid in, shall call a meeting of the stockholders, for the purpose of permanent organization among the stockholders.

Respectfully submitted,
Smith W. Easley, Jr., Chairman,

Daniel McHorton,
Nathan Toomer,
W. F. Bailey,
J. W. Searles,
L. Crawford,

John Glenn, A. S. Thurmond,
Peter Andrews, N. McWhorter.
Isaiah Ellington, E. D. Jennings,
Joseph Levell, B. T. Harvey,
Thos. Thomas, Committee,

After some slight amendments the report was adopted.

Hon. L. Crawford spoke eloquently of the many advantages that would accrue to the colored people of Georgia if they would foster the farming interest more largely, by supporting and giving success to our State Agricultural Society.

By motion Hon. L. Crawford, Maj. S. W. Easley and Rev. E. P. Holmes were appointed to recommend officers for the State Agricultural Society.

The Finance Committee took up a collection amounting to \$10, to pay off expenses.

Committee to nominate officers for State Agricultural Society made the following report which was adopted:

We, your committee appointed to nominate officers for the State Agricultural Society, beg leave to submit the following report :

PRESIDENT :

Hon. L. Crawford, Darien, Ga.

• VICE-PRESIDENTS :

1st District, Hon. J. B. Frazier Taylor's Creek,	6th Dist. R. M. Logan, Macon,
2nd Dist. Peter Griffin, Smithville,	7th Dist. A. S. Thurmond, Cedartown,
3rd Dist. — Williams, Dawson,	8th Dist. Harrison Harris, Madison,
4th Dist. Augustus Gaines, Columbus,	9th Dist. Robert Howell, Warsaw,
5th Dist. C. C. Wimbush, Atlanta.	10th Dist. Rev. D. McHorton, Augusta.

TREASURER :

Rev. W. J. Gaines, Atlanta, Ga.

SECRETARY :

Maj. S. W. Easley, Jr., Atlanta, Ga.

Respectfully submitted,

L. Crawford,

S. W. Easley,

E. P. Holmes.

The President announced the following committee on printing proceedings in pamphlet form, as per resolution of the Convention :
Rev. W. J. White, Rev. C. Max Manning, Rev. D. McHorton, Capt. J. W. Lyons, and Rev. T. E. Turner.

Prof H. J. T. Hudson offered the following resolution which was adopted :

WHEREAS, The Negro newspapers of the state have been kind in publishing the call of this Convention, therefore be it

Resolved, That this Convention do extend a vote of thanks to all of said journals of said State.

R. M. Logan, Esq., offered the following resolution which was adopted :

WHEREAS, The Macon Telegraph and the Evening News have kindly published the proceedings of this Convention, therefore be it

Resolved. That we extend to them our sincere thanks for these courtesies.

H. M. Williams, Esq., offered the following resolution which was adopted :

WHEREAS, This Convention has met to seek redress for grievances under which the colored people of Georgia suffer, therefore be it

Resolved, That we appoint a committee to consist of Rev. W. J. White, Bishop H. M. Turner, Dr. W. J. Gaines, Col. W. A. Pledger, Capt. J. W. Lyons and Hon. A. Wilson to submit our grievances to the next legislature of Georgia and invoke their earnest consideration of the same.

H. M. Williams, Esq., offered the following resolution which was adopted :

Resolved, That we tender our heartfelt thanks to the Cotton Avenue Baptist church and to its pastor, Rev. T. M. Robinson, and also to the deacons for their kindness and hospitality to this Convention in freely granting us the use of their house of worship.

Resolved, That the good citizens of Macon be kindly thanked for generous hospitality.

The subject of the proposed National Exposition to be held in Atlanta next fall was introduced and discussed by Maj. S. W. Easley, Bishop H. M. Turner, and Col. W. A. Pledger.

