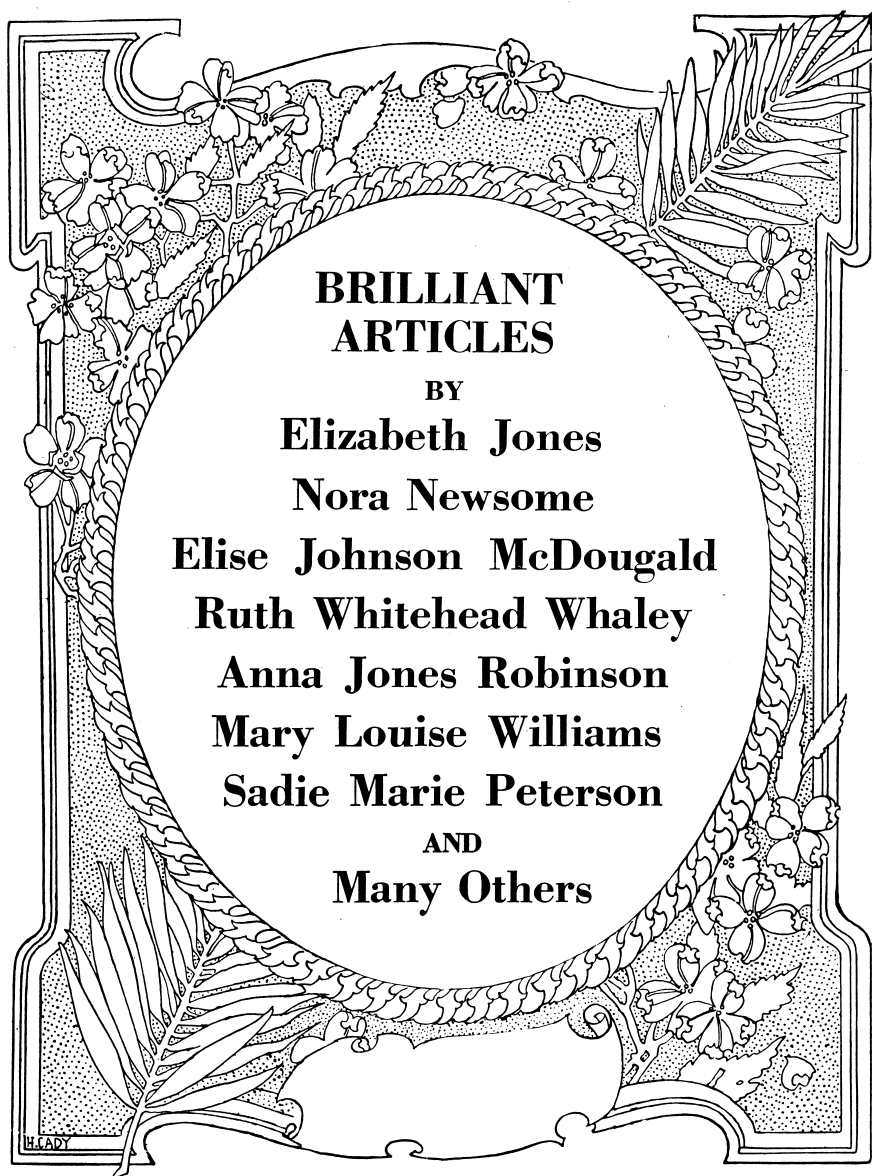


JULY 1923 15 Cents

THE **Messenger**

Volume V

Number 7



New Negro Woman's Number

THEY SAY :

New York City,
May 31, 1923.

DEAR COMRADE RANDOLPH :

The May Number of THE MESSENGER is about the best thing that has appeared in Socialist periodical literature in this country. It is a remarkable number in many ways. The excellent book reviews establish a high standard in this line, while the typographical appearance of this number also is very appealing. THE MESSENGER heads the list of Negro publications in this country and I am sure that the Socialist movement would be better off today if the Socialist journals published by our white comrades were to measure up to the standard set by THE MESSENGER. Congratulations!

JAMES ONEAL,
Editor, *The New York Call*.

American Civil Liberties Union,
100 Fifth Avenue,
New York City,
May 29, 1923.

DEAR MR. RANDOLPH :

The May Educational Number of THE MESSENGER is quality stuff in make-up and matter. The Book Reviews particularly covering a wide range of critical opinion. The books selected go beyond what are ordinarily treated in Negro magazines and mark a real contribution in race relationships.

Yours sincerely,
ROGER N. BALDWIN.

New York City,
June 7, 1923.

MY DEAR MR. RANDOLPH :

wish to assure you of my deep appreciation of the splendid work that you are doing, and compliment you on the May issue of THE MESSENGER.

Faithfully yours,
ADDIE W. HUNTON,
Field Secretary, N. A. A. C. P.

Chicago, Illinois,
May 26, 1923.

MY DEAR MR. RANDOLPH :

The educational May number of THE MESSENGER is beyond question the most helpful and interesting literary publication I have ever seen. It is fine, with a wide range of good material, and well written. It is of inestimable value to me. It is instructive and entertaining.

Cordially yours,
A. WILBERFORCE WILLIAMS.

WHAT DO YOU SAY?

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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

BEN FLETCHER is one of the most noted Negro labor leaders in America and a former Class War prisoner, having been convicted with Big Bill Haywood and 100 other members of the I. W. W., at the famous trial in 1918.

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Mention THE MESSENGER

more than the mere right to exist. Labor wants to live, physically and spiritually. The mandate of social progress requires the workers to acquire goods to satisfy the higher wants and create wants for the higher goods. This can only eventuate as their economic income ascends, thereby enabling the workers to command cultural as well as material commodities. Thus, while strikes may appear to be crassly materialistic themselves, they constitute the basis of a higher spiritual prolecult. That is why strikes of the toilers are not against the interest of society.

The Needle Trades Unions and the Negro Worker

Some of the most powerful unions in the United States are the Needle Trades. They are chiefly composed of Jews, Italians and Negroes, groups that are brutally exploited and discriminated against on account of race, color, creed and nationality. These unions are generally liberal or radical. They constitute a veritable labor laboratory in which practical, creative experiments with the principles of applied workingclass sociology among varying nationality, racial and religious elements, are being conducted. They can serve as a constructive model for the labor movement in adjusting and co-ordinating the sensitive and explosive materials of race, if they will but adopt the tactics and policies suggested by A. Philip Randolph, co-editor of THE MESSENGER, while before the General Executive Boards of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, while in session in New York City during the week of June 10th. He recommended that each organization employ a National Negro Organizer, local organizers; conduct a series of lectures on the Negro Problem in their schools, Forums and Educational Centers; carry on systematic educational propaganda through publications, leaflets, booklets and cartoons, pointing out the achievements of labor through organization, and how the monster of race prejudice thwarts it in its historic mission of achieving economic democracy. Contact between the races at all times was insisted upon in the union offices, meetings, shops, and on the picket line, so that both races may realize the necessity of consolidating their forces to combat the rising tide of Facism and Ku Kluxism in America.

Black Shirts Versus Night Shirts

The Fascisti, with their black shirts, and the Ku Klux, with their night shirts, are still battling heroically for the right to save the white man's civilization, whatever that is. Saving something has become a very lucrative business these days. Hence the entry of the Fascisti in competition with the Ku Kluxers in America. The result may be a combination between the two brokerage firms in bigotry, intolerance and race hate. The advantage will be that the Fascisti, being new in America, can make a bid for the Koons, Catholics and Kikes to rout the "reds." The Koo Koo, on the other hand, can rope in the Protestant, Nordic yokels in its holy crusade for 100 per cent Americanism. They cover the field admirably.

Negro Migrants and White Labor

The tide of Negro migration is rising. Its cause is patent, obvious and commonplace. High wages in the North is the primary cause. Lynching, poor school facilities and the boll weevil are secondary ones. But whatever may be the moving factor, the effect is apparent on the South, North, and the Negro. *It is a heavy, damaging economic blow in the pocketbook of the South;* giving the South, as it were, a lesson in elementary economics which teaches that labor is the active agent in the production of all wealth. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Negro constitutes the chief labor supply in the South, without which there can be no business, no prosperity, no profits. Thus the exodus bids fair to bring the white Business South to its knees, beseeching the Negro with the concessions of better and more schools; more and better paid teachers; enfranchisement; the abolition of the jim-crow car and lynching, to stay their flight. Such is the price the Negroes should demand; they should insist upon their "pound of flesh." In the North the Negro migrants will face new problems, especially when a new industrial depression comes. Unless some systematic work is projected to unionize the Negro workers, they will again be the objects of the vicious and fanatical hatred and attacks of mobs of white workers who are certain to regard the Negroes as intruders. On the other hand, the Negroes, with bitterness, are going to fight back. The conflicts will widen the breach between the two groups. Thus, either organized labor prepare, with intelligence and statesmanlike vision, to educate and organize their colored brothers, at any cost, or, to face an enraged and revengeful competitor, which, in many respects, is the product of Labor's own shortsighted, ignorant policy of *unions for white workers only*. Still the Negro workers are not without their measure of responsibility in the struggles of the Labor Movement. It is to their interest to fight for the right to join the white unions; for the unions insure higher wages, shorter hours of work and better conditions under which to work. Besides, Negroes must cooperate with their white worker-brothers if they would avoid a devastating series of labor-race riots. Thus like two warring nations, both white and black workers will suffer unless they unite upon a basis of equality for the achievement of a common aim, a higher standard of living and the ultimate freedom of the toilers.

Graduates

June is the month when eager-eyed youth goes forth out of the schools and colleges to face the wide world beyond, dreaming of success—a success measured chiefly in terms of material wealth. Of course, such is the natural consequence of our "goose-stepping academic department stores." Still we want more graduates. They will learn to think in the "University of Adversity." Thus we are not alarmed at the fact that most of the young men and women graduates, white and black are mere educated phonographs, uninitiated into the difficult process of independent thinking upon the vital economic, social and political issues of the day. They have been taught to accept, not to question, to doubt. In many ways their real education or the ability to understand the

forces and materials of the universe, social and material, has been interrupted. Only the sharp crags of the *world as it is* will shunt them on the true road to education, divest them of their painful intellectual snobbery and equip them for some useful work in the troubled *world we live in*.

Political Amnesty

We are still calling upon our democratic (?) government to let our people go. Unlike all of the war countries, the United States still holds men in bondage for the expression of their economic and political beliefs during the war. What a shameful disparity between our practice and professions!

Europe

Europe lies prostrate, torn and bleeding, the victim of frenzied nationalistic, commercial rivalries. Observers of divers schools of social opinion, agree that the black night of strife and unreasoning hate, has enveloped her. Politicians, wars and revolutions come and go without effecting any marked

change in the state of the patient. The Ruhr and Russia still plague and disturb the "best minds" of the Quai d'Orsay, Downing Street and Washington. No group seems competent to grapple with the problems, not even labor; for it, too, is riven with internecine war, hopelessly, for the nonce, baffled by the myriad doctrinaire sects, promulgating their faiths as the "be all and the end all" of the social remedy. Albeit, if Europe does not "kick in" ere the workers pass through this period of preparation, they may save her.

Garvey's Gone!

"GARVEY MUST GO!"—Owen and Randolph, August, 1922.

"GARVEY IS GONE!"—Judge Mack, U. S. District Court, June, 1923.

Garvey rode in state, August, 1922, with a crowd of gullible Negroes.

Garvey rode in the Black Maria, handcuffed, June, 1923.

Garvey ranted and threatened his critics in his convention, in Liberty Hall, August, 1922.

Garvey made bootlicking speech to Judge Mack, June, 1923. Enuf sed.

Economics and Politics

THE NEGRO AND ORGANIZED LABOR

By BEN FLETCHER

In these United States of America, the history of the Organized Labor Movement's attitude and disposition toward the Negro Section of the world of Industry is replete with gross indifference and, excepting a few of its component parts, is a record of complete surrender before the color line. Directed, manipulated, and controlled by those bent on harmonizing the diametrically opposed interests of Labor and Capital, it is for the most part not only a "bulwark against" Industry of, by and for Labor, but in an overwhelming majority of instances is no less a bulwark against the economic, political and social betterment of Negro Labor.

The International Association of Machinists as well as several other International bodies of the A. F. L. along with the Railroad Brotherhoods, either by constitutional decree or general policy, forbid the enrollment of Negro members, while others if forced by his increasing presence in their jurisdictions, organize him into separate unions. There are but few exceptions that are not covered by these two policies and attitudes. It is needless to state that the employing class are the beneficiaries of these policies of Negro Labor exclusion and segregation. It is a fact indisputable that Negro Labor's foothold nearly everywhere in organized labor's domains, has been secured by scabbing them into defeat or into terms that provided for Negro Labor inclusion in their ranks. What a sad commentary upon Organized Labor's shortsightedness and profound stupidity. In these United States of America less than 4 per cent of Negro Labor is organized. Fully 16 per

cent of the Working Class in this country are Negroes. No genuine attempt by Organized Labor to wrest any worthwhile and lasting concessions from the Employing Class can succeed as long as Organized Labor for the most part is indifferent and in opposition to the fate of Negro Labor. As long as these facts are the facts, the Negro Section of the World of Industry can be safely counted upon by the Employing Class as a successful wedge to prevent any notable organized labor triumph. The millions of dollars which they have and continue to furnish Negro Institutions will continue to yield a magnificent interest in the shape of Negro Labor loyalty to the Employing Class.

