

The Messenger

WORLD'S GREATEST NEGRO MONTHLY



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STATE OF NEW YORK }
COUNTY OF NEW YORK } ss.:

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared A. Philip Randolph, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of The Messenger, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Editor.

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THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

By JAMES ONEAL

Editor of "The New Leader" and noted labor historian

THE Negro in America is a tragedy similar to the tragedy of the Jewish people in many lands. The horrors of the Jewish pogrom have been repeated in the United States. The old Russian Black Hundreds put Jewish settlements to the torch, robbed and murdered Jewish families and turned Jewish maidens over to the lust of brutes. In Rumania, Poland and other countries the fury of ignorance and the greed of scoundrels pursued the Jewish people, a people that has enriched the world's culture by their contributions to the drama, to science, to philosophy and literature in general.

The sad race history of the Jewish people has been paralleled by the Negro race in America. The Negro knows what it means to have his home consumed by flames, to be hunted like an animal, to be hung, shot or burned at the stake. Long experience has taught him to know that his tormentors regard his daughters as prey to serve the lust of whites.

The expanding commerce of Great Britain, Holland and other countries in the seventeenth century and the discovery in the American colonies that Negroes could be used as slaves brought martyrdom to the Negroes. Governments and capitalists associated together in the enterprise of raiding Africa for slaves. The slave trade became a semi-governmental institution. Capitalism came into the world accompanied with slavery and the slave trade.

The age in which the Negro became a slave was an age of piety and religious pretense. Governments regulated and prescribed the faith of men. Ministers of religion searched for religious texts to justify the sale of one man to another. In Puritan New England, pious ship masters rolled their eyes to heaven and asked the blessing of God before they set sail for the African coast for another cargo of Negroes. New England had few slaves but its ship masters engaged in the trade of selling slaves to the slave owners of Virginia and other southern colonies.

The American Revolution brought no emancipation for the Negro. Jefferson's original draught of the Declaration of Independence contained a vigorous indictment of slavery and the slave trade. This was struck out because the southern slave owners would not agree to it being included in the document.

In framing the Constitution of the United States the Negro was again condemned to slavery. That document contained a clause providing for the recovery of slaves when they escaped from one state into another. Another clause guaranteed the continuance of the slave trade until 1808. Still another clause recognized slavery as an institution by permitting the slave states to count three-fifths of the slaves together with the whites as the basis of representation in the lower House of Congress.

The courts under the new Constitution interpreted the document in the interests of slave owners. The Dred Scott decision a few years before the Civil War proclaimed that a slave was property like a horse or a cow. If a master took his slave into a free state the slave no more became free than a horse or a cow became free when taken into another state. This was supposed to settle the matter, but it settled nothing.

North and South were soon in the bloody struggle of the Civil War. Slavery was abolished but it was introduced again under other forms. When the white ruling class resumed power after the removal of northern troops the legislatures enacted laws regulating the labor of Negroes. They were sometimes forced to sign contracts binding them to labor for many years. Their wages were regulated by law. The rise of the Ku Klux Klan prevented them from organizing or voting. They were whipped and terrorized. Many were killed when they protested against the new form of slavery. The Republican party, which pretended to be the friend of the Negro, deserted him and left him to the mercy of the former slave owners and their ignorant followers of poor whites.

These brutalities brought the first great immigration of Negroes in 1879. Between 1866 and 1879 more than 3,000 Negroes were murdered in the South. The new slavery was taking the form of peonage with the whip, the rope and burning at the stake to enforce it. One writer sums up other grievances that faced the Negro:

The convict system by which the courts are permitted to inflict heavy fines for trivial offenses and the sheriff to hire the convicts to planters on the basis of peonage; denial of political rights; long continued persecution for political reasons; a system of cheating by landlords and storekeepers which rendered it impossible for tenants to make a living, and the inadequacy of school facilities.

Thousands of Negroes moved from Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, Tennessee and North Carolina to Kansas. One account of this pitiful flight of Negroes out of the American Egypt will give some idea of its tragedy and suffering. It reads:

Homeless, penniless and in rags, these poor people were thronging the wharves of St. Louis, crowding the steamers on the Mississippi River, hailing the passing steamers and imploring them for a passage to the land of freedom, where the rights of citizens are respected and honest toil rewarded by honest compensation. The newspapers were filled with accounts of their destitution, and the very air was burdened with the cry of distress from a class of American citizens flying from persecution which they could no longer endure. Their piteous tales of outrage, suffering and wrong touched the hearts of the more fortunate members of their race in the North and West, and aid societies, designed to afford temporary relief and composed almost wholly of colored people, were organized in Washington, St. Louis, Topeka and various other places.

One would think that with the progress of civilization and the general cultural advancement of human beings persecution would cease, but there are still brutalities committed against the Negro that remind us of the atrocities of the religious wars. In no other modern nation of the world does the burning of human beings to death occur. The United States has this horrible distinction. It is no unusual thing for thousands of people to gather at these hideous festivals and enjoy them as a drunkard would his whiskey or a dope fiend his dope.

One of these ghastly scenes in Georgia in 1918 is unforgettable. Mary Turner, the wife of a Negro who had been lynched because he resented being cheated, was also lynched although she was soon to become a mother. Brawley in his "Social History of the American Negro" writes that the woman's "ankles were tied together and she was hung to a tree head downward.

Gasoline and oil from the automobiles near were thrown on her clothing and a match applied. While she was yet alive her abdomen was cut open with a large knife and her unborn babe fell to the ground. It gave two feeble cries and then its head was crushed by a member of the mob with his heel."

A nation where such things occur has something of the ferocity of the animal surviving in many of its citizens.

Even in normal periods the migration of Negroes from the South to the North has averaged 10,000 a year. But in the two years 1916 and 1917 more than 400,000 Negroes left the South (or twenty times the number in normal years.) They have continued to leave since those years and they are gathering in the cities of the northern states. In the ten years from 1910 to 1920 the Negro population of Chicago more than doubled. The same is true of Detroit, Akron, Hartford, Milwaukee, Toledo and Youngstown, Ohio. One of the significant features of the Negro migration in recent years is the increasing percentage of skilled labor that is coming North. An investigation of 273 industrial plants by the Department of Labor revealed that 38.57 per cent of the Negro workers belong to the class of skilled workers.

This migration has brought two important results, one in the North and one in the South. In the North it has brought race riots in some of the large cities, such as Chicago, East St. Louis and Washington, D. C. In the South it brought panic to the exploiting whites who have enacted laws to either prevent Negroes leaving or making it more difficult for them to leave.

In some southern cities Negroes were watched and arrested when they attempted to leave. Negroes were roughly taken from trains and crowded into jails. Labor agents who went South to get Negro workers for northern industries were required to get licenses. In Jacksonville, Fla., the agent was required to pay \$1,000 for a license. Those who failed to get a license could be fined \$600 and sent to prison for two months.

In Macon, Ga., the labor agent had to pay \$25,000 for a license. In addition to this he must be recommended by ten local ministers, ten manufacturers and 25 business men. This high fee and the fact that business men and manufacturers were opposed to Negroes leaving for the North meant that the Negroes could not leave at all. In Savannah over 100 Negroes were arrested at the railroad station. They were sent to jail on a charge of "loitering." In Montgomery, Ala., no license was granted to labor agents. That city passed an ordinance providing fines and imprisonment for any person who tried to induce laborers to leave the city. In some sections of the South Negro workers evaded the laws by walking miles to a small station on the railroad and then boarding trains for the North. The Mayor of New Orleans went so far as to wire the president of the Illinois Central Railroad asking that his road stop carrying Negroes to the North. Newspapers, representing the ruling whites, joined in the campaign to keep the Negroes in the South.

So great has been this march of our black brothers from the southern Egypt that it had a marked effect upon industrial conditions in that section. Of these changes Scott in his "Negro Migration During the War" writes:

The first changes wrought by this migration were unusually startling. Homes found themselves without servants, factories could not operate because of the lack of labor,

farmers were unable to secure laborers to harvest their crops. Streets in towns and cities once crowded assumed the aspect of deserted thoroughfares, houses in congested districts became empty, churches, lodges and societies suffered such a loss of membership that they had to close up or undergo reorganization.

Another interesting change in the South is that wages for all kinds of labor began to increase as the Negroes left. This effect was felt all over the South, both white and black workers gaining by the increase. The trade unions which had also excluded Negro workers from membership were forced to take a more favorable attitude towards the Negro. The latter who were left in the South began to enter the various trades because of the shortage of labor. The organized white workers were faced by a situation which compelled them to open their doors to Negro workers. The doors are not completely open yet but some progress has been made in this direction.

The extent of the wage increase may be gathered from one paragraph in the book of Scott's which we have just quoted. He writes:

The wages for common labor in Thomasville, Georgia, increased almost certainly 100 per cent. In Valdosta there was a general increase in the town and county of about 50 per cent, in Brunswick and Savannah the same condition obtained. The common laborer who had formerly received 80 cents a day earned thereafter \$1.50 to \$1.75. Farm hands working from \$10 to \$15 per month were advanced to \$20 or \$35 per month. Brick masons who had received 50 cents per hour thereafter earned 62½ cents and 70 cents per hour. In Savannah common laborers paid as high as \$2 per day were advanced to \$3. At the sugar refinery the rates were for women, 15 to 22 cents per hour, men, 22 to 30 cents per hour. In the more skilled lines of work, the wages were for carpenters, \$4 to \$6 per day, painters, \$2.50 to \$4 per day, and bricklayers \$4 to \$5 per day.

Unfortunately, the coming of the Negro to the North brought no similar benefits to the workers. It transferred some of the race prejudice of the South to the North. Wages were increasing during the war and many white workers feared that the Negro invasion would glut the labor market and check the rise. Negro workers gathered in poor sections of the cities and whites moved out. Real estate declined in value and made business men resentful. The areas of the "Black Belt" in the cities where Negroes live overflowed into other sections with the pressure of the increasing Negro population. As for the decrease in real estate values, investigation in Chicago showed the decrease generally occurred before the Negroes came. It is only natural that they should seek the cheaper quarters of a city yet the lower values of their neighborhoods have been generally ascribed to them after they move in. Then, as in the case of all races and nationalities, a lower and vicious type of Negro also drifted into these neighborhoods and their offenses were generally charged up to the Negro people as a whole. In all northern cities there are also to be found whites who had lived in the South. They bring to the North all the hatred and prejudice they acquired in the South against the Negro. Their presence in northern cities is always a danger to the Negro people as these whites are quick to participate in any rioting against the Negro.

In spite of legislation and arrests to keep them in the South the Negroes are still coming to the North. They are coming to be more and more an important factor in the working class population of the North. They present a problem which the trade unions must meet. In the Jewish trades and especially in the needle trades the workers have opened their doors to our Negro brothers. The latter make good union

men and as they learn the lessons of class solidarity many of them will make good missionaries in carrying the message of organization to their fellow-workers.

One thing is certain. Racial and color prejudices have always served the interests of the ruling classes. They have never served the working class. In the South the generally low level of wages is due largely to the fact that the white exploiters of labor have been able to keep race hatred alive among the workers. So long as the working class is divided because of race, color or nationality there is little hope of a powerful labor movement.

Recently Congress had before it what is known as the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. The object of the bill was to make the mass murder of human beings by mobs a Federal crime. The idea back of the bill is that if states fail to protect human beings against mobs it is the duty of the Federal Government to protect them. The introduction of this bill in Congress

brought an attack upon it by members from the South. The opposition was led by Underwood of Alabama who was also a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President. Every scheme its opponents could think of to block a vote on the measure was resorted to by its opponents. They succeeded in preventing the bill from coming to a vote. The Republicans finally consented to this action as they are anxious to extend their party into the South.

To the eternal credit of Meyer London, who was then the only Socialist member of Congress, he made a powerful speech in favor of the bill. The defeat of the bill leaves the Negro still at the mercy of ignorant and brutal mobs, North and South. When a government has failed to protect its own citizens against atrocious murders, when its national law-makers block legislation to prevent them, we have a long way ahead of us before we can be said to have advanced beyond the days when the Russian pogrom was an example of the most savage cruelties.

EDITORIALS

Supreme Court

Much ado is being made over Senator La Follette's attitude on the United States Supreme Court. Some people, who have more heat than light, talk as though the Supreme Court was made by God Himself and that the judges are angels from Heaven. This is pure buncombe. The Supreme Court is the handiwork of mortal man, and a pretty poor piece of work at that. It was the author of the Dred Scott Decision which declared that a "Negro has no rights which a white man is bound to respect." Sacred is it? And it was handed down by Chief Justice Taney, a personification of the Devil Himself. So the Judges are angels? It also declared the income tax unconstitutional, thereby favoring the rich against the poor. It also declared the child labor law unconstitutional, which enabled unscrupulous factory owners to coin the life, sweat and blood of innocent little children into dollars and dividends. Thus the history of the United States Supreme Court shows that it has been the faithful advocate of the cause of property rights over human rights. It was the docile servant of the slave power before the Civil War. It is now the watch dog of the large corporations and trusts. Now will any sensible and sane individual maintain that the United States Supreme Court should not be curbed in its assumed power to declare legislation by Congress unconstitutional? We don't hold that Congress is infallible, but we certainly do contend that the Supreme Court, composed of nine old men, is not infallible. Besides, we can change Congress by electing new Congressmen, but we cannot change the Supreme Court, because its members are appointed for life. Hence, not only should the Supreme Court be deprived of the power to declare Congressional enactments unconstitutional, but its judges should be made elective for a definite term of years, certainly not for life. The passionate defenders of the Supreme Court attempt to stir the mob feelings of the people by making the insincere and demagogic charge that its critics are undermining the institutions of America, whatever that means. If they were to give a little study to comparative government they would learn that no other country in the world has a supreme court which has the power

to declare laws enacted by the highest legislative body in the land, unconstitutional, and still the institutions of England, France, Germany, Italy or Japan have not been undermined.

Smith, Roosevelt, Thomas

Smith, the Democrat, represents a splendidly progressive record as Governor of New York State; Roosevelt, the Republican, a family name which is loved and respected, and Thomas, the Socialist-Progressive, a record of liberal achievements in social, educational and economic movements. Of the three candidates, Roosevelt is the least worthy or capable. He is a mere shadow of his father, who, if living and were now running for Governor of New York, we should regard as less desirable than either Smith or Thomas to labor or the Negro. While Theodore Roosevelt, the "Little," made a belated attack on the K. K. K. after attacking this arch-foe of civil justice became popular, Smith and Thomas have been consistent opponents of this notorious band of midnight marauders. To be sure, any jackass will kick a lion when he is down. In fact, the "Big Stick" tradition of the Roosevelt family is a menace to American liberty. It was the Roosevelt Big Stick which dishonorably discharged companies B, C and D of the celebrated 25th Infantry without a scintilla of evidence against them. Why? Because they were Negroes and were stationed in Texas. So that the Roosevelt Big Stick is pretty weak when it is to be wielded in the interest of a weak and unpopular group.

Are Negroes Citizens?

Some industrious white gentleman of Louisiana, whose ignorance is only exceeded by his hatred for the Negro, has announced that he proposes to oust Walter Cohen, the present Negro Internal Revenue Collector of the Port of New Orleans, by establishing that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, the basis of Negro citizenship, was not duly ratified. Of course,

no one need lose any sleep over this silly, impotent gesture. The big trusts and corporations that are the chief beneficiaries of the Fourteenth Amendment would never permit it to be changed. Less than a dozen cases dealing with the citizenship rights of the Negro, the protection of which was the primary reason for the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, have been raised under the Amendment. By the subtle manipulation of shrewd, highly paid lawyers, it has become the bulwark of property rights instead of Negro rights. That's why it will stand. Nor are we convinced that any *real man* seriously contemplates any such foolish action, even in the South. Rather do we suspect that it is another one of slippery Slemp's straw men, such as the mythical man *somewhere* in New York who wanted President Coolidge to prevent Chas. H. Roberts, the first Negro nominated for Congress on the Republican Party ticket since Reconstruction, from running for the office, or the man who wanted to know whether the President had endorsed the Ku Klux Klan. It is a trick, though transparent to anyone with a grain of brains, by which brother Slemp plans to get brother Kool Kal, the Silent, to make some statement which neither offends Klansmen or anti-Klansmen, Negroes or their opponents, but which at the same time frees him from the charge of being pro anything, except his election.

