



Emancipation Day *Program*

January 1, 1953

ONE O'CLOCK, P. M.

Peoples Baptist Church

Rev. Richard M. Owens, Pastor

OPENING HYMN	Rev. Egbert C. McCleod
SCRIPTURE READING	Rev. William S. Ravenell
PRAYER	Rev. William H. Hester
MUSIC — Vocal Duet	Mr. and Mrs. Henry C. Ellison
READING OF PROCLAMATION	Rev. William I. Reeves
MUSIC — Vocal Solo	Mr. Henry C. Ellison
INTRODUCTION OF SPEAKER	Rev. S. L. Laviscount
ADDRESS — “Emancipation for All—or Chaos”	Dr. Z. K. Matthews of South Africa
MUSIC — Vocal Duet	Mr. and Mrs. Henry C. Ellison
OFFERING	Rev. M. J. Minor and Rev. F. Fisher
ANNOUNCEMENTS	Rev. A. J. Spratley
CLOSING HYMN — “Lift Every Voice and Sing”	Rev. W. C. Davis
BENEDICTION	Rev. James C. Brown

Auspices: Ministers' Inter-Denominational Alliance
of Greater Boston

REV. B. A. GALLOWAY, President — and Presiding
Miss Jonelle Bryant at Piano

1. I should like to take the opportunity at the outset to say how deeply appreciative I am of the honour you have done me by inviting me to address you on this historic occasion and in this historic City. I feel sure that in the past many distinguished speakers have been called upon to occupy this rostrum, and my only regret is that I shall not be able to emulate my distinguished predecessors in their brilliance or their eloquence.
2. Nearly a century has passed since President Abraham Lincoln issued the famous Proclamation which brought emancipation to millions of persons of African descent who had suffered centuries of bondage in a country ^{to} which their forefathers had been dragged against their will but which they had come to know and love as their only homeland. That Emancipation was dearly bought as it was only achieved after the bitterest kind of struggle known to man--a Civil War. As an African saying describes it, a civil war is a war in which an attempt to separate the cheek from the jaw, an operation which cannot but result in almost irreparable harm to the patient. In order to remove that blot from the escutcheon of the United States of America, a country which its founders dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal, it was necessary to pay a terrible price, to inflict wounds and to arouse passions which a hundred years have not sufficed to heal.
3. On an occasion such as this it would be easy to yield to the temptation to dwell on the past, to recount the sufferings which the Negroes endured during their centuries of bondage and perhaps to give vent to our righteous indignation against those responsible for keeping them in that condition for so long. We could go into the history of Africa and discuss at length the incalculable harm done to that continent by those who came from other continents to take away, by force or by other means, the flower of African manhood and womanhood to be used as slaves in foreign land. We could trace the roads in different parts of the continent used by slave-raiders in days gone by and picture in our mind's eye the long trains of men and women, often chained together, being driven along by forced marches to make contact with slave ships waiting for their human cargo either on the East or on the West coast. We could repeat with harrowing details the story of the inhuman treatment meted out to the slaves on the slave ships during voyages across the Atlantic or Indian oceans. Or we could visit the slave markets and go over the scenes that were enacted there: the anguish suffered by those who were forcibly separated from relatives and friends when sold to different masters and sent to different parts of the strange lands to which they had been transported. One can only marvel at the remarkable adaptability of the African that he was able to survive

It would be possible to take the story further and dwell upon the history of the abolition of slavery. The history of the struggle against those who were wedded to this system and sought to justify it on theological or scriptural grounds makes thrilling reading. We could spend time to pay tribute to the abolitionists who used their talents to teach their fellow countrymen the truth that freedom was indivisible, that slavery was twice-cursed in that it degraded both the slave-owner and the slave.

4. I am not going to deal with any of these aspects of the story of emancipation, if only because there can be no doubt that you are all very familiar with it. A more pleasant topic on which one could expatiate is the amazing progress which has been made by the Coloured people since their emancipation. I have recently had the privilege of reading a pamphlet issued by the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute dealing with the achievements of the Negro through education both before and since the Civil War. Dull would he of soul indeed who could read such a document without being profoundly moved by the achievements in different fields of learning of men and women who, almost without exception, worked against odds which might well have daunted less determined. The story of each one proves, if proof were wanted, that just as the plant requires good soil in which to achieve maximum growth, so freedom is the climate in which the human personality can best be developed. Moreover it is probably true to say that since their emancipation the Negroes have made a far greater contribution to American civilization than ^{they did} during the period of slavery.