Organized Labor can bring about a different situation. One that will speed the dawn of Industrial Freedom. First, by erasing their Race exclusion clauses. Secondly, by enrolling ALL workers in their Industrial or Craft jurisdictions, in the same union or unions, and where custom or the statutes prohibit in some Southern states, so educate their membership and develop the power and influence of their various unions as to force the repeal of these prohibition statutes and customs. Thirdly, by aiding and abetting his entrance into their various craft jurisdictions, unless he comes, of course, as a strike breaker. Fourth, by joining him in his fight in the South to secure political enfranchisement. Fifth, by inducting into the service of organized labor, Negro Labor Organizers and other officials in proportion to his numbers and ability.

The Organized Labor Movement has not begun to

become a contender for its place in the Sun, until every man, woman and child in Industry is eligible to be identified with its Cause, regardless of Race, color or creed. The secret of Employing Class rule and Industry's control, is the division and lack of cohesion existing in the ranks of Labor. None can dispute the fact that Organized Labor's Attitude of indifference and often outspoken opposition to Negro Labor, contributes a vast amount to this division and lack of cohesion.

Organized Labor Banks, Political Parties, Educational Institutions, co-operatives, nor any other of its efforts to get somewhere near the goal of economic emancipation from the thralldom of the rich, will avail naught, as long as the color line lies across their pathway to their goal and before which they are doomed to halt and surrender. Until organized labor, generally casts aside the bars of race exclusion, and enrolls Negro Labor within its ranks on a basis of complete sincere fraternity, no general effort of steel, railroad, packing house, building trades workers or any workers for that matter, to advance from the yoke of Industrial slavery can succeed. Just as certain as day follows night, the Negro will continue to contribute readily and generously toward the elements that will make for their defeat. Personally, the writer would not have it otherwise unless organized labor, majorly speaking, right about faces on its Negro Labor attitude and policy!

Signs are not wanting that men and women of vision in the ranks of organized labor, of both the radical and conservative wing, are alive to the necessity of a reformation of organized labor's attitude on the Negro, and are attempting to bring their various organizations in line with such organizations as the United Mine Workers of America, Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Industrial Workers of the World. Negro Labor has a part to play also in changing this present day attitude of organized labor. It should organize a nation-wide movement to encourage, promote and protect its employment and general welfare. Divided into central districts and branches thereof, it would

be able to not only thereby force complete and unequivocal recognition and fraternal co-operation from organized labor, but at the same time render yeoman service in procuring the increased employment of tens of thousands of fully capable Negro workers in such positions as now are closed to them because of the lack of sufficient organized Negro Labor pressure in the right direction and with the right instrumentality of intelligent vision.

This organization would by virtue of its being comprised of Negro Labor of all Industries and crafts be able to safeguard its every advance and prevent any successful attack against same. Collective dealing with the Employing Class is the only way by which Labor can procure any concessions from them of effect and meaning. It is the only way in which to establish industrial stability and uniformity in its administration and finally Industrial freedom. This holds good for Negro as well as white labor. There are fully 4,000,000 Negro men, women and children, eligible to participate in such a Negro Labor Federation.

The beginning of such an organization a generation ago, the attitude of organized labor to the Negro would be just the reverse today. Organized Labor for the most part be it radical or conservative, thinks and acts, in the terms of White Race. Like the preachers, politicians, who when preaching about the "immortality of the soul" or orating about the "glorious land of the free" have in mind and so explain, white folks. So with organized labor generally. To a large extent Negro Labor is responsible for this reprehensible exclusion, because of its failure to generate a force which when necessary could have rendered low the dragon head of Race prejudice, whenever and wherever it raised its head. It is not too late, however, to begin to rectify and to reap the benefits of united effort. Only by unifying our forces in such a way as to force organized labor to realize that we can do lasting good or lasting evil, will they, with the assistance of those men and women already in their ranks fighting to change their erroneous way, understand and "come over into Macedonia and help us."

The NEGRO WOMAN in the TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

By NORA NEWSOME



MISS NEWSOME

The modern trade union movement is a product of the struggle between labor and capital. It had its rise in the industrial revolution which took place in the latter part of the 18th century. The industrial revolution introduced labor-saving machinery which was gradually concentrated into the hands of a few persons. This concentration of economic control over capital invested the owners with enormous power which they naturally employed, in obedience to their self interest, for the exploitation of the defenseless workers, who were now gathered in what is modernly known as a factory.

The growing refinement and specialization of machinery resulted in the partial displacement of the man worker, rendering it possible for the woman,

and even the child, to compete in the factories with the men. Thus, it is clear, from a cursory survey of industrial history, that women, both black and white, have been forced to violate the proverbial dogma that "woman's place is the home" and go into the sweat shops as the result of the iron law of economic necessity. This was no less true in America than in Europe.

In the United States the union movement is of later growth than in Europe. In that country, as early as 1348, soon after the Black Plague, workers held meetings for the purpose of fixing wages and hours. It is estimated that fifty per cent of the laborers perished in that epidemic, and this diminution in the labor supply had the effect of doubling the wages paid to the survivors. This resulted in a statute being passed by Parliament prohibiting laborers from

accepting higher wages than they had been receiving before the Plague. Another statute prescribed what the workers should eat and wear, and made it a penal offense for a laboring man to eat better food or wear better clothing than that provided for in the statute.

Of course, America was not discovered until 1492, and her industrial development was, of necessity, much later than that of the Old World.

Among early labor organizations in the United States were the Caulker's Club of Boston, organized for political purposes in the first quarter of the 18th century, and the union of bakers, which declared a strike in New York City in 1742.

Authors disagree as to the number of periods of trade union development. Richard T. Ely in his "Outlines of Economics" gives five periods, and Frank T. Carlton in "Organized Labor in American History" gives seven, and still others vary as to the number and sequence. I have tried to inter-relate them as follows:

(1) 1789-1825—Germinal period, which covers the history of the colonies, and of the first fifty years after the Declaration of Independence, and is our prefatory stage of industrial development. Labor organizations are found only in the latter portion of this period, and these consist of only a few local and temporary trade societies.

(2) 1825-1837—Revolutionary Period. The introduction of the American factory system, which ushers in an epoch of extraordinary and premature organization of labor; close connection between trade unionism and more radical reforms, such as socialism and co-operation.

(3) 1838-1857—Period of Humanitarianism.

(4) 1859-1873—Civil War Period.

(5) 1876-1895—Federation Period. Characterized by the enlargement of business; unusual middle class agitation, the rise and decline of the Knights of Labor, the first successful general organization in the United States, and the birth of the American Federation of Labor in 1881.

(6) 1896-1923—Period of Collective Bargaining; so-called because of the rapid expansion of unionism, and the establishment of new national or district systems of collective bargaining after the industrial depression of 1893-1897; and because it is only in recent years that employers and the general public have recognized the fact that trade unionism is here to stay, and must be regarded as a permanent institution with which many employers of labor must bargain, whether they like it or not.

The trade union movement is bringing to the woman worker an immeasurable degree of economic independence, without which she is the natural and inevitable victim, the uplift Christian reformers to the contrary notwithstanding, of the necessity to barter her honor for gain. This is all the more obvious to modern psychological sociologists, who are beginning to see that the irresistible force of the "social me" drives the woman to fight, not only for the acquisition of necessities, but also for the satisfaction of her higher wants, or what is more euphemistically and reproachfully known as *vanity*.

The first American crusade against low wages for women was carried on by Matthew Carey, a Phil-

adelphia publisher, from 1828 to the time of his death in 1839. In 1830, Carey estimated that there were between 18,000 and 20,000 "working women" in the four cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore. "At least 12,000 of these," he said, "could not earn by constant employment for 16 hours out of the 24, more than \$1.25 per week." Think of it! Matthew Carey also believed that there was a direct relationship between low wages and prostitution.

It is interesting to know that he offered a prize, valued at one hundred dollars, for the best essay "on the inadequacy of the wages generally paid to seamstresses, spoolers, spinners, shoe binders, etc., to procure food, raiment and lodging; on the effect of that inadequacy upon the happiness and morals of these females and their families, when they have any, and on the probability that these low wages frequently force poor women to the choice between dishonor and absolute want of common necessities." Note that he said "common necessities" and not luxuries. This prize was won by a well-known social worker of that period, Rev. Joseph Tuckerman.

One of the most formidable trade unions of today is the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which is composed of workers in the men's garment industry. It consolidated these workers, who had been most brutally exploited in the sweatshops, into one of the most aggressive and progressive organizations known in the labor movement. As an evidence of its foresight and policy of fair dealing, the Amalgamated has been the first union to put on a colored organizer, because it realizes that the most vital necessity exists for the organization of Negroes in industry into trade unions.

When I first reported to the business manager of the local for which I was to start organizing, he seemed a bit sceptical about my getting results. This local has an Italian organizer who had been sent to talk to the girls, both colored and white, in the open shops. The majority of the colored girls would not even listen to his arguments in favor of unionism, and the others would listen courteously but remain unorganized. I told this official that Negroes bitterly distrusted white people and had no faith in their promises, and that they could not reasonably expect to eradicate in one day, a week, or even a month, the impression that centuries of cruel treatment had created in the Negroes' minds. Of course, the A. C. W. A. has never discriminated against Negroes in its entire history, but they do not know that. To them it is simply a union, and they do not possess the necessary knowledge to discriminate between the good and bad unions.

I have been quite successful from the very beginning. The girls, almost without exception, have received me courteously and listened attentively to what I had to say. Several expressed themselves as being pleased that a colored woman organizer had been sent to talk to them, and voiced a dislike for men organizers. They felt, and rightly so, that a colored woman knew more than a white man possibly could about the specific ills from which their group suffered. Of course, there are certain generalizations that hold true and are applicable to both black and white alike, but the white has never been proscribed and denied the right of opportunity in industry as has the Negro.

Some of the girls were anxious to join the union

and said they were glad I had been sent to them; that they knew union members received higher wages, and worked shorter hours under better conditions. One girl told me she wanted to join the union because the foreman in her shop would not let the colored girls do piece-work. They are compelled to work for a flat salary of \$17.00 or \$18.00 a week, whereas, if they did piece-work, in an open shop, they would make from \$25 to \$30. The union wage for the same work is at least \$40.00. The white pressers, mostly Italian men, in this shop, do piece-work because they are organized and would not work there at all unless they did. The foreman, being non-union, is on the side of the employer, and if he can force the twelve colored pressers in his shop to work for \$18.00 a week when they could make \$30.00, he has saved \$144.00 a week for the boss. By the union standard he has saved at least \$264.00.

On the other hand, some of the workers fear that they might lose their jobs if it came to the ears of their employer that they had joined the union; others fear the loss of wages through strikes. I point out to them that if they lose their jobs because of joining the union, we find other jobs for them in union shops. When we organize a shop, our representative calls on the owner and informs him that he must institute union conditions and wages in his shop. If he agrees, very well; if he refuses, we call a strike, and if the strike lasts over a period of weeks, we pay benefits to the strikers, if we cannot find suitable jobs for them. After all, they usually see that they have everything to gain and nothing to lose by coming into the union.

I find a disposition on the part of owners of open shops to employ more colored girls than white because the colored girls are usually unorganized and consequently work for lower wages. Then, too, some bosses pay the prevailing union wage in their fight to maintain the "open shop" in order to discourage workers from joining the union and fighting for increases.

Many of the girls possess a high degree of intelligence—indeed, many of them have a high school education for a job which requires no special education whatever. Of course, that is because the opportunity to learn the skilled branches of the trade as apprentices has been denied to them because of color, and they must, perforce, become pressers or not work at all. The A. C. W. of A. has the record of only one colored girl who was employed as an operator. She was discharged by the boss on account of color, and immediately all the white operators went on strike and forced him to reinstate their colored comrade.

One afternoon, while I was waiting for the girls at closing time, a white girl was distributing circulars to employees of another shop in the building. The circulars were not sent out by our union, but I wanted to know, for general information, what they contained, so I asked for one. As I was reading it, a policeman came up and told me that I could not distribute circulars around there. I replied that I could not possibly be distributing them when I possessed only one, and that that one was for my personal satisfaction. I stayed where I was and talked to the girls as they came out of the building, but he did not trouble me again.

Some elevator operators, both white and colored,

have co-operated with me splendidly in my organization work. They can render assistance in several ways, such as identifying the workers of a particular shop, the employer, the foreman, whether the girls go to lunch, and all that sort of thing.

One factor that retards the organization of colored workers is their migratory tendency. They are constantly changing from one job to another. With each successive change, they hope to find something better than they left behind; a mute expression, as it were, of the eternal desire of the human heart.