Lower Rents

Everybody wants lower rents. For the heads of some families in Harlem are paying more rent than he or she draws in salary. This is a riddle to some people who don't know how Negroes live in Harlem. How do they do it? Well, they make others pay the rent for them. They take in lodgers, or they employ the apartments in other ways, not always to the best interest of a healthy family life in order to make ends meet. Thus, lower rents mean a higher standard of living: a more wholesome family life; a better opportunity for impressionable children to grow up into virile, strong, intelligent, progressive men and women. But how can you lower rents? Enlightened social legislation will help, such as laws restricting the power of landlords arbitrarily to raise rents and eject tenants. Also legitimate and sound co-operative plans for buying apartments are effective in helping to solve the housing problem among the middle class tenant class whose income will enable them to raise sufficient money to make the high initial payment. For the large masses it is no remedy. The most effective and surest solution is the slow but certain operation of the law of supply and demand. Its results are becoming more and more apparent from day to day. Every sign for a room to rent or an apartment to let is an unmistakable evidence of the inexorable and invariable operation of this economic canon. It will help the tenant and hurt the landlords. The building boom is breaking the backbone of speculative real estate values. It is apparent, too, that the break in rents will cause a number of home buyers, white and black, to lose their property, owing to the fact that they bought at inflated war prices and are now compelled to pay for those homes on a diminished income, occasioned by the inability of lodgers, whose wages have gone down, to pay the extortionate room rents.

Under the present rent laws it is possible for 90 per cent of tenants who moved into their apartments after these laws were enacted to go into court and get a reduction in rent, for the rental, according to law, must be based upon the cost of the up-keep of the apartment

and the capital invested, allowing the landlord a certain legal rate of profit. Thus, the time is not far distant when landlords will be crying for tenants, when they will be giving two and three months free rent in order to get somebody to take their apartments off their hands. Then the tenant will be king, now he is a slave. Of course, even this will not bring about a solution of the rent problem. Only appropriation through taxation of the full rental value of the unused land will solve the vexatious rent problem, and this is a long way off. Till then the building boom may do something.

Negro Labor in the North

Negroes are still coming up North. They are taking their places in industry side by side with the white workers. Nothing can stop them, and nothing ought to stop them. Northern, Eastern and Western industries want their labor, and they want the higher wages paid up here. Nor are they doing only unskilled labor. Thousands of Negro tradesmen are giving satisfactory service. In other words, the Negro, on account of the war and the limitation of immigration, is becoming a significant factor in the industrial life of the country above the Mason's and Dixon's Line. And on account of the strategic position which they are assuming, the unions are gradually being forced in self-defense to take them in. Of course, the enlightened Needles Trades Unions, such as the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Fur Workers, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union, the Painters' and the Bakery Workers' Unions, have a record in doing their bit for the cause of educating Negro workers with a view to getting them into the unions. The most hostile unions to Negro labor are the native, Protestant, 100 per cent American type. Needless to say, that none of the labor unions have done what they ought to have done in the interest of organizing Negro labor. Nor have Negro workers themselves done all they should have done to the end of getting into the unions. An inter-racial body on the plan suggested by the Philadelphia Conference of the N. A. A. C. P. would be a constructive instrument in furthering the work of unionizing the Negro worker.

La Follette, Davis, Coolidge

It would be directly to the interest of the Negro were these candidates for the presidency to run according to the order here named. Of the three, Coolidge is the most objectionable to the Negro and labor. The most striking evidence of the intellectual and political emancipation of the Negro will be the extent to which they bolt the Republican Party in this election and vote for La Follette. It will benefit the Negroes who remain in the G.O.P. and those who are out.

Politics and Economics

Business, labor unions or farmers are the basis of political parties. It is more necessary that the Negroes learn this basic fact than that they vote for any party. In this campaign the National Republican Party represents the Wall Street Interests, the Democratic Party the middle class business interests, La Follette, the enlightened middle class business groups, the labor unions and the farmers.

SHAFTS AND DARTS

A PAGE OF CALUMNY AND SATIRE

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER and THEOPHILUS LEWIS



MR. SCHUYLER

"It Might Have Been:"—On October 2nd Judge K. M. Landis, High Commissioner of Organized Baseball, barred players O'Connell and Dolan of the New York Giants from playing in the so-called world's series or at any future time in organized baseball. This because it is alleged that they attempted to bribe player Sands of the Philadelphia National League team to "throw" a game for \$500.

While the chivalrous and sportsmanlike Caucasians, whose entire philosophy of life is predicated on Fair Play and Equal Opportunity for All, have not, in spite of the number of dangerous and anarchistic notions abroad in the Republic since the dastardly rise of Bolshevism, as yet admitted players of known Negro descent to the Big League or Minor League teams, we could not help wondering what the estimable newspapers would have said if the two expelled players had been Negroes, legally or ethnically. In that event, may we not have expected something like this for headlines:

"Two Negro Players Barred For Attempted Bribe of White Man."—N. Y. *Slime*.

"Burley Black Ball Players Attempt Bribe of White Player."—N. Y. *Germinal*.

"Negro Players Imperil World's Series by Resorting to Bribery."—*The Morning Earth*.

"White Player Spurns Bribe Offer of Negroes; Landis Bars Two Blacks from Baseball."—*The Daily Moron*.

Or some editorial comment such as this:

(Excerpt from editorial in the N. Y. *Slime* entitled: "The Doom of the Negro Athlete.")

"While the N. Y. *Slime* has always taken a more than friendly attitude toward the Negro, it must be admitted in view of the disclosures in the investigation just concluded by Judge Landis of the bribery charges against players Ham and Eggs of the New York Giants, that the future of the Negro athlete in a professional, and perhaps in an amateur way, appears gloomier than ever. These two Negro ball players by their scandalous conduct have imperiled the position of Negro athletes in every branch of professionalism. It cannot be denied that managers and promoters who must ever have financial considerations in mind will be very hesitant about employing Negro players after this regrettable incident. Of course, it has never been, and never will be the policy of the N. Y. *Slime* to reason inductively in incidents containing such wide potentialities as this one, but all indications seem to point to the conclusion that the experiment of Negro players on white teams is hardly a successful one."

Or like this:

(Comment of Arbris Thurbane, \$100,000 editor of the N. Y. *Germinal*, in his column, "To-Night," which appears in all the numerous dailies of the great American publicist: Mr. Wurst:)

"The Negro players, Ham and Eggs of the N. Y. Giants tried to bribe white player Sands of the Philadelphia Nationals to "throw" a game for \$500. Mr. Sands, fair-minded white man, naturally refused, and reported the matter to his chief. Judge Landis, able Commissioner of Baseball, immediately barred two Negroes from baseball forever.

"Blood does tell. No accident that white man refused petty bribe. Thousands of years of civilization and leadership impelled white man, with high forehead, to play square. Negroes with background of centuries of slavery, and with low, sloping foreheads, fail to grasp white man's ethics of sportsmanship.

"Civilization increases brain power and sense of fair play. White man's burden is still heavy. Until the colored races are able to maintain what the white man has built up, better keep our Army and Navy as the greatest on earth. "Trust in God—and keep your powder dry."

Some more:

(Excerpt from A. Wood Broon's column "Next to the Conning Tower," in *The Morning Earth*.)

"For the life of me, I cannot see why the attempt at bribery by two Negro players should be the signal for all hands to attack the Negro as an athlete. One would imagine that white men had never attempted bribery. If racial groups are to be thrown out of our national pastimes every time one of their number is caught giving or accepting a bribe, it is quite clear that the end of sport in this country is near."

And still more:

(News item from *The Evening Idiot*, October 4th, 1924.)

WOULD BAR NEGROES FROM SPORT

Thick Introduces Radical Measure in House

Special to The Evening Idiot

Washington, Oct. 4th.—Not since the police of this city threatened to publish the lists of bootleggers' customers, has the Lawyers' Soviet—the House of Representatives—been thrown into such confusion as it was this afternoon when Representative I. Mabie Thick addressed the assembled solons. The peerless orator from South Carolina rose at 2:30 and with his usual gesticulations held forth for over three hours on the recent bribery scandal.

"Gentlemen," he began in a low tone—but this salutation being inaccurate and therefore no one paying attention to him—"Friends and Fellow Representatives of this great American Commonwealth: (immediate stir and show of interest). As you all know, I have continually opposed any effort to drag into this assemblage the question of the Negro. The South solved that question to its satisfaction when it placed certain necessary legislation in the statutes of the various states many years ago. But the problem is no longer sectional but national. We people who pride ourselves upon our stanch Americanism and Anglo-Saxon heritage have attempted night after night, up and down this broad and fair land, to instil into the modern Negro the same respect for his superiors that his forefathers had. But it all appears to have been in vain. This bribery scandal is the last blow at the unblemished escutcheon of white America; it is the last straw, we can tolerate nothing further." (Applause.) (Full text on Page 23.)

He then went on to describe the evil effect on any sphere of activity where the Negro was allowed to remain in contact or on equality with the white people, and prescribed as the only remedy: complete Segregation. His resolution was then read:

That hereafter no person of Negro descent shall participate in any games or athletic exhibitions of any nature in which any of the players are Caucasians. The penalty for violation of this law being ten years at hard labor or a fine of ten thousand dollars or both.

Representative M. O'Ron of Georgia, who was elected by the Ku Klux Klan, immediately asked for the floor. When the long applause following I. M. Thick's speech had subsided, the Klan spokesman moved the following amendment:

That nothing in the foregoing paragraph shall be construed as interfering with the efforts of patriotic Americans to protect white womanhood.

Representative O'Ron urged immediate passage of the resolution as amended. There were many hisses from a delegation of Negroes in the gallery. The measure has gone to a committee.

B. Andana, M. E. Tu Boss, and other prominent Negro leaders and heads of equal rights organizations, were interviewed and stated that the bill as introduced met with their approval and would receive their support since its enforcement would wipe out lynching, which they termed the greatest American sport. But they are bitterly opposed to the amendment of Representative M. O'Ron which, they assert, will nullify the value of the law to the Negro, if included. Rev. Yelp, a prominent Negro clergyman, stated that he favored the immediate passage of the law because the large crowds who now throng the big parks to see crack Negro athletes play rings around the whites, would return to the churches.

Jack Kernel, manager for "Dodging Jack" Flimsy, gave as statement to the reporters this afternoon on the proposed law in which he stated that it was absolutely the sanest piece of legislation from the viewpoint of the white pugilist that had ever been introduced. He deplored the subterfuge and evasion that must now be resorted to in order to keep championships within the race to which they rightfully belong. This law, he added, should have been passed years ago and the white race would have been spared much humiliation.

And yet more:

(News item from *The Daily Moron*.)

NEGRO PLAYERS BESIEGED IN HOMES

Feeling Against Bribers Runs High Throughout Their Home City

Several Negroes Injured; White Residents Being Protected

Heiffer Dust: October 4th.—Chief of Police John Sapp stated to reporters at police headquarters today, that patrolmen would be placed on guard around the homes of Fried Ham and Boiled Eggs, the Negro Big League players recently barred from organized baseball by High Commissioner Landis for attempting to bribe a white player on the Philadelphia National League team. This action was taken, Chief Sapp stated, because of the threatening crowd which followed the two players from the depot to their home on the edge of the black belt. It is alleged that cries of "Lynch 'em!" "Burn the house!" "Kill the Niggers!" etc., came from the crowd.

Both players were formerly well liked by the white people here. They stayed in their place, minded their business and both are said to have married Negroesses. So intense has the feeling grown, however, that several Negroes on their way from work have been beaten and threatened with lynching. Many Negroes are preparing to leave town, and some are said to be arming. When pressed concerning this latter rumor, Chief Sapp admitted that he had talked over the telephone with Governor Abig Dubb this morning and received assurances that at the first suggestion of disorder in the black belt of Heiffer Dust, a regiment of militia would be hurried into the city to protect the property, wives and children of the white citizens. An ominous quiet reigns over the city. Negroes are suspiciously refraining from entering the white districts. Mayor Whoop received a letter from the Chamber of Commerce today in which he was assured by the prominent business men of the city that they were ready to form a volunteer corps to assist in the defense of white women and children.

And finally:

(Excerpt from an interview granted a reporter of *The Evening Vcnom* by Dr. L. Otto Krapp, S.O.L., eminent scientist and scholar of Yokel University, concerning the recent baseball bribery scandal.)

"The Negro, as reputable scientists have long held, is quite incapable of adapting himself to Nordic standards of ethics and morality. This unhappy incident of players Ham and Eggs is just one more proof of our contention. The Caucasian through thousands of years of civilization has reached a cultural level far above anything the darker races have achieved or can achieve. We might as well face this fact once and for all. It is of little avail for agitators to harp on the equality of humanity and the oneness of mankind when occurrences such as this are continually establishing on sounder foundations of irrefutable fact the inherent mental and moral superiority of the white race."

However, since the two bribers were white men—Negroes being securely barred from membership in the Big League Clubs—no outbursts approximating those above appeared in the great free press of America. For, as all intelligent people are aware, this incident was no reflection on the honesty and integrity and sportsmanship of the race to which the bribers belong, their fellow-players or the great game of baseball—seeing that they were Caucasians. No wonder ignorant Negroes use skin whiteners and hair straighteners!

Will the audience kindly rise and sing: "America?"

The wisdom of intellectual Aframerica—as revealed in the following excerpts from outbursts appearing in some of our newspapers";

(1) "*Register now* that you may vote for the first President Massachusetts has had for over half a century." *Boston Chronicle*, "Read Only by Worth While People."

(2) "Does any sane man believe that the great majority of the editors of our Press would be guilty of bargaining off their editorial opinions for cash? It is preposterous." *The Public Journal* (Philadelphia), "Devoted to the Business Advancement and General Welfare."

(3) "Roscoe Conkling Simmons is a dyed in the wool Republican and a big man as big Negroes are rated in the Republican party, because of his own smartness and because he is president of the Lincoln League and has Robert R. Church and Robert S. Abbott to hold up his hands—hands which are long and boney and covered with black freckles on a red background. His face is long and sharp, like his tongue, and his head towers up, twice as long from the ears to his crown as that of Fred R. Moore, say, for comparison, which can go no further in that direction." Contribution of the able columnist, Mr. T. Tom (Mis) Fortune, in *The Tattler* (New York).

Ethiopian Nights Entertainment

Midnight October 15th found a good sized audience of intelligent sympathizers awaiting the rise of the curtain at the Lafayette Theatre. The occasion was the presentation of three one-act plays by The National Ethiopian Art Theatre, Inc., under the direction of the capable and indefatigable Miss Anne Wolter.

The first play, "Being Forty," dealt with the revolt of a spinster of two score years against the restrictions of a pious and rascally elder brother and the devitalizing atmosphere of a small town. The brother it seemed had estranged the spinster and her lover of youth in order to "get even" with the young man's father for winning the girl he had proposed marrying. On her fortieth birthday the spinster decides to break away from the impossible environment of her brother's home and go away with a young married couple. There is a stormy scene between the brother and sister in which the latter shouts her defiance in the best manner of the old time thrillers produced by W. A. Brady about fifteen or twenty years ago. Along toward the last the lover of her youth returns and in the conversation with the

THEATRE

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

brother learns of his duplicity. There are charges and counter-charges and much denunciation of the wicked bachelor. It is too much for his apparently weak heart to stand so the final curtain finds the older sister discovering him dead.

It seemed to me this play could have been re-written with much profit. The brother's hatred seemed a little too far-fetched to be true to life. Eulalie Spence, the author, should certainly be able to do better next time, especially if she will endeavor to make her characters truer to Negro life. By that I do not mean the Hugh Wiley type of characters, but people who will impress the audience with the feeling that they actually exist.