A motion was made and adopted that the President appoint a committee of six of which he shall be chairman to investigate the matter and if in their judgment it is worthy of our endorsement they do so in behalf of this Convention and the colored people of Georgia. The chairman appointed the following committee under the above resolution : Rev. W. J. White, Augusta, Col. W. A. Pledger, Atlanta, Capt. C. C. Wimbish, Atlanta, Col. J. H. Deveaux, Savannah, Hon. Nathan Toomer, Perry, Hon. A. Wilson, Bailey's Mills.

Report of committee on resolutions was submitted and adopted, as follows :

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Your committee on resolutions respectfully submit the following report:

We, the representatives of the colored citizens of Georgia, in Convention assembled, do hereby issue the following statement to the people of the state, bearing upon questions which we regard as being of vital interest to the glory and prosperity of the commonwealth.

1st. It is a right of the people, irrespective of race, color, or previous condition, to be called upon to perform the high duty of jurors, therefore we view with alarm and remonstrate against the failure of the authorities in more than 130 counties of this state to call colored men to the discharge of this high function of citizenship. We recommend that the people in all the counties of Georgia, where this deprivation of their rights is practiced, by petition and resolution respectfully and properly drawn, press the consideration of this question to the end, that it may be remedied.

2nd. Common carriers are endowed with certain franchises given by the state for the compassing of the convenience of the people at large; they are the creatures of the state and are as amenable to the law as the humblest citizen. We therefore denounce, in unmeasured terms, the practice of railroads in charging colored citizens of the state first-class fare for passage on their trains, and then, in defiance of their plighted faith, coercing them into the acceptance of inferior accommodations.

3rd. The action of the General Assembly of Georgia, in coupling with the continuance of the appropriation to the Atlanta University, conditions that amounted to its withdrawal, for causes frivolous and insufficient, was unjust, unfair and illegal. We therefore recommend that the people throughout the state take steps to secure in the next Legislature representatives pledged to the removal of these conditions and the restoration of this appropriation to that school, unfettered and untrammelled by these conditions or equitable share of the landscript fund—the nation's bounty.

4th. The present penitentiary system of Georgia is a foul blot upon our civilization; a stain upon the escutcheon of the state; a means by which speculators enrich themselves at the expense of, and on the miseries of the criminal classes of the state, with but slight regard to the requirements of law or the obligations of humanity that one creature holds to another. We do not condemn the proper punishment of transgressors of the law, but we deny the right of the state to entrust or delegate this high function of administering punitive justice to persons or corporations, as it exercises under the penitentiary system of Georgia. We recommend that the people in each county of Georgia organize themselves for the purpose of securing legislative representation pledged to the abolition of this system in our state, and the erection of one more in consonance with the enlightened judgment of the present day.

5th. The ballot in all Republican or Democratic forms of government is the only means by which the citizen in the last resort, can express his will

or wishes, hence it is a question of the greatest magnitude that any suspicion should be entertained, that after depositing the ballot, it has been by any unlawful or illegitimate means, tampered with. We, therefore, recommend to the people, that they vote to elevate no man to office or power who is not fully committed to the inviolability of a free ballot and a fair count.

6th. Legislative representations and taxation are traditionally and historically the inseparable rights of every American citizen. We, therefore recommend that the colored citizens in all of the counties of Georgia organize for the purpose of securing their proper voice in the Legislature of the state.

7th. Intelligence being the basis and foundation around which clusters the hope for the perpetuity of every form of government; therefore it is the duty of the state to provide for the education of the masses, and to justly and equitably apply the money raised for this purpose.

8th. A well regulated militia being the defense and safe-guard of our form of government, it is the duty of the state to properly provide for this institution, and to impartially distribute official recognition of all classes of citizens who are voluntarily connected with this service.

Signed, J. B. L. Williams; Chairman.

S. W. Easley,
J. A. Sykes,
W. A. Pledger.
J. T. White,
R. S. Lovinggood,
T. M. Dent.
Ishmael Lonon,
John Heard,
E. P. Holmes,

J. W. Lyons,
C. C. Winbush,
Lewis Williams,
B. T. Harvey,
C. H. Brightharp,
E. K. Love,
P. O. Holt,
W. F. Nickerson,
W. J. Gaines.