Organization into trade unions will usher in a new day for the Negro woman worker. Her economic problem arises from her ignorance of economic values, and from the exploitation to which this ignorance subjects her. The social pressure, which confines them to the most unskilled and low-grade occupations, most of which do not tend to uplift or develop them, is deadening, and the labor movement, as such, can never achieve the goal for which it is striving while its colored component is like the "Old Man of the Sea" on its back, because it is denied the opportunity to attain the heights aspired to by the other group.

Unionism, perhaps more than any other agency, will do much toward cementing the relationship between white and colored workers. When white and colored men and women meet on an equal basis in the workroom, fight together for their common betterment, and together bear the suffering resulting from that fight, I cannot possibly see how they can hate each other in the class room, restaurant, theatre or any other place where social intercourse is desirable.

The labor movement offers a glorious opportunity to young colored women of education and ideals to give creative, constructive service to the Negro race in particular, and the workers in general. Ever since my emancipation from the fetish of white collar supremacy and intellectual aloofness, I have yearned to become one of that steadily increasing number who, by means of voice and pen, are trying to hasten the dawn of a new day for the world's producers.

There is no data available on Negro women in the trade unions because they are not listed as such, and I have presented only the matter coming within my own experience as organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Correction

The latin phrase which appeared at the end of Dr. W. S. Scarborough's comment in the June MESSENGER should have read "*Macte Virtute.*" It was a typographical error.

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THE NEGRO WORKING WOMAN

WHAT SHE FACES IN MAKING A LIVING

By MARY LOUISE WILLIAMS



MRS. WILLIAMS

My working career started a few years back in a small city in New York State, with a high school education. After graduation, being filled with the enthusiasm of youth, I naturally turned my thoughts to "something different."

I applied to several offices for employment, seeking even as inferior a position as addressing envelopes. At every place I met with disappointment. None felt they could use colored help in that capacity.

By this time I felt somewhat like a peacock who had looked at his feet. Now, I worked around at odd jobs and housework until one day I received a surprise.

Through the kind intercession of the Vice-President of a manufactory I was given an opportunity in its perfume department. I was to act as forelady and stock clerk. I made good. The management, being so well pleased, doubled my salary after a year's service. No question of color ever arose. In the course of a few more months I was walking home with a co-worker and met my mother. Naturally I was proud of her and wanted my friends to meet her. At the corner, as had been our habit, we separated. Next morning I was summoned to the office. You can imagine my surprise upon finding my services were no longer needed. Mr. Vice-President softened it as best he could: "There is no fault with your work, but the girls will not work with a Negro. We would gladly keep you if we could, but it is better to lose one girl than to lose twenty."

On another occasion I answered an advertisement in the paper worded thus: "Wanted: a young colored girl, high school graduate preferred. Apply Dey's Department Store." I dressed with care expecting to find at least a saleslady's opening. Just picture for yourself my chagrin upon learning they desired a bootblack in the ladies' rest room! The reason they wanted an educated girl was to keep their wealthy customers from coming in contact with objectionable Negroes. I had no chance to refuse the job because Mr. T. said I looked too much like a Caucasian and he could not use me. He finally hired a high school graduate who had trained two years for a teacher. Is it not a pity that a colored girl must be educated to qualify as a bootblack?

Finding no real openings for me in the clerical line, I turned my attention to shop work. I did this for three reasons. First, it gave me more time for myself than housework. Second, I received a more liberal reward per hour for my services. Third, it placed me on a more equal basis with the other workers although I needed no education other than to read and write. At this work I made just enough money to make both ends meet and sometimes I had to stretch pretty hard to do so, especially when we had a holiday. Naturally I received a little less pay than the white workers. The difference in pay was due possibly to the open shop. In this city there is no colored garment workers' union and the white unions do

not take the Negro in. In the shops the Negro has no chance of advancement.

I heard so much about Cleveland. I went there and found conditions more favorable, due probably to the fact that the Negro himself was more enterprising. Here I found a Negro Vaudeville employing all Negro help. There were also colored doctors, lawyers, clubs, hotels, rooming houses, ice cream parlors, drug stores, and restaurants. These were all using colored help. The Phyllis Wheatly Home and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People took an active part in placing girls in suitable positions. Still there were many girls uncared for.

I happened to be one of these and took a job to wash glasses and silver in a white hotel. I found hotel conditions here very much as they were at home. Though we ate the same food as the whites, we ate at the dishwashers' table, men and women eating together. Here I worked nine hours a day for forty dollars a month. Out of this I paid carfare twice a day, for one meal a day, four dollars a week for a room, and one dollar for laundry. This left me very little for the pleasures of life. I was about discouraged when the assistant steward was taken up in the draft. After this the head steward had quite a job to keep this place filled. So I braved the lion in his den and the result was I became the assistant. It was really a man's job. I had to take care of the storeroom and coolers, also to keep track of the cost of keeping up the various parts of the hotel. I probably would be there yet only peace was declared and with it came the return of the former assistant steward. This position afforded me so many luxuries of life that it showed me what a joy work would be to the Negro woman if given a position and salary instead of a job and wages.

Being a little homesick I returned. Somehow I expected to see conditions changed. With the exception of a few elevator operators, girls to dust china and furniture, two or three girls to rearrange stock behind white salesladies, and a few more women working in shops, I found no change. Oh, yes, I found three women working as salesladies, but as these were "passing" they mean less than nothing in the history of the Negro Woman.

Not being able to find anything that pleased me I turned my attention to canvassing. Even now I feel a loathing for this work. If I called at the front door I was directed to the rear. In many instances the door was shut in my face before I could make my errand known. Others treated me well, but that expression of incredulity upon seeing a Negro agent spoke louder than words. Some business men would give me an audience, sometimes with an order. Others received me with so much attention I felt they thought my magazines were only a camouflage.

And since there is a general tendency to expand the field of her operations, manual and mental, let us say with Longfellow:

"Out of the shadow of night
The world moves into light,
It is daybreak everywhere!"

The NEGRO WOMAN in the NURSING PROFESSION

By ELIZABETH JONES



Miss Jones

Recalling the words of the great pioneer of the nursing profession and the world's greatest nurse, Florence Nightingale, when speaking of the profession as "God's Work—A True Vocation" one cannot forget the sacrifice, struggle and hardships which she endured for the sake of others, for the sake of God's Work, for the sake of her life's vocation. Nor did she lack those qualities which tend to develop the true nurse. Overcoming difficulties and hardships, she did not struggle in vain, but left an indelible impression upon the memories of all nationalities, races and creeds.

Many have grasped the opportunity to answer to the call. Among those we have our first Negro nurse in Miss Mary E. T. Mahoney, a graduate of the New England Hospital for Women and Children, Rothberry, Mass. She, like the other great pioneers, had her difficulties, which were even greater than those of her white sisters. But like a true soldier, she fought her battles bravely, and today is able to see the great reward that comes through perseverance. We may safely say that to this great Negro pioneer, the Negro Nursing profession owes its thanks. For today the race is the proud possessor of at least twelve large training schools for Negro women, as well as a number of small ones throughout the south. This number is being increased as the white training schools are opening their doors to the aspirant Negro woman.

Here we find her received kindly and yet with a doubt of her ability. Nothing is left undone to test the endurance of a young nurse. Ofttimes these tests have to be handled with tact so as not to become an imposition. Once the Negro nurse has shown her ability, her aptness to grasp situations, she is no longer looked upon as an intruder in the profession, but she is received kindly and given the respect due her by both the patients, their families and the physicians.

Nor has the advancement ceased at bedside nursing (private duty) but has extended to public health nursing and social service work. In the public health service we find the Negro nurse in dental and tuberculosis clinics. We find her in public schools and preventoriums, giving instructions to those suffering from and in contact with infectious diseases, such as scarlet fever, diphtheria, and the venereal diseases. In social service we find her visiting homes and giving relief, where needed, to the poor, by referring their cases to a charity organization.

Daily the Negro woman has avenues opened up to her. She is no longer looked upon only as a servant. She is no longer held down as greatly as in the past by prejudice. She has been given the opportunity and has grasped it; not only aiding herself but her race by proving her efficiency in a field that was heretofore occupied exclusively by her white sister.

In 1908 New York City's Department of Health opened up its doors to the Negro nurse, and Miss Harris, a Lincoln Hospital graduate, was first to brave the civil service examination and the adversities which followed. Yet she attempted and succeeded. Today, following along in her footsteps smoothly, are many other determined young women of different countries

and hospitals. Another, Miss Mae Clendenin (whom Lincoln Hospital also claims), was the first Negro nurse in Henry Street Settlement's Visiting Nurse Staff, and today she, like the others, is followed by many more.

Nor have these opportunities been only in New York City, but cities throughout the United States have accepted the Negro nurse. Not only has the advancement been in just the medical field but also in the social and educational as well.

Miss M. Franklin, a graduate of the Women's Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa., was the first to become active in bringing about the National Association of Colored Nurses. She realized fully the advantages of unity and today she is the leading spirit in one of the finest organizations in the United States, one that is recognized and respected by the entire medical profession.

Prior to the founding of the National Association of Colored Nurses no effort was made to influence the nurse to join the white organization. But with the founding of the Negro organization a decided effort to obtain the colored nurse has been made by the white association.

Then there is the educational unrest. The Negro nurse is restless. She is seeking, always seeking those things which tend to increase her efficiency. The well equipped nurse of today should be trained to some extent in business. She should have some knowledge of secretarial work, etc. This knowledge she will find useful in all parts of her profession: scientific knowledge of dietetics, pathology, bacteriology, a broader knowledge of psychology and some knowledge of more than one of the many languages spoken in a large American city.

The colleges have opened their doors and today she is struggling, not in vain, to accomplish those things which lead to a higher plane of life. The New Negro Woman of today, regardless of the profession she is in, is more or less a teacher. This especially applies to those of the nursing profession, and it is realized more and more by those who enter upon that field. Not only is she a teacher, but she is looked upon by most of those with whom she comes in contact, as an example of the higher life.

This especially applies to the young children. The fact was brought clearly to me one day when I entered a room full of small children. I noticed that there was a general effort on the part of each little individual to tidy up his person. He had one thing in mind and that was cleanliness and neatness; sanitation regardless of the method of obtaining it. Handkerchiefs served both as shoe polishers and face towels. The whole picture was amusing as well as impressive. It brought to my mind the influence the very presence of a nurse had on those small minds. Strange to say, to those young folk, a nurse is something almost superhuman.

I recall an amusing incident while passing on the steps where some kiddies were at play. One said, "Get up, and let the lady pass." While making a passage, all eyes were turned upon me with great intent. Suddenly, as if having solved a problem, one little voice chimed in, and said with much glee, "Aw! she aint a lady, she's a nurse!"

Not only has Miss Mahoney's good work helped her sisters in the United States, but it has penetrated even the dark, wild jungles of Africa, and the islands far and near. Today we see the spirit of the New Negro woman shining out of the dark jungles. Women are eager and determined to be up and doing; to no longer stand the disgrace of being counted an inferior of her white sister.

God created all men equal, and why should she, because of her dark skin, be brow-beaten? Why should she stand by and see her race looked upon in an attitude little better than one would look upon a snake or an insect? She realizes that merit counts a great deal toward achievement and, why, because of lack of education, should her race suffer? She realizes fully that it is a long and hard fight, but she does not forget the influence she has over those poor unfortunate ones with whom she comes in contact. She sees the life of an individual as it really is, and not as it seems to be, for she often has other problems besides that of helping to heal the diseased body. She often has the economical, spiritual and moral problems of the patient to solve. She has for her studies the many problems that are found at all ages among the different races of people.

I feel confident that there is no nurse in the profession that does not stop and ask herself these questions. First, "How may I become a valuable factor in bringing about a better relation between the two races?" Second, "What are the future prospects of the race?" When recalling how I got my inspiration to become a nurse, I feel that there are more who have received and will receive their inspiration in the same way.

I, like many other country girls, was just passing the time away as best I could in a little town that was surrounded by mountains and filled with non-adventurous people. Oh! how the time dragged, and what was I going to do next? Some suggested going away to study music. Fine! Oh! yes, that was great! Yet, there was something lacking in the suggestion. Music was fine, just grand, yet to me it did not afford enough thrill. I wanted to be something else beside a musi-

cian. What it was I did not know. To make a long story short, our neighbor was taken ill with typhoid fever. She had to have a trained nurse. The nurse arrived, and I shall never forget that gentle, sweet smiling face. She worked day and night so untiringly, moving softly and swiftly about her duties, always ready with a smile, always so immaculate in her white uniform.

I watched her day by day, then ventured to make friends with her. We became good pals and as she told me of her work I realized fully that it was the nursing profession I wanted; to serve others and to be of some value to humanity.

It is not the duties we have to perform that count, it is the way in which we do them that leaves an impression. The respect that the Negro nurse can win for her race through close professional contact is indeed surprising. Here she meets the masses of people; all ages, all races and creeds. It is up to her to leave a good impression on the minds of those with whom she comes in contact. She has for her material hundreds and hundreds of young minds; minds that can be shaped and impressed. It is through these that she must bring about better race relations. What will be the future prospects of the race? Through close professional contact, and through open discussions on race problems with both the higher and lower minds she is able to see clearly into the future.