As for the acting, it could have been much less amateurish. There was too much gesticulating, rolling of the eyes, growling and grimacing. Mr. F. Eugene Corbie, who acted the part of Jedediah Bentley, the brother, read his lines well.

Eulalie Spence, as the older sister, was far from satisfactory, while Lila Hawkins, as the revolting spinster, didn't impress one as being so wrought up and serious as she was supposed to be. I think the glass carpet beater should go to R. Oscar Flammer who played the part of Adam Wells the returned lover. Miss Marion Moore and Andrew Choy-kee as the newly-weds did justice to their parts, while Mr. Corbie's natural earnestness of manner may have had something to do with his ever-emphasizing the character of Jedediah Bentley. He wore more grease paint than a circus clown.

Of course, one does not expect perfection from an amateur group at a first night performance. Much that appeared ludicrous would undoubtedly be ironed away by continued performance. All things considered, including the mediocre vehicle, the actors in this one-act play did almost as well as some of those who grace the boards on Broadway.

A much superior play was "Cooped Up," by Eloise Bibb Thompson, who, like Miss Spence, is a student of the



LEFT TO RIGHT: VALADA SNOW, SISSLE AND BLAKE, AND LOTTIE GEE; STARS OF "THE CHOCOLATE DANDIES"

N.E.A.T. School. Here is a play written by one who knows life and the ingredients of real drama. The play is excellent and contained the best acting of the evening. Cleo, the keeper of a rooming house in a settlement near New Orleans on the Mississippi River is smitten with Scipie Johnson, a worker on the levee who has married a simple minded girl. In order to separate the newly-wed couple, Cleo persuades one Julius, a local shiek, and also a roomer, to make love to Scipio's wife, and advises the wife to return his affections. Julius soon becomes so enamoured that he proposes flight to the big city. Torn by conflicting emotion Cassie, the young wife, reluctantly agrees to go. Cleo, elated at the success of her deep laid plans, throws herself, figuratively speaking, at the feet of Scipio telling him of her love. Scipio, whom the braking of the levee has brought back home to save his wife, is enraged when he learns of the duplicity of Cleo, and spurns her. In the meantime, Cassie returns to replace a black bag containing all Scipio's

money in its former hiding place she having eluded Julius at the train; and a reconciliation is effected when all is explained and understood. Ardelle Dabney did the most creditable work in the character of Cleo. This is some of the best acting I have seen in some time. Lillian Creamer as Cassie Johnson, the young wife, was also very convincing. There was little to choose between the two. Mr. G. Alfred Woods, as the husband, and Joseph A. Steber, as Julius the roomer, handled their parts well. In fact the entire performance was highly satisfactory in every way. Here is a play well worth seeing again.

"Bills," the third play on the program is, I suppose, intended for a comedy, although I did no laughing. It depends very much on the stuttering of a lawyer whom the creditor—and bill-ridden couple believe to have called to attempt a collection, when, as a matter of fact, he has brought them news of a large sum of money left them by a relative. They use all sorts of strategy to prevent him from bringing up the

object of his visit, and he haltingly attempts to tell them of their good fortune, only to be frustrated again and again by some ruse. Finally he rushes out in desperation, and upon opening the letter he left behind, the couple are amazed to learn of their good fortune. There was little in the lines or the stage business to conjure a laugh out of the hardened theatre-goer. Mr. John S. Brown as the stuttering lawyer carried off the honors, closely followed by the beautiful Miss Moore, as the young wife. Mr. Helmsley Winfield, as the young husband, probably did as well as he could with a part for which he was not the type.

The N.E.A.T. has made a good start this season. Of course the organization cannot hope to get plays all as good as "Cooped Up"; there are too few capable Negro playwrights, as yet, but, with the support of intelligent Negroes in all parts of the country, it should not be difficult to build up an organization of great merit—a credit to the American Negro, the volunteer white instructors, and to Miss Wolter.

A KATEKISM

By FANNY BIXBY SPENCER

Ques. Why is the white race superior to all others?

Ans. Because I am a white man.

Ques. Why does the Protestant Church represent the only true religion?

Ans. Because I was brought up in this church and know nothing of any other.

Ques. Why should I look down upon Jews?

Ans. Because I am a Gentile.

Ques. Why is America God's only country?

Ans. Because I was born here.

Ques. Why should I hate all other countries?

Ans. Because I have never seen any other country nor even read a book about one.

Ques. Why do I believe that white, Nordic, Protestant, Gentile, 100 per cent Americanism is the sum total of civilization?

Ans. Because I do not know that the civilization of

ancient Egypt was not white; that the glories of Greece and Rome were not Nordic; and that Confucious taught the Golden Rule before the Bible was written.

Ques. What do I mean by "the eternal seperation of church and state"?

Ans. I mean that I have delegated the Imperial Wizard to do my thinking for me instead of the Pope, and that I intend to force my decadent brand of religion and patriotism upon all through the Invisible Empire.

Ques. What do I mean by "the protection of our pure womanhood"?

Ans. I mean that I have put on the habiliments of a moth-eaten chivalry,—the old idea of "male superiority"—which considers women incapable of maintaining independently their own self-respect.

Ques. Why am I stumped when asked an intelligent question about politics, history, philosophy or economics?

Ans. Because, as Bernard Shaw says, "The 100 per cent American is usually about 95 per cent village idiot."

HON. THOMAS W. CHURCHILL

Judge of the Supreme Court of New York State.

In the South the judge is a terror to the Negro. "You can tell the judge in the morning," is an apt saying common among Negroes which expresses their great fear of the Judge. There right or wrong a Negro is sentenced to crack rocks to build public roads, or he is sent to work in the hot turpentine swamps where he catches the malarial fever and dies or he is sent to the gallows to hang. Such is the tragic fate of the Negro at the hands of a Southern judge! Every Negro knows that these facts are all too true.

The saying that: "All coons look alike to me" only shows the utter contempt of the Southern judge for all colored people. *Why? You ask. Because he measures out justice by color and race.* You say but this is down South. Yes. But if you don't watch your step conditions up North will be just the same as they are down South. Even now Negroes have just complaints against many judges in the North.

Now the question which faces every intelligent Negro is: How can he prevent the courts in the North from becoming like the courts in the South. How can he banish the spirit of injustice to the Negro from the courts?

The only safe and effective way to guard and protect the courts from the vicious and malicious influence of Ku Kluxism is to *vote* for judges who are fair, honest and fearless.

But how can you tell when a judge measures up to this test?

First search his record to find out how he has stood on the Negro.

One of the most vital and important aspects of the life of the race is education. With education we go forward to triumphant success; without education we go down to miserable failure. We cannot get education unless we have all the rights and privileges that are accorded any other race. Upon this big question of educating our children, the men and women of tomorrow, in the public schools and colleges of New York, Judge Churchill, with his natural, characteristic, plain, common sense of justice and fair play, has stood with insistent firmness and determination for our rights.

While President of the New York-City Board of Education for twelve years, he was a stalwart and faithful advocate of the equal educational opportunities for all children without regard to race or color.

He has always readily and eagerly responded to the call for help by any young Negro men and women to get into the big educational institutions of New York. And remember Mr. Negro Voter that one of the most valuable services that anyone can render the race is to fight for equal opportunities in the institutions of learning for our group. For throughout the country, as a result of the growth of the hateful Klan spirit, an attempt is being made to close the door to the black boy and girl in all of the schools and colleges where white boys and girls are being trained. This thing must be fought and you must have tried and true white friends to help you fight it, else the only door of hope will be closed to the race—the door of education.

To cite a typical case of the valuable and unselfish work which Judge Churchill has done in the interest of Negro education: When Mr. Fourney, a young Negro

medical student from Ohio State University sought repeatedly but vainly to enter one of the medical colleges of New York, Judge Churchill, immediately was informed of the young man's unsuccessful efforts, got in touch with the proper heads of Bellevue and secured for him a favorable hearing. This is a striking evidence of the broad-gauged, noble, sterling character of the man.

Now what has he done for the Negro teacher? Whenever a case has come to his attention of apparent discrimination in the appointment of a teacher on account of race or color, he has always fearlessly taken up the cudgel in his or her behalf.

It is Judge Thomas W. Churchill who will be responsible for the appointment of the first Negro woman as an Assistant Principal in one of the New York Public Schools. She is one of our most prominent and worthy race women, who though thirteenth on the eligible list, has been passed over for two consecutive years. White teachers who were way below her—twenty-fifth on the list, have been appointed. This appointment, dear voter, will represent one of the most signal and notable triumphs in the field of education which we have yet achieved in the North, East or West in the history of the country.

And Judge Thomas W. Churchill will be responsible for it.

Isn't this alone a sufficient mark of the fine, big, genuine, unprejudiced spirit of the man? You can not match this spirit in his Republican opponent.

Thus you vote for the rights of black children and teachers to fair and equal opportunities in the public schools and colleges of New York when you vote for Judge Churchill.

Another incident which is significant and typical of the broad, liberal quality of Judge Churchill is the fact that during his term of office as President of the Board of Education, he caused, in honor and deference to the great Negro Educator, Booker T. Washington, when he died, the American flag to be lowered at half mast.

Untiring and vigilant as he ever is as the advocate of the rights of the oppressed, Judge Churchill, also while President of the Board of Education definitely repudiated and condemned an attempt of the boys of competing High Schools to discriminate against a Negro athlete, a student at De Witt Clinton High School, who was to participate in an athletic meet.

Judge Churchill is an unalterable, unqualified and relentless foe of the Ku Klux Klan.

The housing problem is close to the heart of every Negro who lives in New York. The extortionate rents which Negroes are compelled to pay greedy landlords take half and sometimes more of the wage of the average Negro family. Hence as to how a judge stands on the rent question is a most important question to every Negro, especially a judge of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, the court which has the final say on the rent laws of the state.

Judge Churchill can be relied upon to place his great abilities, power and position on the side of the oppressed tenant class. Since 99 per cent of the Negroes living in New York are tenants renting apartments, to vote for Judge Churchill is to vote for yourself as against your landlord.

Therefore if you want justice instead of injustice in the courts;

If you want the public schools and colleges open to your ambitious boys and girls;

If you want the lawless and mobocratic march of that sinister and nefarious organization—the Ku Klux

Klan stopped if any of their acts ever come within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court;

If you want a valiant champion for your race on the bench of the Supreme Court of New York, then vote for Judge Thomas W. Churchill.

THE ISSUES--THE NEGRO AND THE PARTIES

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH



Mr. RANDOLPH

Issues are those questions, controversial in character, which arise in the life of a community and vitally affect its future course. They vary in degree of interest. They come and go. In each campaign each party stresses certain particular issues. An attempt always is made to hit upon some question which has an emotional appeal, regardless of its relation to the well-being of the people. Thus, each oppressed minority must be careful to see whether or not the so-called issues trumped up by scheming political demagogues are really vital to their lives. Especially should Negroes be ever vigilant on the matter of issues for having themselves an unpopular cause no party will willingly champion it. For with the Negro and labor an attempt is always made to make it appear that the issues that affect their interests are not issues at all. Gradually all national American political parties are abandoning the Negro problem because of its unpopularity with the masses of the American people. Less and less will the problem of the Negro be an issue in political campaigns.

Breaking the Solid South

Why? Because the chief source of this problem, the South, bitterly objects, and all political parties, Radical, Liberal, Socialist, Labor and Conservative, hope to break the "Solid South." And in the not distant future, the "Solid South" will break. It will break because of economic changes that will reflect themselves in the politics of the South. Already it is obvious to the casual observer that the South is gradually, and in some parts, rapidly becoming industrialized. Urbanization proceeds apace. Seaports are fast developing. New cities are growing up. Old cities are growing larger. It is all the result of the penetration of industrial and financial capital into the South.

No longer does the South harp upon Free Trade, the issue when cotton was King. Senator Underwood, a Democrat, of Alabama combines with Senator Lodge, a Republican, of Massachusetts in defense of the Protective Tariff, the former for the benefit of the iron of Birmingham, the latter for the textiles of Lynn. Senator Broussard, a Democrat, of Louisiana favors a protective tariff for the sugar of his State. The sugar kings of the State, its real rulers, demand that he favor such a tariff, for it yields them a huge profit. Still, the Democratic Party, the political spokesman of the South, is the proponent and the defender of Free Trade, the economic opposite of a Protective Tariff, the foster child of the Republican Party. With the progress of industry in the South will grow the protectionist sentiment. For economics determines politics. With the progress of the protectionist sentiment will develop a trend toward the Republican Party or toward changing the Democratic Party into a party of protection. Thus, at Birmingham, the industrial center of the South, ex-President Harding, in his notable speech, plead for new political alignments in the South, for which all parties are perfectly willing to sacrifice the Negro. And new political alignments are bound

to come in correspondence to the profound economic transformations which are taking place there. Shrewd Republican politicians know this.

It is but recent political history that the Democrats, under the Wilson administration, put a tariff of one cent a pound on rice, a Southern product. The Republicans, under this administration, raised the tariff to two cents a pound.

The Democrats, under the Wilson administration, put a tariff of three-quarters of a cent a pound on peanuts. The Republicans, under this administration, raised the tariff to four cents a pound.

When President Harding came to appoint a Democrat on the Tariff Commission, he appointed Mr. Glassie on the recommendation of the political representatives of the protected cane sugar industry of Louisiana.

The South produces immense quantities of vegetable oils. The Republicans, under this administration, gave a solid protection to vegetable oils.

What does it prove? It proves that the protectionist sentiment is on the upgrade in the South and that the Republican Party, with a view to breaking the Solid South, is nourishing it. Nor is this new policy of the Republican Party toward the South alone the product of the desire of a few skillful Republican politicians to secure additional power. Not at all. The Republican Party is obeying the mandate of its Northern industrial and financial masters who are steadily investing extensive capital in the South.

Note the huge automobile plants which Henry Ford has already begun in Jacksonville, Florida.

Only recently in the early summer, the Southern cotton manufacturers joined the Northern mill-owners in a demand for a high protection on cotton goods. In volume of cotton manufacture North Carolina is now second only to Massachusetts, South Carolina is third and Georgia is fifth. These three States, together with Alabama, Virginia and Tennessee, turned out in 1921 over 41 per cent of the total value of cotton goods produced in the United States. They are expanding much more rapidly than the North, and operations are extending into Oklahoma, Texas and other cotton growing States. This sets up two opposing currents: an alliance of the propertied interests of the South with Northern capital and an alliance of Southern mill, mine and factory labor, which is chiefly white and therefore can vote with the Northern and Western labor organizations and forces of social reform.

Under such vital industrial changes, the South cannot remain united politically. Besides, the cotton industry is not the only field of such realignment. Alabama and West Virginia have extensive coal mines. These two States produced in 1921 over \$35,000,000 worth of steel, or nearly 8½ per cent of the nation's total. West Virginia is the second State in the manufacture of glass. Missouri is the third in the making of explosives. It also produces shoes. In the manufacture of turpentine and resin, the South leads; in fertilizing, Georgia is second; Virginia is third; North Carolina and South Carolina are sixth; chemicals are also made. Oil refineries in Texas and cane-sugar refineries in Louisiana, employ many workers. And

Shoals promise a further and effective enhancement of the importance of the industrialization of the South.

Such is the economic basis for the Republican Party's bid for Southern support.

The La Follette Progressives are also bent upon cutting into the Solid South. They are appealing to this new industrial proletariat which is the product of the mills, mines and factories; and also to the farmers. They are also cognizant of the fact that the National Farmers' and Industrial Union, the basis of the Populist Party, which was a revolt against the Democratic and Republican Parties' subservience to the Wall Street Bankers, had its rise in Texas. In 1892 the Populist candidate for President, General James B. Weaver, polled a million votes. Hence, the Progressives hope to profit from the impending economic cleavage which will reflect itself politically below the Mason's and Dixon's Line.

