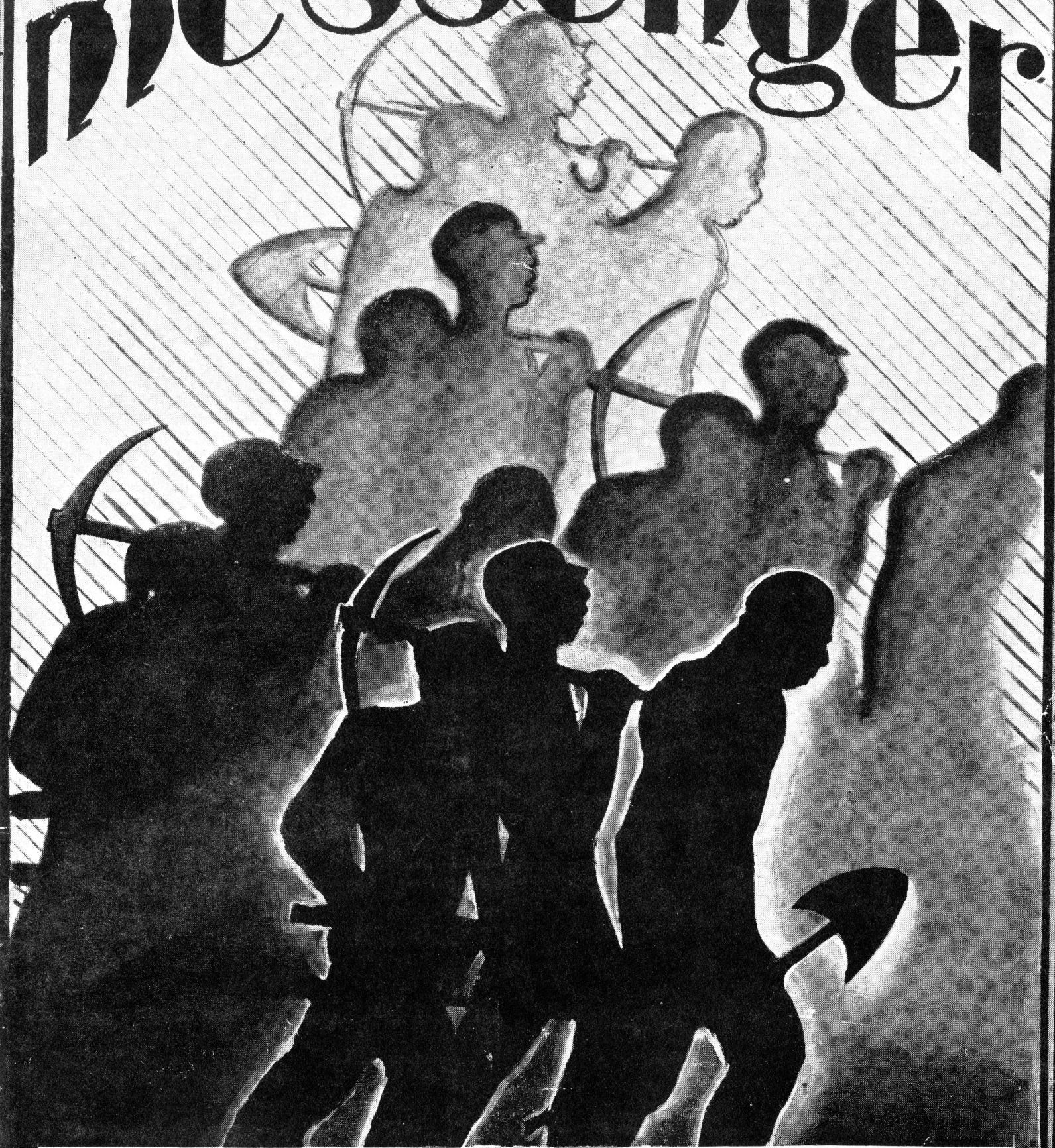


the messenger



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The Messenger

New Opinion of the New Negro

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The MESSENGER is the recognized mouth-piece of the more advanced section of the Negro group in the United States. For ten years it has spoken intelligently and eloquently in behalf of organization of labor, white as well as black, believing, as it does, that the questions of wages, hours of work, safeguards on the job and proper representation of the worker, are the most important confronting the majority of the men and women, white as well as black, in the United States. For two years it has been the official organ of The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters whose organization it espoused and whose battles it has consistently fought.

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The Messenger

New Opinion of the New Negro



Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., July 27th, 1919, under act of March 3, 1879. Published monthly by The Messenger Publishing Company, Inc., 2311 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y. Telephones: Edgcombe 2323-2324.

VOLUME TEN
NUMBER TWO

FEBRUARY, 1928

Price: 15 Cents a Copy; \$1.50 a year in United States; \$1.75 in Canada; \$2.00 in foreign countries.

WHAT OF IT?

By GRACE RICHARDSON

NOTE: This is a reply to Lothrop Stoddard by a young artist of Nordic descent, resident in Berkeley, California.

No, "Nothing is more dangerous than illusions" as Lothrop Stoddard says in his debate on Negro Equality which appeared in the *Forum* for October, 1927. But we are wondering who has the illusions, the Negro or Mr. Stoddard? Is it not possible, nay, highly probable, that Mr. Stoddard is laboring under a delusion, first, that the Negro, with the exception of a minority in the north, is satisfied with this "vertical" line that forms the biracial system of society, and secondly, that our "White America" is exposed to what he designates a malicious racial mingling, which, unless high white ideals persist (as of course they will according to Mr. Stoddard) would destroy the white race and its supremacy. And, supposing that these *are* delusions of Mr. Stoddard, it would be well for him, as well as those true Nordics whose integrity he is so chivalrously vouchsafing, to realize "tolerantly yet unequivocally" that his outlined future for the two races, principally the preservation and undefilement of the white race, will not be altogether the nicely patterned piece he has designed and that these fine hopes may be nothing but a delusion, "which, if persisted in, will lead to unnecessary disappointments and misfortunes."

Judging from the authoritative manner in which Mr. Stoddard speaks, it would be assumed that white America had been consulted in *toto* and that each member had stated "that it will not abolish the color-line, will not admit the Negro to social equality, will not open the door to racial amalgamation." Now, I have no doubt that for those whom Mr. Stoddard is spokesman, this is exactly the essence of their attitude in the matter. But what a pity that Mr. Stoddard neglected inquiring of a few other white Americans! It is obvious that he overlooked the white parents of the four or five million mulattos in this country, to say nothing of those men and women who are not the parents of mulattos only by the grace of God or the use of bootlegged Margaret Sanger literature. Of course, these mulattos will be attributed by a large

number of persons who are only half informed on the subject, if at all, to surreptitious affairs between black women and white men in the nature of a liaison. True, a good many may be accounted for in this manner. But even this proves *something*. Where is the inherent Caucasian repugnance of the Negro race? For even in illicit love there generally is attraction. And then too, the legitimate mulattos, of which there are more than a few, cannot be easily ignored.

But all of this is of minor importance in answering Mr. Stoddard. Now, Mr. Stoddard's whole contention on "White America's" attitude toward the Negro is not, as we supposed, a belief in our superiority over the Negro's inferiority, but is based on the "fact of his difference." Mr. Stoddard flatters us. He assumes that we are so well acquainted with what biology, psychology and sociology has discovered in this matter of racial difference that there is no need to elucidate. I for one, am bold enough to admit my ignorance, and pertinently ask Mr. Stoddard what and where it is? I, having associated with several Negroes socially and observed them at first hand, have been at a loss to locate this fundamental difference. But perhaps Mr. Stoddard has dined with more Negroes than I have and knows whereof he speaks.

If he is referring to a difference in language, that is, manner of speaking, I have conversed with Negroes who put me to shame with their correct pronunciation and careful enunciation. I have also spoken with whites, notably southern whites, who drawled to such an extent one might think them caricaturing a black-face comedian. If Mr. Stoddard is referring to a difference in features, I have seen Negroes with as finely chiseled nose, brow, and lips as the ancient Greek. I have seen full blooded Negroes with hair that is straight, or wavy (not kinky), and fine textured. I have also seen whites with broad nostrils, thick lips and kinky hair. Put a little lamplblack on certain Irishmen or Jews and it would be difficult to distinguish them from a member of this *uniquely* constituted race—the Negro. If Mr. Stoddard is referring to a difference in mental process I know of Negroes who are more capable of thinking

directly and intelligently than a good, good many whites (names not necessary). I know that there are illiterate Negroes, but I also know that there are equally as illiterate whites, and that the principal cause for this condition, allowing for morons incapable of acquiring any knowledge past a certain age, is lack of opportunity. If he is referring to a superstitious nature and a ghost-fear psychology then I think of Negroes whom I know who are agnostics, atheists and infidels, who are capable not only of seeing quackery in a witch doctor murmuring over a few rabbit hairs in a peanut shell, but also see the quackery in chiropractors and other such modern so-called medics who claim that jerking by the ankles will remove the kinks in your spine or sitting under 200 watt violet mazdas will cure you of cancer. I also know that the peasants of every European, and no doubt of every other country on the face of the globe are superstitious, believe in fairies, devils, omens and the like. If it is a difference in attitudes toward work and a propensity for laziness I know that the bulk of the Negro population earns its bread and all its other commodities by good, hard, manual labor. It digs ditches, builds railroads, harvests crops, loads and unloads cargoes, and a hundred and one other jobs that need good, solid brawn. But then I know it is a little habit of ruling class groups to always label its suppressed economic and social classes as lazy. It preserves its self esteem and salves its conscience. If he means a difference in social standards and demands I fail to see how any group living under the government of the United States could escape having the same ideals or goals. We all buy victrolas and Fords on the installment plan if not country villas and Rolls Royces. We all have a failing (or at least a large majority of us) for hand shaking, back slapping, Rotary and Kiwanis clubs. Most of us at least one day a week are given to thoughts of our future life and salvation, and most of us have a desire to be buried decently and not land in Potter's field. The variance in demands of costly or unpretentious funerals being beside the point. I know Mr. Stoddard does not mean a difference in

ability to produce first rate art. He admitted that the Negro has already produced a certain amount of it even though he denied him the right to social intercourse on the strength of these artistic productions. And lastly, if he is referring to a difference in color, then of course I admit the difference, though I fail to recognize in this a sufficient difference to warrant the basis of this whole paper. So this is the discovery of biology, psychology and sociology? But even here I cannot admit such a tremendous difference for I know of Negroes who are lighter in skin and hair pigmentation than I and I am a Nordic. And I know that when and where it is realized that such white Negroes are Negroes they are treated by "White America" with the same disdain and superior air as a Negro of a dark hue. Therefore this skin pigmentation cannot be the difference which "White America" recognizes and bases its prejudice upon. What then is the difference?

Mr. Stoddard claims that because of this difference "White Americans feel that to incorporate this widely differing stock into our racial life would profoundly change our national character, temperament and ideals." I wonder if our New England spokesman has considered America as already being a melting pot? That peoples far different in character, temperament and ideals from those of Mr. Stoddard are continually pouring onto our shores (when immigration quotas do not restrict them) and we are in the midst of a laborious process of "assimilating" them. Though most of these people do not differ from us as strikingly as the Negro (that is, they lack color) they certainly have different physical characteristics than we as a nation, and, more important, they have a different psychology, standard of living, and a good many of these incomers, especially those who have reached maturity, never lose their allegiance to their mother country, nor do they dissociate themselves from their ghettos once here. These, if we were to be logical, are much more difficult to assimilate than our Aframerican, who already has been in this country as long as we have (longer than some of us) and knows no other land to hold fond memories of. The principal reason the Garvey movement was such a failure was precisely this. American Negroes know nothing of Africa as a homeland. They were born and raised here. This is their home. The majority of them could conceive of living nowhere else. But America is not logical when it comes to dealing with the Negro. It is bitten with color-phobia just as Mr. Stoddard seems to be.

What is this "traditional" sense in which America was founded? If there is so much "overwhelming weight of both historical and scientific evidence showing that only so long as the American people remains white will its institutions, ideals and culture continue to fit the temperament of its inhabitants—and hence continue to endure," it would have been interesting if Mr. Stoddard had cited some of this data for our enlightenment. But after all, if we are absolutely honest with ourselves (if not the public) we cannot be sure that racial amalgamation would be detrimental to either the black or the white race, never having given it complete trial. It being a matter which never can be merely tried either there will be or there will not be racial amalgamation. And likewise, whichever principle

wins we will never have an indication from it of the measure of success or failure of the losing principle had it been the one chosen and followed. It is difficult to see wherein crosses between Nordic and Negroes are any more disruptive in effect than a cross between an Italian and a Norwegian for instance. Here we would have extremes in complexions, temperaments and environments. And yet we do not discountenance intermarriage between such people. Southern Europe has obviously had Negro blood injected into its inhabitants. Yet these "Caucasians" have assimilated it so well they are not even considered light mulattos. Then how can science point that crosses between Negroes and whites are undesirable? We have plenty of mulattos in this country to disprove that. I am speaking biologically and psychologically. It seems to me that, if anything, these hybrids are very excellent evidence to disprove what science says is bad. Perhaps science too, has colorphobia. It is not impossible, since science is the product of individual men, all more or less susceptible to the fetishes of a nation or a people.

And so, "through long ages of natural selection" we "have eliminated disharmonic variations and have produced a relatively smooth working psychophysical whole!" It would be interesting to know where Mr. Stoddard has been spending the years of his life. Seemingly not on this planet. It is difficult to imagine more strife existing than that within the Caucasian race—war, greed, hate, lust, divorce, murder—all this on a national or rather international scale as well as individual scale. Where is this harmony of which Mr. Stoddard speaks?

The sin of interbreeding, is, according to Mr. Stoddard, a loss of "stability and harmony" which would be displaced by "bewildering variety and uncertainty." What an unimaginative person who would disdain variety! To be one of a hundred million who had equally pale skins, equally sharp noses and equally thin lips! What a satisfaction such a feeling must be! Apparently the excitement or curiosity to know whether the new baby was to be cream color or chestnut holds no allure for those of Mr. Stoddard's tastes.

Does the "White America" for whom Mr. Stoddard is spokesman believe that looking at Negro art as a kind of amusing spectacle (as he generally does now) to be any more desirable or gratifying to the Negro artist than to have his works judged "in an atmosphere chilled by aversion and poisoned by hatred?" I believe, if there are any, it is only the Uncle Tom, hat-in-hand Negro who is obviously the only kind Mr. Stoddard no doubt prays was in America. Of course, to the intelligent Negro, the one condition or attitude is as bad as the other, he desires neither. But realizing also that the Utopia he does desire is not likely to be forthcoming either in the present or immediate future, and being providently provided with an ironical humor, he is able to laugh at the antics and mouthings of such Nordics as our friend who has made a proper noun of white and who proffers as a definition of biracialism not discrimination but separation; who would like to see the race relation problem neatly solved by a vertical caste system instead of a horizontal one and who stoutly asserts that "White America simply will not jeopardize its race integrity." And who, providing he

has this sense of humor, could fail to chuckle at Mr. Stoddard's horror of being statistically light mulatto, as if labels were of any intrinsic value? As for Mr. Stoddard or future Mr. Stoddards being classed *biologically* as a mulatto! At all costs the color line must be preserved!

Social equality does, no doubt, in the end mean intermarriage. In this much, Mr. Stoddard is correct. But Mr. Stoddard and his followers make themselves ridiculous when they get so alarmed over the possibility of such a state of affairs. In the first place if there is this natural aversion between the Caucasian race and the Negro race, then there is no need to worry. The people will take care of themselves. No yawping is necessary to preserve their integrity. What is more, if the social bars were let down that would not mean that it would be compulsory for Nordics to marry Negroes. It is quite likely that the majority of whites would desire to marry one of their own color, and quite likely the majority of Negroes would prefer one of their own color. I see no reason for them not to. But falling in love is rarely a matter of exterior selection, much talk to the contrary that there is. Propinquity, mutual interests, and a dozen other arbitrary elements make marriages. Mr. Stoddard is evidently laboring under the delusion that, if the bars were let down tomorrow there would be a grand rush on the part of every Negro for white girls (or men), white theaters, white restaurants and white residential sections. As a matter of fact, such would probably not be the case, at least not immediately. The habits of a people cannot be so easily turned into new channels. Negroes would continue generally to marry each other, and patronize eating places and amusements and live in the houses in the districts they were used to. Of course there would be many who would not. But then there are many right today, especially in the larger cities of the North, who do not.