5. But instead of congratulating ourselves upon emerging as well as we have done from the evils of the past, it would be well for us to consider now and again the responsibilities of freedom. It would probably take us too far afield to discuss all the duties of free men and women. I will content myself with drawing your attention to only two. One is the obvious responsibility to guard jealously the freedom we have attained. Eternal vigilance is the price of freedom, and free men must therefore be on the lookout all the time for every threat to their freedom. In these days of the near-almighty State and totalitarian regimes, it has become all too easy for people to surrender their hard won liberties on the pretext that they will thereby be better safeguarded. Every scheme which is put forward for our protection or our welfare must be carefully scrutinised from the point of view of the extent to which it circumscribes the true freedom of the individual or the group. Unless that is done free men will find themselves relapsing imperceptibly but none the less surely into the state of serfdom from they thought they had emerged, and their last state may be worse than the first, as millions in Europe may testify.

6. A second imperative for free men and women is to work for the extension of freedom to those less fortunate than themselves. Freedom like every good gospel is something which must be shared if it is to be enjoyed to the fullest extent. When we survey the world today we find that there are vast areas inhabited by millions of people in which human rights and fundamental freedoms are honoured more in their breach than in their observance. One of the most important of such areas is the continent of Africa. For it must be remembered that when the institution of slavery began to be challenged and those who benefitted from it found their position becoming more and more untenable, they reversed their technique. Instead of taking Africans away from their homeland to be used as slaves in foreign countries, they brought exploitation to the continent of Africa. It is not accidental that the period of the decline of slavery coincided with the rise of colonialism in Africa. Explorers like Livingstone drew the attention of Europe and America to the fact that the traffic in human beings would in the long run prove less profitable than the exploitation of the natural resources of Africa. As a missionary-explorer Livingstone believed that Africa needed what he called the "two pioneers of civilization--Christianity and Commerce". He looked upon the opening up of Africa as a means providing for the elevation of the inhabitants, but the purveyors of commerce had other views on the matter. For them the opening up of this vast area meant the exploitation of its resources both natural and human. The elevation of the inhabitants through the other pioneer of civilization--Christianity--they regarded as a side line which could be left to voluntary agencies like the Churches which could carry on as long they did not interfere with the main business for which they were in Africa. To facilitate the exploitation of the natural resources of the continent they established new political divisions of varying sizes generally indicated on the map by means of different colours for different Colonial powers whose superficial beauty belies the ugliness of much that lies beneath the surface. Their coming ^{to the indigenous inhabitants} has meant the loss of political independence, the loss or severe limitation of land rights; economic exploitation through the system of cheap labour and the colour bar in industry; racial discrimination in social, educational and other public services; arbitrary restrictions of freedom of movement, freedom of speech and other civil liberties. In a word colonialism spells a new kind of slavery which has enveloped the whole continent, with minor exceptions here and there. But the continent of Africa is awakening the people are on the move in an endeavour to regain their erstwhile freedom and right of self-determination. The struggle has already

borne bitter fruit in ~~areas~~ the conflict in areas such as Tunisia and Morocco, in the so-called terrorism of the Mau-Mau in Kenya in East Africa, in the riots of the commoners in Uganda, in the demands for the restoration of their lands by the Wa-Meru of Tanganyika, in the demand for the unification of their country divided between the French and the British by the people of Togoland, in the widespread opposition evoked by British proposals for Central African Federation, and last but not least in the ~~non~~-violent disobedience campaign provoked by the ~~apartheid~~ apartheid policy followed by the government of the Union of South Africa.

with freedom from the diseases and pests which have earned other parts of Africa the name of the "white man's grave", with vast natural resources especially as far as mineral wealth is concerned, and with a fair supply of manpower, why is ^{it} that a country with such advantages seems unable to ~~evolve~~ evolve a social, economic and political system which will meet the legitimate aspirations of all sections of the population?