An Issue to the Negro

This breaking of the Solid South is an issue with the Negro. With the prospective new political alignments of the South must also proceed *pari passu* new political alignments of the Negro, which means that he must break with his slavish allegiance to the Republican Party, since it no longer protects him from his historic enemy, the South. The changing attitude of the Republican Party toward the Negro is the result of the changing attitude of the Republican Party toward the South and the changing attitude of the Republican Party toward the South is, in turn, the outgrowth of the changing attitude of Northern investment capital toward Southern industrial and financial opportunities.

So much for the issue of breaking the Solid South.

Now for the different classes of issues of the campaign. They fall within four general categories: economic, political, social, international and racial. A word about the economic.

Monopoly

Monopoly looms up first upon the horizon. What is monopoly? It is the control by corporations and trusts of basic necessities. This control invests them with the power to exploit labor and rob the public. It is built up by virtue of the privileges and favors granted them by the city, State and Federal governments. Its menace to the people lies in the ability and tendency of monopoly trusts to corrupt public officials. Negroes suffer from monopoly, because they are workers and consumers. La Follette is the one candidate for President who has been the consistent foe of monopoly. Coolidge and Davis mouth their opposition only. While the monopoly trusts cannot and ought not to be broken up, as is erroneously demanded by some enthusiasts, they ought to be more democratically regulated, controlled and conducted by the Government, thereby preventing them from becoming more anti-social.

The Tariff

The Tariff is also an issue in this campaign as a form of taxation. The Republicans claim that a high protective tariff is the remedy for all of our national ills. Still, we have a high tariff and *high ills, too*. During the early industrial history of the United States it might have been a benefit to the country. Today it is largely a means for building up a monopoly in certain commodities for the benefit of the rich at the expense of the poor. Now it is a duty, a tax levied by the Government upon goods imported into the country. If they are allowed to enter the country free of duty, they would force the price of the same class of American made goods down. American capitalists don't want this competition with foreign capitalists. Hence, the cry for a protective tariff. For instance, under the prohibitive rates of the Republican Party Fordney-McCumber tariff there is a tax on nearly every article and commodity in common use in the American home. The estimated aggregate of these tariff taxes on food, clothing and other needs and conveniences is about \$3,000,000,000 a year, or an increase in the expense of each American home of \$125 a year. Partly on account

of the burdensome tariff, \$20 a week salary today goes no further than \$12 a week before the war. The Fordney-McCumber Republican tariff costs the people of this country \$4,000,000,000 a year in excessive prices on the things they have to buy. Of this enormous sum, only \$500,000,000 goes into the United States Treasury as a tax on imported goods, the remaining \$3,500,000,000 goes into the coffers of the profiteering trusts. It is estimated that of each dollar extorted in tariff from the American consumer, 87½ cents goes to the corporations, and 12½ cents goes into the United States Treasury. Hence, a high protective tariff cannot benefit the Negroes who are at the lowest rung of the economic ladder.

Free Trade—Low Tariff

But neither is free trade or a low tariff the solvent key of our economic maladies as advocated by the Democratic Party. This is shown by the fact that conditions in the country are not a whit better under Democratic administrations. England is a free trade country. Yet poverty haunts the land. A rational revision of the tariff for revenue only is the logical and sound policy. This is certainly more in the interest of the toiling masses of whom the large majority of Negroes are a part. The La Follette Progressives are more nearly committed to this policy of a tariff for revenue only than either of the two old parties.

Unemployment

The most chronic and disastrous of our economic maladjustments is unemployment. It is a product of our capitalist planless method of production and distribution, upheld by both old parties. Much of the acute social suffering among the workers could be eliminated were the Government to initiate the construction of large and extensive public works during periods of widespread unemployment. This would absorb the over-supply of labor. But Republican and Democratic politicians, the servants of the big employers of labor, dare not attempt to do anything to eliminate unemployment. For the trusts can more effectively beat down wages when there is a large army of unemployed who may take the jobs of the employed. The La Follette Progressives are committed to a plan of social legislation which is calculated to meet the problems of unemployment. Negroes will benefit from any policy which will bring a solution of unemployment, for they are the first fired and the last hired. Until we reach a more rational organization of society, the most effective methods of decreasing unemployment are a short work day, the government construction of public works in periods of industrial depression and the extension of seasonal work such as the building industry over the entire year. The Progressives recognize and approve these methods.

Railroads

Without the railroads American society would wither and die. Were they to stop for a day, our industrial system, our social life would become paralyzed. Thus, their social importance. Still, they are in the hands of a small group of capitalists who run them not for the public good, but for private gain. The Progressives are opposed to this. The Democrats and Republicans uphold it. The railroad owners are demanding that the Inter-state Commerce Commission over-value the railroads; to set it at \$30,000,000,000, about ten billions too much. What does this mean? It means that the railroads will thereby be permitted to increase their freight rates and passenger rates to a frightful point in order to realize their legal rate of return on their capital. This means an intolerable increase in the cost of living, which, of course, will injure Negroes most because their income is lowest. The nationalization of the railroads will insure also a larger measure of protection to the Negro workers on them. It is quite unlikely that any Negro postal employees would advocate turning over the Post Office into private hands to be run for profit.

The Farmers

No other group of people in any country is more important and necessary to the welfare of a country than

the farmers. But under our present system, the middle men, such as the bankers, the mill and elevator owners, keep the farmers bankrupt and upon the threshold of starvation. It is estimated that out of every dollar spent by the consumers for the products of the farmers that they (the farmers) receive only 25 cents. The Progressives would abolish the parasitic middle men and establish co-operatives to market the farmers' products, which will both insure a legitimate profit to the farmers and also reduce the cost of living for the worker-consumer. The disastrous policies of the Republican and Democratic parties were the cause of the bankruptcy of over 600,000 farmers in 1920, and the failure of over 2,000 banks holding farmers' notes.

Rent

Nearly 50 per cent of the working class Negroes' income goes in rent. Some Negroes pay more in rent than they receive in wages. High rent is due to the scarcity of houses and the high cost of building materials. The remedy for the excessive cost of building materials, due to price fixing by the building materials monopolies, is more effective government regulation and control of monopolies, together with the building of homes for the people by the Government. The Progressives favor this plan. The Democrats and Republicans oppose it. Enough said for Negroes.

Taxation

For every worker and consumer, taxation is a serious issue. For ultimately the burden of taxation falls upon the consumer. What is the remedy? The answer is the abolition of the indirect tax, and the increase of a progressive income tax, of the inheritance tax, of the excess profits tax, etc. This will shift the incidence of taxation from the shoulders of the poor to the shoulders of the rich, its proper place. Only the Progressives favor this policy. Its benefit to Negroes is obvious.

A word as to the political issues.

Supreme Court

Some Negroes maintain that the Supreme Court is the chief bulwark of their liberties. Strange reasoning this when it is remembered that the Dred Scott Decision of the Supreme Court declared that "a Negro has no rights which a white man is bound to respect"; that the Supreme Court also declared the Sumner Civil Rights Bill unconstitutional. On social legislation which is of as much benefit to Negroes as whites, the Supreme Court is backward and reactionary. Note that it declared the Federal Child Labor Law, the Income Tax and the Minimum Wage

laws unconstitutional. The Progressives would limit this power, the Democrats and Republicans would preserve it. As to the Constitution.

Changing the Constitution

Some political demagogues would make it appear that to change the Constitution is a sin. But the Constitution is not sacred. Read it and one will find that it sanctioned and protected chattel slavery until 1808. Besides Republicans and Democrats don't object to the nullification of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, that is, as it applies to the Negro.

Racial

What about the questions that concern the Negro strictly?

The record of both old parties is one of hypocrisy and demagoguery on the Negro. Neither party has taken an honest and sound position on the Ku Klux Klan, Haiti, the Virgin Islands, the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill and Segregation in Washington. La Follette and Davis have condemned the Klan; La Follette has fought for Haiti and the Virgin Islands. Coolidge sent a Negro commission to investigate the Virgin Islands.

Party Corruption

All intelligent citizens are interested in protecting the natural resources of the nation. But are they protected? No. Both old parties are looting the country. Democrats call Republicans thieves and Republicans call Democrats thieves. Both are correct. The notorious Tea Pot Dome is no more scandalous than the Democrats' war record on Hog Island, the Airplane steal and the Shipping Board. La Follette has fearlessly exposed the corruption of both old political gangs.

International

The Progressives oppose war. They would abolish it by taking the profits out of war; internationalizing the sea routes, the economic sources of national rivalry, the democratic co-operation of nations and the institution of open diplomacy; the abolition of great armies and navies, and the holding of a referendum on war. Only bankers and munition makers profit from war. The people suffer.

Such are the issues before the American people in general and the Negro in particular.

What will YOU do?

THE NEGRO AND THE PLUNDERBUND

By BLANCHE WATSON

The ever-increasing exploitation of the Africans of Kenya by European whites is an old story. That story is going to have a sequel—indeed, the first chapter is being written today.

The Kilimanjaro Highlands of Tanganyika are climatically and in other ways as desirable as the usurped Kenya Highlands and almost four times as sizable into the bargain. Mandated territory under the League of Nations, they furnish good pickings for the British plunderbund, and not much beating about the bush is going to be needed to transfer the mandate to a handful of white settlers. That is to say, an international treaty can be and is going to be unsettled in the interests of greed!

Says Mr. C. F. Andrews, an Englishman, long resident of India—and so an observer of imperialism at close quarters—"The iniquity goes deeper. For it is not merely land that is also coveted, but also labor which may be entirely under white control." One should add that even this is not all the iniquity. There is the further fact that the labor supply must be numerically large that the wages may be kept as low as possible.

So Europeans who "understand the 'natives'" have been pretending to sound them and "note with satisfaction" that the residents of the much-coveted area are prayerfully desirous of having their lands and liberty taken from them by the empire "on which the sun never sets."

In the course of time, then, something over a million souls of Tanganyika will become a part of the machinery which bulwarks world imperialism—first a part of the industrial, later a part of its militaristic mechanism.

As a sidelight on the mandating system this is exceedingly interesting (the whole history of it—that is to say, which cannot be set down here for lack of space). Suffice it to say, that for the free booters of our twentieth century, it is a convenient and efficacious camouflage for the open nakedness of direct plunder. In that far away spot the imperialistic pirates hesitate not to tell this truth openly and shamelessly. Here in our Western world they (and we) cover their (and our) piracy with fair phrases—"protection of the 'native,'" "sacred trust of humanity," "moral responsibility," et cetera.

But the lowest depth of this iniquitous business is yet to be disclosed. That is another story, but the recent statement of a prominent Englishman that European armies were being recruited from Africa at the rate of 120,000 a year, added to our knowledge of the million or more Africans already under arms in Europe may give a hint of what that story has to tell. It may take many years to reach this "lowest depth" of economic imperialistic iniquity, but it is bound to be reached unless the miracle happens.

Mahatma Gandhi of India says that this is "the miracle

of non-violence" on which is predicated non-co-operation—a new-old weapon and one—as now brought up to date—eminently suited to the exigencies of the present all too destructive capitalist civilization (?) already seriously shaken and bound to topple if and when humanity refuses longer to hold it up to the behest of those whom it benefits. When men non-co-operate with the evil of imperialism, be it industrially, militaristically or politically—then and not until then—it falls.

And what does that attitude connote? Co-operation with all that is constructive in the life of human kind.

BLACK TRADE UNIONISM IN AFRICA

By CLEMENTS KADALIE

Cape Town, South Africa

General Secretary, Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa, and Editor of "The Workers' Herald"

BY the time this article is published in New York the representatives of the African proletariat from all parts of the Union of South Africa; Basutoland Protectorate and South West Africa—late German West Africa will be ushered together under the auspices of the "Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa." These black representatives will be assembled at East London, an important Sea Port on the Indian Ocean, where they shall seriously determine to create a formidable "Black Trade Unionism." I cannot foretell the results of this well advertised African Labour Congress, but I am emphatically optimistic enough that the workers' representatives will declare in the words of Mr. Samuel Gompers: "The workers want more wages; more chance of self-improvement as men, as trade unionists, as citizens. These were the wants of yesterday,



MR. KADALIE

they are the wants of to-day, they will be the wants of to-morrow, and of to-morrow's morrow. The struggle may assume new forms, but the issue is the immemorial one—an effort of the producers to obtain an increasing measure of the wealth that flows from their production." The readers of THE MESSENGER will clearly understand from this quotation that the black producers of this so-called "Dark Continent" do no longer depend on others to work out their salvation, but that they are now determined to voice their own battles with a view to obtain a better day for themselves and their families.

I have promised in my last article to review the decisions of our forthcoming African Labour Congress through this medium in its later issues. In the meantime I would like to bring to the notice of the readers of this indispensable New Negro magazine the effects that we are creating here. It may interest American Negro labour to know the fact that while representatives of the black workers have not as yet met in this momentous conclave, the white capitalist press is alarmed and instead of submitting to the forces of organized black labour is engaged in misrepresenting our movement. Just as it happened in the earlier days when we were launching out the movement that the white capitalist press in their deliberate folly cited the awakening as "Native Unrest," we at present find that our activities are being associated with Bolshevism which has its headquarters in Russia. The present incident is so similar to accusations that were once laid upon the writer. With the great Dock Strike in 1919, the Port Elizabeth manslaughter in the following year of black men and women workers as a result of deliberate provocation by the local authorities and in addition that brutal bombing from the air by the so-called white christian Union Government Air forces on defenceless men and women of the African race at Bullhoek, Queens-town, the writer was directly and indirectly supposed to be at the back of all such incidents. I recollect when the South African T. P. O'Connor, the father of the House of Assembly rose in the debate on the Bullhoek tragedy he said with serious declaration:—"In Cape Town

there had been a man named Clements Kadalie. He had been in America and in Cape Town had published a paper called *The Black Man*, which published all the most seditious and pestilential doctrines from a movement in America which caused a great deal of disturbance." For the information of your readers I may just as well mention that the writer has never left the African shores for any foreign country. The paper in question—*The Black Man*, which made a magnificent fight on behalf of the African workers existed for some time and with my threatened deportation the small journal was left in other hands and was shortly discontinued, but the movement it represented has survived to the present day.

I happened to be on tour last month accompanied by my Comrade the Assistant General Secretary of the I. C. U. visiting our Branches throughout the Eastern Province and the Midlands of the Cape Colony. The tour from beginning to the end was a great success. At Port Elizabeth I addressed several revival meetings including the yearly demonstration kept in that city in memory of our dead brethren who fell in Market Square on October 23, 1920. In attending this demonstration one could admire the loyalty of the African workers, male and female. They would disregard their fragmentary day's pay and turn up in their thousands to pay homage to these martyred black trade unionists. I still remember well in the 1921 procession when over 15,000 black workers joined in this solemnized procession which cover a distance of three miles. The Assistant General Secretary who has his headquarters at Port Elizabeth accompanied me to East London where we were welcomed on our arrival by a Brass Band of the Branch. During our short stay there beside several meetings that we addressed indoors and outdoors, we conducted negotiations between employers of labour on behalf of our members with successful results. With a view to relieve ourselves from the strain of public speaking we visited the South African Native College, Fort Hare and the old Lovedale Missionary Institution, the South African Tuskegee both in the district of Alic. Sympathetic friends welcomed us. Having left my comrade at his centre and reached my destination Cape Town, I was not long in the City when the local daily press published in large headlines: "Native Bolsheviks visit Lovedale: Moscow Blacks at Cape Town: A Sinister Campaign." Whenever the African Native makes an attempt to better his conditions, the bosses, characteristically who have a very nice time off his cheap abundant labour, have always tried to misrepresent his doings. To frighten the African Natives the capitalist press is apt to foment troubles amongst the intelligent section of the race. I am quite mindful that I should picture both the brighter and darker side of our struggles in this Continent. While we are battling manfully on behalf of the masses of the African toilers we still find that a portion of our race will side with the white exploiters at the expense of their own, which is of course natural. I believe it to be of interest to the readers of this magazine that since our official organ *The Workers' Herald*, has from time to

great developments of water-power like that at Muscle time quoted THE MESSENGER the white capitalist press has been trying to persuade the minds of our people to disbelieve the fact that THE MESSENGER does exist in the United States of America and that when it existed THE MESSENGER propagated the cause of Bolshevism amongst the Negro workers.