Through free discussion, she learns that, the Negro is, in the white man's mind, much inferior. He doubts his abilities yet, when forced, reluctantly will acknowledge them. He will, although he dislikes the idea, recognize the Negro's aptness and talent. Eventually he will be compelled to take us on our merits rather than on our skins.

We have to educate him. We have to show him wherein he is wrong. To be what we are and what we want to be and not to submit to be what he would like us to be, will exact an immeasurable meed of respect. Thus when we unite and determine to take our place among people, then, and only then, will we be given a fair deal in all professions.

The NEGRO WOMAN in the PROFESSIONS

By ANNA JONES ROBINSON



MRS. ROBINSON

Twenty years ago the woman engaged in the practice of a profession was a rare creature. Seventy-five per cent of the women graduating from professional schools never actually pursued the practice of their professions, either because discouraged too quickly by the opposition and difficulties of

pioneer work or because the duties of marriage made impossible the career for which they had been trained. The small number of women who persisted in spite of obstacles have had a great measure of success. This has come because of the very real interest in their work, and love for the profession which they have chosen. They have not tried to avoid the drudgery or uninteresting details upon which any real success must be founded. Indeed this attention to small details has helped many women to climb to very responsible positions such as executive in large business enterprises. Women with legal training and real

ability are eagerly sought to prepare briefs and to take charge of certain classes of cases in law firms because of their very careful work and attention to details which are often most lightly passed over by men.

Twenty years ago the professions entered by women were limited. With the exception of teaching, which up to the present has always been regarded as a field for which women were particularly fitted, there was very little representation. Medicine was regarded with most favor, with dentistry a close second. In all three of these professions the woman could still live a more or less secluded life and was not required to go forth into active competition with men engaged in the same work. The woman physician or dentist could count on a certain number of people who would seek her out because of real ability, and because they preferred a woman doctor or dentist.

To-day, although teaching, medicine and dentistry still hold first places, we find women successfully engaged in professions which require active competition.

with men. We have women lawyers, journalists, architects, interior decorators, designers, accountants and women in various other professions which keep them always before the public and require that they match their wits with men who have the advantage of a longer period of experience.

The struggle has not been an easy one. Prejudices and conventional ideas about woman's place in the home have been great hindrances. First among the obstacles to be overcome was the attitude of the professional schools, some of which, even to-day, refuse to admit women to their classes, notably among them, Columbia University Law School, in the City of New York. However, once admitted to the school, the woman has had very little difficulty. Her mentality is unquestioned, and indeed the few women in the classes are usually among the best students and sometimes carry off the highest honors. Once graduated, her troubles begin. She must now rub shoulders and match wits with men, some of whom welcome her as a fellow-practitioner, ignoring difference in sex, while others refuse to take her seriously, either ignoring her whenever possible or else seeking to hold her up to ridicule when she makes some mistake due to her inexperience. Happily, this class of professional men are in the minority, the majority being willing to treat her as they would any young man just entering upon his professional career. If the woman is big enough to refuse to accept any favors or special consideration just because she is a woman, and is willing to give the best that is in her to her work, there is no reason why she should not be successful.

If success is measured by financial gain, medical women are the most successful professional women, for they, as a whole, are earning more money than women in other professions, and medicine is one of the few professions in which women receive the same remuneration as men. But this may be accounted for by the longer experience which women have had in this science. Ever since Hygeia, the daughter of Aesculapius, was associated with her father and presided over his temple, devoted to the sick at Epidaurus, women have never been wholly debarred from the profession, although in many countries and at various times, much has been done through prejudice to exclude them from the study and practice. Dentistry is a branch of the medical profession in which women have had about seventy years experience. The proportion of women in the profession is smaller, but each year sees greater numbers taking up the work.

The first woman lawyer in this country graduated from the University of Michigan fifty-one years ago. It has been estimated that there are to-day 1,500 women who have been admitted to practice law in the various states. However, a large number of those who have been admitted and are entitled to practice, do not follow their profession, but do other work in secretarial, executive or business fields, using their

legal training merely as an aid to advance themselves in these fields. It may be safely said that the number of women actually practicing law in the country to-day, is perhaps less than one-half of the number who have been admitted to the bar. The financial returns to the woman lawyer are not always large. A lawyer, man or woman, often begins work with a salary of \$25 or \$30 a week. The rest is entirely dependent upon the individual, but it may be said that very few women have made more than \$6,500 a year and the average earnings are between \$2,000 and \$2,500. On the whole these amounts do not compare unfavorably with the amounts earned by men. A few years ago it was reported that among 15,000 lawyers in New York City, the average earnings were \$1,500. However, women lawyers who have persisted have been able by conscientious and efficient service to their clients, to build up very lucrative practices and to obtain all the work they can handle. Then too, the woman lawyer is compensated for lack of financial success, by the very great opportunity afforded her in the practice of her profession, to render service to the community, to make her influence felt, and to set an example of the very finest type of citizenship.

In this new freedom of woman, the Negro woman is only excelled by her white sister in numbers. In all the large centers of the country where there is a large Negro population can be found the colored professional woman, a credit to her profession and an influence for good in her community.

The Negro woman has always had her share of responsibility, even when confined to the home, and so has carried with her into these new fields a spirit of independence which has prevented her from being guilty of playing on sex when up against competition with men.

Women who have had special training in various lines have always been willing and eager to do service in their community. This is especially true of the Negro woman. In any movement for the social betterment and happiness of her people, the Negro woman of the professions is always among the first, anxious to give her time, services and money to help a worthy cause. Her aid is lent without any selfish motive and her interest in politics is impersonal, and stimulated by an honest desire to improve the social and economic conditions of her people and community.

The opportunities and possibilities open to the Negro woman in the professions for self-development and service to her people are as yet unexplored, and as more of them enter the field with this idea in mind, their influence cannot but be felt and seen in the improved condition of their community. For this reason young women who have the desire and ability should be encouraged and aided in every way possible in their efforts to attain a profession, and the community which encourages its young women, will be well repaid by receiving unselfish and devoted service at all times.

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Education and Literature

THESE COLORED UNITED STATES

III—VIRGINIA

By J. MILTON SAMPSON

This is the third of a series to be published under the title of "These Colored United States." A brilliant representative from each State that has a goodly population of Negroes will speak out as MR. SAMPSON has done and say to the world in plain language just what conditions they face.

"It is years since a first-rate man has come out of it; it is years since an idea has come out of it. . . . a Washington or a Jefferson dumped there by some act of God would be denounced as a scoundrel and jailed over night."

Mencken, *Smart Set*, 1917.

Virginia is a State of 42,627 square miles of which 2,000 are under water. Roughly speaking it has three main sections, the Tidewater, or seaboard section, the Piedmont, or valley section, and the Blue Ridge, or mountainous section. Like other states, it has inhabitants of varied colors. It has been blessed by Providence with a mean winter temperature of 39° and a mean summer temperature of 77°. It could be a far more wonderful state than it is. Many reasons have been assigned for its backwardness, but among them one could not mention a sparsity of natural resources either vegetable or animal, for its boasts of bituminous coal deposits, iron, manganese ore, pyrite, soapstone, slate, deer, hares, squirrels, chipmunk, opossum, wild turkey, partridge, sora, and plenty of fish, oysters, crabs and lobsters. The principal reasons why its prosperity has been retarded have been that its inhabitants have undervalued the need of education and have not awakened from the indolence of the slave regime, which believed in passing on the hard work, not to machines of iron and steel, but to human machines in bronze. These latter in an early period of the state's existence, say about 1740, outnumbered the whites.

In that early time the inhabitants of Virginia might be divided into three classes—the planters, the masses and the Negroes. This classification continued to be valid until the surrender of Lee. This early period furnishes many interesting facts and incidents concerning Negro life, as well as illustrates the changing attitude of Virginia toward the Negroes. It is historically fixed that slaves first landed in Virginia in 1619 or 1620, but no statutory recognition of slavery was given until 1661, when Negroes were said to be "incapable of making satisfaction for the time lost in running away by addition of time." By 1772 the State had passed no less than thirty acts looking toward prohibiting the importation of slaves. The preamble of the first constitution adopted in 1776 contains as one of the reasons for taking up arms against Great Britain, that "the King by the inhuman use of his negative refused permission to exclude by law the introduction of Negro slaves."

Virginia furnishes her example of Negroes of too proud spirit to submit to the indignities of slavery. Brawley's Social History of the American Negro cites

six instances of slave insurrections, started, if not completed—among them, the famous Nat Turner insurrection and Gabriel's ambitious attempt. It is common knowledge now that though slavery in its ordinarily accepted sense has been abolished, nevertheless it persists in the spirits of the people of Virginia, white and black alike. This may be illustrated in many ways, but probably most conspicuously in the failure of Virginia Negroes to take positive action to escape from oppression and in a constantly but very slowly decreasing fear of "white folks."

In business Virginia has been a pioneer, but unfortunately the most conspicuous examples of its success have been at once the most outstanding examples of failure. When fraternal insurance is mentioned, the order of the True Reformers and the bank which it conducted, immediately come to mind. Regardless of the responsibility for the failure of this and other more recent enterprises, the reaction has affected the growth of Negro business, not only in Virginia, but in other sections of the country as well. Virginia, however, remains the mother among Negroes of fraternal insurance, and probably of banking throughout the country. There are larger insurance companies elsewhere; there are more powerful banks elsewhere, but the pioneers in each of these lines were in Virginia. At present it boasts 18 banks. A most lively insurance company is the Southern Aid, which is at the same time one of the finest examples of capitalistic enterprise within the colored group. On at least two occasions in the knowledge of the writer, this company has declared dividends of over 30 per cent. It engages over 500 persons and has an annual income of nearly a million.

In other lines, business is more or less sleepy. The church business is about the only other one that conspicuously flourishes. In the estimation of some, probably it is the most important business after all. Certainly there is more money invested in it than in any other kind. This business is both financial and spiritual, but there are many anomalies on the spiritual end. It is an unpardonable sin in many of them to dance and play cards or baseball, but one may lie with impunity. The day of shouting has not passed and the yearly revivals still bring itinerant evangelists who parcel out the gospel in periods of extreme emotion and who frighten sinners rather than win them into the fold. One interesting sidelight might be mentioned in this connection. Revivals are not limited to Negroes. Professional white revivalists also come to the Old Dominion and generally, out of a solicitude for their colored brethren and sisters, they set apart a day or a portion of the gallery for the edification of these latter. One particular instance, a day was set

apart for colored people, but an official balked on allowing a colored girl to play the piano for the hymns.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the unification of the Methodist Church North and South has hung on the status of the colored brothers. One of the members of the Unification Committee, Bishop Collins Denny, of Richmond, illustrates this point of view very clearly in an article in the Richmond *News-Leader* in which he says: "We are not called upon to consider whether a color line drawn at any point through the sphere of human relations be right and just and Christian. The sole question now before us is where an admittedly necessary color line shall be drawn." Recent press reports indicate that an agreement has been reached. Probably, therefore, they have discovered where that "admittedly necessary color line shall be drawn."

The Episcopal clergy also face discrimination within the portals of a Christian church. Again, the press reports that the colored clergy have partial enfranchisement in the diocese of Virginia and that a resolution was "passed" in 1922 to give them full representation. This resolution was to come up for final action in 1923, but when the council met, this year, it considered that the matter should be deferred another year, and this was done.

In education the same sordid record must be scanned. According to Professor Gandy, writing in August, 1922, there were only seven public high schools in the whole State open to Negroes. Of these, three were offering only three-year courses. The per capita cost for teachers' salaries was for Negroes \$2.74; for whites \$9.64. The school funds have not been apportioned according to need, but rather arbitrarily and the portion of the school funds which should normally and legally come to Negroes is constantly diverted toward the white with the result that the Negroes themselves, aided by Rosenwald's purse, have been responsible for the building of over seventy.

From another angle, the report of the Virginia Survey Commission shows conditions. The following facts are included in that survey: That less than two-thirds of the colored children of school age are enrolled; that the average daily attendance is about 37 per cent of the total colored school population, and that two-thirds of the teachers hold certificates indicating unsatisfactory qualifications, while only 3 per cent hold professional certificates. From the writer's knowledge, there is no school of higher than secondary grade supported by State funds for Negroes, unless the courses beginning at Virginia Normal and Industrial School and Hampton be considered of college grade. Education such as it is is not sincere, for books are selected according to pre-conceived notions, and teachers are permitted to teach only what their masters regard as wise. If white people can be reprimanded for teaching what is obviously the truth, the conclusion is inescapable that a colored teacher would lose her position for doing the same thing.

One college—Roanoke College in Salem, Virginia, used Elson's History of the United States as a text book. This history had the following statements within its borders: "Too often an attractive slave woman was the prostitute to her master." "A sister of President Madison declared that though the southern ladies were complimented with the name of wife, they were only the mistresses of the seraglio."