On the other hand, seeing that there are only ten million Negroes in this country as opposed to ninety million whites, it seems altogether too minor a matter to quibble over. In a few generations we could easily absorb this minority group and have this race problem solved forever!

But the preserver of our "White America" is alarmed about the color-line and what the loss of it implies. "Once it is abandoned, White America is doomed, and a mulatto America stands on the threshold." In answer to which "I demur." Yes, Mr. Stoddard, but "what of it?"

NEXT MONTH!

Negro Insurance Statistics

By C. M. HAYES

President, Gibraltar Health and
Accident Insurance Co.

Get the Facts About
Our Insurance Companies

ST. MAURICE OF AGANAUM

By J. A. ROGERS

Noted Author and Journalist

On the walls of the Old Pinakothek Museum, Munich, hangs a picture—the most noted in the collection—which deals with a rather singular figure, that is, singular for American eyes, Negro or Caucasian.

The figure is that of a very black man with hair that in a hair-straightening age, would be described as “very bad”; lips that are often spoken of as “blubber-lips”; and a face that someone has called “grotesque.” Its oddness lies in the fact that it is clad in resplendent armor; a jewelled sword hangs by its side, around its neck is a jewelled collar; on its woolly head is a golden crown with a border of roses illuminated by a saintly halo, while on its face is a look of loftiest majesty.

The picture, the work of the famous artist, Matthias Grunewald, used to decorate the front of the altar of the Cathedral at Halle, Germany and was painted about 1518 A. D.

Why was it placed in that important position? Because that Negro in all his blackness was one of the most famous of the Christian martyrs, and is the celestial saint of that part of Germany as well as parts of France, Switzerland and Italy—he is the renowned St. Maurice.

St. Maurice, of Aganaum, known to the Germans as St. Mauritius, was one of the leading generals of the Roman Empire, under the joint rulership of Diocletian and Maximian Herculus. Stationed with his legion in North Africa, he was called to Rome at a critical time.

In spite of the lash of the whip, the claws of the wild beasts; the searings of hot iron; the gorings of wild bulls; the swords of gladiators; the rippings asunder by horses and trees, the Christians had been growing in power. From their hiding places in the Catacombs they were expanding until they threatened the throne of the Caesars, like a tiny seed, which, falling into the crevice of a rock grows until it splits the rock asunder. Maximian had been forced to make peace with the tribes on the outskirts of his vast empire in order to deal with the Christians at home.

The latest challenge to his power was the rising of Christian slaves in Gaul, and thither he sent St. Maurice with his Theban legion of six thousand men. When, however, St. Maurice learnt that he was to attack Christians he refused to obey and inspired his men to do the same. He was a Christian himself and so were they.

Maximian, tired from a long campaign, was resting at Octodorum when the news was brought to him. Furious with anger he ordered the usual punishment, that is, that every tenth man should be killed, and dispatched a part of his army to Aganaum, a wild mountainous region about sixty miles from what is now Geneva, Switzerland. It was here that St. Maurice had suspended the march of his legion.

In obedience to the emperor's orders the Theban Legion was made to draw up in regular order and every tenth man struck down. Confident that the rebels had been

Dancing Fool

He gazed awed and mute
As she wiggled her body
To the tune of a flute.
Down her bare back
Dark tresses fell
She danced like a demon
On hot coals of hell.
She covered her body
In a veil of pale hue
Because it was black
It shone right through.
“Dance on,” he cried.
“Dance on, fool,
To your black feet
Hot coals'll feel cool.”

MARIE BROWN FRAZIER.

taught a lesson Maximian again gave the order to advance but again the Africans refused to attack. The emperor ordered a second decimation but still the survivors bade one another be courageous and stand firm in the name of Christ. It was an age when men valued their lives less than they do now, when for more than two centuries they had been willingly laying down their lives for the Christian cause.

And it must truly be said not for the Christian cause alone. It was the same spirit of steadfastness shown later by the Mohammedans in their struggle also against paganism in favor of the belief in One God. It was a Negro, too, Bilal, who refused to yield in spite of all torture, thereby inspiring Mohammed to continue in spite of persecution. One might truly say further that the spirit shown by the Theban Legion is that shown by human beings everywhere when deeply convinced that their cause is just. It is not Christian, nor Mohammedan, nor Quaker, nor Fascist, nor Communist, but human.

When ordered to attack for the third time St. Maurice and his men sent the following reply:

“Sire, we are soldiers but at the same time we are servitors of God, a fact that we proudly confess. To you we owe military service; to Him, the homage of an innocent life. From you we receive our pay; from Him, we hold the benefit of life. That is why, sire, we cannot obey you without denying God, the creator of all things, our master as well as yours, whether you acknowledge it or not. Do not reduce us to the sad plight of offending Him and you will find us always ready to follow all your orders. Otherwise, know that we will sooner obey Him than you. We offer you our arms against any enemy you wish to strike but we hold it a crime to shed the blood of the innocent.”

Going on to say that they had seen their companions fall under the sword, being spattered with their blood; that still they did not grieve for them, but felicitated them for the privilege in dying for the One who

had died on the cross for them. “If,” they concluded, “you make other laws against us, or pronounce new sentences, the fire, the torture, iron, will not frighten us; we are ready to die. We confess boldly that we are Christians and that we cannot persecute Christians.”

Finding them inflexible the emperor ordered annihilation of the remainder, nearly all of whom threw down their arms content to suffer martyrdom. A few fled into Germany and Italy, but remaining among the dead was their heroic commander.

Occurring in an age when the spirit of Christ, not the fetish of color, dominated the Christian Church, the incident gave a great impetus to the Christian cause. At that time the Church was as firm in Africa as it was in Europe, and the martyrs faced death in the arenas there as bravely as they did in Rome. The great standard bearers of Christianity St. Augustine, St. Cyprian, Tertullian, and Origen, were all born like St. Maurice, in Africa. Christ and the Virgin Mary were even depicted as black. An abbey, later to become one of the most noted in Europe, both for its religious devotion, as well as for the richness of its art objects, was founded at Aganaum, now St. Maurice-on-Valais, in honor of St. Maurice, together with the Sardinian Order of St. Maurice.

For more than a thousand years the fame of St. Maurice stood secure in the Catholic Church. Then came the Reformation with its attacks on the saints, among them St. Maurice. A bitter controversy raged as to whether he and the Theban Legion ever existed. The Protestants insisted that no mention was made of the incident by the leading historians of the day, and that in any case it must have been a few men and not a legion. The writer regrets that he can give little of the arguments, pro and con, as most of the books on both sides, available to him, are in German, notably in the works of Franz Stolle and Krusch.

The Catholics, who celebrate his day on September 22, insist that the silence of contemporary historians proves nothing. Allard, one of the foremost writers on the subject of martyrdom says: “The martyrdom of the legion, attested as it is by ancient and reliable evidence, cannot be called in question by any honest mind.”

Much of the scepticism of the Reformers regarding the lives of the saints was undoubtedly justified. There is this, however, in favor of the story of St. Maurice: no supernatural incident is connected with it.

But whether real or not millions believe in his existence. Like Homer, Christ, and Shakespeare, whose existence is also doubted by many, his influence has been great. Today he is the celestial saint of millions in Europe and elsewhere; dyers, clothmakers, soldiers and swordsmith hold him as their patron saint; while sufferers from the gout plead for his intercession.

And it seems to matter little whether St. Maurice was a reality; his influence was what counted. And to Negroes, most of all, is the fact that whether real or not, he is pictured as one of them.

THE POLITICAL UPHEAVAL IN MEMPHIS

By GEO. W. LEE

President, West Tennessee Civic and Political League

The great political upheaval that crashed sullenly against our bluffs for almost two months has passed over. Robert R. Church, the storm center of the campaign, around whom the brazen attacks of ex-Mayor Paine broke with sinister fury, sits quietly in his spacious office on Beale Street, and with subdued enthusiasm gazes outside through the evening twilight upon the great stream of traffic moving down the Avenue.

Hon. Watkins Overton and Judge Clifford Davis, whose conduct in office in the past stamped them as true and trusted friends of a people farthest down, have been swept into office by a majority of 13,000. They are both young men that represent the mental attitude of a New South.

Overton came from a family that were the builders of Memphis. Davis leaped from poverty to power; and today is the idol of a great city. Backed by a great statesman as Ed. Crump, they should not fail.

Out of the political upheaval in Memphis came one of the greatest victories ever achieved by Negroes of the South. It represents the first great mass action of colored voters, schooled in the principles of organization and following their leaders with sublime devotion. In this campaign, the Negro presented new ideals of political thought and had the courage to defend them under stress and danger. The leaders in the movement were not deterred by threats of personal violence. They exposed themselves to great danger in order to overcome the evils that existed.

Race prejudice lost its most important battle when J. Rowlett Paine with his mushy altruism, his insidious campaign of race hate, his incendiary advertisements designed to bring bloodshed and friction, was defeated and retired to private life. In 1923 ex-Mayor Rowlett Paine called upon the leaders of the colored people, and as a means of acquiring the solid Negro vote, made written promises to these leaders over his signature and the signature of the candidates on his ticket for commissioners. The mayor, having been re-elected by a majority of less than 4,000, rode into office on the solid vote of the Negro—which was in that campaign, 3,500. But, the mayor had no sooner gotten in office before he turned his back on the people that elected him and repudiated all his campaign promises. He promised to increase the school facilities for Negro children; and during his tenure of office, he spent more than \$3,000,000 for the improvement of the city, with less than \$700,000 spent to improve the conditions in which the Negroes live. He floated thousands and thousands of dollars in bond issues; yet, with the Negro constituting 40 per cent of the population, less than 5 per cent of the fund was allocated for his benefit.

His promise of parks and playgrounds never did materialize. The sections in which Negroes live remained unlighted and unpaved. His promise of just and fair treatment was exemplified by cruel and unsympathetic policemen, who like the slave drivers in Uncle Tom's Cabin, had no fear of power, no pity for the weak, no respect

for womanhood—all were the victims of their bloody clubs. And, when the mayor was approached by a committee concerning his promises, he turned a deaf ear and refused to give them audience. And, as a means of expressing the contempt in which he held the Negro citizenry, he had the city to buy a spot of ground, 200 yards from the Booker Washington High School, 150 yards from the LaRose Grammar School, adjacent to the only Amusement Park that Negroes have in the city, and there erected a Crematory, and thus turning the finest residential section of Negro Memphis, where thousands of dollars are invested in property, into a dumping ground for the city's filth.

A committee headed by Wayman Wilkerson, Dr. J. B. Martin and M. Thornton raised a defense fund and fought in the courts for a permanent injunction that would restrain the mayor from building an obnoxious crematory in the social and convention center of the colored population. The battle was lost in the courts; but these leaders proved that the Memphis Negro had pride and self-respect and the money and the courage to fight for it. Smarting under this and many other insults, taxed without enjoying any of the opportunities created by his taxes, the sleeping Negro citizen was finally aroused and lashed into action.

At last, Bob Church was furious. He called this writer into conference. A plan of organization was laid out. A call was drafted and signed by 25 leading citizens for a mass convention. Thus, in the latter part of June, representatives of the various wards and precincts of the city were assembled at Beale Avenue Baptist Church. The effort at the outset did not bring an overflow crowd. But the men and women present had determination written on their brows. They made no complaints or threats, but went to work to organize the voters and teach them the duty and responsibility of citizenship. There were 19 wards represented, out of which a general organization was formed for the purpose of organizing the Negro voters behind a program of Racial interest. The writer became its first president, Robt. R. Church, the central figure; Wayman Wilkerson, the chairman of stirring committee; M. S. Stuart, Secretary; Dr. J. E. Walker, Rev. S. Woodard, Dr. F. M. Kneeland, Rev. J. B. Boyd, Rev. B. J. Perkins, T. H. Hayes, Dr. Buckner, E. G. Horne, Mrs. Laura Jackson, Mrs. Scruggs and a number of others, the prime movers.

The League sought to establish a plan of defense upon which all minds, even though divided, could meet in united action in order that the burdens of the people, their common problems of life, might be met and overcome. Committees were appointed to study and analyze the needs of the various communities. It was found that 20,000 children in the community were without adequate parks and playground facilities; it was found that one of the many causes of the high death rate among the people was poor hospitalization; it was found that the educational system did not

represent the highest standard—that \$32.00 was invested for the white child against \$11.00 invested for the education of the colored child; it was found that the colored school teacher received \$85.00 per month against \$135.00 per month received by the white teacher for the same class of work; that the colored high school teacher received \$110.00 against the white high school teacher's \$160.00 per month. The leaders knew that, in order to correct these evils, a large voting strength was necessary. Thus, an intensive campaign to qualify 25,000 voters was inaugurated.

A week was set aside, in August, as Citizenship Week, for the purpose of carrying the message to the people. A fund of \$1,000.00 was raised. Bankers, lawyers, doctors, insurance men, women from the wash tubs and men from the forge, sacrificed in order to make the campaign a success. Bob Church and his lieutenant took the stump and sent for Roscoe Conkling Simmons to aid them. Mass meetings were staged all over the town. More than 25,000 people were reached; their imagination was fired to white heat. At last, the movement had gathered definite headway and was moving at high tide.

After the biannual registration, in August, the books showed that 40 per cent of the people registered were Negroes. It was at this point that Mayor Rowlett Paine first became alarmed. To go into an election with 10,000 Negro votes organized against him meant certain defeat. He knew that he had lost the hope of winning the Negro vote because of his attitude towards them in office, and his broken promises of 1923 rose up like Ghost of Bancho. Thus, the mayor, ambitious for another term in office, and frightened by the unusual voting strength of the Negro, resorted to desperate measures.

He first tried to get his Lily White Republican friends to interest Church in organizing a Republican ticket for the purpose of winning the Negro vote from Overton. He realized his only hope of beating Watkins Overton, leader of the county machine, was to take from him the Negro vote. If this could not be done, his cause was lost.

Robt. Church, at this stage of the campaign, was out of the city. A man hunt was started and spread over the country in search of Church. The Paine forces wanted to make overtures to him to sanction a Republican ticket, and thus win the Negro vote from Overton that Paine, himself, knew he could not get. The Overton forces sought him to make overtures to him against bringing out a Republican ticket with his sanction.

When the Republican ticket crashed for the want of Church's sanction, and the West Tennessee Civic and Political League met and endorsed unanimously the Overton-Davis ticket, Paine, then as a last resort, picked up the torn and tattered standard of race hate and sought to win the election on a platform of color prejudice. He resorted to every trick and scheme and implication known to arouse race hate and prejudice. Pictures of Church in a car pulled by Wat-

kins Overton and pushed by Ed. Crump were hung in the windows of his headquarters. Repeated efforts were made by him to get the Overton-Davis crowd to shut the door in the face of the Negro vote on the grounds that it was controlled by a political club, organized for the purpose of dominating Memphis elections and enforcing racial demands through political mass action; that this was a direct challenge to white supremacy in the city. He seized upon unfounded rumors to support his delusions of Negro domination. He even charged that the activities of the Negro were a result of a national conspiracy to enforce racial demands through mass action. Watkins Overton refused to indulge in this most revolting form of race prejudice. He met the mayor on this issue, and scored him for his broken promises made to the Negroes in 1923, which had rightfully incurred their just resentment.