The African Native of to-day is a new man and is therefore quite different from his fore-fathers whom the white man found here some two hundred years ago and they duped. The most peculiar man ever created by Dieu is an African Native. He takes no heed to the white man's mischievous propaganda, he has lost hope in white man's leadership and his religion. To determine to frighten him by writing or otherwise at this juncture is to weld him closer together. Thus we find that with the advent of our official organ *The Workers' Herald* and the strenuous propaganda as carried on at present, the African workers are responding as one man. I mentioned in my first article that the workers in the Mines of the Transvaal were unorganized, but since then we have been successful to extend our propaganda thither and a Branch has already been chartered. The workers of Natal, that garden city, famous for its sugar plantation and its magnates, have also caught a vision. It is expected that I shall have personally to tour these large states after

the sitting of our forthcoming Labour Congress. Day by day scores of letters and telegrams reach our Head Office from all parts of this sub-Continent either acquainting us of the formation of Branches or calling upon an officer to visit existing Branches with a view to negotiate on their behalf. It is essential that a labour movement of the African people should exist permanently with its strong organ. In spite of hand-to-mouth wages paid to these African producers we find that the modern Pharaoh tax masters impose severe taxes on our people simply with a view to provoke them and marshal innocent men and women to goals as was recently done in the Orange Free State. Shortly after the dispatch of this article serious troubles will be brewing here as a result of the "Native Urban Areas Act 1923" which recently was made law forcing African Natives to be ushered into "Locations" or reserves unsuitable for any human being to live in, and whose going out and coming in will be controlled by white officials. When this Act will be enforced in the Cape Province where African Natives will be required to carry "Passes" identification certificates, I can quite see fatal troubles ahead. God alone knows what shall be our lot! I intend to write from the New Year monthly articles to THE MESSENGER to acquaint the American Negro of the plight of the African Natives. I am pleased to learn that my first article "A Call from Macedonia" created a favorable impression.

To***S

Farewell! Perchance no more we'll meet,
Yet though our friendship has been short
Though few the days, the moments fleet,
Still sad at parting, throbs my heart.

* * *

The checkered wave of time and space
May lave thy soul like Lethe's tide,
My thoughts of home and friends erase
And all in dark oblivion hide.

* * *

Far o'er that dim, Lethan surge
That rolls in silent, spectral light,
Above its mystic, misty surge
A phantom-peopled scene of night.

* * *

Faint rises through the haze of years.
Brief days of mirth long lights of gloom,
Still changing, rule that clime of cares,
Fleet friendship's chilly, destined tomb.

* * *

The blushing dawn of friendship there
Is blending with its darkening eve
And clouds of brumal, bleak despair
There light-obscuring shadows weave.

* * *

Horizon of the human mind—
Dim, dark Futurity unseen—
That e'en recedes, and leaves behind
What once you veiled with darkest screen.

* * *

What e'en thy varied scenes may bring
Of grief, or transient pleasures gleam,
Oh! blend not keen deceptions sting
Or blast each kindly thought and dream.
The human tide that round us flows
Rolls from and to Time's misty zone,
They're strangers, friends, perchance then foes,
Are coming, come, and then are gone.

* * *

The present's budded secrets bloom
Full blossomed in the future's flower,
If fair we seize it, but to doom,
And hasten on its final hour.

* * *

Our future soon shall be our past,
The now unknown, forgotten be;
Our only present's when at last
Time ends in the Eternity.

Then though the scenes e'er changing shift
And o'er the quicksand present lure,
Amid Time's ocean-shattered drift
May we, unchanging, change endure.

C. MCKENZIE MUIR

Repentance

Ah! Freedom forgive me
If I thee betrayed.
My heart was young
My blood was red
T'was glorious to be unafraid
Romance is oft' the guide of youth
And yet 'tis oft' the betrayer of truth.
I love it well
I love it still
But time has tempered mind and will
I thought I saw a wondrous chance
To prove my love for thee in France
I thought every battle fought and won
Would be a deed for freedom done
I little reeked of putrid stuff
Of promise, platitude and bluff
There was in me then no belief
That I was partner to the thief
Or that our leaders schemed and planned
To break the peasants' border land
Or that they still would fail to give
A weaker brother chance to live.
That war should leave but one regret
Lost gold and uncollected debt.
The golden word "Democracy,"
Was more than lure enough for me.

I saw the myriads in the fight
I loved them all, brown, black or white
Deluded by a dream of right.
I joined them too and failed to see
That tyrants' tools were men like me.
That 'twas to us they owed their rule
Whom they call hero is a fool
Sincere perhaps and altruistic too
Unsophisticated, brave and true
Alas! good is the end they seek
But God what harm they do.
So I to your altar in repentance turn.
Freedom, I pray thee give me then
The pardon for which I yearn
For now in peace I worship thee
And pledge my soul eternally.

GEORGE FRANKLIN PROCTOR,
Formerly Second Lieut. Machine Gun Co.,
307th Inf., U. S. A.

CRITICAL EXCURSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

By J. A. ROGERS

Author of "As Nature Leads," "From 'Superman' to Man," "The Ku Klux Spirit," etc.

The Great American Crime



J. A. ROGERS

When Mrs. Elaine Harris was sued for divorce on the ground that she had misrepresented her parentage, it was widely stated in the press that she was of mixed Negro and Caucasian ancestry. Whether this was so was not brought out in the trial, but in spite of Mrs. Harris' enraged denial it could have been possible, since she came from the South, where, after more than three centuries of intermixing, any native is likely to have a Negro ancestor lurking in the background. In any large community, North and South, it is easily possible to find hundreds of Negroes, so-called, much whiter than Mrs. Harris.

Among the papers that "slandered" Mrs. Harris was the *New York American*, which has now come out with an apology that is about as delicious a revelation of the white American mind as one may find. A novice may read the ravings of all the Negrophobists from Calhoun onwards and yet not get such an insight as is expressed in this quiet, naive bit of racial self-sufficiency. The apology reads:

"The *American* has thoroughly investigated the source of the false rumor that Mrs. Harris was of mixed races. There was never the slightest foundation for that charge.

"The fact is now published in justice to Mrs. Harris, and the *American* deeply regrets the *original injustice*, which was not called to its attention until last week."

* * *

When it was rumored that President Harding had "Negro" blood, friend and foe alike joined in denouncing the base wretch who could have let loose such a scurrilous slander, it will be recalled. Not a few hat-in-hand Negroes, also, lifted their hands in sacrilegious horror.

* * *

The Recent Chicago Lynching

The *American* has told the truth. For one to possess a skin a little darker than the regulation American one is to be guilty of an act of "original injustice." Because of this lynching meets with open and tacit approval from the majority. Congress refused to pass the anti-lynching bill, evidently not wishing to go contrary to the wishes of the majority of the people. Because of this it is pretty safe for a mob to attack Negroes anywhere, and escape unpunished, except for such blows as the Negroes themselves inflict.

A few days ago in Chicago some white men, passing in a Ford car, insulted a white girl. Hearing the girl's cry a number of white men in a sacramental wine shop rushed out. Negroes in the vicinity seeing the mob fled—all but one, who stood his ground. The hoodlums, filled with holy hootch, dashed out the brains of that one with a baseball bat. They had been taught that the possession of a skin darker than their own was a crime, and like good, valiant, brave Americans they sallied forth to destroy crime.

* * *

It is a significant fact that the mob was composed of Jews. The leaders, Otto Epstein and Irving Rockowitz, have been arrested, but that is only a gesture—it usually is.

* * *

The *Daily Worker*, a Communist paper, in an editorial, "America—100 Per Cent," says:

"The murder occurred in a neighborhood that is populated jointly by Jewish and Negro people. The mob that committed the murder was almost exclusively Jewish.

"Race hatred has reached a high pitch when one oppressed race becomes the executioners of another."

Jews played a leading part in the Chicago riots. It was a real estate combine, with several Jews as its leading spirits, that used to bomb the homes of Negroes in order to keep Negroes from so-called white neighborhood. The Jews helped to start the riot, and then the Irish did most of the execution.

The leader of the Springfield, Ill., riot was named as one Abraham Levy, a nineteen-year-old Jew. The Southern Jew generally is every whit as big a braggart about his color and as great an oppressor as the Southern Gentile.

* * *

Of course, there are a large number of Jews and Irish who stand for equal justice to Negroes—it is believed that the percentage is larger than among the native whites, though that certainly does not coincide with my experience—yet to see even a small number of these two groups joining in the oppression of any other group seems to me, in the light of their histories, a greater monstrosity than usual.

Here are some reasons, given at random, why Jews should not be prejudiced against Negroes:

1. The Negro has contributed more than any other single group to such prosperity as the Jews enjoy in America. Go to any Negro community, however impoverished, and you will find Jews there getting what's to be had. I could elaborate on this, but prefer not to.

2. The Negro acts as a buffer for the Jew. Take the former away and the spleen now being vented on the Negro would be vented on the Jew. The ill-feeling against the Jew goes much deeper than that against the Negro. The latter is despised; the former is hated. Luckily for the Jew he is the same color as the oppressor. That saves him.

3. The Jew belongs to a race or a faith, call it what you will, that has been harshly treated in every country in which it has lived. Jews have been massacred by the tens of thousands in almost every country in Europe. Let the Negro-hating Jew take down the history of England, period of Richard I, and read what happened to his people at the coronation of that king. Let him also remember that history can repeat itself.

* * *

The Irish and the Negro

What has been said of the Jews also applies to the Irish. The Irish have long had the reputation of being the most vindictive haters of Negroes on the American continent. D. G. Croly, writing in 1863, attributed it to the fact that Negroes and Irishmen were so much alike in disposition. You may take his explanation or leave it, but the fact that some of the bitterest foes of Negroes are Irish, holds true. In the Chicago riot Irish youths from the so-called athletic clubs in the Irish neighborhood were the most bloodthirsty of all. A Catholic priest, a very good friend of mine, who used to work among the Negroes in New York City, told me that when he went to Chicago soon after the riot he was surprised at the great hate the Irish there manifested for Negroes.

Yet it was not so many years ago that the Irish in America were in precisely the same position as the Negro now is. They were liable to be set upon and mobbed anywhere in any America for no reason than being Irish. English sentiment then prevailed more strongly in America than it did now. Between 1830 and the outbreak of the Civil War there were several organizations like the Know Nothing Party, who thought it a crime to be Irish, and one can fancy an American newspaper of those days apologizing to a Mrs. Harris for saying that she had Irish blood.

Here are some of the things that happened to the Irish, which one may verify by reading any history of the Know Nothing Party:

In 1834 the Ursuline convent at Charlestown, Boston, was burned by mobs and many killed. On Sunday, June 11, 1837, the Irish quarter was burned in Boston in what is known as the Broad Street riots. An Irish funeral and a fire-engine, going to a fire, got in collision, and of course, the Irish, right or wrong, got the blame for it, with the result that the populace, inflamed by the reading of the book, "Maria Monk," killed many Irish.

In May, 1834, there was an anti-Irish riot in Philadelphia that lasted three days. The Irish quarter was set afire, twenty-nine houses, two churches, and one convent being burned. Many were killed. In July, 1844, there was another serious riot in that city when it was rumored that the Irish had hidden arms in the church of St. Philip Neri. Among other places that had anti-Irish riots were Bath, Maine; Manchester, N. H.; St. Louis, Baltimore, Louisville, New York City and Brooklyn.

"Sixty years ago," says Dr. E. F. McSweeney, noted Irish-American scholar, "the bigoted slogan was: 'No Irish need apply.'" When the Civil War broke out, however, he says, the slogan was dropped, precisely as the Negro was reminded that he was an American citizen when it came to fighting and buying so-called Liberty bonds.

* * *

Above all, the Irish has the terrible background of oppression in his own country.

* * *

What has happened may happen again. Let the Ku Klux, the modern Know Nothings, have their way and history would repeat itself for the Irish. As to the Jews, they might wish they were back in Russia, for while the Russians would shoot them down, the crackers would fry them alive. As long as there is any oppression around no minority group can call itself safe. The dragon having eaten the weakest victim reaches out for the next.

* * *

I may be accused of being friendly to the Klan, nevertheless, I can't help wondering whether, under existing conditions, the presence of the Klan does not really mean more good than harm to the Negro, in pretty much the same way that in the insect and microbe worlds dangerous species battle fiercely with another, thus keeping their numbers in check and permitting man to live on this planet. At the speed with which anti-Negro pogroms started im-

mediately after the war, one wonders what would have happened if the whites hadn't providentially split among themselves into Klan and anti-Klan on other issues than the Negro.

* * *

It is this sort of thing, this ready tendency of oppressed to become oppressor, that makes those who are earnestly working for what is called justice to stop and wonder they also are not but poor deluded fools after all. Notice how quickly the man who is down will more often than not do the thing that he has been protesting against as soon as he gets on his feet. The average Negro real-estate dealer, for instance.

The white worker in America while demanding justice for himself is just as insistent that the Negro worker shall not get it, much as in the same way that Washington, Jefferson, Clay, and most of the colonists while shouting against oppression were worse oppressors of Negroes than the English were of the Colonists. Hard as Capital is to the Negro, Labor is much more brutal. Capital is unfeeling and exacting, but it will at least give a job. Labor, however, goes one better and says you can't have the job.

* * *

Between an autocracy, such as the late Russian Empire and a democracy like the United States, the only difference seems to be this: in the former kind of government the power is in the hands of a few hard-hearted ones with developed intellect and a certain degree of culture, often high as in Greece and Rome; in the democracy you have the same human nature, the same tyranny, minus the refinement. Negroes, for instance, were finely treated, though Jews weren't, in Russia.

Put the power in the hands of labor tomorrow and you'd be shifting authority from the hands of the greedy, selfish, but intellectual and somewhat cultured few into that of an equally selfish crowd with few of the saving graces of the former. For instance, it is nearly always much easier to deal with a man who has always been up than with one who has risen up. There is considerable truth in the saying that it takes at least three generations to make a gentleman.

Most of those like the Jews and Irish referred to, who are crying for justice, are really crying for an opportunity to do to the other fellow what he is doing to them. This is in no small sense true of Negroes, too. The bringing about of justice is really a Sisyphian task, after all. Was Weininger right when he said that the only way to cure humanity was to stop reproducing it?

They

"They jest at scars who never felt a wound,"
They speak of love who never sensed the "thrill,"
They grind out verse, who'se lyre was ne'er attuned,
To meet the edict of the pop'lar will.

They dream of wealth and fame on heights sublime,
Although in truth, they never had a mount,
Or held in trust, the item of a dime
To swell the coffers of a bank-account.

They babble war, who never held a gun,
They talk of thrift who never saved a cent;
They shout: "Fair Play," but make a good safe run,
When ranging landlords come to get their rent.

They want good service, 'though they never gave,
The eager, willing bell-hop lugging bags,
A thin and lonely dime, his soul to save,
Or starved street-beggars in their tattered rags.

They play at stocks, and in a sprawling hand,
They write out checks, who'se funds have long been nil,
At last, the Boss gets "hep" and out they land;
Because they cannot pay their hotel-bill.

They boast of fights who never graced a glove,
They picture goals, they think they will attain,
They dream not dreams, and do not know whereof
They build these fairy castles in their brain.

They prate of Peace who never strove to be
Staunch guardians of the Brotherhood of Man;
They shout aloud, for "World Democracy!"
But brand with shame each universal plan.

They daily wail of wrongs beyond the sea,
While here, defenceless Negroes writhe and burn;
Great God! What will the awful tribute be,
That day when Black Men get their just return?

MATTHEW BENNETT.

THE PHYSICIAN AND DISEASE PREVENTION

By SURGEON GENERAL HUGH S. CUMMING, M.D., UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Written especially for THE MESSENGER

What is better, prevention or cure?