A. Wilson,
C. Max Manning,
A. Graves,
A. W. Burnett,
J. C. Bryan,
W. H. Smith,
J. W. Marlow,
R. H. Hubbard,
Committee.

The committee on printing was authorized to assess the members for amount necessary to print proceedings in pamphlet.

H. M. Williams, Esq., offered the hospitality of Washington, Ga., for next meeting of the Convention. A vote of thanks was tendered to Washington for this offer.

On motion of Bishop Turner, the thanks of the Convention were tendered to the President for his impartial and able conducting of the business of the Convention.

The finance committee reported all bills paid and a small balance in hand.

By motion the balance in hand was divided between the secretaries.

The President made a few remarks returning thanks to the Convention and urging all to go to work.

The Convention then after a most harmonious session adjourned *sine die*.

TO THE PEOPLE OF GEORGIA.

Having been elected President of the State Agricultural Society of Georgia by a vote of eight hundred of colored men assembled in the city of Macon on the 26th of January, the resolution establishing this organization, made it obligatory upon the Executive Board to give a State Fair this year. I, therefore, appeal to every colored man, woman and child in this state, to lay their shoulder to this great wheel of race progress, and aid me in presenting and exhibiting to the world the latent powers, the mechanical genius, the industrial pursuit, the professional skill and advancement of the colored people of the state. Every one can aid me in this work. The shares have been put at one dollar a piece, and any person can become a member of the organization upon the payment of one dollar, for which they will receive a certificate of membership signed by the County President and County Secretary, countersigned by the General President and General Secretary. The farmer, the mechanic, the artizan, the professional man, the seamstress, the cook, and the wage worker, are earnestly requested to form agricultural clubs in their respective counties, and pay in their money so that the Executive Board can begin at an early date to arrange for a State Fair late in October, or first of November. Under our rules each county is entitled to a president, a secretary, a treasurer, and as many vice-presidents as they may desire. By-laws for county organizations will soon be out, and will be furnished on demand.

Certificates of membership will be issued to every one upon joining the general body. I again appeal to every lover of his race, who desires to see it ascend higher in the industrial field, to make a united effort to aid in this great movement. Respectfully,

DARIEN, GA., January 31, 1888.

LECTURED CRAWFORD, *President*.

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List of counties showing the differences of the Poll Tax paid between the white and colored for the year 1886, furnished by Hon. A. Wilson, of Bailey's Mills, Camden Co. ;

COUNTIES AND REPRESENTATIVES.	White.	Colored	COUNTIES AND REPRESENTATIVES.	White.	Colored
Baker 1.....	324	727	Liberty 1.....	653	1042
Baldwin 1.....	815	1282	Lincoln 1.....	464	493
Bibb 3.....	2760	2797	Macon 1.....	756	1015
Bryan 1.....	407	457	McDuffie 1.....	575	682
Burke 3.....	1074	3049	McIntosh 1.....	275	611
Calhoun 1.....	375	641	Merriwether 2.....	1364	1372
Camden 1.....	318	552	Monroe 2.....	1175	1814
Chattahoochee 1.....	317	423	Morgan 1.....	845	1321
Clay 1.....	570	781	Muscogee 2.....	1384	1413
Columbia 1.....	583	1052	Oglethorpe 2.....	1010	1334
Dougherty 2.....	403	1393	Putnam 2.....	634	1251
Early 1.....	573	875	Quitman 1.....	281	395
Echols 0.....	368	378	Schley 1.....	380	446
Glynn 1.....	307	692	Stewart 1.....	794	1425
Green 2.....	953	1563	Sumter 2.....	1037	1171
Hancock 2.....	810	1301	Talbot 1.....	714	1208
Harris 2.....	1101	1278	Taliaferro 1.....	456	651
Houston 2.....	949	2164	Terrell 1.....	900	1144
Jasper 1.....	819	1025	Troup 2.....	1113	1193
Jefferson 2.....	1031	1383	Twiggs 1.....	448	633
Jones 1.....	671	1148	Warren 1.....	791	976
Lee 1.....	317	1088	Washington 2.....	1749	1868
			Wilkes 2.....	994	1622

Figures opposite each name indicates number of members in House of Representatives.