Failing in his effort to get the Overton-Davis ticket to take a stand against the Negro, he then turned and accused the county crowd of having a secret alliance with the colored voters. And, with the hand of a master, he played on the passions and prejudices of white voters and waived his fire-brand of intolerance in a way that almost turned the town into an armed war camp. He bought page after page in the *Commercial Appeal* in an effort to inflame public minds with his incendiary advertisements of a helpless and inoffensive people. He stated that the real reason of the bitter fight made upon him by the West Tennessee Civic and Political League was shown in the editorial of the *Pittsburgh Courier* of September 24th, as follows (we give it here in part):

"Despite the fact that Negroes constitute 40 per cent of the population, segregation in every walk of life stares at them from every nook and cranny. Astute politicians like Robert R. Church and his able lieutenant, George W. Lee, decided some time ago to mobilize the Negro voters of the city and put an end to this outrageous and unjust state of affairs. As a result of the

indifference of Negro voters the white citizens, the majority hailing from Mississippi and Arkansas, sank back complacently enjoying the benefits of black self-disenfranchisement. But now Bob Church has gotten them excited. Some weeks ago, with the assistance of George Lee, he organized the West Tennessee Civic and Political League. Strangely enough, the Negro voters of Memphis are rallying to the standard of the League and it is believed that the activity of its members will profoundly affect the outcome of the coming municipal election." (This editorial, in bold face type, was enclosed in a heavy mourning border.)

Twenty-five thousand hand bills of this full editorial, headed: "BOB CHURCH ON THE WARPATH," were printed and circulated throughout the city. Having failed in his effort to arouse any unusual degree of resentment from the white population by digging up the ghost of the Civil War, he turned to a program of intimidation. He charged that 70 per cent of the Negro vote was fraudulent. White workers were employed and sent from house to house, not only to question the regularity of the Negro voters, but to intimidate them in a way that they would be afraid to go to the polls on election day. But, Negroes met Mr. Paine's charges and fought them in the open; the masses took courage when they heard and saw their leaders staging rallies, denouncing the mayor from the public platform and speaking out fearlessly in defense of the people, while 85 women stood at the polls on election day from 8 a. m. to 7 p. m. in an atmosphere tense with excitement.

The mayor's last trump card was played during a mass meeting the night before the election: 2,000 colored people were assembled in the Beale Street Baptist Church. A bomb was hurled into the basement of the building for the purpose of breaking up the meeting and putting fear in the hearts of Negroes, in order that they might not go to the polls the next day. The newspaper reports of this rally being thrown into a panic are untrue. More than 500

people crowded into the church after the bomb had exploded. It simply offered a fine climax for the greatest campaign ever staged in Memphis.

The leaders in this campaign did not cower or shudder when danger threatened their people. They did not fly to safety and leave their followers exposed and leaderless. They stood to the front and called back to the masses to follow them, while the Uncle Tom's of the race were accusing them of laying the foundation of a race riot.

The flexibility of the Negro vote and how well it was controlled by the League is borne out in the fact that the League did not endorse a City Judge until three days before the election. Yet, Phil Wallace, having only the endorsement of the League, polled almost 9,000 votes, and came within a hair's breadth of leading the field.

A tabulation of the votes in the large Negro wards follows:

In the 5th ward Paine received 30 votes, Overton 380;

In the 6th ward Paine received 34 votes, Overton 530;

In the 11th ward Paine received 48 votes, Overton 691;

In the 14th ward Paine received 80 votes, Overton 593;

In the 20th ward Paine received 700 votes, Overton 1,200;

In the 25th ward Paine received 150 votes, Overton 800.

Out of this political upheaval in Memphis a new conception of inter-racial relationship has been unfolded. The Negro leaders and the white leaders of the campaign are the spokesmen of a New South; of a white South that realizes it cannot rise to its highest and best upon the bleeding breast of a persecuted people. And, of a black South that will tolerate no longer a leadership that preaches self pity and sympathetic alliances.

Gradually the South is conquering its old foe, race prejudice, that for years has circumscribed its progress.

MUSICIAN OF THE SPIRIT

By JOHN ORTH

Yes—Beethoven! Our Wonderful Beethoven! Our Shakespeare! Our King and Anointed One in the Great Realm of Music. Was there ever such universal homage paid to any other human being, be he philosopher, statesman, warrior, or philanthropist, scientist or artist?

Was he appreciated while here with us? Oh, no, of course not, not in this kind of a world, where the Scribes and the Pharisees are still dominant, and where the heart of the common man is more open to New Light! For you know of old they heard Him gladly, and they have always taken more kindly to new ideas than the uncommon man, so to speak. It was always so, is so today, and will no doubt remain so for a long time to come—this short-sightedness, lack of vision of the educated and well-to-do! Do you realize that this is a mental world? It is not spiritual. The spiritual plane has not yet been reached.

That will come later. History shows how misunderstood and unwelcome are really spiritual men, beginning with the Saviour down to the present day.

I always think of a symphony as the greatest achievement of the human mind. Did I say "mind"? I should have said soul, for exalted music is not primarily of the intellect, but of the soul; it is spiritual, not intellectual. Just think of building a Cathedral out of sounds, because you see that is what a symphony is, a Cathedral of Music—the greatest structure in the world of architecture and of music. Only the Symphonic Masters are in the highest rank!

It is interesting to note that the great ones have come to us in groups of two. First Bach and Handel, both born in 1685, then Haydn and Mozart, then Beethoven and Schubert, then Schumann and Mendelssohn, then Brahms and Liszt, and last

of all, Richard Strauss and Max Reger. These are all symphonic giants.

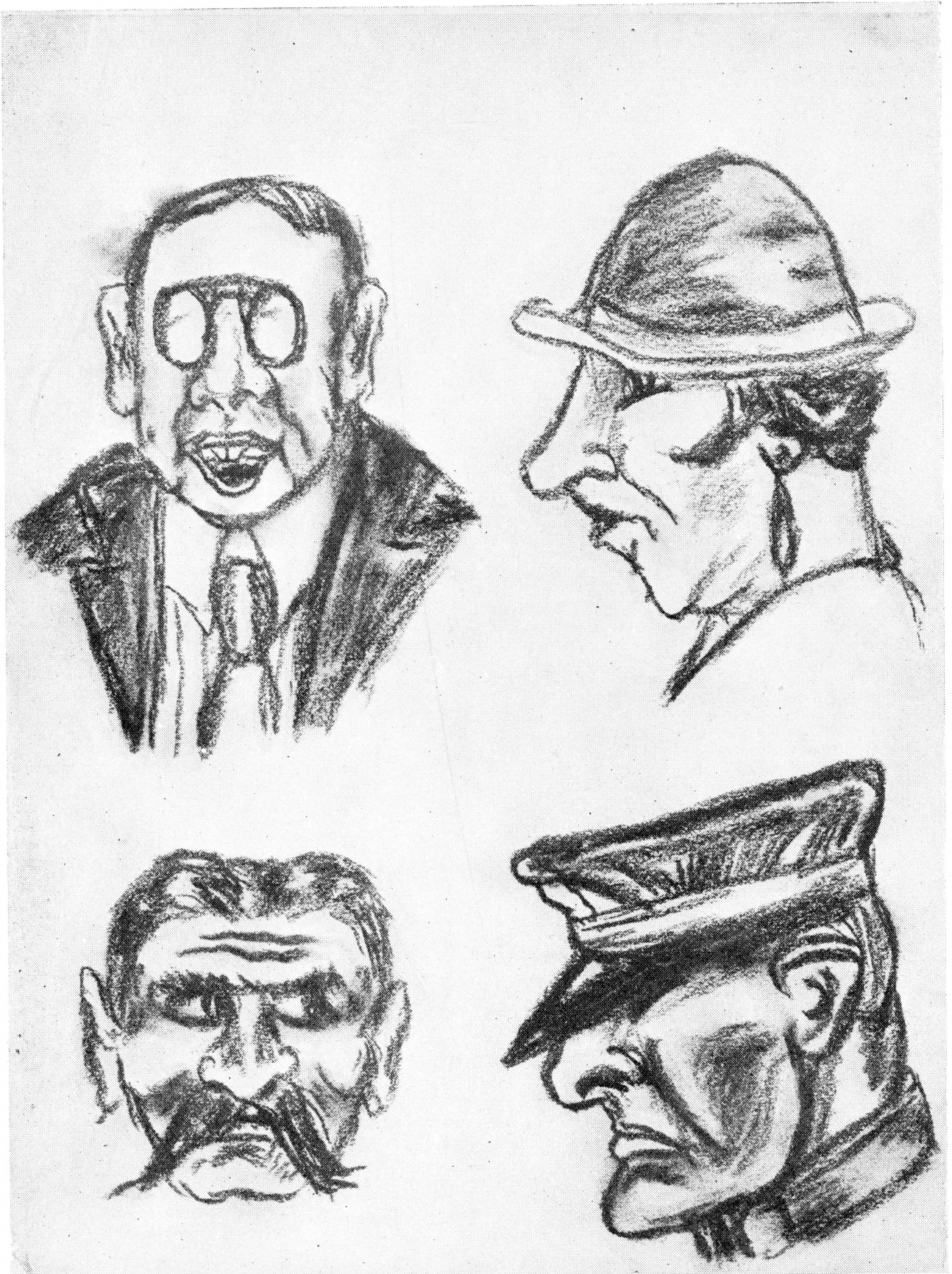
What do you know about Hummel, Beethoven's contemporary who was counted his equal and even his superior, for one of the leading critics said, "Of course—we feel young Beethoven has talent but he is so radical and bizarre. If he would only pattern after a sane composer like Hummel, for instance, something worthwhile might be expected of him."

You might ask why haven't we more operas and symphonies? You would not expect to raise figs, birds, or even trees where the atmosphere is too chilly, in Greenland for instance. Neither does music blossom unless there is a warm or mild temperature, as in Italy and middle and southern Germany, spiritually speaking.

But as a nation we are still in our teens artistically. Our day will dawn in due time. Let us be patient.

NAUSEATING NORDICS

By GEORGE W. W. LITTLE



Upper Left: The moron who addresses colored audiences with a feeling of self-righteousness, tells them that they are just as good as he is and thinks by saying this that he is passing his audience a compliment. *Upper Right:* The sex-starved female who is always being "attacked by a brutal Negro." *Lower Left:* The dark-hued Sicilian who opens up a restaurant business, enriches himself on Negro trade, and then draws the color line. *Lower Right:* The legally deputized thug who considers every Negro a criminal—likes to handcuff them carefully and then beat them up.

RELIGION AND THE WORKING CLASS

By GEO. S. GRANT

True history is not the biased account of political changes and development. Wars, and their actors, governments and their rise and fall, are but external phases of an underlying economic evolution. In like manner the different and changing religions, customs, and laws, even the abstract ideas of morality, and justice, and that elusive, intangible thing, "public opinion," merely reflect the status, or location of the economic "processus."

In the struggle to achieve happiness men pursue many paths; combinations are formed, designed to benefit the individuals in the combine; where these group interests, whether of race, religion, or class, are clearly demarcated, one usually gains the ascendancy and the division into dominant and suppressed groups result. A large proportion of the human family has evolved thru the various stages of savagery, and barbarism, into civilization. The political phases of tribe, confederacy of tribe, patriarchal group, Kingdom, Empire, Republic, have developed in an ascending scale; the economic orders of primitive communism, slavery, feudalism have passed away. The business of the world is being carried on now under the order of capitalism and the present fundamental division between men is marked by the line between capitalist and worker, profit-taker and laborer-producer, the class which controls wealth, and the class which produces wealth.

In the "processus," or economic evolution, we find the exploited group ever pushing, ever struggling to attain a greater measure of happiness; and by and thru this struggle, old orders of society are outgrown, new orders of society are achieved. The present order, capitalism, which has as its basic principle, centralized control, thru ownership, has made possible the intensive industrial development of the past two centuries; however, the gravitation of this control, or power into fewer hands constantly increases the numbers of the exploited group, sharpens the distinction, and intensifies the struggle. It is thus clearly seen to be the historic mission of the working class, or exploited group of today, in their struggle to achieve a greater degree of happiness, to change the order of society from capitalism into a new order; an order, where the benefits of centralized control will not be lost, yet, where the substitution of collective for individual ownership, will remedy the defects of capitalistic distribution. Such an order is cooperation, and to the task of ushering in this more efficient, more equitable system of production and distribution, the strength of the working class is being directed.

Thruout all history the force of religion has ever been used to facilitate, justify, and sanction the exploitation of the weak. The rulers of society have molded the forms of religion, the dogma, precepts, etc., to fit whatever order was in vogue, and to sustain such order. The medicine man of the



Drawing by George W. W. Little

Rev.: "And may this good brother to my right reach forth and grasp the tune and the opportunity."
Aforementioned brother: "Amen."

savage tribe, would invoke the pleasure, or displeasure, of the good or evil spirits upon the member of the tribe, according to the manner in which such member supported, or threatened the tribal government. The patriarch and his priests, with barbaric fervor, blessed or cursed, according to the interests of the ruler. Kings, who claimed to be first, the descendants of Gods themselves, and later, merely rulers by divine right, carefully scrutinized and regulated the religious forms, to suit their purpose.

No less does this state of affairs obtain under our republican form of government; altho the methods of control are not so obvious, due to the complexities of our modern civilization, yet the most superficial examination will reveal a system, where, coercion, intimidation, ostracism, suppression, even imprisonment, and violence are meted out to those who do not agree with the religious forms sustaining exploitation, which is carried on thru the wage system, and private ownership of the resources and tools of production. Conversely the religious forms which justify, and permit exploitation are given encouragement; the leaders are subsidized, and controlled, directly and indirectly, by the hope of economic reward, or the fear of economic punishment.

One need turn the pages of history back no further than a few hundred years, and read all thru the record how slavery, war, murder of religious rivals, and many other inhumanities, have been done in the name of God, to realize how truly vicious religion, when selfishly controlled, may be-

come. And yet, behind all this base, false, selfish utilization of the religious impulse, there lies the impulse itself: What is this emotional tendency which seems to parallel in the social process the instincts of self preservation and reproduction? Is it merely an attempt to relieve a dread of future pain by propitiation of an unknown power? Simply an emotional psychosis, arising out of this imaginative fear, directed by a theory which purports to explain, and a program which proposes to satisfy?

The individual who calls himself a strict materialist will say yes; and he will point to the utilization of this "fear of things unknown," by the masters of men, in all ages and times, he will call attention to the many changes in form the religious impulse has assumed—changes apparently caused by, and clearly designed to support the dominant social group; he will adduce the absence of evidence, the inconceivability of the immaterial, the inconsistency of all religious philosophy, and the fallacies of their dogma, and then boldly he will proclaim that all so called religious tendencies grow out of the struggle to survive; that the laws of nutrition and reproduction explain all religious phenomena.

However, he presents his case with an emotional earnestness, difficult to reconcile with his pragmatic theory. Indeed, instances have been known where ardent disciples of materialism have suffered imprisonment, even death, rather than forego the expression of their beliefs: The same emotional exaltation, the same abandon of personal interest will be found among the adherents of materialism as among the superstitious. The method of residues forces us to conclude that here is a "residuum" which will not resolve; a factor that cannot be reconciled into either the fear of things unknown, or into the instincts of nutrition, and reproduction.

Pursuing our investigation further, by the use of another law, we discover however, that religious fervor is always marked, or accompanied, by the impulse to proselyte; the finder of truth wishes to share it with others. It is true that this disposition to share, of times takes the warped form of coercion; yet, nevertheless, this does not alter the fact that a sufficient number of discernible cases may be found to establish the principle that sincere conviction of truth carries always an earnest desire to convince others. Much evidence could be piled up to support the promises from which the following conclusion is about to be drawn, but the intelligent student will concede easily that: There is a *tendency of human behavior* which compels the individual to share his best and noblest conceptions of truth with his fellowmen.

This law, which may be called the *altruistic*, is seldom found in clear, unmixed operation; fears of both present and future pain, sex emotion transferred or sublimated,

(Continued on page 47)

THE AFRAMERICAN ACADEMY



ROBERT NATHANIEL DETT

One could very well stop with saying that this man is the greatest composer the Negro race has produced since S. Coleridge Taylor. Many honors have been showered upon him by white and black alike, his numerous compositions are rendered, ad enjoyed all over the civilized world, and music critics everywhere have lauded his work. His compositions have been published by such firms as John Church Company, Clayton F. Summy Company, G. Schirmer Company, J. Fischer and Brother, C. C. Birchard Company, Theodore Presser Company and the Boston Music Company. He was born in 1882 at Drummondsville, Ontario, Can., and received his education at Willis Conservatory of Music (Lockport, N. Y.), Oberlin Conservatory of Music, Columbia University, University of Pennsylvania, American Conservatory of Music, and Harvard University. He has been Director of Music at Hampton Institute since 1913.