In a small town in Virginia, during the summer of 1909, one physician had 96 patients with malaria, 15 with cholera infantum or similar disease, and 7 with typhoid fever, the three together making 108 cases out of a total of 158 for the entire summer. Then, with the aid of the State Department of Health, marshes were drained, water and sewage systems were introduced, milk inspection was provided and houses were screened. During the summer of 1922, the same physician did not have in that town one typical case of malaria, typhoid fever, or cholera infantum, nor did the only other physician of the town have a case of these diseases. Disease prevention in that town appeared to "work."

A mother gave birth to a beautiful blue-eyed boy; his coming brought joy to the entire family. In fifteen days' time the child had become hopelessly and permanently blind. In another town about the same time another baby boy was born. This child has grown up to be a bright, healthy, robust youth, the pride of his entire family. In the first instance, the attending physician was not using at that time a simple drug for the prevention of infantile blindness, which develops when the germs of gonorrhoea get into the eyes of the child at birth. In the other case this drug was used.

If preventive measures are so effective in such situations as are related above, should they not be more generally employed?

This is a day of prevention in dealing with disease. Under the leadership of city, county and State health departments, water and sewage systems are being introduced to insure a pure water supply; milk and food are being systematically inspected; quarantine is established to prevent the spread of contagious diseases; vaccination is utilized to combat smallpox; swamps are being drained and other measures taken to exterminate mosquitoes responsible for malaria and yellow fever; hookworm is being reduced by the introduction of sanitary living conditions; and through general health education, men, women and children everywhere are learning the laws of healthful living.

In many modern industries, health service has been established primarily for disease prevention. In one large corporation \$76,000 was spent for health service, but the investment of this sum resulted in a saving to the company over and above this amount of approximately \$50,000. In still another company \$69,000 was saved in a single year through the introduction of a health service.

These economic gains do not take into account tremendous gains in health and vigor represented thereby. A medical department, according to the testimony of responsible representatives of industry, "keeps the men on the job," "promotes a feeling of good will towards the management," "saves money," "is just as necessary as a cost department or any other (apparently) non-producing department."

School health work, which is rapidly being extended throughout the country, is primarily preventive. The discovery of defective teeth, adenoids, diseased tonsils and defective eyes leads to the remedying of these defects, especially when proper follow-up work is provided. Thus much suffering and disease both in childhood and in later years are prevented. The various types of work done by public health nurses are largely preventive in character. When a visiting nurse discovers sickness in a family, one of her chief responsibilities is to advise such measures as will prevent the development of the disease among other members of the family. During the past twenty years the number of dispensaries and clinics in the United States has increased from about 100 to over 3,000. Much of their work is preventive. By calling upon the clinic, many persons with minor ailments have been able to stop the progress of serious diseases. Now the private practitioner is becoming interested in "preventive medicine." He is beginning to see that he can serve his patients far better by preventing a disease than by curing the patient after the disease has developed.

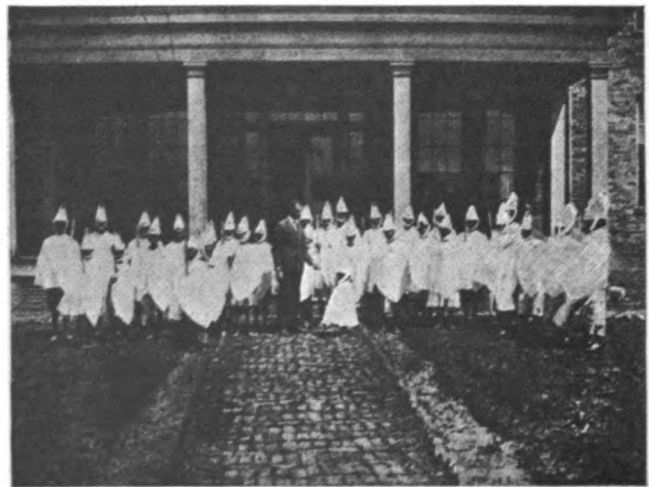
In California a considerable number of baby specialists now undertake for a very reasonable fee to supervise the health of babies for a definite period after birth. The parents obtain from these private physicians much the same kind of service as is provided by a health center; it is better to the extent that it affords more individual attention. Furthermore, it is rapidly becoming the custom for prospective mothers to seek the advice of practicing physicians during the early stages of pregnancy. In some communities, as a result of this custom, the fatal accidents of childbirth both to mother and infant have been cut in half.

Dentists have been vigilant in seeking to prevent the decay of teeth. The best dentists have insisted that children, especially those belonging to their adult patients, be brought to them at regular intervals for the examination of their teeth so that the earliest signs of decay may be detected and arrested.



Courtesy of N. Y. Tuberculosis Association

BLACK AND WHITE IN A FRESH AIR CAMP IN N. Y. STATE



Courtesy of N. Y. Tuberculosis Association

TRAINING THEM YOUNG DOWN IN DIXIE TO FIGHT THE WHITE PLAGUE

Now the periodic health examination appears to be growing popular. This is indeed fortunate, for through regular examinations many serious diseases may be detected before they gain a foothold in the individual and cause complications which may become incurable. Although, in many instances, a man may appear to be taken sick suddenly, in reality some organ, for weeks or months, has been gradually giving away, until finally it can stand the strain no longer and refuses to act. The physical suffering makes the patient aware of his disease, sometimes too late, when an examination earlier would have made possible its prevention.

A man owning an expensive automobile would be considered foolish to run it for over a year without having it carefully overhauled. Our bodies are machines which are much more delicately adjusted than automobiles; they are entitled surely to at least as much attention as a good automobile receives.

Some of the great life insurance companies have begun to appreciate the importance of the periodic examination and urge their policy-holders to be examined at regular intervals. The insurance companies provide these examinations without cost or for a small fee; they have found that preventive measures pay.

It is popularly believed that in China physicians are paid a certain sum at regular intervals to keep their patients well. This is not true of China, but it will not be surprising if it becomes true of other parts of the world.

Only recently it was announced that in one city of the United States, a prominent physician had decided to accept clients with the sole purpose of keeping them well. No one knows how many others have already adopted a similar plan. Doctor John M. Dodson, of the American Medical Association, is right when he says that:

"To render adequate and satisfactory service to his patients in the matter of prevention of ill health, the family physician should visit their homes at such intervals as will enable him to know the conditions of their living and working, and to advise when changes in such conditions are essential for the welfare of the family or any of its members. He should know intimately the schools that the children are attending and should advise with their teachers, when necessary, as to their school life in relation to their physical well-being."

The good citizen will support in every possible way the health work of his community and State; he thus becomes helpful in the prevention of disease both among the members of his family and among his neighbors. If he is intelligently concerned in the health of his family, he will see that in the school, in the factory, or the home each member of the family is thoroughly examined at least once a year, so that the early beginnings of disease may be detected and their more serious results prevented. He will thus save money and, what is more important, he will prevent disability and suffering in himself and among his loved ones.

PROPAGANDA IN THE THEATRE

By WILLIS RICHARDSON

The stage, the screen, the press, the pulpit, and, in fact, every instrument that has the ear and eye of the public, has been used at one time or the other, and very effectively, in the interests of propaganda. Such photoplays as "Civilization," used to get election results, and "The Birth of a Nation," used for creating anti-Negro feeling, have had their day and served their petty purposes. Many other screen productions of less fame have done their part in arousing the enthusiasm or creating the feeling their authors and producers wanted them to create; but since this paper is to deal with the spoken drama, we shall here let the records of the silent drama rest.

In dealing with the spoken drama one does not have to think very long to become aware that this is one of the very best means of getting an idea before the public. A propaganda play is a play written for the purpose of waging war against certain evils existing among the people, in order to cause those people who are in sympathy with the play's purpose to be up and doing, and in order to gain the sympathy of those people who have seldom, or never, thought upon the subject. To cut the description down, a propaganda play is a play written for some purpose other than the entertainment of an audience.

Bernard Shaw, who is the most important person in the drama at the present time, is, with the possible exception of Eugene Brieux, the drama's leading propagandist. Since Shaw's writing of "Widower's Houses" and "Mrs. Warren's Profession," propaganda in the theatre has been very much alive. In "Widower's Houses" he strikes a mighty blow at greedy landlordism, at the same time pointing to the fact that the young man and woman of property are slaves to their wealth. "Mrs. Warren's Profession" is a harsh criticism of the system which compels a single woman to choose between the two evils of working for starvation wages and selling herself.

Eugene Brieux, that other great propagandist of the theatre, has given us play after play, each of which has been a masterly criticism of some evil in our present system. "The Red Robe" and "Damaged Goods" are

the best known of these plays. "Damaged Goods" is known to the general public because of the public's curious desire to see the Frenchman lay bare the evils of venereal diseases. His masterpiece, "The Robe," is not so well known. Here Brieux shows all the greed of the judges for greater power, and their unfair methods of gaining the influence which gives such power.

Maxim Gorki surely had a deeper reason for writing "The Lower Depths" than simply the depiction of the characters of poverty-stricken Russians. He wanted to show the "smug citizens," as he called them, how the other half lived, so that perhaps they might question the wherefore and why of their less fortunate brother's condition.

Gerhart Hauptman's "Weavers" is another forceful document against capitalistic greed. Although the claim is that the play is unsuitable for stage presentation, it still ranks as the masterpiece of the greatest writer in Germany at the present time.

Arnold Bennet, in one of his works for the theatre, "What the Public Wants," takes his scene to one of the "Five Towns" and presents us with a play flaying yellow journalism.

James B. Fagan, with a theme similar to Bennet's and with material better chosen and more universal than that used by the author of the "Five Towns," gives us a better play in "The Earth," a play which stands out as the everlasting enemy of the nefarious newspaper article.

When I recalled the two last mentioned plays I thought it would be an excellent thing if some of us who have the ability to write in the drama would write a few plays against the yellow journalism in America which arouses prejudice against us, which promotes riots, which in the guise of friendship strikes at us from every angle and raises a mountain of obstacles in the pathway of our progress.

No sane person would doubt for a moment that the condition of the Negro race in America ought to be changed; and as long as the powers that be refuse to enforce the laws, there is nothing to be done but bring the matter before the public mind for the purpose of changing the opinion of the people. For years those

who have been interested in the making of this change have worked upon public opinion with nearly every available method from the prayer meeting to the indignation meeting. How much service either of these methods has rendered, I leave to the judgment of others; but the stage is one medium which has not been used to any extent.

When Miss Grimke wrote "Rachel" we thought we had a good beginning of propaganda plays, but the idea seems to have ended there save in the case of the small but earnest efforts of Mrs. Carrie Clifford in Washington and other energetic little people like her in many cities. Mrs. Clifford's little plays have been far from masterpieces, as she readily acknowledges, but they have been something; and if those like her in other cities would follow her example on a gradually increasing scale we should soon have a powerful medium for propaganda. How much might have been gained if such a beginning as "Rachel" had been followed by three or four such plays each year? I wonder if people do not go to the theatre with more unprejudiced minds than they sit down to read a newspaper or magazine. Anyone who reads these paragraphs can easily see that I am not one of those who believe that a propaganda play is no play at all, and the plays of many of the leading playwrights in the world to-day are excellent refutations of any who hold such a strict opinion.

With propaganda plays I think wonders may be done for the cause of the Negro. On the stage his desire and need for social equality (without which there is no other equality), for equality before the law, equality of

opportunity and all his other desires may be shown. Every phase and condition of life may be depicted from that of Maeterlinck's old man sitting quietly in the lamp light to that which Swinburne describes when he sings of

*"Fierce midnights and famishing morrows
And the loves that complete and control
All the joys of the flesh, all the sorrows
that wear out the soul."*

The lives and problems of the educated with their perfect language and manners may be shown as well as the lives and problems of the less fortunate who still use the dialect. To many of you educated and cultured among us who,

*"While in your pride ye contemplate
Your talents, power, and wisdom,"*

may object to the use of dialect on the stage, I say, that neither fifty years nor a thousand years from slavery is sufficiently long to enable a man to completely forget his mother tongue. We know nothing of the language our African ancestors spoke; we have learned the English language, but the dialect of the slave days is still the mother tongue of the American Negro.

So, to be able to sit in your stall at the theatre and witness the interesting things in the lives of your kinsmen, no matter what may be their condition of life, speech or manners, passing before you on the stage, ought to be a source of great pleasure to each and every one of you.

A VANISHING CONSERVATISM

By ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY

THE American Negro seems to be on the verge of losing his reputation for 100% Americanism and extreme docility and contentment. In this matter of docility he has for ages been the eighth wonder of the world. He is a marvel to continental Europeans and others. They cannot understand how the Negro can smile, dance, play and be content to be only half a man, in a country which prosecutes him and yet calls itself a democracy and a land of equal opportunity to all.

But times are changing and the day may not be far off when Mr. Dooley will have to change his dictum about the Negro being docile and easily lynched. It may not be long before politicians and superpatriots, of all breeds, cease making canned speeches about the Negro's unflinching loyalty, his humility and his everlasting willingness to rush to the trenches in time of national peril, even though he is not wanted and is called only when there is no other way out.

But it is true that the Negro has been a very docile animal. He has practiced the gospel of the other cheek. He has given his cloak when his coat was taken away. He has been a man living on the third floor back. And he has been this kind of being in a world that has defied brute force and where even the church and the school, as well as government and business, have glorified war and all manner of strife and combat. It is not claimed that the Negro has done these things as the conscious practice of Christian virtues but because he had not found himself, his awakening had not come and because he had been taught for years that he was the under dog and must expect only an under dog's place among the peoples.

Therefore the Negro developed an inferiority complex similar to that of women in relation to men. He got it out of slavery. It has coursed through his blood for centuries. The security of the master class was in large measure dependent on slave docility. The white preacher talked to the slave and emphasized the inevitableness of his status. The slave preacher unconsciously encouraged humility and docility by laying great stress on the rewards

that were laid up in Heaven for the righteous. Those who were down-trodden and oppressed here would occupy the chief seats in glory. There were also the Sorrow Songs, the Negro Spirituals, resulting from this feeling that some day the Negro would lay down his burden and go to live with Jesus in the skies. It mattered not that the Negro was oppressed here for in the sweet bye and bye he would go home and be free. Then he would wear a crown, put on shoes and shout all over God's Heaven.

Thus docility and meekness were engendered in the Negro. As a race he lacked the Anglo-Saxon spirit of Liberty or death. Of course there were individual Negroes who could not be taught this lesson. There were groups who from time to time made a dash for freedom but this spirit did not permeate the race as a whole.

Combined with this program of teaching the Negro to bear his burden in silence was a plan to make the Negro feel that he and his kind were mentally below par. They were taught that evil would befall them if they trusted one another. They must have faith in the white man for in him was all the wisdom of the age. Beyond him all was inconsequential and not worth while. According to this doctrine the only safe advice for a Negro to follow was that got from a white man. Only a white man could heal his body and only a white man could keep him out of jail. If he worked he must work for a white man or he might not get paid. In a word the white man was the final authority and if a Negro set himself up as one he was repudiated instantly. Added to this the Negro was taught to let the white man know what the Negro was doing or was planning to do. The slave was kept in childhood mentally and was expected to behave like a child. And there was more yet. The white men cohabited with Negro women and had children by them. The result was a polychrome race, black, brown, yellow and white. This bearing of bastard offspring to white masters and the separation of slaves into house servants and field hands resulted in intra-racial envy, jealousy and prejudice.

The slave regimen put the white man in command of

the Negro's thinking. He emerged from bondage multi-hued, without racial consciousness, docile and a conservative of conservatives. It was perfectly natural that the Negro should be conservative because of widespread ignorance. As a rule the master class saw to it that the slaves were physically competent but mentally impotent. Slavery depended on the perpetuation of muscle and not brain.

Consequently the colored people emerged from slavery immensely glad and satisfied that their bodies were free. There was no unrest in the modern sense, no absolute desire for equality and no passion for freedom as it is known among Anglo-Saxons.

This state of affairs existed for many decades after emancipation. The Negro aligned himself to one party and allowed himself to be kicked and buffeted by the leaders of that party. He was relegated to the ranks of the menial industrially and he took it as his share. He tolerated the actual raping of his wife and daughter or permitted himself to be lynched if he remonstrated. He accepted disfranchisement and segregation as if these things had come by fiat of God. He allowed himself to be made the scum of the earth.