A southern lady declared to Hamilton Martineau that the wife of many a planter was but the chief slave of the harem. Because of these passages, Confederate Camps and other organizations in the section and individuals took steps to condemn the use of the book in teaching southern students. Caustic letters were addressed to the heads of the college demanding that it be withdrawn from use and threatening that otherwise the students would be withdrawn from the college. A short while after that a Virginia woman wrote a letter to the *Times-Dispatch*, in which she made the following statement: "It is time that southern papers should not shrink from telling the truth, if only to this generation. Yet, as one of the generation, I know that it is always hidden. The older generation—the papers of the South, deny the truth about slavery because they are now ashamed of the blot on the country which tolerates the trade of human flesh and human misery." Thomas Jefferson himself said that the whole commerce between master and slave, "is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on one part and degradation and submission of the other . . . the man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepaved by such circumstances." But in more modern times, the sort of state in which colored Virginians live, may be visualized in the case of Professor Kerlin of Virginia Military Institute, who protested against the railroading of the Elaine riot victims to death without a fair trial, and because of this, was summarily dismissed from his position at the school. Now the Supreme Court of the United States has vindicated his stand by holding that due process of law was denied those very victims for whom Professor Kerlin pleaded.

There was politics in Virginia—there is not. There is merely a slavish submission to the Republican party with a weak attempt by much talk, to make people believe that there is independent thought. Negroes will run against white people, but they will be voted for because they are Negro Republicans or voted against because—"I ain' go' vote for no nigger." Slemph was defeated in the Ninth Republican District of Virginia not because of the fact that he represents a certain trend of thought or political policy, but because of the fact that his anti-Negro acts put blood into the eyes of the voters of his district.

The Negroes have never recovered from the blow delivered by the last Constitution of Virginia, which provided an education clause as a pre-requisite for eligibility to vote. It was easy under this clause to deny the right to vote to any person whose skin was black, by giving him some sections of the constitution that nobody other than a lawyer could understand, and then saying that his explanation was unsatisfactory. The application of this provision decimated the ranks of Negro voters in Virginia and though it was effective by its own provisions for only ten years, there are still in Virginia countless Negroes who believe that there is no use to try to register and vote for the reason that they would be unable to answer the questions asked.

As to race relations, Virginia is at the half-way point between the North and South. It has a well-defined system of segregation and discrimination going into most spheres of life, but it has few lynchings and outward expressions of race prejudice apart from those mentioned. A Negro property owner can live

fairly well in Virginia so long as he stays within his own section. Of course, if a colored man gets into the courts on a charge of stealing ten apples, he may get a year in jail and a fine of \$10. If a white man goes on the same charge, he may be dismissed upon restitution of the apples or paying for them. But such little things as this do not count in Virginia. They are the warp and woof of life. They are as common as the air which one breathes or the muddy water which comes from the James River, and which, perforce, he must drink.

On the other hand, there is a colored doctor in a certain town who has a large white practice. His name is not given for obvious reasons. Again when the influenza epidemic was on during the war period, colored people seemed to fare better than white with the result that many white people thought that Negro doctors had peculiar skill and many a Negro doctor was called to attend a white patient in extremity.

An action of a lodge of Elks in Richmond may be cited as showing the attitude of the Virginia Negro toward the conditions under which he lives. At the Elks convention, the Richmond Elks were making a manful effort to swing the convention for another year to Richmond. They made up a fine printed invitation booklet in which there were pictures of prominent men and their homes, statements as to Negro business, copies of the decision which dissolved an injunction prohibiting the Elks from using the emblem of the Elks of the World, in short, a strong appeal, a cordial invitation to the Negro Elks of the United States to have their convention in Richmond the following year. But in the meantime, one of the officers of a lodge in Richmond who realized what conditions were, protested against inviting his brother Elks to such a place, in a letter addressed to the committee in charge. The reasons stated were: That the places of interest in the city were for whites only; that they might be hampered in their deliberations by limitations of the police, as Monroe Trotter was molested in his speech at the City Auditorium. That they would have no security from assaults and insults; that white people would like colored people as long as they stayed in their places, and that if everything else were favorable, there were not accommodations in Richmond for 12,000 visitors. The indignation which resulted from this letter re-

sulted in the ousting from office of the writer. So, we see a compound of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, of pride and the lack of it, of prejudice among whites and blacks.

The Virginia Negroes on the labor question straddle as they do on others. In Richmond, a city of over 55,000, there are not enough men of independent thought to support a Socialist local. The Virginia Federation of Labor will not follow the recommendations of the American Federation as to equality for the Negro. As an organization, the Virginia Federation did in 1919 elect a Negro—Page of Newport News—one of the five members of the Executive Board. As result of this, before the month was out, the Retail Clerks Association, the Central Trades and Labor Council, the Metal Trades Council, the Allied Printing Trades Council, the Mechanics Lodge No. 696, the Mechanics Lodge No. 10, the Mechanics Helpers Lodge No. 100, the Iron Molders Union No. 128, the Painters and Paper Hangers Union No. 1018, the Plumbers and Steam Fitters Union No. 10, the Railway Clerks Lodge No. 253, the Typographical Union No. 90, the Carpenters and Joiners Union No. 398, all withdrew from the Virginia Federation as a result of this election. The same thing followed in different other cities. The writer has been unable to verify what the ultimate result of this has been. Whether the unions finally returned to the Federation or not is not known, but the fact is significant that these organizations should take such action because of the election of a brother laborer and unionist to a position in the Federation.

What of the future? Will Virginia ten years, twenty years, fifty years, from now be a land of the free? Do Virginia Negroes want to be in a land of the free? If the same Professor Gandy quoted above may be considered a spokesman for the Virginia Negroes, the following are the Negro's wants: We want equal accommodations in public carriages; we want justice in the distribution of neighborhood advantages; we want equal wages for equal work; we want the same provisions made for our education as for that of others; and then he felt it necessary to add, we don't want social equality (whatever that means). From expressions throughout the State, it is fair to say that this about sums up the wants of the Virginia Negro.

The NEGRO WOMAN TEACHER and the NEGRO STUDENT

By ELISE JOHNSON McDOUGALD



Mrs.
McDOUGALD

It may seem a far cry from the early days of history, before the War of the Revolution, to the present day—but many of the educational problems confronting the Negro woman teacher then still exist in forms, subtly changed by the trend of the times. As one reviews such books as C. G. Woodson's "The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861," the echo of age-long theories about education for the Negro can be heard rumbling today, though somewhat subdued, and less openly threatening. There is, however, much to be

thankful for. The day is long passed when arguments are heated over the idea that Negroes have souls and minds. Education for him is no longer countenanced solely for the purpose of religious conversion. Teachers devoted to the education of the Negro are no longer legitimate objects for persecution, insults and injury. Laws are no longer made forbidding teaching to the black man even the simplest rudiments of knowledge. But, one still hears in the North such statements as, "It is a disservice to permit such students (Negro) to pursue studies which obviously in given instances can contribute nothing towards the solution of their

vocational problems." And, in the South, higher education is persistently denied the Negro with about the same unreasonableness as was used formerly against the most elementary training. Night riders are today terrorizing the leading educators of the South with the same tactics used years ago in the burning of buildings and in threatening personal injury. The Negro teachers of today show heroism which matches that of such women as Maria Becraft, Mary Wormeley, Margaret Thompson, Fannie Hampton, Myrtilla Miner, and many others who in the early '80s faced riot and violence which closed colored schools and made educational work a hazardous vocation. Truly, "History repeats itself."

Through all of this story of struggle, the fact stands out that the determination of the Negroes in the vanguard of the race is the largest factor in the educational progress which has been made. These men and women were sometimes preachers and more often teachers. As far back as 1787 in New York City, and 1798 in Boston, through their persistent efforts and white sympathetic aid, they established the first schools for colored, of any size or system. As soon as Negro teachers developed, they took up the many problems which had been so long the sole burden of such sane and straight-thinking groups as the "Society of Friends," or Quakers, and, of the Catholics. The early Negro teachers struggled with all the pedagogical problems of the times when educational ideals were cramped. They faced besides the practical difficulties of raising funds for buildings, books, supplies and salaries. Then, as now, they battled with the effect of persistent repression upon the Negro youth himself and had to join with the Catholic and the Quaker in trying to arouse in the Negro group a sufficient consciousness of the need of education as a preparation, not only for Heaven hereafter, but for better living on earth. Their task was heroic.

The present day Negro teacher faces problems equally difficult. Modern life has become so complex and indirect that much that was taught formerly in even the humblest home is now within the scope of the teachers' duty. This is true of teachers of all groups, but especially so of the Negro teacher. Because the Negro mother must work outside of the home to supplement the Negro father's earnings, the Negro woman teacher must needs be mother and guide, as well as class-room instructor.

Throughout the North and the South, urban and rural teachers form an earnest and forward-looking body of women. They are endeavoring to hold for the future the progress that has been made in the past. She finds that, figuratively speaking, she must stand on her tip-toes to do it, for educational standards are no longer what they were. The great upheaval of the World War has quickened the public insight into the need for better and more education for all groups. The Negro woman's qualifications for, and the standards of the work expected of her, have been elevated to keep pace with the times. Her salary has in most places lagged behind, and is often unbelievably low. The satisfaction of giving service has to constitute half the pay received by these women. Were it not for such funds as the Jeannes-Slater, and for such men as

Julius Rosenwald, the situation in many localities would be intolerable.

On the other hand, her inspiration is the belief that the hope of the race is in the New Negro student. More vital than what he is compelled to be today, is what he is determined to make of himself tomorrow. As he is trained to think, so will he gradually make his world. Among interested adults there is a well-grounded dissatisfaction with the quality of thought emanating from the general student body of American colleges. An element of real tragedy will enter if the Negro youth falls prey to the malady of sterility of vigorous thought which is attacking other student groups. It is the high duty of the Negro woman teacher to teach the Negro youth to maintain a critical attitude toward what he learns, rather than to lay emphasis on stuffing and inflating him only with the thoughts of others. Surrounded by forces which persistently work to establish the myth of his inferiority the Negro youth must learn to think vigorously, to hold his spiritual and mental balance. Lacking this power, forging ahead will be impossible for him.

In a brief summary, of this nature, it is possible to indicate only a few of the outstanding contributions which the Negro woman teacher is hopeful of making. Her's is the task of knowing well her race's history and of finding time to impart it in addition to all other standard facts required, and to impart it in such a way that the adolescent student will realize: 1. That, in fundamentals he is essentially the same as other humans. 2. That, being different in some ways does not mean that he is inferior. 3. That, he has a contribution to make to his group. 4. That, his group has a contribution to make to his nation and, 5. That, he has a part in his nation's work in the world. To stimulate this spirit is the most lasting and far-reaching phase of the Negro teacher's work.

She must be ever on her guard to recognize the most progressive steps in education and to analyze deeply their meaning to her group. Comparisons and unfounded generalizations about mental ability and school achievement of various races, for instance, are but a recurring fad of pseudo-scientists. The truly scientific psychologists are searching carefully for the basic reasons for any apparent inferiorities. They and the sociologists show that the roots of the trouble run deep into the social fabric and feed upon such conditions as the low wages of the Negro man, the outside work of the Negro mother, health hazards, spiritual exhaustion and general maladjustment. Confronting the results of these forces in the class-room, the Negro teacher, throughout the country meets each individual case with the best of her skill and judgment. She brings to the situation the most that a sympathetic heart can give. But, more and more she is becoming convinced that over and above her class-room duties, she must work in a larger way outside the classroom to aid all movements for general betterment.

Above all she must keep before her the highest ideals. In her special field she will do well to find courage to "carry on" by sharing with Professor Follett of Brown University his conception of the aims of education. He says: "It means deliberately to prepare the individual for a better world."

CLOSED DOORS

A STUDY IN SEGREGATION

By RUTH WHITEHEAD WHALEY



MRS WHALEY

In proportion as men differ in race, characteristics or ideas, just so much do they distrust, dislike and abuse each other. The more unlike the more disliked. The natural tendency of two unlike groups is to fear, hate and exterminate the other. The stronger or better trained group becomes the dominant power. It cries aloud its superiority. Any indignity heaped upon the other group is justified in the name of their inferiority. Inferiority is an old misnomer for injustice. It is not the unique product of present day conditions. Centuries ago the Romans justified their world plunder by calling their victims barbarians. The nobility of Europe looks down upon the peasant who feeds them. The Norman called the Saxon inferior. Of this inferiority complex the Negro in America has been and is the chief sufferer. He is called inferior because he is of a different race, different color, as an excuse for the indignity heaped upon him, a balm for irritated consciences. When two different groups are living side by side there arise animosities and prejudices born of their ignorance each of the other. They have a mutual desire to exploit and exterminate. By the dominant group the dominated is called a problem or menace. Thus in America the Negro Problem—where to relegate this Black People, in what manner best to quell each noble impulse of theirs, how to feed each base inclination—the solution of this problem has been the chief pursuit of a vast majority of white America.

The first solution attempted was slavery. But the economic advantage of unpaid free labor in the South over hired labor in the North was too great. Thus slavery was ended and incidentally and as collateral to the main issue the Negro was free.