ALAIN LEROY LOCKE

One of the finest scholars the Negro race has produced. He is a graduate of the public schools of Philadelphia, Pa. (where he was born in 1886), the Philadelphia School of Pedagogy, Harvard University, Rhodes Scholar from Pennsylvania to Oxford University, graduate student in philosophy, Berlin University, and graduate student (Austin Scholar) Harvard University. He has specialized in philosophy, psychology, sociology, race relations and aesthetics. He received the Phi Beta Kappa key at Harvard, also the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy from the same institution and was honored with the degree of Bachelor of Letters from Oxford University. He once taught in the Philadelphia schools and has been professor of philosophy eight years at Harvard University. He is the author of numerous learned papers and has edited *The Harlem Number* (Survey Graphic), *The New Negro*, *Four Negro Poets and Plays of Negro Life*. He has studied in England, Germany, Egypt, the Sudan, France, Austria, North Africa and the Near East. (James L. Allen, N. Y.)



CARL ROSSINI DITON

Born, raised and schooled in Philadelphia, Carl Diton officially has his residence in the City of Brotherly Love—but he is on the road most of the time. He was the first Negro pianist to make a transcontinental tour. That was back in 1909-10, after his graduation from the University of Pennsylvania. For a year he studied in Munich, Germany, as the protege of E. Azalia Hackley. He has been musical conductor, teacher, pianist and singer. He has written many compositions for mixed choruses, vocal solos and pipe organ, which have been published by such reputable houses as G. Schirmer and Theodore Presser. He has been Director of Music at Paine College, Wiley College and Talladega College. He is President and National Organizer of the National Association of Negro Musicians, and is now on his second (farewell) transcontinental tour, after which he plans a European tour. He is forty-one years old. (Seurlock.)



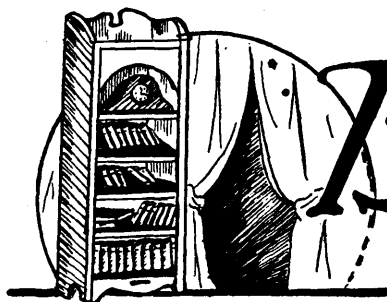
EVELYN ELLIS

The female star of "Porgy," Miss Ellis has had a long histrionic experience. Her first engagement was as an extra in Edward Sterling Wright's "Othello." Later she became one of the famous Lafayette Players (1919), playing opposite Walker Thompson. When that company disbanded, she headed a new company in Philadelphia, known as *The Dunbar Players*. Her first chance on Broadway was in "Rosanne," with Rose McClendon and Charles Gilpin. Her second appearance in the downtown section was in "Goat Alley." Last summer she appeared in stock for several weeks at the Alhambra, an uptown theatre. It was while thus engaged that her work came to the attention of the Theatre Guild, the producers of "Porgy." Miss Ellis was born in Boston, Mass., and studied at Hunter College (N. Y. City), to become a teacher, but the lure of the footlights was too great. (Vithana, N. Y.)



EUGENE KINCKLE JONES

Thorough gentleman, pioneer Negro social worker, brilliant thinker, stalwart fighter for a place for his people in the sun of American civilization, head of a great national organization dedicated to that end—such is Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League. Born in Richmond, Va., in 1885, he is a graduate of Virginia Union and Cornell Universities. After graduation he taught at State University, Louisville, Ky., and later at the Central High School in the same city. He joined the Urban League in 1911 as field secretary. He influenced the appointment of a Negro as Director of Negro Economics, Department of Labor; the placing of a Negro on the Board of Education of New York City; made the first social survey of Negro New York, and has directed the placement of 200,000 Negro workers. He is a first-class tennis player and waltzes superbly. (Underwood & Underwood.)



Book Bits



By JAMES W. IVY

"*The Freedmen's Savings Bank*" (*Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press: \$2.00*), by *Walter L. Fleming, Ph.D.* The failure of the Freedmen's Bank did more harm to Negro business than anything that could have happened. It destroyed the confidence of the masses in Negro business ability as well as Negro business honesty, creating such a strong bias against Negro enterprise that even today some of its effects are quite visible. "The purpose of this account is to outline the history of the organization, to describe its possibilities, its development, its decline and collapse, and to show how it influenced the Negroes."

Dr. Fleming is judicial in his presentation of the facts; lays the blame for the Bank's failure on mismanagement, dishonesty of a few officials, and the business ignorance of others. He tells us of the good work of the Bank, how it was organized; sketches for us Frederick Douglass's administration, the work of the commissioners, and winds up his account with a worthwhile appendix.

Dr. Ferdinand Ossendowski first leaped into the public eye with his "Beasts, Men and Gods." This book was followed by "Man and Mystery in Asia," and in the last few years others have come from his pen. His latest book is "*Oasis and Simoon; The Account of a Journey Through Algeria and Tunisia*" (*E. P. Dutton & Co.: \$3.00*), by *Ferdinand Ossendowski*. The adventurous Doctor now tells us of his interesting travels in North Africa. He carries us along with him from Figig to Ain Sefra, thence to Tlemsen, to Sidi Bel Abbes, to Constantine, to Bu Saada, to Biskra, and many more interesting and historical places in Algeria and Tunisia. It's the significant detail, the unusual happening that attracts the attention of Dr. Ossendowski, with the result that his book is thrilling and makes interesting reading.

"*Proudhon's Solution of the Social Problem*" (*Vanguard Press: \$0.50*), by *P. J. Proudhon*. Including Commentary and Exposition by Charles A. Dana and William B. Greene; edited with an introduction, by *Henry Cohen*. This book is a collection of some of the great anarchist's essays and articles: "The Organization of Industry," "The Solution of the Social Problem," and "Mutual Banking." Most people today who remember Proudhon at all, remember him as the propounder of the famous question: "*Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*" which he himself answered in his famous words: "*La propriété, c'est le vol.*" This phrase, of course, does not mean what so many people tried hard to make it mean. The word "vol" was used by Proudhon in the sense of privilege, not "robbery" as we ordinarily

understand it. The Socialist Marx and the Anarchist Proudhon were on the best of terms until Proudhon wrote his "*La philosophie de la misère*," which Marx, at Proudhon's urgent insistence finally read; but which, in consequence, drew from the great Socialist his vitriolic "*La misère de la philosophie*." The result was that Proudhon and Marx became bitter enemies.

Here are four books from the Vanguard Press, at fifty cents a piece, which I wish to call to my readers attention: "*Company Unions*," by *Robert W. Dunn*—an exposition of the "newer tactics" in social conflict. It also contains a chapter on the efforts of the *Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters* to gain recognition as the real representative of the porters.

"*Daughter of the Revolution and Other Stories*," by *John Reed*—a collection of Reed's tales written in 1912-1916; among others, they include "Mac-American," "Broadway Night," "The Capitalist," and "A Taste of Justice." "*An American Pilgrimage*," by *Grace Scribner*—portions of the letters of Grace Scribner; "*Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets*," by *Peter Kropotkin*—a collection of some of the significant writings of the great anarchist, with a sketch of his life, and an introduction by *Roger N. Baldwin*.

"*Stuffed Peacocks*" (*Alfred A. Knopf: \$2.50*), by *Emily Clark*. With woodcuts by *Wharton Esherick*. Miss Clark prefaces her ironical little book with a short sketch of Richmond. She is the delightful *promeneuse*, and one could wish for a no more urbane and intelligent guide to the delights of the town. The stores which go to make "Stuffed Peacocks" are ironical little etchings, for the most part, of the Virginia of the past. Miss Clark takes Negroes as well as whites. She tells us of "Chocolate Sponge," of "Fast Color," and in "Caste In Copper;" and "The Ravelled Sleene," she gives us sympathetic, revealing sketches of certain types of Negroes. In no instance are they caricatures. Negroes must read Miss Emily Clark in order to get the viewpoint of one of the civilized, aristocratic Southerners.

"*The Black Journey: Across Central Africa with the Citroën Expedition*" (*Cosmopolitan Book Corp.: \$4.00*), by *Georges-Marie Haart and Louis Audouin DuBreuil*. This is the English version of "*La Croisière noire: Expédition Citroën Centre-Afrique*," which appeared about a year ago. Haardt and Audouin-DuBreuil have written a thrilling story of M. Citroën's Central-African Expedition. The book is profusely illustrated with striking photographs. This is a book on Africa which is certainly worth

reading. There are peculiar sidelights on African habits and customs, on their religious beliefs, and glimpses, now and then, of the African attitude toward the French who are exploiting them. "Colomb-Bechar—the eight cars leaving the oasis in pursuit of their great adventure—the scorching stretches of the desert—the Niger—the black Sultanates—Tchad—the fetishists—the sorcerers—primitive humanity—the savanna, the kingdom of wild animals—the forest, that last prehistoric retreat—the days of hard struggles when everything seemed to be arrayed against us—the sand, the humming sun, the rain, the mosquitoes, the thick mud of the marshes—then days of feverish expectation finally the days of infinite joy"

"These were wonderful hours we shall never forget, but shall never live over again, not only because time never goes back, but also because the Dark Continent now penetrated from every side, has been captured by storm and progress."

"*The War on Modern Science*" (*Alfred A. Knopf: \$3.50*), by *Maynard Shiplcy*. There is a bitter struggle in America between two opposing cultures: one, represented by the Ku Klux Klan, the Fundamentalists, and the Nordacists, is trying hard to usher in a new dark age; the other represented by the Modernists, a few liberals, etc., are trying hard to retain the little civilization and culture that we have fought so hard to gain.

Mr. Shiplcy's book is a lucid, gripping exposition of one phase of this struggle: the age old fight between obscurantism, as represented by religion, and enlightenment, as represented by science. "More than twenty-five millions of men and women, with ballot in hand, have declared war on modern science. Ostensibly a 'war on the teaching of evolution in our tax-supported schools,' the real issue is much broader and deeper, much more comprehensive in its scope.

"It is probably safe to say that there is not one state in the Union in which anti-evolution and anti-Modernist propaganda is not being carried on by the ever-busy Fundamentalist."

"*The Outlawry of War: A Constructive Policy for World Peace*" (*Chicago: Willett, Clark & Colby: \$3.00*), by *Charles Clayton Morrison, D.D., Litt.D.*, with a foreword by *John Dewey*. This is a book of pacifist propaganda; an attempt to fitly stigmatize the incredible savagery of modern war. In this book the author discusses the various peace plans that have been proposed from time to time; yet he finds that most of them, if not all of them, are full of defects; all are full of compromises with the War System." The way to abolish war

is to abolish war. "The genius of the outlawry proposal is its throughgoing juridical character, as contrasted with all plans for political or diplomatic associations or leagues, with all military alliances, with all arbitration treaties, and with all other schemes, however ingenious and complex, which fall short of creating a world court of peace, standing on its own feet, and lifting its head supreme above every other agency which, for whatever reason, the nations may, from time to time, see fit to create."

The author's goal is a "juridical institution of peace." In other words this outlawry plan envisages the establishment of a sort of super-world court, with a well codified system of laws, a police arm to enforce the laws, and a judicial branch to interpret them, all to act on the idea that war is a crime, a violation of the fundamental code of the court, and that those nations found guilty are to be given the proper punishment. Today we have no supreme authority by whose fiat war can be outlawed, hence the idea of "a juridical institution of peace."

To me this reform of reforms seems rather superficial. The national hatreds competition for colonies, social prejudices, color prejudices, religious differences and the many other factors, which lie at the basis of war, are given scant attention by Dr. Morrison. To make the brotherhood of man a reality would seem the only logical road to follow to reach the haven of everlasting peace; and establishing "a juridical institution of peace" certainly does not establish universal brotherhood.

Like most idealists the author is more of a sentimentalist than a realist. He is emphatic in the assertion of his belief that the people are tired of war; but the agnostic tone of Dr. Dewey in his foreword, is saner, and shows more wisdom. "Let us at least find out the desire of the peoples of America and Europe." He goes on, "The attempt to discover this desire has never been made" which I could hardly agree to as a fact, for I think man's actions speak out plainly that he has no manifest hatred for war *per se*. Man rather likes war. He glories in it. To him it is a sort of semi-hallowed lark; the supreme producer of thrills and heroes. People, of course, grow tired of a particular war, just as one grows tired of beefsteak or pork chops after eating them over a long period. But one would not say on this account that one did not like beefsteak or pork chops. To do so would be silly; yet because after three or four years of a war people grow tired of war, gabble about peace, and the utopia of universal peace, mushy idealists fondly imagine that man has actually grown tired of war; that he is through with it for all times.

After "Shall It Be Again?" our author still believes that we fought in the late War "to serve the single moral end, to end war." In the light of the facts this notion is rather absurd.

In 5000 or 6318, A. D., the pantopia of the Christian dreamers will be a reality: we will live in a perfect world; there will be no wars; nothing but good and the grace of God.

"*The Companionate Marriage*" (Boni & Liveright: \$3.00), by Judge Ben B. Lindsey & Wainwright Evans. "Companionate marriage" says Judge Lindsey in his preface,

is "legal marriage, with legalized Birth Control, and with the right to divorce by mutual consent for childless couples, usually without payment of alimony.

"Companionate Marriage is already an established social fact in this country. It is conventionally respectable. Sophisticated people are, without incurring social reproach, everywhere practicing Birth Control and are also obtaining collusive divorce, outside the law, whenever they want it. They will continue the practice and no amount of prohibitive legislation can stop them."

On page 175 the Judge goes on: "In primitive society, of course, there was no such thing as a deliberately non-procreative marriage. But civilization, and on growing knowledge of physiology, has changed all that. Childless marriages are now as much a part of our system as are pro-creative marriages; but we still refuse to recognize this openly. It is new and therefore in some way sinful. In practice it is respectable; but to acknowledge it would not be respectable—I repeat—we already have it."

I have presented Judge Lindsey's definition of Companionate Marriage in his own words. There is nothing startling about it, nothing in it of the nature of immorality or sin, nor the other idiotic objections which the respectable are wont to find in it. In most cases, as Judge Lindsey shows, those who revile him have a misconception of the meaning of companionate marriage, confusing it with free love (as if all love that is not real love is not free) and promiscuity. Neither is the good Judge against monogamy as some of the faithful say. "Our racial experience," says Lindsey, "seems to show that monogamy is better fitted to the needs of most human beings than any other form of relationship between the sexes. I feel sure that it will predominate in marriage by virtue of its own inherent merits—if given a chance."

Judge Lindsey, to prove his case and to clarify his thesis, gives us many clinical pictures, most of which will come as a shock to the staid members of the community, but which are, nevertheless, true. Things are in many instances worse than they seem when mildly stated by the Judge. He certainly doesn't draw on his imagination as some people have hinted; I, myself, could give him many an interesting clinical case, and some peculiar sex arrangements, which I am sure would interest the Judge.

Judge Lindsey is human, a real lover of his fellowman, clear-headed, a logical thinker, and his book is just about the sanest thing written in this country on our actual sex morals. If there is any fault to be found with him it is in the nature of his conservatism, not his radicalism, nor his advocacy of immorality, nor any of the other silly things that supposedly sensible people say and write against him. Every American man and woman needs this book and should try to get it.

"*Eugenics and Other Evils*" (Dodd, Mead & Co.), by G. K. Chesterton. The trouble with the Eugenists is that they do not know what they want. You can't breed human beings like you would horses, or cows or hogs. And in animals we breed for only one thing, if it is a race horse, speed; a draught horse, strength, weight; if it is a milch cow, milk; and dogs are bred according to the use that is to be required of them. It is all very simple. With the

human being, on the other hand, it is far more complex; and any ideal toward which we should strive can be easily reduced to absurdity by the facts. This is what Mr. Chesterton does in his brilliant paradoxical examination of Eugenics. In the parlance of the street, he "makes a monkey" out of these would be breeders of the *Übermensch* and the *Überfrauen*. Probably no group of scientists, if the Eugenists can be called scientists offer such a wealth of material for satire, irony, humor, wit and paradox, and Mr. Chesterton takes advantage of their every weakness.