There are some who say that this non-aggressive attitude on the part of the Negro is what has kept the race from complete extermination. The idea seems to be that if Negroes had not been humble and willing to be lynched, 3000 strong in the last thirty years, they would have been annihilated. Mr. Chester Rowell, writing in the *New Republic*, some time ago, said that the Negro accepts an inferior status and lives, the Indian would not accept it and he is dead.

The doctrine of non-resistance was talked to Negroes so much that the large majority came to believe in it. It never entered their heads that it might be a ruse to keep a race in subjection at very little cost to the stronger race. An army always attempts to gain its objective by the loss of as few men as possible. It is not considered good tactics to risk one's hide or prestige in conflict of any sort if one's desires can be attained through flattery, skillful maneuvering or fright.

All of these methods have been and are being used with the Negro in order to halt the vanishing of his docility. The mob uses fright, lynching and terror. Other groups resort to trickery, bribery, lying and the control of Negro educational and welfare institutions as a means to the same end—The Maintenance of White Supremacy. The only fundamental difference in these groups is that of method. The mob uses a direct method and lynches while the other, refraining from and deprecating violence, incites to violence by practicing segregation and discrimination. Both groups have the same end in view—"To keep the Negro in his place" or at least not to let him rise too rapidly.

But there are increasing evidences that the tide is turning. The black man is not so docile and meek as he once was. He is learning to fight back, even to fight back with the rifle. And the more he resorts to the use of the rifle the more white men, good and bad, preach to him about the futility of hitting back. But the Negro is not so easily fooled now. He knows that his only defense against the mob is bullets. This has been proven time and time again in the last few years. The Negro does not hit back because he feels that there is no danger attached to such methods but because he must do so in self defense and because in this way only can he gain respect.

A further reason for the vanishing of the black man's conservatism is the increase in intelligence and education. Illiteracy is rapidly decreasing and young Negro men and women are literally invading the institutions of higher learning. Hence the present-day Negroes think more clearly, strive harder and understand better what citizenship means and implies. They realize that physical existence is not all. Heretofore the mass of Negroes has not understood the meaning of freedom, liberty and equality. These words have not meant the same to them as they have to the white races. A changed conception of the meaning of these words has come to the Negro with the increase in educational equipment.

One other reason for the waning of the colored man's conservatism is the discovery of the fact that he gains nothing that is worth while by being conservative except abuse, proscription and a status of inferiority. He is beginning to learn that the meek do not inherit the earth. He sees that might of some sort is always king. The Great War was not without effect on him. In this war he saw all the meek placed in jail while the men of might were decorated with numerous medals. He has seen the Irish war with powerful England and win. He watched the Near East conflict with peculiar interest. His sympathies were with the Turks because associated with them were colored and semi-colored races. The Negro knows that war was averted because great white England knew that force would be met by force and there was a chance for the sun to set on the British Empire.

The Negro watches and takes part now in the struggle between capital and labor. He sees that it is the stronger side which wins and not the more docile. He has learned, at last, that conservatism in politics is not his road to salvation, for Republicans and Democrats are all one as far as he is concerned. He is learning that it is not only a case of white against black but the powerful against the weak, the rich against the poor.

Colored people are also learning that if they are to take their place in the sun, that at least a part of their kingdom must be of this world. Mansions and golden streets in Heaven may be all right but the Negro feels today that a few acres of this earth, an ordinary brick house, a few oil wells, a factory however small, and other forms of concrete wealth are no less essential to him than to the white man. It is not only the Negro's color that curses him but also his poverty and his ignorance. They are beginning to see this now. While they were preparing for Heaven the white man gobbled up the earth and gave the Negro all the manual labor to do.

But now along with a determination to fight back and defend himself the Negro is also determined to acquire some of the world's wealth and economic power. Before now they have produced a little but consumed a great deal. What they have produced has usually been in the form of raw material. It was a long time before Negroes discovered that economic power is in the hands of those who change raw material into some finished product, or who finance those engaged in other businesses. Negroes have raised cotton for white men to make into cloth and garments, they have dug coal and made steel in mines and mills owned by white men, they have built railroads from which white men would draw the profits. It did not occur to them that they could and should operate mines, factories and railroads.

They were never taught these things. They had to stumble up on them. The whites, as a whole, prefer that the Negro remain a manual laborer and a consumer only. Not only did the whites contribute to the Negro's ignorance concerning the value of economic power, but the Negro leaders, particularly the Negro preachers, aided and abetted this ignorance. These leaders as a whole did not realize that the poor and weak and ignorant of whatever color, have no rights which the rich and powerful of whatever color are bound to respect.

Now, however, the foundations of our modern world, its ways and habits and those things most needful for success are becoming plain and apparent to the Negro. He finds that things are not as he imagined they were or as he has been told. He has talked and entreated a great deal and "rights" have been constantly on his mind and tongue. And although he is more insistent than ever that he have those "rights" he knows that it is his move to do something that will insure those "rights" to himself and his children. For instance Negroes know that lynching cannot be halted through sun-rise prayer meetings, that poverty and economic weakness cannot be eliminated through philanthropy and mere wage earning and that ignorance sooner or later will be taken advantage of.

Hence black people of America are not so conservative, docile, content with ignorance and "heavenbound" as they formerly were. Their conservatism is waning slowly but surely. When the mob strikes they strike back. They are

forming corporations and establishing factories and trust companies. They are besieging the schools and colleges. And mirabile dictu, they are voting for white and black men who are not Republican, and electing them to office. They are becoming as other men.

It is inevitable that from this new physical and moral courage, this new economic initiative, this swelling unrest, this increasing liberalism and radicalism will eventually come a new birth of freedom for the Negro, his inherent rights and his constitutional immunities and privileges.

NEW BOOKS

Toward Industrial Peace and Good Will

A Review of Glenn E. Plumb's "Industrial Democracy"

Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York

By ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY

IT is some years now since Mr. Glenn E. Plumb, student of industrial problems and particularly the problems referring to the relations between employer and employees—gave out what has since been called the "Plumb Plan." This plan of industrial salvation has never been tried on any extensive scale. It is improbable that it will ever be tried unless a revolution of some sort takes place in these United States. The "Plan" is somewhat idealistic and would interfere with private profit and private property. Therefore it is a safe assumption that certain ever-watchful gentlemen will do everything in their power to keep this "Plan" from ever becoming the rule of the land.

In working up to his idea of how industrial peace can be brought about and maintained Mr. Plumb gives several chapters to the evolution of industry, of capitalism and of political democracy. He begins in the first chapter by assuming that the world has been in the grip of political and economic autocracy. In the discussion of this autocracy Mr. Plumb speaks right out in meeting and says that the World War was a general calamity that demonstrated the "collapse of autocracy." Of course many today will question that there has been any such collapse. Mr. Plumb speaks of the financial magnates as conspirators against the peace of the world and the domination of the whole life of the people by "investment interests."

Of course the author's reasoning cannot be accepted in its entirety. In one place he speaks of the political-militarist-social autocracies having been overthrown during the war and having been succeeded by a financial oligarchy. It would seem nearer the truth to say that this financial oligarchy was very much present and alive years before the war dominating both the politicians and the militarists to the end that war was inevitable.

Again it is rather disconcerting to find Mr. Plumb falling into 100% Americanism when he comes to discuss Russia. For instance, "It is assumed that sooner or later Europe must come under the domination of red radicalism, and that the rule of the radicals will be necessarily inefficient, oppressive and destructive. . . . Under the guise of national communism, an autocracy has been set up in Russia that seems to be in many ways as cruel and oppressive as was that of the czars." Concerning radicalism in the United States Mr. Plumb says, "Yet, though the danger of destructive radicalism in this country has been tremendously exaggerated, there can hardly be any doubt that it is a real menace."

On the whole Mr. Plumb is a middle-of-the-road prophet trying to stand somewhere between capitalism and communism. One of his fundamental theses is that there are certain fundamental principles that govern all human relations and that they apply to industrial as well as political relations. He takes the further position that these principles are stated in the Declaration of Independence. His position is that industrial democracy has the same historical and constitutional claims as political democracy. For instance the government of the guild was an industrial democracy and this same idea is inherent in the American Constitution.

In working out his argument for Industrial Democracy

based on the letter of our Declaration of Independence and Constitution, Mr. Plumb apparently accepts all of the myth and legend surrounding the founding of the Republic. It is interesting how he accepts the economic interpretation of history in discussing civilization in the time of the guilds and the French Revolution and seems to overlook this economic motive in the case of the American Revolution. He says that Industrial Democracy can be ushered in by peaceful revolution. The French and American revolutions were peaceful until the aristocrats and the British resorted to violence to thwart the will of the common people and the colonists. Assuming that this is historical fact, which it isn't, how could one assume that the capitalist class would not resort to violence to stem any rising tide of industrial democracy?

As has been stated before Mr. Plumb's "Plan" is idealistic and would be an absolute improvement over the present industrial chaos and warfare. In chapter eleven where the "Plan" is outlined in detail, he says: "Point by point, the principles of equal human rights—of individual and social justice—coincide with the principles of economic efficiency . . . an industrial organization that will secure the one will secure the other. . . . American democracy has builded into its foundations the principles upon which industry can be established upon a firm basis of economic efficiency and individual and social justice."

The author's proposal in brief is that capitalism, as it exists today, be done away with. He proposes that industries be classified in four groups, viz., a, National Public Utilities; b, State and Municipal Public Utilities; c, Industries based on grants or exploitation of natural resources; d, All other industries. The first group are to be owned by the federal government, the second group by the state or municipality, the third group by those who invest either labor or money in them, and the fourth group by individuals, partnerships or corporate enterprises.

This means, of course, that all public utilities would pass from under private control and would be publicly owned, a sort of state socialism. Natural resources, such as coal mines, etc., would be owned by both the workers and the investors of money. Is it any wonder that this "Plan" died still-born? And hear further about industries which exploit natural resources, "There will be issued to every investor of labor . . . a labor stock. . . . Labor stock will carry the voting privilege, on the basis that the employee whose salary or wage is a thousand dollars a year will have a voice in the affairs of the corporation equal to that of an investor of money or property whose preferred dividend is a thousand dollars a year." Those who do not work in the industry can only have preferred stock, one vote for each share owned and cannot vote by proxy. Wages must be paid out of gross revenues before dividends. Excess earnings after operating costs are deducted shall be declared surplus and shall be divided into two equal parts, corporate surplus and public surplus. Public surplus shall be used for improving the plant and retiring capital. If there still be a surplus the corporation shall absorb it the following year by reducing the price of its products.

Such is the "Plumb Plan" in merest outline. In order to insure the carrying out of its provisions a federal, state or municipal commission (sic) shall be established with full power of control. Now this word "commission," of course, brings us back to earth again. Who will control the commission? We have fifty-seven varieties of com-

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you too will be
"Sitting on the
Moon"

Some Facts

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misions now; some with absolute power and some with no power.

Mr. Plumb has left a fundamental question unanswered or, at best, half answered. How can it be done? By what steps and means could Industrial Democracy be achieved? Here is his answer. "It means education, accompanied or followed by political action." And again, "Industrial democracy will be achieved through political democracy. The people will secure their industrial rights by the exercise of their political rights. There will be no confiscation of property; no expropriation of capital . . . there will be no revolution."

Is it really probable that such a plan as outlined could exist under purely political government? Could it be brought to pass without violence? When one considers that an ordinary coal strike—in which men are not seeking a share in the control of industry, but only shorter hours and higher pay—is accompanied by violence, how can one imagine an entire change in the control and ownership of industry without the idea of violence being most prominent in one's mind? The lesson of history seems to teach that the thing which Mr. Plumb desires cannot be. The author shrinks from revolution. Yet all the great evils in the history of the world have persisted until those against whom these evils operated most, have torn them down through revolution, often violent, passionate and bloody. Can industrial democracy really be got short of revolution?

Another Book About the War

"Sidelights on Negro Soldiers." By Charles H. Williams.
Published by B. J. Brimmer Co., Boston. Price \$3.00.
Reviewed by Theophilus Lewis.

I belong to the dwindling minority of men who believe in the ultimate benevolence of war. This position is impregnable to logical assault, I believe, for discerning men, *i. e.*, men with whom I happen to agree, have time and again explained the great utilitarian value of war to society, defending their base with legions of first-line facts recruited from three sciences, with a *landwehr* of reserve facts in a fourth science. Their position is so formidable that rational attack upon it is hardly ever contemplated; nevertheless it is continually being snow-balled by heroic Six Hundreds composed of the congenitally tender hearted, hypocritical politicians, plain cowards, and other pediculi.

Myself cousin to the sentimentalists, being an emotional man with small reverence for logic or the pragmatic side of things, I am but little more impressed than the shock headed by the great utility of war as a social scavenger and Gargantuan funmaker. Merely useful things, more often than not, leave me cold. A shoe factory, for instance, is obviously of large utilitarian significance; nevertheless I think it is a pernicious thing. What fascinates me is not the huge utility of war but the intense poetry and glamor rife in it. By war, of course, I mean not only the season of conflict but also the practice of the military professions.

The army especially engages my fancy. Here is an institution that has evolved a ritual so elaborate that it regulates all the work and a great deal of the play of its members and yet never becomes galling and only seldom becomes irksome; a ritual subtle enough to intrigue refined minds and at the same time so concrete in expression that even the dullest normal man, when brought in direct contact with it, can comprehend something of its beauty. Nowhere else does ceremonial flower in such sensuous pomp and splendor except in the field of religious pageantry. Retreat and Guard Mount contain an element of cathedral grandeur that exalts the spirit as the Mass exalts it and they leave in their wake an atmosphere of benediction like the aftermath of vespers. The man who can observe either of those ceremonies and remain unmoved is brother to the fellow who can remain unimpressed in the presence of a Barbizon landscape or walk up Fifth Avenue without taking a second look at the facade of St. Thomas' Church.

Then, for men with iron in their blood, there is the grim exultation that comes with holding a trench under artillery fire and the supreme ecstasy of the sweep and surge of battle. Heaven has denied me the latter experience, but I have been close enough to it to know what it tastes like, and I never neglect to thank the Lord of Hosts for that privilege when I go up to the Temple to pray.

The instigation of the above rampage of adjectives, which will doubtless earn my election to the Cro-Magnon Club, is "Sidelights on Negro Soldiers," by Charles H. Williams (B. J. Brimmer Company, Boston). This is an interesting book—in various ways.

While the curious will be irritated by the inadequacies of his chapter on The Negro Officer and the inaccuracies of his chapter on The Ninety-Second Division, the ribald will derive many a snicker from the unconscious humor that abounds in his chapters on the "Y" and The Lure of the Uniform. The serious-minded, however, will hardly fail to commend his chapter on The Ninety-Third Division.

The chapter on The Negro Officer, while it contains much valuable information, leaves the reader in the dark on at least one vital point. In discussing the difficulties encountered by Negro aspirants for artillery commissions, the author mentions six who, after being shifted from one camp to another, finally received commissions at Fort Sill, but he fails to inform us whether the successful six won out through pluck and perseverance or because they were handkerchief head descendants of Uncle Tom. Surely the light should have been stronger here.

In his discussion of the Ninety-Second Division I find so many inaccuracies without referring to the records that I am inclined to consider the entire chapter worthless. Speaking of the 367th Infantry, the author says, "It paraded in New York City on Washington's Birthday, 1918, when it was presented with colors by the Union League Club." Now I myself was one of the gallant lads who marched that day. We were a picked six hundred brought in to march with the 77th Division and show the white boys up. We did, mainly, because the O'Fay troops carried heavy field equipment while we carried nothing but rifles. Naturally we marched with bodies erect and kept a straighter line, and also I often recall the great ovation we received. I also remember the coffee and pastry lavished on us in New Amsterdam Casino; I remember the wife of a pacifist telling me how brave I looked and expressing a desire to give me a buss; I remember Fred Ball losing his rifle and Lieutenant J. White losing his temper; but, somehow, I fail to remember any presentation of colors. And I'm willing to kiss the Good Book and swear I wasn't drunk that day.