List of the counties showing the differences of the Poll Tax paid between the colored and white for the year 1880. The colored outnumber the white in the following counties except Echols county; by Hon. A. Wilson, of Bailey's Mills, Camden Co. :

COUNTIES AND REPRESENTATIVES.	White.	Colored.	POPULATION CEN- SUS of 1880.	
			White.	Colored
Brooks 1.....	950	882	5670	6057
Chatham 3.....	5040	1703	17460	27535
Clarke 1.....	989	974	5308	6394
Coweta 2.....	1580	1510	9305	11804
Crawford 1.....	681	604	3940	4716
Decatur 2.....	1627	1351	8888	10183
Elbert 1.....	1152	1056	6084	6873
Lowndes 1.....	980	721	5412	5637
Marion 1.....	790	702	4291	4307
Mitchell 1.....	967	642	4189	5303
Newton 1.....	1146	864	6735	6884
Pike 2.....	1329	946	7778	8071
Pulaski 1.....	1550	801	5824	8234
Randolph 1.....	908	717	5545	7796
Richmond 3.....	4610	3658	17086	17483
Screven 1.....	1176	1109	6173	6613
Spalding 1.....	874	842	5438	7147
Thomas 2.....	1494	1269	8384	12214
Upson 1.....	998	767	6133	6267
Echols 1.....	368	378	2053	500

List of counties in Georgia having a majority of colored voters according to census of 1880 :

COUNTIES.	White.	Colored	COUNTIES.	White.	Colored
Baker	1740	5565	McIntosh.....	1545	4696
Baldwin.....	3858	9140	Macon	4290	7385
Bibb.....	11423	15723	Marion.....	4291	4307
Brooks	5670	6057	Meriwether.....	7815	9836
Bryan	2368	2561	Mitchell.....	4189	5203
Burke.....	6079	21048	Monroe.....	6690	12112
Calhoun.....	2354	4670	Morgan.....	4246	9788
Camden.....	2090	4092	Muscogee.....	8994	10328
Chatham.....	17461	27535	Newton.....	6735	6884
Chattahoochee.....	2125	3546	Oglethorpe	5466	9934
Clark.....	5304	6394	Pike.....	7778	8071
Clay.....	2798	3852	Pulaski.....	5824	8234
Columbia.....	3025	7440	Putnam.....	3512	11027
Coweta.....	9305	11804	Quitman.....	1773	2619
Crawford.....	3940	4716	Randolph.....	5545	7796
Decatur	8888	10183	Richmond	17086	17483
Dougherty.....	1951	10671	Schley.....	2229	3073
Early.....	3013	4592	Screven.....	6173	6613
Elbert.....	6084	6873	Spalding.....	5438	7147
Glynn.....	2194	4303	Stewart.....	4415	9583
Greene.....	5578	11969	Sumter	6050	12189
Hancock.....	5045	11944	Talbot.....	4448	9667
Harris	6450	9314	Taliaferro	2310	4724
Houston.....	6061	17190	Terrell	4267	6184
Jasper.....	4260	7589	Thomas.....	8384	12214
Jefferson.....	5580	10089	Troup.....	6592	13974
Jones.....	3753	7860	Twiggs.....	2844	6074
Lee.....	1738	8839	Upson.	6133	6267
Liberty.....	3524	7040	Warren	4087	6798
Lincoln.....	2255	4157	Washington.....	9445	12519
Lowndes.....	5415	5637	Wilkes	5170	10815
McDuffie.....	3429	6020			