The second solution suggested was colonization in some possession of the United States or in Africa. It was never accomplished. The South was never willing to give up the easily exploited Negro labor. The second solution was cast aside. The third solution attempted is segregation (not the voluntary collecting of Negroes as the word might denote) rather the closed door. Thus far and no farther shalt thou come.

Segregation! Volumes might be written about it. It is the Negro's nemesis. The evil of segregation lies not alone in being excluded or relegated, it goes far deeper—the heritage of thinking black, the segregated atmosphere, the reaction upon the dominant group. If segregation consisted in nothing more than separate schools, churches, housing districts, etc., that alone, as despicable and undesirable as it would be, could not constitute the menace we now face. The most insidious weapon of segregation is the atmosphere it carries. This separating and setting apart is the most virulent expression of vaunted superiority. The dividing line is so visible until being constantly seen it nurtures a peculiar train of thought, a distinct psychological reaction. Segregation is the chief exponent of "divine right of race." The tendency is for the dominant group to excuse and justify the segregation

with false and illogical reasoning. They finally believe it. The segregated group becomes over-race-conscious, hates bitterly and loses the value of inter-relation. The justification offered for segregation is the inferiority of the Negro. The blight of segregation is the belief in his inferiority it engenders in both groups. It colors the treatment which the dominant group gives the segregated. It has an unwholesome effect upon the oppressed.

The "Negro's place" has usually been applied to him socially, industrially or educationally. But in recent years this place means also his residence. Segregation ordinances began to flourish in 1911. He must not live in certain restricted areas. To be more exact he must not own homes or reside in certain restricted white districts. No one objects if he lives in the same house as servant with his employer. But to live in his own house next door—the proximity was too great. The real reason seemed to be fear of social equality. The mere proximity was not dreaded but the character of the proximity. If as servant—no objection. If as owner, as resident—it couldn't be. It doesn't follow that segregation of the Negro in residential quarters will in any manner solve the "race problem." The knowledge of the average white person concerning the Negro whom he dislikes is meagre and usually based on hearsay, or knowledge of the servant class only. If they are to be forever separated by iron bars he will learn little more about him than he already knows. The acquaintance of one intelligent Negro would give him a different view of them perhaps. Why relegate the Negro to certain sections if his taste and purse lead him elsewhere, so long as he conducts himself properly? Industry segregates the Negro—the reason he is shiftless. Remember that where the Negro has been given fair opportunity he has proven these charges false. Segregation in industry begins in the Labor Unions—the irony of it—certain jobs are gladly given him "that's his place." But many jobs are closed to him: of these we speak. When segregation does not flourish, the Negro's good record is excused as being exceptional in the particular instance referred to. Educational segregation is not a myth, for even yet there is a prevalent idea that classical and professional education should be denied Negroes generally. That in spite of the record of hundreds and thousands of Negro college and professional graduates. One underlying objection to higher education is the knowledge that the educated Negroes will not be so easily exploited. Having been trained in the same arts and sciences there will be a closer consciousness between educated Negroes and educated whites, and Banquo's ghost—social equality—might become a reality. For it is folly to give persons the same advantages and contact during formative periods, then ask them to forget it all and accept benighted dogmas again. But social equality does not of necessity mean wholesale inter-marriage, of race amalgamation. It does mean that each person will have the right to choose any other person for social intercourse, friendship or marriage. And why not? In some sections the Negro has been barred from any

part in political affairs through various ingenious schemes. Where he has been allowed free use of the ballot he has in most places until recently segregated himself. As in all other cases of segregation it has proved detrimental to him.

In the Negro world there is one figure the victim of a two-fold segregation and discrimination—the New Negro Woman. Woman's emancipation is strangely parallel with the Negro's struggle. Inferiority is the reason given for her oppression. She has been considered as a mere chattel, cowed and subdued, taught that she, like children, must be seen and not heard. Pettied as an ornament of the home, a plaything for the male, producer of a line of warriors and race builders. Lacking all chance for development she is called inferior because she hasn't developed. The Negro woman falls heir to all these prejudices, and to add injury to distress she is a Negro. If there is any one person against whom the doors have been closed it is the New Negro Woman. As a woman she was outside her sphere. As a Negro woman she was impossible. In industry, education and politics she is gradually coming into her own. But remember her closed doors are of the thickness of two—she is first a woman, then a Negro. May the fates be kind to her!

A fair and thoughtful view of segregation leads one to believe that it is a futile gesture of the white man to the Negro. An expiring death groan ere the inevitable happens. It is impossible to stop the upward

striving of the Negro by segregation; their progress may be retarded. But Time, the great winnower and sifter of truth, will aid them. The great mass of "exceptional Negroes," who have attained far more than Negroes are supposed to attain, are now to be reckoned with. Closer association of the races in cities of the North and East produces both good and bad results. Seeing more Negroes they of necessity see more "bad Negroes," also more intelligent and ambitious Negroes than ever before. Theories are slowly and reluctantly being revised. The result is sometimes more segregation, sometimes less dependent upon the innate justice and honesty of that particular group.

But segregation as terrible as it is, the curse of segregated atmosphere as blighting as it is, will not forever be. The Egyptians and Babylonians once were supreme in power. They also enslaved and segregated. They are now a memory of history only. The ancestors of Horace and Socrates have so lost in prestige until Macaulay says of them: "Their people have degenerated into timid slaves and their language into a barbarous jargon." The barbarians, of whom Aristotle said: "It is impossible for them to count beyond their fingers" did subsequently produce a Shakespeare and Newton. In the cycle of the years, the evolution and revolution of ideas and civilizations, the segregated Negro will also come into his own. He will lose his "inferiority" when and as he loses its mate, injustice. Finally the shadow will be lifted. The closed door swings ajar.

THE LIBRARY; A FACTOR IN NEGRO EDUCATION

By SADIE MARIE PETERSON



MISS PETERSON

Where the subway lets out her crowd and in the midst of the Negro populace stands the 135th Street New York Public Library.

Its purpose is to stimulate education and to give to the Public books and definite and accurate information.

This library is unique in its scope as it not only fosters activities of the community but serves as the center of Negro culture. It is the place for a Chaucer to write "A Canterbury Tale." It is the place for an artist with the many races and unusual types. It is a place for a poet to verse his new song for this great reading public.

Within its doors, where Ethiopia stands "Awakened," chiseled by a Negro Sculptor, there is the very atmosphere of Education.

On one floor a forum is maintained where alien, friend and foe come to give vent in free speech, to understand their problems and to bring about a clear interpretation of world affairs. On another floor classes are held by the Red Cross for nurses' training and one might see any evening a stream of splendidly uniformed women passing from one floor to the other, whose training can well afford the cross and veil.

The Scouts are also a splendid group who hold their meetings in the auditorium and there is carried out such discipline as makes the Negro youth a benefit to his community.

Evenings with authors add much to stimulate

and increase reading interest for there one comes face to face with Mary Austin, Carl Van Dorn, Babette Deutsch, Clement Wood, and others. Even more interesting is the annual exhibit of Negro Art which encourages such artistic expression from the race and gives birth to race pride.

The funds are inadequate to supply as many books as are needed, yet the Negro collection is one to be proud of. This serves as a background to the Negro who has a desire to know his race history. Old books with valuable information, year books and compilations of various research—Among Negroes—and books of lives of eminent Negro poets and authors fill the shelves of the Negro collection. Books on Africa and Egypt are also to be had.

It is encouraging to enter the library and see the many students browsing in source material—working out some problem or essay to present in class.

The Summer Students use the library and they are given a welcome reception, and all assistance in their summer reading and material. At the close of the term they are given a lasting farewell, that they may remember the Library when they get to the Southland or wherever their schools may be.

There is a splendid chance for Americanization with eight or ten distinct types of foreign Negroes, who want books on Civics or "How to become a citizen" or the "Americanization of Edward Bok," or "Education of Henry Adams."

There are books for the professor, teacher, student,

domestic, laborer, inventor and poet. The man who is in over-alls is made as comfortable and given every assistance and courtesy in obtaining his material as the doctor or lawyer.

The Bulletin Board on the main floor serves to give daily information on Current events. The Reference Room carries all standard periodicals.

The books by modern authors do not crowd out the old standard authors. Homer, Milton, Dickens, Dunbar stand in their places while a separate collection is kept of new books. The class of reading is very high and Negroes prefer Robinson's "Mind in the Making," or Wells' "Outline of History," or Lippman's "Public Opinion" more than any of the new alluring fiction.

The congested school situation is aided by the library service. One is awed by the stream of classes going from the school to the library to be given reference assistance or to hear a story of great heroes told them.

The children's room is often crowded after school hours with many a little urchin eager to hear of the "Pied Piper," or "Little Black Sambo," or "Dr. Dolittle," or "Unsung Heroes," eyes are open wide and sometimes mouths with intense interest while the Librarian lets the children follow the "piper" in such a real way that one can visualize the tale.

The tots gain their first introduction to literature from the Children's Room of the library.

Strangers seek the library to get more information as to the Negro and they note with interest the congeniality of a mixed staff white and colored which has a tendency to help solve the problem, the contact and understanding has been such as to influence many an institution South who have learned of this existing fact.

The eyes of the world are on this library with the Negro, Jew, Chinese, Arab, East Indian, West Indian, Spaniard, Mexican, all seeking education.

Visitors come from Africa's sunny shores, busy Paris, unsettled Germany, and many other climes to visit this library. Heads of various Educational Institutions register their interest at the library and thus it becomes an important factor in Education to the community.

Its aim is always to give out the best books and material and to serve the public.

It is not necessary to erase the Slave Regime thought or to forget the past, but to read the best, think the best and encourage higher education.

When minds of men are fed on books
That bring them education,
How can they lose their goal or aim,
Or their determination?
'Twill wear away the prejudice,
The fertile, well fed brain
Where Hate once was, Love enters in
And ever there remains.

COLOR AND CAMOUFLAGE

A PSYCHOANALYSIS

By WILLIAM PICKENS



MR. PICKENS

Psychoanalysis explains human behavior by the great Unconscious Mind. Individual idiosyncrasies, group psychology, "race questions" are cleared up by this science. The Mind is one, but the greater part of the mind is the Unconscious part—as the greater part of an iceberg is the under-water part. Seven-eighths of

floating ice is under water. The bigger the whole mass, the bigger the visible part—but the visible part is relatively small.

So with the mind: The Conscious part is the smaller part, while the Unconscious is the inconceivably vast store-house in which are packed away all the experiences and impulses of the individual and perhaps of the ancestral race or races to which he belongs. Especially are all of our forbidden desires and repressed emotions stored away in this Unconscious: all things forbidden by fear, casts, social custom, "civilization." But they are there in the unconscious and may invade the conscious field at any time. There are so many awful "taboos" which modesty and fear forbid us to be conscious of, that nature has developed a guardian or watch-dog, a gate-keeper, to keep these things from coming out of the Unconscious into the Conscious. For want of a better name, this guard at the gates is called the "Censor." If this Censor gets off the job for a moment (as when we are half-asleep, very tired, drunk, doped or otherwise "off our nut"), then a whole train of horrible desires, thoughts, impulses rush into the Conscious, and we are "peculiar," "queer," "idiotic," "crazy," "maniac"—according to the temporary or

permanent degree of weakness or of relaxation of the Censor.

When we sleep, for example, this Censor is off the job, more off in some minds than in others, and the Dreams come: a whole train of forbidden and repressed desires that gain temporary freedom and rush up out of their submergence—and so we "dream" of doing things which we would never do awake, and many things which only our cave-ancestors, or the hairy ancestors of our cave-ancestors, would do *consciously*. There are other times when this Censor is partially off guard, as in reverie, day-dreaming, drowsing, drunkenness, etc. When a person does what he is afterwards sorry for, and says: "I was weak"—it is an instance of the failure of this Censor, and the temporary triumph of ancestral snakes, lizzards, toads, beasts and savages, so to speak.

It is evident, therefore, that the more *pretense* and *hypocrisy* there is in a civilization, the harder the Censor has to work, the more exhausted he becomes at times, and the readier to relax and let loose a whole train of atavistic "varmints" and Medusas. Girls tyrannized-over in "boarding school" sometimes run wild when they get loose—overworked business men and female "society" slaves sometimes "raise Cain," when they find the "lid off" somewhere—and the hypocrites of our "superior" civilization seem much more depraved than the natives when they get to a "wide-open" place like Tia Juana, in Mexico, or Monte Carlo, in Europe.

Now we can understand that American white people, through their false and unnatural association with

black Americans for so many years, have their *Unconscious* stored full of repressed desires and feelings respecting people of color; and how the tired Censor gets off the job and there is sometimes a "gushing over" toward color, when any thing or situation presents itself which the white individual can *consciously* (and more or less conscientiously) consider a "good reason" or an "exception" for breaking away from the soul-enslaving custom. White people are human; and the individual, or his ancestors, may have deeply desired, from time to time, to have normal relations with various colored individuals whom they met up with: to be kind or affectionate, to talk normally to, or to have more intimate associations with. Custom and caste and fear caused most of these desires to go unexpressed and to be instantly repressed and clapped down by the awful Censor into the sub-cellar of the Unconscious.