"*Equitable Society and How to Create It*" (Vanguard Press & The Equitist League: \$0.50), by Warren Edwin Brokaw. The author has a new plan for the amelioration of society, through the establishment of equity; "making wealth getting easy for all." "Wealth—getting—the satisfying of human desires by means of human effort—being made difficult for the most of humanity by existing human institutions, to get wealth, and to get more wealth, and yet more wealth, has become the dominant desire (the desire that dominates all other desires) of practically all humanity. And to this fact may be traced every evil trend in human affairs." If there is an equitable distribution of money, our present evils, our inequalities, crimes, vice, etc., will be as easily solved as a problem in plain geometry. The author believes this, but I doubt it. The author falls into many errors too; on page 3 he speaks of a time in the past when "human life was abundant," i.e., of a "golden age." Actually there has never been any such age in the past; it is nothing more than a pleasant dream. G. H. C. Lippert and Christian Muff have proven the ridiculousness of the idea of a "golden age." On page 8 he tells us that "human evil is the result of human error" and that "Nature knows no evil." Good and evil are the attributes given to events and things by the human mind; nature being amoral naturally knows nothing of either evil or good. From nature's standpoint man is likewise amoral; neither good nor evil. But man, in order to survive as a civilized being, must brand some acts as good and others as bad, and his inability to harmonize this dichotomy between nature's laws and man's leads to what we call evil. Yet to follow the stern demands of nature would mean the annihilation of our civilization; for we are civilized because we improve on and disobey many of nature's edicts.

"Wealth-getting" is not the dominant desire of every man; even those who pursue wealth most assiduously have this "wealth-getting desire" mixed with other and almost equally powerful desires. Our desires are far more complex and changeable than Mr. Brokaw would have us to believe. Equality is actually impossible whether in wealth, brains, or what not. I think every man should be assured of a living, but am far from believing that because you give A and B and C equal incomes, though their capacities differ, you are going to usher in the millennium. When man's dominant desires was military glory we had evil; when it was religion we had evil; when it was rank as a statesman we had evil; now that it is wealth we have evil; and if on to-morrow, it is social service, we will continue to have evil.

EDITORIALS

ASIDE from the fact that a large number of Negroes are among the striking coal miners in Western Pennsylvania, Negroes generally should help the miners because they are suffering. An appeal is being made to the whole nation for aid. They need clothes and food, especially their children need these things.

The Coal Miners

Brave and determined women and men are holding high their challenge, through solidarity and a purifying sacrifice, not only for a living wage, but also for the inalienable right to live the life of human beings.

THE threatened injunction against the three million members of the American Federation of Labor, with a view to preventing them or any of the officials from organizing the employees of the I. R. T. has lost its terror.

Interborough Injunction

The formidable force of public opinion has driven the injunction sponsors, union-baiting fraternity to cover.

The good common-sense and self-interest of the workers revolted in no uncertain terms against the nonsense and stupidity of the measure. Besides, the public has about sensed that it is too revolutionary to be tolerated, and probably the business class is beginning to realize that such an unreasonable act might cause a mass reaction which may get out of control. Truly any attempt to enjoin three million men and women from doing anything is dangerous business.

DURHAM was a success. It was a triumph. She fittingly received and honored the visitors invited to the Stock-Taking and Fact-Finding Conference.

Practically every phase of Negro life was seriously inquired into, and constructively, too.

Durham

Dr. James E. Shepard, President of the North Carolina College for Negroes, was the originating and moving spirit of the parley. Messrs. Spaulding, Pearson, Nail and Pace gave it business stability.

All of the papers were serious, frank and discerning. The discussions were enthusiastic and illuminating.

Probably the most significant thing about the whole conference was the manifestation of the spirit of cooperation.

While the churchmen and intellectuals fought, they were friendly, and their combats seemed to have sensed the necessity for some kind of cooperation.

It is our wish that this conference may be the harbinger of cooperation among the different groups of the Negro race upon a broader and deeper scale.

THE New Year always brings in its train new thrills. People just seem to be joyous over the mere fact that something old has passed and something new has come.

Happily, it is viewed as a fitting time for reflecting upon the past and planning for the future.

The Year

With the coming of the New Year, the world finds itself still distressingly unwitting of its way. Peace is yet a consummation devoutly to be wished. Armies and navies are growing bigger, not smaller.

From the point of view of world economics, the estab-

lishment of the lira upon a gold basis by Mussolini represents progress. France, too, seems to be rapidly achieving more certainty and stability in finance. Germany, though throttled by the Dawes Plan, of the Peace of Versailles, is moving swiftly toward renormalization. She may yet become the great power in Europe and build the railroad from Berlin to Bagdad.

Probably one of the deepest revolutions in action anywhere is taking place in England. Since the general strike the English people are working out a new technique and strategy for cooperation in industry between labor and capital. It is an experiment which economists will watch with great interest.

Soviet Russia is slowly but surely entering the councils of the great powers. Perhaps, there can be no permanent world peace without the friendly cooperation of Russia, representing so large a part of the human race.

China is still in the hectic days of its nationalist revolution. Its course may be halting, but it will go onward, for the Chinese will never consent to the continuance of the old world imperialism.

As for the United States, the old year witnessed the beginning of an industrial recession, despite the Federal Reserve Banking System. What will be the extent or intensity of its course, it is too early to predict.

In foreign affairs the most notable happening is the apparent new attitude between the United States and Mexico. Some ascribe it to Lindbergh, others to Ambassador Morrow.

Of great and absorbing interest is the approaching Presidential elections. Governor Smith and Secretary of Commerce Hoover are steadily growing stronger, while President Coolidge rests serenely upon the sure rock, "I do not choose to run."

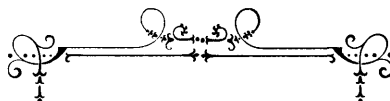
The farmers are still restive, fighting doggedly for the McNary-Haugen Bill, despite the veto of President Coolidge.

Powerful interests are watchfully waiting for the opportunity to corner the "power" resources of the country. The American workers have made no notable advances save the Pullman porters. Company unionism is meeting with some definite reverses and swiftly riding to a fall.

THE American Negroes should send Chandler Owen to Congress. It will be the greatest achievement in politics the Negro has ever made.

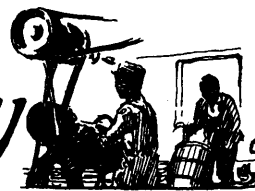
Not only is it necessary now more than ever before to send a Negro to Congress, but it will be pre-eminently valuable and constructive to send Owen.

The reason is obvious. For integrity, ability and courage he towers high above any Negro or white man in Chicago to represent the Negroes in Congress. Any fair-minded person will admit this. It is our hope and wish that not a single Negro will raise his voice against the candidacy of Mr. Owen. He deserves the unqualified moral, political and financial support of every Negro with any pride of race, and any sense of devotion to love for intellectual and moral honesty and competency.





Business & Industry



Compiled by GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Leroy Collins is associated with Dave Sabolsky's agency in New York City, booking both colored and white vaudeville acts. He is the only Negro agent in New York City with booking privileges.

Bad business is said to be the cause of the closing of the Lyric Theater, in New Orleans, one of the largest colored theaters in the South. *Bad business or bad management?*

Leo Cox, an electrician of more than fifteen years' experience, has opened a store in Indianapolis, Ind., at 433 Indiana Avenue, where a full line of electrical fixtures and appliances will be carried. *As much electrical goods as our group buys, it is time we did more of the selling.*

According to the Association of Commerce, Washington, D. C., it costs \$2,664 to properly support a family in that city annually, exclusive of amusements and doctors' bills. *That means that 95 per cent of the Negro families are improperly supported. The remedy, I suppose, is to build another church or hold another dance, although some terrible radical might suggest consumers' co-operatives.*

The Mme. C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company of Indianapolis has opened the Walker Theater in its brand new building. The theater is a gorgeous palace of amusement furnished in ultra-modern style, with ventilating system, smoking room, ladies' lounge, and so forth. Mr. F. B. Ransom, Manager of the Walker Company, says that the new Walker Theater is superior to any theater for colored in the world. *This is one Indianapolis theater where Negroes will not be jim crowed.*

In his Fifteenth Annual Report to Congress, Secretary of Labor James J. Davis advocated equal wages and treatment for Negro workers. *The only way to get it, however, is through organization.*

The Danville (Va.) Savings and Trust Company which was founded in 1920 with deposits of \$3,236, now has resources of over a quarter million dollars. Most of the supporters of the bank are Negro farmers. *Every Negro community ought to have a bank; but a co-operative bank.*

A Negro named Belfield has opened an up-to-date pharmacy in New Orleans. Over 2,000 people attended the opening. *Now if we can only get our cosmetic companies to manufacture drugs to supply the growing number of Negro drug stores!*

At the first constitutional convention of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the United Mine Workers of America in the Alleghany Valley held in New Kensington, Pa., there were two Negro women delegates. *Which is proof that all the Negro miners are not scabs. In fact a large percentage of the U. M. W. of A. membership is black. Pittsburgh Guard please copy.*

The Lawn Town Shoe Company, Inc., has opened its doors for business at 101 East Leigh Street, Richmond, Va. W. H. Wal-

ton is Manager. *The writer visited the store and found it as fully equipped to do business as any of the white-owned stores in the town. If Negroes who claim to have race pride will only patronize it, the business will succeed.*

The Negro Business League in Columbia, S. C., is functioning as never before. It operates an employment bureau, passes upon Negro credit risks and approves solicitors for charitable purposes. *Its next task should be to train Negro storekeepers to do some co-operative buying.*

In Tulsa, Okla., there are fourteen public parks, supported by the taxes of all the people but open only to white people, in accordance with the Anglo-Saxon spirit of fair play. So several prominent Negro business and professional men of the town are agitating for a park for Negroes. *Oklahoma, you understand, is a civilized state.*

Porter L. Taylor has purchased the printing plant of the Afro-American Insurance Company in Jacksonville, Fla., which he has managed for the past four years. The plant will be operated at its present address, 103 East Union Street. *It's about time we had a Negro paper company (wholesale) to supply these various Negro print shops throughout the country. A little hustle and co-operation could put that proposition over big.*

The largest apartment building ever owned by Negroes in Kansas City (Mo.) was recently purchased by one Rev. W. C. Williams. In the building are forty-six 1, 2 and 3 room apartments with kitchenettes. The property is located at 1211-1215 Woodland Avenue. *That's the way to solve the Negro's housing problem. Of course Negro ownership is no guarantee that the tenants won't be fleeced. Only co-operative housing will guarantee that.*

The A. M. E. Book Concern of Philadelphia, Pa., is erecting a five-story, concrete and steel building at 19th and Pemberton Streets in the City of Brotherly Love and Considerate Bootleggers. Louis A. S. Bellinger, a Negro of Pittsburgh, is the architect. *Now we can have more and better bibles, tracts and leaflets.*

Charles H. Maxwell of Salem, Oregon, is erecting a \$12,000 business and residential building.

Miss Mabel Byrd, formerly a resident of Portland, Oregon, and recently business and industrial secretary of the Y.W.C.A. in Brooklyn, New York City, has accepted a position with the International Labor Office of the League of Nations at Geneva, Switzerland.

The Southern Fidelity and Surety Company and the Bankers Fire Insurance Company of Durham, N. C., have recently entered the state of South Carolina, where agencies were established by Atty. R. McCants Andrews in fifteen leading towns of the old South State. *Those Durham boys are right on their toes.*

Mrs. M. M. Griffin of Philadelphia, Pa., has been selected to make a national survey of the principal industrial plants employing a goodly number of Negro women. *More data.*

H. D. Meadows, a World War veteran of Chicago, is promoting an aviation school. To this end he is attempting to interest a number of young Negro men and women. *We are getting quite airish, it seems.*

The Lancaster Mutual Casualty Insurance Company has been granted a license by the Insurance Department of the State of Ohio. Its home offices are in Cincinnati, O. J. W. Beasley is its President. *Considering the Saturday night homicide rate there among Ethiops, a casualty insurance company should fill a long-felt need.*

Robert L. Parker, president of local union 456, Union of Dining Car Cooks and Waiters, Oakland, Calif., has invented a new dining car which eclipses in convenience and economical operation any existing type.

Miss Angelique De Lavillade has been appointed on the staff of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in Los Angeles, Calif.

There are six building and loan companies conducted by Negroes in New Jersey. The combined assets of these companies amounts to \$506,768. *Every Negro community ought to have one, but it should be remembered that the day of private dwellings is passing. The future American will live almost exclusively in apartment buildings which are superior in every way, romancers to the contrary.*

In Los Angeles, Calif., F. T. Brawley started the Tuskegee Cabinet Works on December 1, 1926, with a work bench and a capital of \$150. The plant is now doing a monthly business of \$2,500 a month, with a clientele consisting largely of members of the moving picture colony.

Many of the Negro newspapers brought out very beautiful Christmas editions, many unusually elaborate. Among those that I most vividly recall were *The California Eagle, The Nashville Globe, the Birmingham Reporter, The Negro Star, Ryan's Weekly, The California Voice, and the New York Amsterdam News.* All used coated paper in the special sections and two or more colors were pleasantly blended in many cases. The palm for the Christmas editions goes to *The California Eagle.*

The C. A. Service Furniture Company, under the management of H. J. Capehart, and located at Welch, W. Va., has a floor space of 22,750 feet and stock on hand worth \$40,000. There are two salesmen and collectors, two deliverymen, one repairman and finisher, and two ladies in the office. The company has both white and colored trade.

The Keystone Aid Society, Philadelphia, Pa., headed by J. C. Asbury, has just completed 25 years of growth. It operates in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and has

(Continued on page 45)

"BEST" EDITORIAL FOR DECEMBER

Selected from the American Negro Press

By EUGENE GORDON

Noted Journalist on Staff of Boston Post

This matter of selecting the "best" one of any class of things is always full of risks for the foolhardy who attempt it; however, those who explain their methods more often escape wrath than those who do not. As a matter of necessity, especially if one person makes the selection, the method must be arbitrary. If it be arbitrary it must follow certain lines of guidance—certain rules from which no appeal is allowed. Moreover, the word "best," as used nowadays in our appraisal of qualities in stories, books, newspapers, plays, and so on, is far from being an absolute term; at best "best"

as thus employed is merely relative, and its relativity becomes apparent in proportion as the selector of the "best" be a "committee" of one person or of several. For that reason no story or editorial or book or play selected as the "best" should be considered as unqualifiedly perfect; it should be considered merely as having met more thoroughly than any other story or editorial or book or play that was read by the selector the arbitrary rules or tests applied to it.

As there are in other literary forms certain elastic principles which govern them,

so are there in the newspaper editorial. For the purpose of this new department, however, the elasticity must be removed. The principles made hard and rigid. If this were not done the rules would not be arbitrary, and arbitrary they must be, to be effective, in this particular undertaking.

I have made for my use a standard rule by which each editorial read during the month will be measured. That one which adjusts itself most nearly perfectly to this standard will be chosen as the best of all those examined. A newspaper's editorials may be selected more than once.

There were some good editorials printed during December, in the Negro press. The most widely discussed subjects were Christmas, the new year, the Hickman murder case, Marcus Garvey, and the Lilliendahl case. Garvey's deportation was the cause of some of the best-written dissertations I have read in a long time, the best of these

appearing respectively in the *New York Age* and the *Amsterdam News*. Aside from their excellence as editorials, they present an interesting example of a thorough treatment of both sides of a question in debate.