In order to appreciate the basic issues involved in the South African situation it is well to bear in mind the multi-racial character of the population, and in particular the relative proportions of the racial groups ~~represented~~ represented there. The population of the Union is generally classified into four main racial categories, namely, European (white), Africans, Asians and Mixed or Coloured. The Europeans number approximately two and a half millions, the Africans 8 millions, the Asians (mainly Indian but including Chinese) 300,000 and the Mixed or Coloured 1 million. The Europeans, though obviously an immigrant group, have been established in this area since 1652; the Asians originally came into the country as indentured labourers about 1860 on the invitation of the Natal government; the Africans are indigenous to the country, although the Europeans claim that they are not; the Mixed or Coloured are largely the result of miscegenation between black and white, although they include a group of Malays who were originally brought into the country as slaves from the East. Not only do these groups differ in numbers and in racial stock but they differ also in ~~their~~ cultural background and in the level of their development in terms of modern western civilization. In the latter respect the Europeans are obviously at an advantage as compared with the other groups which are also striving to adapt themselves to modern conditions of life. The crux of the South African problem lies in the fact that these groups which are all determined to make South Africa their permanent must find a satisfactory basis on which they can be welded into a united nation, ^{and have so far failed to do so.} The Europeans who at present control the government of the country are striving to build up a political, economic and social structure in South Africa which will ensure the permanent supremacy of the European in national, provincial (state) ~~or~~ or local life. This process has culminated in the adoption of what is known as the policy of apartheid (separation) of the present government. This policy makes no pretence at being based on so-called democratic principles; it is frankly and openly advocated and applied as the only method by which the baasskap (boss-ship) of the white man can be maintained on a permanent basis. It rests upon the theory of white superiority which is regarded as innate. As one of its principal advocates has said, "Apartheid rests on the recognition that there are differences which are not man-made". In other words the policy is based upon the master-race complex which has caused so much trouble in the world in the past, and is likely to do so in the future unless it is recognised for what it is--a cancer which debases man as few things are able to do.

You will know from your reading, if not directly, that South Africa is a country in which great Mission work has been done. The names of Moffat, Livingstone, Phillip, VanDer Kamp, Lindley and other great South African Christians are household words wherever the name of Christ is known in that part of the world. As a result of their endeavours of these servants of the Lord and those who have followed after them, much has been accomplished in the matter of extending the Kingdom and making possible that abundant life which is Christ's promise to every individual. But beside the Christian forces that have been at work, enriching the lives of many in various directions there have also been other agencies or spirits at large ^{undermining} ~~undermining~~ the good work that has been done, with the result that in many quarters fears are expressed as to whether peace, order and good government will be maintained in that country in the years that lie ahead.

The question may be asked as to why it is that a country like South Africa which professes to be a Christian country, and has included this profession in its Constitution, seems to be ^{threatened by} ~~leading for~~ disaster. Why is it ~~that~~ that a country which has been so richly blessed with a beautiful climate,

The white man in South Africa has of course ^{adopted} ~~resorted to~~ various methods by which he ~~attempts~~ to rationalise the policy which he is following. In other words he tries to make out that this policy of white superiority and supremacy is not only designed to serve the self-interest of the European but is also in the best interests of the non-white. It is represented as a policy designed to protect the non-white and to enable him to 'develop along his own lines' and so preserve his soul, while any policy which seeks to recognise the inter-dependence of black and white and to integrate them into one society on the basis of their common interests and their mutual contribution to the welfare of the country is represented as a ~~betrayal~~ betrayal not only of the white man but also of the African, as a "slave-policy because under it the Africans can never live their life to the full; it tears them away from their own folk, uproots them from the soil out of which they have sprung, severs the roots of their tribal tradition".

The policy of Apartheid is not merely a theory of race relations in a multi-racial society. The white man in South Africa has used and is using the political power of which he at present has a monopoly to give practical effect to this view of life. In the light of this policy which I might say was not initiated by the present government but is merely being carried out to its logical conclusion by Malan and his followers, non-whites are denied the right to be represented in the councils of State, whether on the national, the state or the local level; in the economic sphere the conception of fair ^{and economic inequalities are justified on the basis of the civilised labour policy.} employment practices is rejected out of hand; in social ^{welfare} services non-whites are either discriminated against or excluded from their benefits altogether. ^{while the} Education ^{of} ~~for~~ ^{children} whites is compulsory and free; ~~while~~ the education of non-white children of school-going ^{age} is not ^{similarly} regarded as a State responsibility. It is of course state-aided, and in every session of the Union Parliament complaints are ~~made~~ heard about the large amounts of money being spent on the education of non-whites at the expense of the whites. Only grudging recognition is given to the contribution which the Missions and the people themselves have made and are continuing to make in the building up of their educational system. The result of this is that while educational facilities exist for every white child of school-going age, the facilities for Africans over 90% of which have been provided by the Missions and the people themselves can only take care of slightly more than 30% of the African children. In the matter of health services the Missions have been the pioneers and continue to provide for Africans, ^{ex} especially in the rural areas which are very badly served medically. In other words while the policy of separation may have delivered the goods as far as the white man is concerned the non-whites have not benefitted to the same