But *there they are*—and what a job to keep them there! More and more of a job as the ages go by and the work of repressing, and compressing, increases. It is a relief when such white people can open up to colored "excuses" from other parts of the world: an African Negro girl, under the disguise of being a "Hindu Princess," won in London the honor of being voted "one of the few most beautiful women of the world"; colored girls, under Pacific-Ocean-sounding names, are holding jobs as "Hawaiian beauties" in some of the swell tea gardens of New York City.

But let us tell you of at least two very interesting cases: In one of the states of the Union we have an acquaintance who is from that part of Asia where some of the natives are black and have straight and coal-black hair. This Asiatic gentleman married an American Negro woman, who is also beautifully black. She has brains, and knew by instinct and experience, rather than by psychoanalysis, that American whites would easily "fall" for "Asiatic blacks." She therefore decided to be of the same nativity as her husband and go into business with him, selling curios and wares from their native (?) land to the gullible blonde millionaires who visit the pleasure resort where they established themselves. She bought her a black head of hair, of the Asiatic kind; they are, of course, known by the Asiatic name of the husband, and have a rich business among snobbish white Americans. The thing works like a charm. It is our opinion that many of them know that the woman is a Negro, but so long as she will gratify their self-conceit by "passing," keeping on her foreign-looking hair and talking about "our country," where she has never been, they are perfectly willing to give the weary Censor a respite and enjoy being human toward colored people for a while.

This shrewd little black woman has learned how to profit in other ways by the inevitable weakness of this self-deceiving hypocrisy: One day a millionaire lady came in to buy a certain kind of *rare* lace, no better than that made in Massachusetts perhaps, but harder to get and "made in a certain part of Asia." She had often bought it before from those who knew how to sell at millionaire prices. She demanded that kind.

"Eight dollars a yard," replied our Afro-Asiatic woman.

"Oh, I don't want that," said the rich lady, "for it can't be *genuine* at that price. Have you none of the real — lace?"

"I expect some in a few days, Madam," said the

black woman, who saw in a flash that the white woman was looking for a *price*, not a quality.

A few days later, the rich lady: "Has the — lace come yet?"

"Yes, Madam," handing out the same lace.

"What is the price?"

"Twelve dollars the yard."

"That's the kind. Please give me 20 yards."

And so they had to take eighty dollars more of her money just to satisfy her vanity.

And so it is with their color psychosis: they are willing to accept *black*, providing the situation is sufficiently camouflaged to allow the Censor to feel that the accepted black is not exactly of the black people whom the individual and his ancestors have been for so many years fighting and repressing, in their country and in their Consciousness.

One more case—there are thousands of them. There is a Negro friend of ours in one of the Middle Western states who is dark-brown and heavy-featured. He is of an ingenious turn of mind, and he has invented several useful appliances, and has also compounded a hair preparation and discovered a treatment by which the crinkly Afro-American kind can be made straight like the hair of the Amerindian. He allowed his own dark Negro hair to grow long and then straightened it, so that it hung toward his shoulders. Then in company with a white Northern friend, who was in the trick, the straightened-haired colored American took one of his mechanical inventions to New Orleans, and in an international contest for excellence in that particular apparatus he was awarded *first prize* and a great gold medal.

But who was he in camouflage, and in New Orleans? Why, "Chief Mason," from some little island, real or imaginary, up in one of the Canadian lakes, where he had never been. Socially he was a lion in New Orleans; he was quartered at the most exclusive hotel, invited to all the society dances, and could hardly get rid of the curiosity-struck women. "Father, may I dance with the Indian," was what he heard from the young daughters of the greatest snobs in Louisiana.

And this "Indian," mind you, is darker than nine-tenths of the colored people who live in New Orleans, and with whom those Louisiana snobs will not ride in the same railway coach. But the Censor of the ages, who stands guard between the Conscious hypocrisy and the Unconscious naturalness, found temporary relief in getting off the job and letting out some of the repressed desires toward some "other kind" of dark man. This Censor sometimes gets off duty and lets out the Terrors in crowd-psychology: mobs and lynchings. The "Terror" of the French Revolution, when men were tigers and women were hyenas!

How long can this repression of nature be supported?



THE ETHIOPIAN ART PLAYERS AND THE NORDIC COMPLEX. By Abram L. Harris.

Salome, the very uninteresting play of Oscar Wilde's from the viewpoint of dramatization, as played by the Ethiopian Art Players, has been characterized a feeble attempt to circumvent the unreasoning prejudice

which still meets the efforts of Negro artists who have very little *joie de vivre*. While this statement carries a negative implication that we refuse to accept, we admit that it takes account of the white American's reaction to the Negro artist appearing in the title roles as anything but the laughing age or the rheumatic uncle.

We saw the Ethiopian Art Players in their opening performance. From the standpoint of dramatic criticism, we think it sufficient to say that we were much pleased with the dramatic possibilities of the players as a whole and particularly impressed with Miss Evelyn Preer. In this discussion we are more concerned with the criticism made by the white press than with an evaluation of the histrionic ability of the players and their delineation of Wilde's characters. Like most of the critics we enjoyed "The Chip Woman's Fortune" more than "Salome." Unlike them, we did not like Miss Preer in this as much as in "Salome." On the other hand, Sidney Kirkpatrick showed more genuine native ability in "The Chip Woman's Fortune" than he did in "Salome." We liked "Salome" less because it was uninteresting and dull, and "The Chip Woman's Fortune" more because it was swift, breezy and intensely human—not because it contained a Negro motif, however.

Most of the criticisms that have come to us, force us to conclude that otherwise liberal white critics are utterly impotent in dissociating the sociological significance of race in this country from the purely artistic efforts of the Ethiopian Art Players. The motivating question prompting such criticism has dealt more with the Negro artists' right to undertake a rendition of a serious dramatic production than with the success attained by the players who produced "Salome."

If the histrionic genius of the best players of the Ethiopian company is due to the fact that they are inextricably mixed, as one writer suggests, the desires of these players to produce the so-called drama of the white folk ought to be a logical consequence of such racial crossing. But this is introducing that extraneous fallacy of "blood will tell" which if carried to its logical conclusion would burden white folks with more shortcomings of the Negro than they'd willingly bear. Another critic says that "the effort was to have every principal appear as much like members of the white race as possible." Nothing seems more fitting to us than that they should do this very thing. First of all our traditional belief that all drama is a depiction of white folk justifies their effort to satisfy this belief. In the second place some of the characters who appeared in the leading roles were "white enough to pass," and had very little making up to do. Thus, from the standpoint of the art of realism which demands the portraying of life as it is, they were again in their legitimate bounds. An individual of the type from whom we have just quoted may watch a group of Negro players perform the rest of his life, but if the company portrayed anything but what some see fit to call Negro psychology and Negro life, he would be wholly unable to pass impartial judgment. For even if the players approached the beautiful fairness of the Nordic, there would linger in the critic's sub-consciousness a mental parallelism of white art for white folk, and black art for black folk.

Suppose "Salome" had been rottenly produced by

these colored performers. (We hardly think that the case.) Who among the critics could say that their poor performing was due to the fact that as Negro players they could pantomime only Negro life, rather than to ill training or an utter lack of it? What is so peculiarly indigenous to the psychic nature of beings, lacking in skin pigmentation, that makes it next to the impossible for another being having a little more skin coloring from expressing the passions, emotions and sentiments which go to make up the nature of both?

To some of us it does seem ridiculous to see a "Salome" acted by a person of Negro origin. Despite this foolish sentimentality which has nothing to do with art, the mere possession of Negro blood or the fact that one was born in a Negro environment does not inhibit one's effective and accurate delineation of a character such as was Wilde's "Salome," if one has histrionic ability and has had the sufficient dramatic training. Our inability to witness a dramatic performance by Negroes without reference to the societary meaning of color is no fault of the artist. If the color question must be drawn in by contemporary critics, it should be done with this proviso: Because of our American heritage of color psychology it is more gratifying to our aesthetic whims to hear a Negro sing his own songs than to hear him sing those of the white man and to see a Negro actor portray Negro life than to see him give a rendition of serious plays. It is needless to say that such a position puts the dramatic critic in the class with the compromising politician of the Harding ilk who admonishes the Negro to be "the best Negro he can and never the best imitation of the white man." What would be the critics' reaction if a Negro was employed by a metropolitan company to appear in the title role of Othello? Our question is answered by the tabooed attempt to have a colored person perform this part and the unpopularity of Othello because of its racial significance to white folk. Every day and in every way Othello is getting whiter and whiter. Eventually he'll become white enough to act on Broadway as Mr. Othello, the Nordic blonde instead of the bronze Moor.

The criticism which will be made of us is that we are desirous of being white or wanting to ape white folk. Granting that this is our desire, are we more reprehensible for aping the white man than he is for imitating every other people with whom he has come into contact? Culture, the anthropologist will inform us, is not the invention of any one people. The so-called religion of the white man, his art, his music, and every spiritual blessing as well as mechanical achievement he enjoys as *his culture*, has come down the ages as the consequence of adventition, invention and imitation. Possibly these critics would have the Negro create clothing fashions of his own when he has at his disposal those the white man has borrowed from Paris; or his own jurisprudence, when he already has one borrowed from Rome and England by the American white man to improve upon. However, we do not share the belief that playing drama is mimicking the white man. The great works of Shakespeare, Molière and others are not the indisputable heritage of the white man which constitute his forbidden territory of drama upon which none but Caucasians should trespass. We ask these proponents of inescapable racial differences in art to define "do not imitate the

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THE DECAY OF CAPITALIST CIVILIZATION. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Published by Harcourt, Brace & Company, New York, 1923. Price, \$1.75. Reviewed by Thomas Kirksey.



MR. KIRKSEY

I wish to preface my remarks by saying that "The Decay of Capitalist Civilization" is one of those books to be read and not reviewed. The review or better, such an attempt as I am here submitting, is like the serving up of foodstuffs for the second time, which, by the very act, lose in the process much of their original essence. So cogent is the presentation on the great majority of the pages that one finds himself constantly under the necessity of restraining himself from being decoyed off into doing something very different from that which he originally undertook, viz.; rewriting instead of reviewing the book. (Ofentimes one fails so to restrain himself as I have done.)

"The Decay of Capitalist Civilization" is essentially, as the writers aver, an indictment of the capitalist system. It is on all fours with the Manifesto of the Communist Party by Marx and Engels. It is no less scathing, nor yet any less scientific. It is a careful evaluation of the civilization that has been evolved by the supplanters of mediævalism—the bourgeoisie. The thesis of Ellsworth Huntington has shown how civilizations rise and fall in obedience to climate. Miss Ellen Churchill Semple has aided Ratzel and Buckle in stressing the potency of the geographic determinant. The authors of the above-named book are no less astute than either of the foregoing in describing not so much how economic conditions determine, but rather how such conditions are destroying, worm-eating the very pillars under the capitalist civilization, rotting it at its base. The collapse of this civilization is imminent. The Webbs have re-echoed and renewed the validity of the subject of an article published some years ago in the West, which ran: "Caesar, Your Castle is Crumbling."

The book is above the adverse criticism that it is so hasty in its denunciation of the capitalist civilization that it is blind to anything which it may embody or may have contained of worth. It portrays very vividly the necessity of capitalism (at one time) and its initial successes, but, like the veriform appendix, capitalism has not only ceased to function socially, but is now actually the source of much suffering.

The majority of the indictments and many of their counts are not new. To newness the authors have nowhere nor at any time manifested any interest in laying claim. Their claim to a justification of a representation of old indictments and as equally old counts, lies essentially, the writer likes to think, in the peculiar twist which they have been given. Thus, in such an old indictment as the inequality of income, the authors permit themselves to become involved not so much in controversy over economic theory as in depicting what distasteful things are derived from this disparity of income within the different classes which compose modern societies. Foremost among some of them are the relation which manners bear to economic conditions or rather how economic conditions determine manners, and the dysgenic influence which inequality of income begets.

The superiority complex which great wealth inevitably breeds is unmasked with a skill that is as destructive to the propertied class as it is true to conditions. The capitalist is seriously taken to task for all of his economic bigotry and galling insolence. Well might the antagonists of the present order so often repeat the pet phrase that "capitalism contains the seeds of its own destruction."