The "best" editorial is on none of the subjects named. It is, however, in my opinion, more vitally pertinent to the col-

ored American than was any other that I read. In form, it is excellent; its treatment of the subject is adequate; and, taken as a whole, its influence on the reader is likely to be what the writer intended it to be. Called "Exceptional Negroes," and printed in the *Philadelphia Tribune* December 15th, the "best" editorial follows:

EXCEPTIONAL NEGROES

MOST white people think, or pretend to think, that any Negro who speaks good English and holds a degree from an outstanding eastern university is an exceptional Negro. They pat this particular Negro on the shoulder, invite him to tea, and accept his views as final on what the colored race is thinking and doing. This "exceptional" Negro's chest swells with pride, and his head grows several inches larger. Instead of telling his audience that he is not an "exceptional" Negro, that there are thousands just like him (and perhaps better prepared to deal with certain subjects than he), he tries to cover the entire field of Negro life from slum conditions in Harlem to the educational conditions in South Carolina; from the housing situation in Philadelphia to the peonage system in the flood area of Mississippi; from jim crow schools in Washington to the political conditions of Chicago; from business to fine arts. If you would believe him, he has seen everything and possesses intimate knowledge of all the intricate problems that confront the Negro. He is the "exceptional" Negro, and besides him there is no other.

Down in his heart he realizes that he doesn't know the first thing about Negro business. Unless he is very stupid he realizes that he is no exception; that there are thousands of trained Negroes better fitted by experience and training to deal with certain subjects than

he is. But he is afraid to tell the opposite race the truth, because he would then not be an "exceptional" Negro. He lives in the clouds. He is puffed up, and made to believe, by much praise, that he is a great poet, a thoughtful scholar, a brilliant historian, a distinguished novelist, a powerful teacher, an illustrious art critic, an accomplished social worker, an outstanding business man,—in short, an "exceptional" Negro. One of these days the bubble will burst, and the poor, unfortunate "exceptional" Negro will evaporate into pure nothingness.

Aside from the fact that the "exceptional" Negro is unfair to himself in attempting to do things for which he is unfitted, he does a greater injustice to the Negro race. He sustains the opinion, held by the dominant group, that Negroes as a race are inferior when he accepts the position of "exceptional" Negro. By talking on subjects of which he is not thoroughly conversant, he is unable to tell the truth and prohibits others who are better fitted from doing so. In appeasing his personal vanity, he creates a greater burden for his race.

The "exceptional" Negro would render a great service to himself and his race if at every opportunity he would dispel the myth by telling white folk that he is not an exception.

In the order named, the following are selected as "next best": (1) "Marcus Garvey Out," *Amsterdam News*, Dec. 30; (2) "Why Deport Marcus Garvey?" *New York Age*, Dec. 3; (3) "About Miscegenation," *Chicago Defender*, Dec. 24; (4) "The Truth About Lynching," *Norfolk Journal &*

Guide, Dec. 31; (5) "When Negroes Pull the Plow" *Florida Sentinel*, Dec. 3; (6) "A Good Move," *Amsterdam News*, Dec. 14; (7) "Courtesy: National and International," *Pittsburgh Courier*, Dec. 17; (8) "Wake Up, America!" *Amsterdam News*, Dec.; (9) "A Dollar Down," *Interstate Tatler*,

Dec. 9; (10) "Well, Well, Well!" *Cincinnati Union*, Dec. 22; (11) "Only Cross-Eyed," *Amsterdam News*, Dec. 14; (12) "More Words from Mr. Coolidge," *Kansas City Call*, Dec. 9.

The editorial rating for 1927 will appear next month.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

ACTIVITIES OF THE MONTH

JACKSONVILLE DISTRICT

2029 Davis Street

The storm is passing over and Jacksonville is getting a little normal. The men are promising to assume new courage beginning the first of the year. They have pledged themselves and they mean to do more and say less in the future than they have in the past. The stool pigeons are still on the job, telling the men that they must not be seen talking with the organizer on the street, if so, the Company will find it out and have them up to see the boss. Some of the men are a little frightened yet, but the fright is gradually wearing off. The men promise that they mean to stand firm and make a good showing for this district. Mr. Darby is working hard for victory and doing his best to win.

NEW YORK DISTRICT

2311 Seventh Avenue

On December 7th, 8th and 9th, Mr. A. Philip Randolph, the general organizer, journeyed to Durham, N. C., to attend the stock taking and fact finding conference on the American Negro. There he delivered a masterful address on work and wages and got the conference to endorse the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Two hundred of the leading Negro thinkers of the United States were in attendance.

On December 9th, the Brotherhood held their annual ball and hair contest at Manhattan Casino. Spiritually and financially it was a great success.

W. H. Des Verney, Assistant General Organizer, has been doing fine work in Washington, D. C., organizing the labor conference to be held there on the 8th, 9th and 10th of January. Mr. A. Philip Randolph will preside.

A group of young college fraternity people of New York City have been busily engaged of late in organizing an effort to raise funds for the Brotherhood. Prominent among the group are James E. Allen, Miss Edith McAllister, Miss McDonald and Dr. Fairclough.

A business and professional group headed by John B. Nail, veteran real estate man, held two meetings for the purpose of interesting the professional and business men of Harlem in backing the Brotherhood, morally and financially.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has postponed the case between the Pullman Company and the Brotherhood to January 21st.

On January 3rd, 4th and 5th, a Negro labor conference was held in Boston, Mass. A. Philip Randolph presided. Frank Crosswaith, special organizer, attended the conference.

On January 8th, Roy Lancaster, Secretary-Treasurer, left on a tour which carried him to Washington, D. C., Chicago, Ill., St. Louis, Mo., and Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Busy Five, a group of young ladies employed in the Brotherhood offices, held a very successful dance at the Savoy on January 20th.

Every member in the district should read The Messenger and learn about the activities of the Brotherhood. Subscriptions are now \$1.50 a year.

On January 1st, Roy Lancaster, Secretary-Treasurer, broadcasted from Station WEVD on the Pullman porter.

ST. PAUL AND MINNEAPOLIS DISTRICT

362 N. Dale St.

The Twin Cities district, having passed through the worst season of the year, when trains and lines are being discontinued, caused the welkin to ring with merry laughter in entertainment at headquarters where the Brotherhood entertained the ladies' auxiliary Monday evening, December 26th, and in return the auxiliary entertained the Brotherhood December 31st with a New Year watch party which augured optimism on their part concerning the future.

There has been a substantial check forwarded to the general office on our quota, and the mood of the men seems to indicate that they will meet the call with haste.

Our meetings every Monday and Thursday evenings are becoming more enthusiastic as the date for our Interstate Commerce Commission hearing approaches. Our Messenger sales are gradually increasing and we hope to stimulate a strong demand for the future.

Hope all had a Merry Christmas and a happy New Year.
PAUL CALDWELL, Local Sec.-Treas.

NEW ORLEANS DISTRICT

Oneida M. Brown, Secretary
Headquarters: 303 Pythian Temple

We were terribly disappointed when Mr. Randolph cancelled his engagement with us due to the letter he received from the Mayor of Jacksonville, Fla. Those of us who have not heard him were looking forward

FREEDOM'S CALL!

Out of God's Kingdom, we come to thee,
Firm in His Love we stand;
Ready to help thee, lead out of the gloom,
This Brotherhood of Man.

Leading thee on from realms above,
Where the Spirit Divine, is teaching Love;
To all man-kind on earth below,
Thou art a Teacher, the Way to show.

Moved by the impulse of Angels above,
We bid thee, bravely march on;
Knowing that God, in His Kingdom of Love,
Shall see that His work is done.

Spirits of purpose beside thee stand,
Ready to help thee, at God's command;
In trying the Way of thy Brother to show,
In Truth and Justice, the Way to go.

Would that the eyes of the world could see,
The Spirit Forces that are leading thee;
Fulfilling grand old FREEDOM'S CALL!
That must sound alike—in the hearts of All.

By CORA M. PEARSON,
Dedicated to A. Philip Randolph,
Nov. 1927.

to a big treat and a tremendous boost for our district. The men were making arrangements to entertain him and to impress him how we of the southland feel towards the movement and to pledge him our hearty support.

Recently we sent out letters urging the men to pay up their dues and assessments; up to this writing not many have responded but we are positive after the holidays are over they will answer our appeal. They have all been informed that a definite date has been assigned for the hearing of our case against the Pullman Company and this has created quite a stir among them. We are confident of success and shall look forward to a happy New Year with new dreams realized and new hopes stimulated.

SPEECH MADE AT SECOND ANNIVERSARY IN NEW YORK CITY

Mrs. Naomi DesVerney, New York Division Colored Women's Economic Council.

I do not know of any quotation that I deem quite so fitting as the one you've so often heard our General Organizer quote—namely "There is a tide in the affairs of men, which taken at the flood leads on to fortune," etc. It was because our officials, realizing that the tide was at its flood, teeming, bubbling, overflowing with enthusiasm, yea all those necessary aspects which make action imperative which in time makes for success, achievement, that the embryo of the Brotherhood was formed. So fertile was the field, the ranks of the men, so rabid with the spirit of discontent and desiring recognition as men that the seed was planted deep and well, thus at that very moment giving us a great work to accomplish.

Upon hearing our Assistant General Organizer, Mr.

Totten, tell of the wonderful spirit of the women of the west, how valiantly and doggedly they are working, I became much concerned as to our stand here. We thought our ranks are not as impregnable, invulnerable as they ought to be. We are not as strong in numbers as we might be. We should and must take on added strength—our determination must be renewed, afreshened. (We as women of this group know the grievances of our men. We feel the reaction in our homes to which our men must return after having spent their hours of toil in the network of subservience and servility, summoning tact and diplomacy oftentimes to help them close a successful day's labor. We know too well their injuries and hardships and need not have them here rehearsed. They are sacred to us. We as women have a great task before us. We dare not weaken now. Ours is the task to keep inspired, to continue feeding and firing the spirit of endurance in our men. I want that each one of us should take this as our responsibility.) I want here tonight on this, our second anniversary, to foment our women, to inspire them to new ambitions and determinations, to make a demand upon you for a valiant defense and support of our men; to have you imbued with a deeper interest and freshened, unconquerable courage; to keep our men filled with the spirit of endurance to the end, until the fight will have been won. Within myself often have I likened ourselves in this instance to "The Beast that carries the Prophet." Queer analogy, I know. Prophet means in the common sense one who declares in advance, going into the hedgeways and byways declaring, foretelling. Thus has it been with our organizers. They have prepared the way going into the byways and highways carrying the message of organization, declaring what it means foretelling what is going to happen. Calling men into the fray lining them up, making them fit, ready and willing to withstand.

Beast means in one sense, animal, burden, bearer. Thus are we "Burden Bearers." We women are the carriers. Ours is a big task. We are the backbone, the power behind the throne. We've often heard it said, "The hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world." 'Tis true. This power begins and is made manifest in the home, at the cradle. Woman here reigns supreme under the caption "Mother." Every little desire, ache or pain of her infant she knows. She just seems to feel and know the unrest, discomfort, the most trivial want of the babe in the cradle. She, because she strives, toils with interest and anxiety each moment of her babe's life, with it and for it, she knows its every whim and fancy, its weaknesses and eccentricities. She actually is the babe itself. She senses and feels its every necessity and as it develops is the first to overlook its shortcomings and failures.

Who knows more about the trials and disappointments in organization than woman. "Mother," who shapes and fashions and moulds her little group into her ideas of the family organized group, after her own manner, her methods. No matter how vague, how phantom like, how limited her contacts in this wise have been. These families form the tribal races, and these races the nation. But to show the part woman plays in organizing society, how her impressions, her shaping of man in the home is the vital contribution to the whole human family and its organization is not my plea tonight. Yet we do see by nature we women are made fit for the work. I've come to call to arms, to file with ranks, forming a phalanx as it were, real red-blooded she women. Women of unconquerable energy and ambition. Women of pivotal ideas, to help break the crust that's above us and shatter it to pieces. Let us here say with Lincoln as he did of slavery now that we have a chance, we will have our men strike at it and strike at it hard. There must be no superficialities. No middle of the road with us. We must be sincere to the core. (We have cause to feel now that the onslaught is fast crumbling, tottering, and that we, the burden bearers, will support our men until they are able to strike the blow that will bring the Industrial Relations Plan and all the hoaxes of the Pullman Company to a heap of ashes. Remember no group can rise above its women. Then let us take on our burden. Our responsibility. Let us inculcate into our men fortitude, strength and freshened vigor. Let us instill into them that they must fight on for the achievement of their goal.)

That our moral purpose shall be in giving to the thoughts and policies, yea the very bearing of our men who are fighting for simple manhood rights, a grander, manlier tone. As a race group, we are but like a grain of mustard seed. But we must foster and promote the idea that we, like the mustard seed, will grow and rise to great heights till our branches overshadow the earth.

As I think of our position in this fight, I am reminded of the dream of St. Bernard. It is said this forms the subject of an altar piece at Milan. Here two ladders are seen reaching from earth to heaven. At the top of one of the two ladders stood Christ and at the top of the other stood his mother Mary. Of those who attempted to enter heaven by the ladder of Christ, not one succeeded, all fell back. Of those who ascended by the ladder of Mary not one failed. She was a woman. May this little anecdote serve as

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2311 Seventh Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

I am sending you an article for the Messenger, entitled "The Power of Thought." It follows:

Dear Porters: Where did we stand the 25th of August, 1925? Where are we today? Thoughts did it all. Many porters allow their thinking power to drift. All of our troubles can be corrected, all of our wishes granted within reason by thoughts. The question of thought, and especially the power of thought neglected has everything to do with every one of us. There are 10,000 Pullman porters and maids throughout the United States. Not more than 65 or 70 per cent of them do any real thinking, outside of 'rot.' Many of them take things as they come. Porters, ask yourselves why some men are at the top and the others at the bottom. Think it out. Thoughts did it all. A coward never won a fight. If any man is not willing to fight for his rights, in my mind he should be put in the class with the rabbit. You know a rabbit will run and will not even protect its little ones. Porters, the time is close at hand when every man will be called to show his hand. When that time comes we will know just what porters belong to the rabbit family. Let your thoughts begin to work. Don't permit yourselves to believe that you are inferior to any other man because your face is black. Believe that the only difference between you and the platform man, the superintendent or the president, is your job. Your heart is located the same place as the white man's. The same pure, red blood runs through your veins. Those who do their share in the world's work and their share of earnest thinking will be rewarded with their share of success. The size of that share depends upon what we are. The difference between human beings and their thinking powers are as great as the differences in height of mountains and size of rivers. Whatever you may want to do Think About It. If other men get ahead and you do not, you cannot solve the problem by expressing dissatisfaction or talking about luck. THINK IT OVER. Decide without deceiving yourself what makes the other man go forward while you stand still. You know that Mr. Greenlaw is the brains of the Pullman Company. He is the man who planned the Company Union, known as the Employe Representative Plan. He knew at that time it would only function in favor of the Company. Thoughts did it. It took six years for the porters to find out that the plan was detrimental to them, and the only way you can get out from under the plan is to exercise thought. A Porter Who Thinks While Others Sleep.

I will give you the "low-down" on the big P. P. B. A. meeting held a short time ago. I will write you later about the meeting. The whole talk was concerning outsiders. They predicted that if outsiders were able to take over the P. P. B. A. in one year's time the leaders would have the money and the porters nothing. I wondered at that time who has the money at present. Will write you at length later.

Yours very truly,
A PORTER.

Chicago, Ill., December 18, 1927.

OPEN LETTER TO GEORGE HARRIS

Editor of the *New York News*

September 1, 1927.

Dear Mr. Editor:

Permit me a word of comment on the editorial entitled "Pullman Porters' Misfortune" which appeared in your issue of August 27th. This editorial, like the headlines in the preceding issue of the *New York News* tends to convey to the readers of your paper the erroneous impression that the Pullman porters have lost their fight.