The dysgenic influence, although a borrowed thought from the versatile G. Bernard Shaw, is a startling revelation of the rôle that economics play in eugenics. (Now eugenics, briefly stated, is a set of principles evolved very largely by Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin, which seeks to improve the human species by breeding.) It has been urged against eugenics that it is an invasion of an inalienable right of the individual to choose whom he pleases. This can hardly now be said to be peculiar to eugenics, for Mr. G. Bernard Shaw has conclusively shown that this hallowed inalienable right of the individual to choose whom he pleases, which some people so smartly prate about, thinking that they destroy in a blow the claims of the eugenists, has already been invaded, if not destroyed, by the developments of modern industry, thus bringing it about that the people, instead of marrying whom they wish, are compelled to enter into con-

jugal relations with whom they must. Thus writes Mr. Shaw:

"I do not believe," he says, "that you will ever have any improvement in the human race until you greatly widen the area of possible sexual selection; until you make it as wide as the numbers of the community make it. Just consider what occurs at the present time. I walk down Oxford Street, let me say, as a young man. I see a woman who takes my fancy. I fall in love with her. It would seem very sensible, in an intelligent community, that I should take off my hat and say to this lady: 'Will you excuse me, but you attract me strongly, and if you are not already engaged, would you mind taking my name and address and considering whether you would care to marry me?' Now I have no such chance at present. Probably when I meet that woman, she is either a charwoman, and I cannot marry her, or else she is a duchess, and she will not marry me. I have purposely taken the charwoman and the duchess; but we cut matters much finer than that. We cut our little class distinctions, all founded upon inequality of income, so narrow and so small that, etc. . . . The result is that you have, instead of a natural evolutionary sexual selection, a class selection which is really a money selection. Is it to be wondered at that you have an inferior and miserable breed under such circumstances?"

Thus we see capitalism defeating not only the first of what Professor Lester F. Ward has so exhaustively shown in his Dynamic Sociology to be the two great ends of nature,—preservation, but also seriously interfering with and even to some extent nullifying the second,—perpetuation.

The inequality in personal freedom, another indictment of the authors, which is itself conditioned upon the inequality of income, incriminates the capitalist system not alone for the effect which it lends in robbing the great mass of the people of cultural values, nay, even their appreciation, it goes a step further by hounding the worker even to his physical and mental environments, commanding not only where he should live, but even dictating the very thoughts that he must think. Now this control over the state which the property owning classes are thus able to exercise, resulting in a limitation of personal freedom both physical and mental for the workers, is secured largely through the co-operation of the brain-workers, the "intellectual proletariat" or the white collar group. Thus we read:

"The deep seated intolerance by the more ignorant manual workers of the very existence of the professional brain-workers is not due solely to the difficulty a navvy (a laborer on canals, railroads, embankments, etc.) finds in believing that a man who sits in a comfortable chair by a cheerful fire in a carefully sound-proofed room is doing any work at all, much less work that will leave him hungry and exhausted in three or four hours. Many wage-workers are sufficiently educated to know better. . . . Their share in the prejudice is explained, if not justified, by the fact that the brain-workers, in every capitalist state, find themselves attracted, and economically compelled, to take service under the property owners. Historically the professions emerge as the hirelings of the governing class for the time being. In the modern industrial system they naturally serve the proprietors of the instruments of production, who alone can insure to the vast majority of them a secure and ample livelihood with some prospect of climbing up to the eminence of 'living by owning.' The lawyers, the engineers, the architects the men of financial and administrative ability, the civil servants, the authors and journalists, the teachers of the schools beyond the elementary grade, the whole class of managers, the inventors, even the artists and the men of science—not altogether excluding, in spite of their long charitable service of the poor, the medical profession and the ministers of religion, nor yet, for all their devotion to the children of the masses, even the elementary school teachers—are almost inevitably retained, consciously or unconsciously, in the maintenance and defense of the existing social order, in which the private ownership of the instruments of production is the cornerstone."

These, Lenin has called the poodles of the bourgeoisie. The wool, however, is gradually falling from the eyes of what the authors style this *nouvelle couche sociale*—the active brain-workers.

We note: "At the same time this 'intellectual proletariat' discovers that the capitalist system has, for the great mass of brain-workers, practically no prizes. In many cases they find themselves pecuniarily worse off than the manual workers. They often earn less; their livelihood is sometimes more insecure; and they are in most cases subject to greater personal tyranny."

It is in this very condition of the brain-workers just described that a silver lining is beginning to emerge for the manual workers from behind the dark ominous clouds of double-dealing and deception. The confederate is now joining hands with the intended victim. Not only are the brain workers gradually ceasing to allow themselves to be used as tools in capitalist schemes of subjection for private gain, but they are actually making common cause with the manual workers; for, we are told that the younger professionals are aligning themselves with the Socialist movement.

The old political liberalism of the nineteenth century, with its catch words of the right to vote, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, protection of life and property, et al., thrown out as bait to the manual workers, has decayed. When the authors write of "Why Liberalism Decayed," they do so not in the sense that all of those catch words have been realized by the manual workers in all of the modern governments of the world. Far from it. The United States Government, for example, is a striking instance in point. Such old political sop, so far from having been realized by millions of manual and thousands of brain-workers for that matter in some sections of the United States, would actually brand one as revolutionary to be engaged in their agitation. In this respect the United States Government is quite some centuries behind. What is not even a live issue in some sections of the United States is a dead letter in Europe.

The big problem of today is not political but economic democracy. Anyone who has studied government knows this. Indeed, knowledge of this fact is not necessarily conditioned upon an academic study of government. Where political democracy has been attained in Europe and in those advanced sections of the United States, it has been found through experience, as Lida Parce has so aptly observed, in substance if not in words, that political without industrial democracy amounts to a virtual oligarchy. Thus sum up the authors why liberalism decayed and the demand by the workers for the next step in the governmental historical process—economic democracy . . . "the propertyless worker, by hand or by brain—though conscious that he and his fellows constitute a majority of the electorate,—discover that even with the widest suffrage he is unable, in fact, to control the government of his state. Accordingly, once he has been admitted to voting citizenship, the liberty which Liberalism offers him seems a hypocritical pretense. He finds in the creed of Liberalism no comprehension either of the nature of the servitude in which the capitalist system has engulfed the great bulk of every industrial community, or of the need for an application to industrial organization of the first principles of democracy."

The authors are possessed with a peculiar genius for turning tables, as witness: "The capitalist, without the slightest hesitation, will destroy masses of useful products, or close down his works and abandon his employees to starvation in order to keep up prices. That is flat sabotage; and sabotage is a force that now threatens the existence of civilization. It is idle for the capitalist press to reserve the odious term for the parallel relations of the working class."

It is hardly necessary to go to any length in mentioning to what depths the capitalists are capable of condescending for the sole purpose of private profit, such as the watering of stock, adulteration of products, and the shameful waste of economic goods. All these things and more have been shown by economists and various other writers, foremost among them is Harry Wellington Laidler. (See *Socialism in Thought and Action*.)

After dilating upon such important matters as how best to solve the problem of the dominance of the will of man over man, through the exercise of authority in industry, by the functionless property owners, and after submitting how the profit motive is the mainspring of modern wars, we arrive at what the authors have seen fit to designate "The Armageddon of Economic Creeds." In "The Armageddon of Economic Creeds" we are informed how the class war has now grown so large that it has leaped beyond national boundaries, and threatens a world-wide international boycott of persons holding certain economic views. The boycott is already under way, for the authors assert that: "The United States already excludes Bolsheviks who are truthful or simple enough to announce themselves as such. Russia excludes professed Hundred-per-cent-Americans."

On the whole the book is excellently written. It contains so much praiseworthy material that one who has set for himself the task of reviewing it always feels that he may have omitted something of extraordinary significance and might as well have left unsaid that to which he has given expression. There is one defect, however, which, voluntarily or involuntarily, consciously or unconsciously, has been allowed to creep in to mar the otherwise fair escutcheon of excellence. This defect is the lack of capitalization of the "N" in the word Negroes found on page 114. The writer is quite conscious that it simulates an anti-climax to drag in this adverse criticism here. It may have been a typographical error, or it may have been the result of unconscious imitation free from any attempt to stigmatize race. Yet, fearing that it may have been neither, and that lest he be charged with condoning an open insult to his race, he is thus forced to register this protest.

Open Forum

Not for a long time have we seen anything touching the race problem that impressed us so favorably as the current issue of THE MESSENGER, a periodical published in New York City under the editorship and management of a Negro staff. The feature of this issue, for May, is a collection of some forty book reviews contributed by Negro writers. As one examines the list, one discovers a number of volumes by Negro authors, and a number of others that deal, more or less specifically, with the race problem; and yet one is impressed, above all, by the interest that is here displayed in the general culture of the time. Some of the books under review are "The Social Trend," by Edward A. Ross; "Print of My Remembrance," by Augustus Thomas; "The Story of Mankind," by Hendrik Willem Van Loon; "Jurgen," by James Branch Cabell; and "The Outline of Science," by J. Arthur Thompson. The selection is somewhat light on the side of *belles lettres*, except where the works of Negro authors are concerned; and then too there would seem to be no good reason why the list of reviewers should not have been extended to include a few non-Negro writers. However, these are minor matters, for it is already clear enough that the human spirit predominates over the racial in the policy of this magazine.—Editorial in the *Freeman* for June 6, 1923.

University of Illinois,
Urbana, Illinois,
June 7, 1923.

MY DEAR MR. RANDOLPH:

I thank you for sending me the Educational Number of THE MESSENGER, and congratulate you heartily on the excellence of its typographical appearance and on the competence of its contributors and editors.

Very sincerely yours,
STUART P. SHERMAN.

(Continued from page 775)

white man, portray your own life." In the defining we trust that they will bear in mind that making a contribution to American culture as a racial group is different from not imitating white people. We are confident that the response to our request will smack very much of Mr. Marcus Garvey's philosophy, "Negroes never built any street cars, therefore, they should not ride upon them."

SOJOURNER TRUTH

Messenger of a New Day

IN the second NATIONAL WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CONVENTION, held in Akron, Ohio, in 1852, were gathered the liberals and humanitarians of the United States to discuss pro and con the question of equal rights for women. Suffrage for women in those days was about as popular among the "best" people as industrial democracy is today.

The second day of the convention was characterized by a very hot discussion indulged in mainly by Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Universalist ministers. One after another rose and vehemently argued against the principle of woman suffrage. Some claimed man's intellect was superior to woman's; others resurrected the mythical "sin" of Eve as evidence of woman's unfitness for the ballot. Things looked very dark for the cause. The pale, drawn faces of the little battalion registered blank dismay. Most of them were too timid to "speak out in meeting." The tide seemed to be against them that day. Only an oratorical miracle would save their cause now. Was there no woman there who was capable or courageous enough to turn the tide of opinion into favorable channels? The expressions of blank despair that played upon their faces answered, "NO!"

Then the "Libyan Sibyl," the gaunt, black Sojourner Truth, who had sat silently in a corner, crouched against the wall listening intently to the vociferous discourses of the learned clergymen, arose slowly from her seat, moved to the front of the building and laid her bonnet at her feet. Mrs. Gage, the presiding officer, eager to grasp at any straw that might turn the tide, announced "Sojourner Truth," and pleaded for silence. Every eye was turned upon the giant Negro woman. Her clear and deep tones rang through the house. To one man who had referred to woman's weakness and helplessness, she said, "Nobody eber helped me into carriages, or ober mud puddles, or gibs me any best place," and then she asked in a voice like thunder,

"And a'nt I a woman? Look at me. Look at my arm." And she bared her powerful arm to the shoulder. "I have plowed, and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me—and a'nt I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man, when I could get it, and bear de lash as well—and aint I a woman? I have borne five chilern and seen 'em mos' all sold off into slavery, and when I cried out with a mother's grief, none but Jesus heard—and a'nt I a woman? Dey talks about dis ting in de head—what dis dey call it?" "Intellect," cried some one. "Dat's it, honey. What's dat got to do with women's rights or niggers' rights? If my cup wont hold but a pint and youn holds a quart wouldn't ye be mean not to let me have my little half-measure full?" And she pointed a significant finger at the minister who had made the argument. There was a storm of applause. "Den dat little man in black dar, he say women can't have as much rights as man, 'cause Christ wa'nt a woman. But whar did Christ come from?" The house was as silent as the grave. With rising tones she repeated, "Whar did Christ come from? From God and Woman. Man had nothing to do with Him." The applause was deafening. Then she took another objector to task on the question of the "sin" of Eve. Her logic and wit carried the vast assemblage by storm; and she ended by asserting, "If de fust woman God made was strong enough to turn the world upside down, all alone, dese togedder ought to be able to turn it back and get it right side up again, and now dey is askin' to do it, de men better let 'em."

She returned to her corner amid tremendous roars of applause, leaving the women's eyes filled with tears and their hearts bursting with gratitude. In this way Sojourner Truth went up and down the land turning seeming defeats into victories, and making eloquent pleas for the enslaved Negro and the disfranchised woman.

FOR over six years THE MESSENGER has carried to the toiling masses the economic and social truths that will free the enthralled black and white workers from the chains of wage slavery. We have been doing our bit toward getting the world "right side up again." From cover to cover, from month to month THE MESSENGER has been one eloquent plea for economic and political emancipation for black and white working men and women; for better inter-racial relations. Agitation, Education and Organization have been our watch words, and today THE MESSENGER is without a peer in the field of Negro journalism.

Will you, dear reader, help us to carry on the work? Much remains to be done. Handicapped by lack of funds we have only been able to scratch the surface. With your aid, with the aid of THE MESSENGER Army, we can reach the roots of the problems besetting the Negro man and woman in particular, and all

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