Your conclusion that the porters lost their fight because the Pullman Company refused to accept the recommendation of the United States Mediation Board, is violently in conflict with the facts and is evidently a case of "the wish being father to the thought." The parties who framed the Watson-Parker Law under which the machinery for adjusting all disputes between railroad workers and railroad executive is established, obviously foresaw the possibility of cases arising in which one party to a dispute would refuse to accept the decision rendered by either the Mediation or Arbitration Board. Consequently, three stages of action have been provided under the law: (1) Mediation; (2) Arbitration; (3) An emergency Board of Arbitration, the members of which are appointed by the President of the United States. The decision of this latter body is filable in any Federal Court for enforcement. Since mediation and arbitration have both failed to settle the dispute between the Pullman Company and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, there remains the Emergency Board to be utilized by the Brotherhood. Of course, I do not expect that either the law, or the technique of labor organization strategy would be commonly understood, especially, by men who are not interested in anything which offers no chance for the promotion of political ambitions and personal self-enrichment. Your conclusion that the porters have lost their case can be excused on the ground that you are dealing with a subject you manifestly know very, very little about.

The thing of much interest to me—and obviously to you, since you are constantly harping upon it—is the fact that A. Philip Randolph and I are Socialists. Why our political philosophy should prompt any Negro to take a hostile position toward the legitimate desires and perfectly legal efforts of 12,000 members of the race to organize into a union and secure an increase in wages and improvement of their working conditions is a matter many, many people including truly influential Republicans and Democrats are unable to understand. You make it doubly hard for these people to appreciate your attitude when you frankly admit of our "sincerity, honesty and ability," and too, when you state that the Brotherhood's alleged failure is a "distinct racial loss."

Have you always thought that the Brotherhood's success would be a racial gain? If so, then why have you so steadfastly failed to give the Brotherhood your support and the support of your paper? As I recall, whenever you have mentioned the Brotherhood in the *New York News*, it was usually of a harmful nature. For instance, on several occasions you declared in blazing headlines that the Brotherhood was go-

ing to declare a strike. The last time you carried such misinformation, you even set a date for the strike, i.e., March 17th.

Your statement that the officials of the United States Mediation Board are bankers, big business men and members of the American Federation of Labor and, for that reason would be hostile to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, sounds very much like the irresponsible statement of an un-informed alleged leader, or the cheap propaganda of a petty Pullman agent. However, you are wrong again. The composition of the Board is not as you state.

This writer has had many inquiries as to what you mean when you say that "the Brotherhood made the fatal mistake of not organizing exclusively within the ranks of the Pullman porters." I have been unable to make an intelligent reply to these queries inasmuch as we have always believed that were organizing exclusively among the porters and that the more than 7,000 members of the Brotherhood are employed by the Pullman Company. We feel quite chagrined and heartbroken now to think that for over two years we could have entertained such an illusion and even hypnotize the United States Mediation Board into sharing our illusion to say nothing of frightening the Pullman Company away from a meeting with us before an impartial Board of Arbitration.

You claim that the porters are unfortunate in having Socialists as organizers, and in the next breath you admit "the brilliance and ability" of these organizers. From which I gather that you are annoyed because two of the six National Officers of Brotherhood are outstanding Socialists. This it seems to me is beside the point. Would you, Mr. Harris, advocate that when a man is suffering from some serious disease and is in need of an operation, he should get not an experienced and capable physician, but a shoemaker or a Negro politician? Or, when in need of competent legal advice he should consult an un-informed editor of a Negro newspaper? Are you of the opinion that because a man is a political jack-rabbit, a miniature Houdini, that he is qualified to direct and inspire men into organizing their producing powers in order to get the maximum returns from their labor? Do you think that because a Negro is a Republican either for Lincoln's or Roosevelt's sake, that he is ipso facto qualified to be numbered among the intelligent and fully emancipated few who have come to understand the real reason for the wrongs inflicted upon the race and who, understanding, dare to speak out manfully against these wrongs? I need not tell you here, that if you believe these things then I do not agree with you. But I can hardly think you entertain these views.

No, Mr. Harris, millions of Negroes and whites consider the porters rarely fortunate in being able to pick leaders whose lips are not languidly hanging for the tainted bones and vermin infested crumbs which fall from the political dinner table of the race's political and economic masters.

The porters have not lost their fight. To the contrary, their victory is now doubly assured by the refusal of the Pullman Company to accept the recommendation of the

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In Memoriam

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters pauses in its struggle for right and justice to mourn the passing of two of its staunchest members:

W. H. Hancock

988 Morris Avenue

New York City

Who Died

December 29, 1927

and

J. W. Cunningham

145 West 142nd Street

New York City

Who Died

December 29, 1927

Loyal Brothers!

May they rest in peace.



By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

The Monthly Award: Some men achieve honors, others buy them, and yet others are awarded honors by virtue of their high position. In bestowing the much-coveted cutglass thundermug, we consider achievement alone. We cannot be bought over (except at a substantial price) and we are not flabbergasted by high rank into awarding the thundermug to those who have done nothing to merit it. No, a man or woman must have made a distinct contribution of priceless public value in order to win this renowned prize. Thus, we comb the field thoroughly each month and measure each candidate by our rigid standard. No ordinary imbecility, no commonplace nonsense, no mediocre bit of Uncle Tomfoolery can hope to win recognition from us because we honor only the exceptional contributions.

It is in this spirit, then, that this month we humbly bestow the valuable cutglass thundermug on his Royal Highness, Bishop A. J. Carey, the renowned ecclesiastical politician of Chicago, for the following contribution to slave psychology, broadcasted to the waiting world at the closing of the ninth session of the annual conference of the East Mississippi district, at the Pearl Street A. M. E. Church, Jackson, Miss., as reported by the veracious Associated Negro Press correspondent:

"I think we should publish to the world the fine Christian spirit of the white citizens in Eastern Mississippi generally and of Jackson, Mississippi, particularly in the fine charity which they have shown to their less fortunate colored people. Word comes to this conference from all of the preachers of this diocese telling me that the white people have dealt kindly and nobly by the colored people in all of their various charges. I thank God for this fine Christian spirit on the part of our white people, and I pray God's continued blessings upon our white friends in the grand old state of Mississippi. Bishop Heard I desire that you tell your friends and people when you go back to Pennsylvania, that God, our white friends and the decent, right living colored people down here are all pulling together for the uplift of the poor and the weak ones among us and that we are getting along fine in spite of the awful disaster which we so recently suffered."

Note: As evidence of their "fine Christian spirit," the "kindly and noble" white brethren of the "grand old state of Mississippi," immediately took two Negro bellhops outside of the city limits of the glorious city of Jackson, castrated and ruptured them, cut off their ears and sewed them to their backs. Whereupon the doughty Bishop probably shouted a sonorous "Amen!"

On to Europe: The invasion of Euro-

pean music halls by American Negro actors and performers continues apace. Hardly a steamer leaves the sacred shores of these United States but there is a crowd of Senegambians lining the rails all dolled up in raccoon coats, Knox hats, Pointex hosiery, Bond Street suits, Paris gowns and silk undies, waving adieu to the zigaboos lining the wharves. Singers, dancers and comedians all, they are doing much to Americanize Europe. If the thing keeps up the "Old Country" will soon be American enough to stage a few lynchings.

Blackface comedians especially have been so well received by the Europeans, and have come back so loaded down with pounds, francs and marks, that they have aroused the cupidity of all the other Aframerican gentlemen of their craft. Every tank town comedian has his grip all packed with black grease paint, monstrous shoes and a suit of the vintage of 1890, waiting for the inevitable call to cross the briny deep in search of foreign currency.

It is only natural then that Marcus Garvey, our greatest comedian, having emerged from the close confines of Uncle Sam's hostelry in Atlanta, should seek to recoup his fortune by a European trip. So we were not surprised when we heard the recent report that he is contemplating an invasion of Europe. We opine that his reception will be tremendous, whether he graces the lecture platform or the stages of the principal music halls. Beside the eminent Marcus, artists like Johnny Hudgins are blundering novices. Who can appear more ludicrous? Who can better attract the attention of laughter-loving theatergoers? Who can crack more mirthful jokes? Who can rouse more gales of Gargantuan laughter? The answer is—as Bert Williams would say—"Nobody."

Even the allegedly humorless English will burst their sides when Marcus, arrayed in cap and gown, trips out on the boards and begins his monologue:

"Fellow Members of the Negro Race, Greetings: We are going to win back Africa for the Africans if we have to use loaded dice and marked cards. . . . If England doesn't like it, we will steam our fleet of battleships up the Thames river and let them sink in the harbor as our other vessels did in the Hudson. . . . If France doesn't like it, we will hold our next convention of the Negro peoples of the world in Paris, and make the French laugh themselves to death. . . . If Belgium doesn't like it, we will write them up in the Negro World. . . . If Portugal doesn't like it, we will move our headquarters to Lisbon and make their sheriffs run themselves to death serving us with summonses and judgments. . . . If Spain doesn't like it,

we will bankrupt the country by landing all of our unpaid ex-officials on her shores to be fed. . . . If Italy doesn't like it, we will deport every member of our African Legion to that country to compete with the Italian elevator operators.

"You ask why I am here? Go and consult the box office. . . . You ask where I am going to land in Africa? I am not going to Africa—I've had enough of jail. . . . You ask where is the Phyllis Wheatley? Now don't get too personal; it is bad form to joke on such painful subjects. . . . You ask about Judge Mack? Now look here, this is supposed to be comedy, not tragedy. And if you say 'District Attorney' I'm liable to go mad.

"No, I'm not going to do any more soliciting for funds through the mails, not even in Europe. Enough is enough. . . . In this connection I strenuously deny that the American people have a highly developed sense of humor, for although I clown over there during my entire stay, their government treated me just as they would a person in sound mind. . . . Although I am a British subject, the American Department of Justice wouldn't stand for any monkey business.

"Let me tell you a little secret! Despite all of my propaganda, I realized several years ago that I couldn't get the American Negroes to go to Africa, because I was reliably informed that it is impossible to get any skin whiteners or hair straighteners there. But rather than discourage my race-conscious followers, I kept this information to myself. There are some things you have to keep to yourself. . . . Another condition that militated against my emigration scheme was the absence of laundries, furnaces, bootblack parlors and elevators on the Dark Continent and I didn't want to have a lot of unemployed members of the U. N. I. A. on my hands. I know what it means to go hungry—I starved around New York for a whole year before the graft began to work. . . . I strenuously deny that I have ever advocated polygamy—I always say 'Don't do as I do but do as I say to do.'

"Yes, I was on good terms with the Ku Klux Klan. We were both agreed that the United States was a white man's country, that the Negro had contributed nothing to American civilization, and that the nation would be better off without him. . . . Well, I suppose I'll have to admit that my only successful business venture was the restaurant in Liberty Hall—I didn't manage that. . . . Despite gossip to

the contrary, I am a very humane man. Did I not relieve my followers of the root of all evil?

"Oh, you Europeans may think I am dumb but appearances are often deceiving. As a matter of fact I have a subtle scheme for the redemption of Africa without summoning my African navy from the junk yard. The scheme, despite the fact that I originated it, is a very ingenious one. My plan is to send every white person in Africa a copy of my 'Philosophy and Opinion of Marcus Garvey', and then, when they are all dead from boredom, I shall march my army into the Dark Continent and raise the banner of the Supreme Potentate. The only flaw in this plan is that a large part of my army will have to swim across the Atlantic—and they dislike water. Well, folks, sad to say, I've got to stop talking now—it's time for the next act. In closing, however, I want to say that I have enjoyed these few minutes tremendously, and as you are nearly all anti-American, I want to let you in on a secret: The Americans are a very uncultured people. They use very, very poor English—their sentences are too long." (Loud and prolonged applause.)

More Errors of Mr. Calverton

By JOHN W. BADDY

I find Mr. V. F. Calverton's reply to my comment on his article which appeared in the July issue of THE MESSENGER equally as ill-informed, if not more so than his original contribution. As to the charge of "racial chauvinisms," I will say it is my opinion that, in view of the existing attitude of the American white man toward the Negro, the Negro can only attain the position which he should occupy in American society by developing a race pride and race consciousness equally as firm and dogmatic but not as pugnacious, offensive and fanatical as that of the American white man. Neither Mr. Calverton nor any one else, and certainly not an intelligent Negro, should to "manipulate the microscopical lens employed by the all-penetrating eyes of the truth-bedeveled racialist" to observe that "the pigmentation of the skin does make a world of difference here in America. And in view of the existing literature on the Negro it is pure nonsense to say that it does not matter as to whether a writer is white. Many an hour have I spent at the Congressional Library here in Washington looking up books and amusing myself by contemplating the curious and crazy notions which white writers have about Negroes. If Mr. Calverton meant that the Negro accepted the Christian religion, so-called, from the white man, he should have said so, for the expression "white mans religion", really has no meaning.

If Mr. Calverton is skeptical as to the fact that the Negro is steadily becoming less religious, not only is he grossly ill-informed, but he has deliberately shut his eyes to innumerable facts that are easily available. If, instead of the National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race as a reference and guide, he would take almost any issue of *The Chicago Defender*, which has a weekly circulation of about 250,000, and

which may be accepted as a fairly accurate reflector of the current thought of the Negro, he would find that his comparison does not make my "optimistic citation turn somersault into the ridiculous." Or, again, Mr. Calverton can, if he wishes, take almost any issue of THE MESSENGER, *Opportunity* or *The Crisis* and find that there is a real mental stir among American Negroes.

Mr. Calverton's "merely casual observation," which he makes in conclusion, is not more convincing than the rest of his article, especially when we consider Maynard Shipley's "The War on Modern Science." As to the Negro intellectual as a group, being free of religious ideas, I do not know of any one who has so contended. Certainly, I have never done so. Indeed the burden of all my writing will show that I have no such thoughts. No one is more conscious than I of the retarding effects of belief in the supernatural insofar as the Negro is concerned. But though there are only a few Negro intellectuals who have discarded

the supernatural in its entirety and absolutely, there are many who are leaning.

TO LANGSTON HUGHES

Sing on, O Son of Africa's soil,
Let her music touch the world,
Make it feel her warm sunshine
'Til it melts their voices into thine.

Your songs burn with a fervent heat,
I even hear the tom-tom beat,
I see the palm trees swaying there
And smell the balmy tropic air.

God has giv'n this song to you
So let it ring the whole world through
'Til every soul shall hear and see
Africa's glory expressed in thee.

MARIE BROWN FRAZIER.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

"The Company You Will Eventually Insure With"

NEGRO WOMANHOOD'S GREATEST NEEDS

By JOHN W. BADDY

A historical survey of society will show that from a very early period in the development of man, woman has been to a large extent, what the men of the group desired that she should be. Thus it has been that women have developed those characteristics which would make them more desired by the men. This has been rather unfortunate for women, for to a certain degree, it has confined their attention to the development of physical charms to the detriment of those higher and more desirable intellectual accomplishments. The needs of Negro womanhood are not very different from those of womanhood in general, though there is reason to believe that Negro women may have a peculiar emotional and intellectual background.

The greatest needs of Negro womanhood would seem to be an intelligent and comprehensive understanding of those forces and conditions which are likely to affect their lives. One of the most primitive and imperative of these forces is that of love. Some writers are of the opinion that love is more inclusive in woman than in man. Love as it affects the life of woman may be divided into three classes: sexual love or that caused by the sex-passion, maternal love or that for one's offspring, and filial and consanguineal love or love for one's relatives.

Let us consider sexual love or that caused by the sex-passion and see how it has affected our womanhood in the past. We will then be prepared to see what are the present needs as caused by the action of this vital force in our womanhood. During the period of slavery in this country our women (that is the vast majority) were used largely for the satisfying of lust and breeding purposes, pure and simple. They were compelled to satisfy the desires not only of their own men, but also those of a large number of white men. Thus their sex-passion was greatly accentuated and vitiated. It is reasonable to suppose that this practice carried on over so long a period is a potent factor in the comparatively large amount of immorality which has existed among our womanhood. Though there has been considerable improvement, sex-immorality is yet a serious problem confronting our womanhood and one with which they must grapple courageously if we are to approach a solution. This rather large amount of sex-immorality is, in my opinion, due more to ignorance and environment (economic and social) than to any inherent inclination on the part of our womanhood. Let our women acquire true and reliable knowledge of the nature and general principles of sex, of the natural origin and development of human beings; let this knowledge be given to our youth in a simple, clear and easily understood manner and the vulgarity of the streets, which is the fertile soil of immorality, and in which our children are so notoriously sunk, will be well on its way to extinction.

Everything in American life and culture is so organized and constituted as to sustain and perpetuate the dogma of the necessary inherent superiority of white people. This insidious philosophy weakens the power of

resistance in our womanhood by reason of the following well-known ethnological principles which constitute the scientific and philosophic background of miscegenation and are in harmony with the biological imperative.

1. The women of any race will freely accept the men of a race which they regard as higher than their own.

2. The women of any race will vehemently reject the men of a race which they regard as lower than their own.

3. The men of any race will greatly prefer the women of a race which they regard as higher than their own.

4. The men of any race, in default of women of a race regarded as higher, will be content with women of a race regarded as lower.

Of course there are many exceptions to these general principles, but they do not affect their validity. Thus our womanhood faces, and must achieve the stupendous and almost impossible twofold task of winning and retaining the respect of our men and creating and appreciating value in our men, notwithstanding a hostile environment.

It is impossible to direct and control a force unless that force is known and understood. Hence the first essential for an intelligent solution of the problem of immorality which confronts our womanhood is accurate and reliable information concerning sexual love and sex-passion. Though there is much literature on the subject, there are not many books which give such information as may be used for a successful guide in life. One of the best books that I have read on this subject, and I have read many, is "Love's Coming of Age," by Edward Carpenter. The works of Havelock Ellis, Walter M. Gallichan, Ellen Key and August Forel may be included among the more valuable books on the subject. There are many problems growing out of the great complicated question of sex.

Illegitimacy is a much greater problem among colored people than is generally supposed. According to the Negro Year Book, a little over one-tenth of all Negro children are illegitimate. We might consider some figures to realize the seriousness of this situation. In 1922 there were 134,824 Negro births in the birth registration area of the United States. Now if one-tenth of these were illegitimate, there were 13,482 illegitimate children. Thus we are face to face with an overwhelming problem of the illegitimate child and the unwed mother. John Lewis Gillin (Poverty and Dependency) is of the opinion that mortality among illegitimate children is two or three times that of legitimate. He is also of the opinion that illegitimacy is a potent factor in crime, poverty and dependency, affecting both the mother and child. We may conclude that an intelligent solution of the problem of illegitimacy is a most pressing need of our womanhood.

A comparatively thorough knowledge of woman's physiology and emotion as they affect the sex-passion is requisite if we are to approach a comprehension of her rather erratic nature. This knowledge should be acquired by our womanhood and given to

our youth that it might be used by them as a guide in life. Of course a knowledge of the sex-passion in man is also necessary. The acquiring of this knowledge would supply a basis for a practical understanding of the hygiene of marriage. Thus we could improve one of our greatest social forces, namely, conjugal love or the love of marriage. The importance of conjugal love as a dynamic factor in improving our race has not been emphasized sufficiently. Slavery was opposed to the general development of any higher conception of this force and since slavery no critical race student has stressed its importance as an ameliorative agent. Yet the potency of conjugal love as a race-improving force is well recognized by our great American sociologist, Lester F. Ward. Ward, speaking of this force, says (Pure Sociology): "Conjugal love constitutes a third step in the ethical and esthetic development of the race . . . In the ideal state of conjugal love we seem to reach a condition of felicity, which, so far as it alone can contribute, admits of no improvement. It is full and strong; it is enduring, only ending with life; and it is calm and subdued, so as in no way to interfere with the normal operations of life.

"It remains only to point out that conjugal love is a social force even more efficient than either of the forms of love thus far considered. The principal stimulus is that of providing for the family that naturally grows out of this relation. For the man this is unquestionably the most productive of all stimuli. It is sufficiently intense to cause sustained effort, and instead of being only an episode of a few months' or, at most, years' duration, it is permanent, and continues from the date of the marriage until death to impel to deeds, if not of glory and renown, at least of usefulness and social value. Instead of having only the incentive of the desire to please another, it has added to this the incentive of work for its own sake. Freed from the distractions arising out of doubt, uncertainty, and the fear of not attaining the great end, he for whom that end is already attained can work for other ends and aim at even worthier ideals. In a word, the mental conditions attending conjugal love are the best possible for human achievement, and, as we have seen, this is the supreme test of social efficiency. Of all the phylogenetic forces, then, conjugal love seems to be the one that has contributed the greatest volume of human achievement."

Intimately connected with, and growing out of conjugal love, is the problem of the hygiene of pregnancy. There are entirely too many deaths from childbirth among our women and the mortality of infants under one year of age can be reduced. Furthermore, there is too much suffering during this delicate period of our women's lives. A thorough, scientific and practical knowledge of the hygiene of pregnancy is therefore a need, not only of our womanhood, but our men also. Indeed a mutual knowledge and understanding is necessary for that co-operation which will be for the best welfare of our womanhood and our children.

It is only a step from the care of infants

to the care of children. The intelligent training of children offers our womanhood the greatest opportunity for service. A realization of the great importance of this opportunity as a means of improving the race is a vital need. The entire race may be taught the slogan: "A bath a day keeps odor away" through this medium. That hideous monster, superstition, by which we are overwhelmed, may be dealt a most effective blow through the intelligent training of our children. This fact is well recognized by Newbell Niles Puckett in his interesting and instructive volume, "Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro." (Marse Newbell is a thorough student.) Says Professor Puckett: "Thus it is that the Negro woman in her constant associations with children has become the keeper and sower of the seed of false generalization. Educate the Negro women to a true understanding of scientific laws, and superstition will be well on its way to extinction, conjuration with its limited number of followers, dying a natural death."

It is probable that when the members of our womanhood shall have attained a solution to the problems outlined in this article they will find themselves proficient in such other needs as domestic art, domestic science, home economics and social and civic welfare work. The needs of vocations and avocations can be cared for in due course. Our women as well as our men should remember that as between capacity and industry, on the one hand, and the opportunity and environment, on the other hand, the preponderance of responsibility for success in life rests with capacity and industry—with one's self, not with the world of sphere in which one lives. Setting aside a vast tangle of possible and incidental cases, because such cannot be decisive, capacity and industry, in the long run and in the overwhelming majority of histories, determine true success as against small opportunity and unfortunate environment. The overcoming of obstacles seems almost an essential element in achieving success. With average endowments, it is always possible, in the long run, to improve the quality and number of opportunities by greater fidelity and by watchful manipulation of circumstances. Likewise, it is always possible, in the long run, to make the best of any existing environment, and thus, but only thus, to create a new and better environment. Environment is merely the soul's workshop.

Sleeping Car Porters

(Continued from page 40)

a nail driven in a sure place, sending its roots downward and its branches upward spreading itself like a green bay tree, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners. May we as women become awakened to the grave responsibility that is ours and assume it. Let us take on our burden and work valiantly and courageously. May we as women of the auxiliary see that each man will ascend the Brotherhood ladder and not let one turn back or fail. Let us determine here and now that when the tablet to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters will have been raised that upon it shall be inscribed words in token of the valiant work of our Eastern Phalanx.

Open Letter to George Harris

(Continued from page 41)

United Sattes Mediation Board and arbitrate with the Brotherhood. We are stronger today than ever before, strategically, morally and otherwise. Therefore,

what you term a "racial loss" is destined to stand out brilliantly as marking the beginning of the successful ending of the porters' struggle; a struggle which has stirred the race like no single event since emancipation and, which has unearthed the liabilities as well as the assets of the race, so that the inquiring Negroes of tomorrow in their search for manhood may know who is who. The victory of the porters promises to give to the race that new kind of leadership which is the crying need of our time.

Sincerely yours,
FRANK R. CROSSWAITH.

(Note: Mr. Harris did not publish this letter. *Editor.*)

Business and Industry

(Continued from page 38)

branch offices in Pittsburgh, Harrisburg and Coatesville. Aside from the official staff, ten persons are employed. Over 58,000 certificates of membership have been issued.

Dr. J. A. Somerville, leading Los Angeles dentist, is to erect very shortly a modern hotel and office building at 41st Street and Central Avenue, Los Angeles. There will be 100 guest rooms and a roof garden, 15

offices, stores and suites of offices. It will be ready for occupancy in May, 1928.

Chas. W. Fulp, Negro miner of McDondald, Pa., is a member of the Miners' Relief Committee (611 Penn Avenue, Room 307, Pittsburgh, Pa.) United Mine Workers of America. He heads the committee of five members. This committee is now feeding 15,000 locked out and striking miners and their families. He is former President of Local Union 2012, United Mine Workers of America.

Maceo B. Sheffield, lieutenant of detectives in Los Angeles, Calif., has been selected by the city officials to pilot the airplane bearing the city's official photographer. He is known in the City of Angeles as the Flying Cop.

In Manila, Philippine Islands, the finest restaurant in the Orient has been opened by a Negro, Thomas Pritchard, who for ten years has operated Tom's Dixie Kitchen in the same city. The establishment occupies an entire floor of one of the largest buildings in Manila. There are Filipino ushers and Chinese waiters, stained glass windows, carved and gilded grillwork, subdued lights and rich draperies, and furniture of heavy, carved black wood. Palms and ferns, tanks of gold fishes and canaries in gilded cages, a spacious dance floor and a modern jazz band complete the picture.

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(Photograph taken August,
1927, when Dr. Ward was 101
years old.)

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WHITE FOLKS FIRST, PLEASE

By ALBON L. HOLSEY

Secretary, National Negro Business League

The South eats well on Sunday even though the last three days of the week are frequently lean and skimpy. This is particularly true of the Negro, and on Saturdays he does his "heavy buying" because that is the day he is "paid off."

It happened on the opening Saturday night of a Piggly Wiggly store in a far Southern city.

The customers were moving through the L-shaped aisles between the counters, picking and selecting the various products to fill their baskets. It was a good natured crowd: each one—white and black alike—intent upon his or her purchases; each one lured by lower prices and fresher merchandise.

At precisely the same moment two customers thought of onions and without a glance or thought of the other both bent over the onion box at the same time. Thus it came about that two hands—one black and the other white—began picking out onions from the same small container at exactly the same moment.

And then—both suddenly became conscious of the other's presence—for the white arm was that of a woman and the black one that of a man. A panicky moment followed and then both stood erect and for the first time looked at one another.

"Howdy do, Uncle John?" said the confused woman with a sickly smile.

"Howdy do, Miss Simpson?" replied the equally confused and dry-throated Negro. Both turned and moved toward opposite counters.

"Uncle John" was the hired man who looked after the lawn and did other odd jobs for the Simpson family.

Piggly Wiggly, Penny, and other chain systems are now invading smaller Southern cities, and with lower prices, standardized service, and uniform courtesy to

all customers are revolutionizing trade attitudes, and changing Southern traditions. Ten years ago "Uncle John" would have waited until "Miss Simpson" had been served before he even approached the clerk.

The embattled independent retailers are fighting grimly to hold on to their fickle customers and those who are keeping their doors open are more alert, more efficient, and more courteous. The attitude of doing the Negro customer a favor is changing to an attitude of appreciation for his business.

In one Southern city the white grocers invited the Negro grocers to unite with them in a cooperative buying association to meet chain-store competition. These colored men were also welcomed to the meetings with their white brothers in business to discuss various other methods of combating the chain encroachment.

Unfortunately, the white grocers of all Southern cities will not take such high ground of cooperation as indicated above; and the Negro independent retailer, because of limited capital and experience, will be ruthlessly crushed in this maelstrom of competition.

Deep down in its heart, I fear, the Negro mass prefers to trade at white grocery and dry-goods stores. How else could we account for such familiar expressions as:

"I gets my money from white folks and I'se gwine give it back to 'em."

"What do niggers know about runnin' a store?"

"I aint gwine spend my money wid dem niggers. First thing I know dey'll be thinkin' dey's rich and tryin' look down on me."

"Nigger stores don' carry nothin' but cheap stuff."

And then many of those who do patronize Negro stores do so because they have been insulted by an impudent white clerk. Such Negroes turn to Negro merchants with loud pretenses of race loyalty and all too frequently remain as customers of the Negro store only until such time as the wound of humiliation has healed or until their credit at the Negro store has reached embarrassing limits.

Such are the unsound and precarious conditions under which many Negro stores have kept their doors open in the past, and with chain stores coming into the South their problems will become more and more difficult.

T. Arnold Hill, Director of Industrial Relations for the National Urban League, says: "Not in recent years has there been exerted so much effort to find jobs for Negroes with so little success."

In self-defense the Negro must unite to keep these industrial doors open. At the same time, we must open new doors. The field for surest rewards, independence and largest opportunities is in retail merchandising, provided we can throw into the struggle some of our best trained minds and most willing hands together with an awakened consciousness of loyalty and race pride among the masses of our people.

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DON'T QUIT



Success is failure turned inside out—
When things go wrong, as they sometimes
will,
When the road you're trudging seems all
up hill,
When the funds are low and the debts are
high,
And you want to smile, but you have to sigh,
When care is pressing you down a bit,
Rest, if you must—but don't you quit.

Life is queer with its twists and turns,
As every one of us sometimes learns,
And many a failure turns about
When he might have won had he stuck it
out;
Don't give up, though the pace seems slow—
You may succeed with another blow.

Often the goal is nearer than
It seems to a faint and faltering man.
Often the struggler has given up
When he might have captured the victor's
cup.
And he learned too late, when the night
slipped down,
How close he was to the golden crown.

The silver tint of the clouds of doubt,
And you never can tell how close you are,
It may be near when it seems afar;
And you never can tell how close you're
hardest hit—
It's when things seem worst that you
mustn't quit.

—Selected



Religion and Working Class

(Continued from page 33)

render its discernment difficult, just as the laws of preservation and reproduction, are each difficult to isolate from their confusing interactions upon each other. If however, we postulate this law as a working hypothesis, we immediately proceed to solve a number of perplexing mysteries.

To the philosopher, biologist and sociologist will be left the working out and elaboration of the significance of this law, in explaining the problems of free will, sin, etc., and also the question of whether the *law of altruism* is antecedent to or coexistent with the laws of nutrition and reproduction. We are now, and here, concerned with the new light its recognition throws upon, and the new life it gives to, the working class program.

No longer need we crucify conscience upon the cross of materialism; the working class philosopher will have no further need for the elaborate sophistical bridges by which he crosses the gulf between nutrition and class loyalty; nor need he longer deny on the one hand, the existence of a force, which he proves on the other, by his unswerving devotion to the class struggle; a devotion which might well be called religion, and add dignity to the name.

The new vigor, the intelligent use of the religious impulse, will give to the working class movement can hardly be overestimated. The idea of class solidarity can be presented in a manner that will arrest the attention and compel consideration; attention and concentration being secured, education to compel the adoption of the idea will be possi-

ble; this education, impossible in an upper class psychology, by and thru the symbolism and romanticism of the working class religion can present the knowledge of things as they are, from the viewpoint of the working class struggle and the working class interest.

Romance, or the intuitive recognition of and desire to realize the potential, is the vital element in all religions and, freed from the warping tendencies of the upper class psychology, can be naturally used to give the religion of the working class the universal, loyalty compelling appeal.

The efforts to organize the working class will be crowned with success, when once the religion of the working class has been perceived and realized. The rulers of men have ever known, and used the religious impulse, though selfishly, and because of selfishness the full force of the impulse has never been utilized; but in the working class program, with the addition of the power of truth, tested by reason, the faith of the masses, developed by a new form of agitation, will be reborn and through the dawn of service, into the light of a new day of co-operation, shall step forth the Brotherhood of Man.

Duncan's Business School Buys Additional Property

Last month The Stenographers' Institute, popularly known as Duncan's Business School, Philadelphia, Pa., bought two additional properties at a cost of \$13,000 to be added to the present school building. The new annex will afford ample room for the

school's large multigraphing equipment, two score typewriters, addressograph, folding and sealing machines; office rooms, teaching rooms, assembly room, students' lockers and Duncan's Business School Cafeteria. Rev. Edward T. Duncan started this work a few years ago with a five-dollar bill, one typewriter and one student. The motto of the school is: "I can and I will."

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