Exhibit B. The author cites Bruyères as the place where the Ninety-Second Division "heard for the first time the roar of the big guns." The 367th was among the first, if not the first regiment of the division to arrive in the vicinity of Bruyères. I remember it as a compact, placid little town which, except for the presence of swarms of soldiers in the streets, seemed to be as far removed from the scene of conflict as Stroudsburg, Pa. The place was so secure that *le maire* did not bother to have the lights concealed at night, but permitted the restaurants (there were two good ones in the town), delicatessen stores, cafes and caves of wild women to blaze and glitter as long as there was a soldier in town with a franc in his pocket. I do not believe the sound of artillery was ever heard there. I will not be dogmatic about it, however; there was good beer and much harder stuff on sale in the town and I imbibed it freely.

Again, Lieutenant Bullard was not killed on patrol duty, as Mr. Williams declares, but in an observation post which, a few days later, was pointed out to me by a scary officer who grabbed his gun every time a seventy-seven whizzed overhead. But let us turn from this to Mr. Williams' discussion of the "Y."

This chapter is simply the kind of kudos one would expect one "Y" secretary to write about another or all of them to chant to their sacred institution. It is highly diverting stuff for the impish minded, still I find a mo-

dicum of merit in it. The sins (some say crimes) of the "Y" were legion and it has been universally panned for them while its few virtues have been entirely overlooked. The triangle men did not get loose from anything tangible, it is true, but whenever considerable numbers of troops were quartered in a deserted and shell-shattered village they were usually on hand to furnish a cracked piano and a hut where the boys could ball the jack and exchange cooties. The organization that did this, it seems to me, deserves to have somebody come forward to say a few kind words in its behalf. Mr. Williams has said them.

Quite half the book is given over to jabberwocky of the sort cited above but Mr. Williams atones for it in the other half. His chapter on the Ninety-Third Division is substantially in accord with the facts, I believe, and he especially deserves to be commended for the sensible way he treats the record of the 369th. This regiment (the old 15th N. Y. N. G.) probably was the premier regiment of the whole American Army. It held its ground bravely at the battles of Spartansburg and Mineola, and, overseas, it was under fire longer than any other American regiment. At the close of the war it received decorations by the wheelbarrow load, including a shovelful or so from the prejudiced American Congress. In telling the story of this regiment Mr. Williams muffs a fine chance to become bombastic and do his oratory and confines himself to setting down the record without embellishment.

In spite of its obvious flaws, Sidelights on Negro Soldiers is a conscientious piece of work that will present numerous valuable leads to the student who is willing to check up as he goes along. No Epworth League or B. Y. P. U. should be without a copy.

I thank Mr. Williams for the pretext and the editor for this opportunity to spread myself.

"Veiled Aristocrats"

Rod Roscoe, a white lad, with deep yearnings for the nobler things of life, lives in the dreary little town of Waterport with a father whose soul does not rise above the level of his hardware business, and a mother whose mania for economy and general small-mindedness makes matters worse. Rod is slowly pining away in this dispiriting atmosphere, and the family physician, in divining the cause, contrives to bring him in contact with Carr McClellan, a man of magnificent personality, and a wounded veteran of the last war.

Romance

When I was young I used to say
Romance will come riding by,
And I shall surely smile
And play with him a while.

When I grew older then I said
Romance may come riding by
I wonder shall I smile
And play with him a while?

But now alas, I only say
Romance came not riding by
And I shall never smile,
He has been dead the while!

GEORGIA DOUGLAS JOHNSON.

Lesson

I've learned of life this bitter truth:
Hope not between the crumbling walls
Of mankind's gratitude to find repose,
But rather,
Build within thy own soul
Fortresses!

GEORGIA DOUGLAS JOHNSON.

Rod, on meeting Carr, suffers a shock—Carr is a Negro. Rod, however, under the geniality and charm of Carr's manner, soon forgets this, and he returns from the visit invigorated. Rod is deeply desirous of meeting Carr again, and a very close friendship is soon established between the two. This companionship, however, is broken when Carr recovers, and returns to his home in Chicago.

Rod is disconsolate at the loss of his friend, and, unable to stand Waterport any longer, boards a freight train for Chicago. Carr welcomes him, and finds him a home with Amber Blair, an octoroon, who lives with her husband and an uncle, in a beautifully kept house. Amber, herself, is a descendant of one of America's most distinguished white statesmen. She takes the forlorn lad to her motherly heart, and under the warmth of the environment he begins to experience true happiness.

Their companionship renewed, Carr takes Rod to the University of Art, where he meets many musicians, artists, poets, and authors, all Negroes. In this artistic atmosphere Rod is inspired to develop his own artistic urge, and decides to take up dancing. He studies at night, working by day as a house painter. Carr, himself, is a genius at modeling, and has a studio where he creates many beautiful figurines at night, after the day at the office, where he fills a good position, passing as a Spaniard.

One day while Rod is at work in the aristocratic Cartwright mansion, he hears a dance tune being played by Natalie, heiress to the Cartwright millions, and seized by the spirit of the dance, he drops his brush and begins to dance. Natalie catches sight of him in the mirror, and is so much thrilled that she invites him to lunch, overalls and all, to the horror of the butler. They meet again and again. He tells of his life among the colored people and of Carr. Natalie, herself, was reared in France, and knows nothing of the American color bar, her own father having introduced her to distinguished persons of color abroad. She has, moreover, a love for the exotic, and wishes also to go among the colored people and to meet Carr, a desire that is fanned when Rod shows her one of his wonderful figurines.

Among the many who aspire to Natalie's hand is Garth Lane. Garth is of the best social set; is a handsome, swaggering "cake-eater" and a would-be artist. Jealous at Natalie's interest in Rod, Lane in order to get him out of the way, gets him a position as a dancer with a leading impresario.

Natalie, still eager to meet Carr, is finally taken by Rod



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to a charity ball given by the colored elite. One of the leading performers instantly fascinates her. It is Carr. The two meet and the attraction is mutual. In the days that follow Carr reads Natalie's love in her eyes and shrinks away when he remembers his ancestry. Love wins, however, and they become engaged. Later she tells Rod and Lane of the pact. Both are thunderstruck. Rod himself is in love with her. His bitterness, however, is swallowed up in his love for Carr, while that of Lane's is aggravated.

At this time Astor Cartwright, Natalie's father, a man of dominant personality, whose hobby is great engineering feats, returns from South America. Cartwright has a secret of his own. It is about Natalie's dead mother. Seeing a picture of Carr, he is struck by the strength of character the portrait reveals, and mistaking Carr for a Latin, compliments Natalie on her choice. On learning Carr's real ancestry, however, he thunders in rage. At this critical moment Rod and Carr come to the mansion, and Cartwright, towering with rage, orders Carr away. Rod follows.

Rod, thinking to placate Cartwright, determines to look up Carr's father, whom he understands is a white man of distinction, to ask him to plead for his son. Rod goes

to Mississippi, and sees Carr's mother. The latter tells the story of Carr's ancestry, but when she learns that he is about to marry a white girl, she foresees disaster and hastens North in an endeavor to prevent the marriage. In the meantime Natalie defies her father and goes off to marry Carr. Cartwright misses her, and is led by Lane to the studio, where he finds her with Carr. Cartwright, mad with rage, is about to spring on Carr when Rod and Carr's mother enter. Mrs. McClellan immediately runs to her son's side, and at a glance recognizes Cartwright as the husband of her dead mistress, Natalie's mother. She reveals to the great astonishment of all that Natalie's mother was the daughter of a very wealthy white man by a Negro mother, and therefore that Natalie is colored. Lane, maddened at the thought that he had lost Natalie and her millions, whips out a revolver at Carr, but Rod diverts it in such a manner that Lane shoots his own self. Cartwright, shocked at the discovery of his secret—for he had known all along that Natalie's mother was colored—dies of heart failure. Natalie and Carr are married and go to France to live, while Rod becomes a famous dancer, and writes back to thank the family doctor at Westport for having brought him in contact with Carr.

"BY SANCTION OF LAW," by Joshua Henry Jones. Published by B. J. Brimmer Co., Boston.

Is the way of the book reviewer hard? Most people think not. What could be better, these folks imagine, than to have the privilege of reading and expressing one's opinion upon current literature. The job, however, is no bed of roses. For, after all, there is literature and "literature." Suppose one is accustomed to the literary viands served by Shaw, Chesterton, Rose Macauley, Ben Hecht, W. E. B. DuBois, D. H. Lawrence, Theodore Dreiser, and such ones? What a bore it is, then, to drop to some fifth rater! Mixing concrete or even attending a meeting in Liberty Hall is a lot easier.

But the reviewer must play no favorites. The bitter must be taken with the sweet. If he is forced to read "Philosophy and Opinions" of Marcus Garvey today, mayhap on the morrow the silver lining may burst through the cloud in the form of a "Silbermann" by Jacques de Lacretelle or "The Story of My Life" by Sir Harry Johnston. The reviewer must always keep in mind that, after all, in spite of universal compulsory "education," the public enjoys fifth rate books the most.

"By Sanction of Law" is one of these fifth rate books, and, by the same token it should have a large sale among able Americans. The publishers have euphemistically called it a novel. In fact, it is nothing but a very thinly and poorly disguised social equality-humanitarian tract.

The story concerns the love and marriage of a Southern aristocratic white girl and a Northern aristocratic white Negro; their obstacles and adventures at college in the North, and after they leave the United States and go to South Carolina. The technique is that of Bertha M. Clay, Laura Jean Libby, Charles Garvice, and other Street and Smith scribblers.

Wherein the propaganda in Miss Fauset's "There Is Confusion," is skillfully concealed, yet piercing at times with keen, rapier thrusts, Mr. Jones' stuff is administered with an axe and a broadsword. I rebel against this.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER.

"HOLIDAY." By Waldo Frank. Published by Boni and Liveright, New York City.

Here we have a unique story of the tragedy which happens so often in the South. It is told with a wizardry that is marvelous. It paints with stark colors the bitter, barren brutality of the white world in a Southern small town, its barren monotony, its sordid hidden fear that the colorful, warm life of the Negro may dominate it. Here is shown for the first time in a white novel the contempt as well as the hatred felt by the Negro for the white, and here you have a white virgin with arid passion drawn irresistibly to throw herself into the arms of a Negro, and the Negro turning his back upon her and walking away, in spite of the fact that he is drawn toward her. Then you have the inevitable self-rebuke, hurt pride, sadistic desire for revenge, the determination that he shall not live to tell or to look at her whom he has repulsed—and so she has him lynched.

The tale is daring, but is something more—it is understanding in a remarkable way. Its form is new. It is the combination of the objective telling of the straightforward tale, broken into every once in a while by rhapsodic reveries, telling of the subjective, unuttered reactions of the characters, expressed sometimes in rough but strong poetry—the primitive poetry of song; sometimes in prose that is akin to poetry.

It is this form which makes Holiday difficult for some, but filled with charm for those who have seeing eyes. The whole action occurs in a day, between sunset and sunset, and one is reminded of the Greek tragedy, the reveries taking the place of the chorus.

The scene is set in Nazereth—a "cracker town" on the Gulf of Mexico—drab, ugly, with sordid, crude whites, an anachronism such as one finds all over the South. Its ugly, broken wooden pier reaching out into the bay toward the hidden city on the other side, expresses the will of Nazereth yearning towards the hidden city.

Then there is the inevitable Nigger-town here painted in soft tones which reveal an almost too sympathetic hand.

John Cloud, called "Lank" by the whites, who could not see his tall, slender dark beauty, a foreman in an orange-packing plant, beloved and trusted by his race, the favorite of children, his mother's joy, and loved by the brown Mary Cartier, a dreamer who longs for a vague something—is the principal male character.

Virginia Hade, white and twenty-five, educated in the city and now managing her father's plant, seething with suppressed passion, irresistibly drawn toward John Cloud, in spite of his color, torn between prejudice and desire, is the woman of importance in the tale. Then there is the judge, lazy, fat-brained and fearful of the black world; Bob Hade, Virginia's brother, the town dandy and champion swimmer ("because he wouldn't race a nigger") who lets a Negro drown before his eyes, rather than soil his white flannel trousers, the typical despoiler of Negro women and a bully. The story is a series of contrasts. White Nazereth—sharp and ugly, fighting the night Niggertown kindly

and colorful, enveloped by the kindly blanket of night and centered in its church. The white church and preacher—flat, arid, hard, empty, vainly grasping after "a God that has fled," and the Negro church, full of drama and fervor, with "its thick songbrew, rising, boiling, as God stirred—a song like blood within a living body." There is the contrast of John in his cot—dreaming of a world which is a white woman waiting for him, to be filled with his flame, and Virginia Hade, tossing on her mahogany bed, fighting the longing for the arms of a black man which distresses her. John has "the white look in his eye." His mother sees it, and warns him against it, urging him to marry Mary Cartier that it may be washed away, telling him of the fate of her brother Wallace who had the same look, who was tired of "the choking which is the black man's life, and wanted freedom."

John is proud, and so the white sawdust in his eyes, he looked at a white woman. And somethin' in her eyes got kindled up by his, John, no mo'. Jes' de kindlin' look in his eyes and de kindled look in her's, John, no mo'. At

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night-fall dey comes up. Right here. And dey words was low: "Git out. Git quick. Fo' de sun comes up. Git away!" And he went." Old Aunt Martha sees it and warns him of his danger. Mary, his sweetheart, sees it and knows it keeps him from her arms, and her heart seethes with hatred of that white world that is always wanting. Judge Hade sees it on a day when John walks a block with him beside him unseen, because Virginia holds all his vision, and he has murder in his heart, and he fearfully questions Virginia as to why she has the same look in her eyes.

John is proud, and so the white saw-mill boss curses him as he strides on heedless of his jest at the expense of the poor drowned Negro, and so Bob Hade detects the look of contempt because he had let the Negro drown, and seeks to insult John and gets as good as he sends. "Move on, Cloud," he cries, and remembers that look.

The day is hot, and John suggests to Virginia Hade that the hands be given a holiday. To this she agrees. He goes for a swim, having met Aunt Martha, who urges him to marry Mary that night so as to escape that "white look in his eyes," and having met Mary who begs him to remain, but can only exact a promise to return for supper. Dreamer that he is, he fancies that he sees a sea-witch, who dances on his chest as he dives into an underwater cave, and a pasture where he sucks milk from the udder of a cow. Coming to the surface and to the shore, he fancies he sees another illusion, for there sits under a tree a white girl. He draws near and realizes that it is no illusion, but Virginia Hade in the flesh. She has

been drawn through the hot sun by her desire. She knows she will see him there swimming—though she hides the knowledge from herself. She has gone through Niggertown, where they have looked at her in curiosity and hatred. She has gone to Mary's cottage, where she stops awhile. But she is drawn by her desire and the longing for fulfillment. "He stands very close beside her, sitting with skirts outspread. He is naked bronze above her, within her eyes. A heat comes from her. It makes his body cold, "God! It is she. I am naked before her!" She is nerveless. He turns and walks away. At the foremost pine his clothes await him. He slips them on. "I am going back to the white girl waiting for me." At Virginia's side, John sits down. They sit together. She seeks to draw him on, but he is somehow held back. He reaches into his pocket for his knife, and begins to whittle a twig. She lifts her skirt beyond a naked, dimpled knee, and John, whittling, cuts his thumb. She draws out of her stocking a thin-bladed pearl knife and asks him to exchange. Their hands clasp and they stand each drawn to the other, and then he remembers, "I am John Cloud, John Cloud! I am John Cloud. Nigger!" and the spell is broken. He finds her face, drawn and hard, as if his words for himself had struck her dead. She sees him unreal, too. In his eyes snow; his body in flames, but in his eyes snow, John Cloud walks away.

Virginia Hade is alone—with John Cloud's blood-stained knife—alone. She sips down and weeps, hiding her face in her lap. "Pity me! Am I loathsome?" She takes the knife in her two

hands and presses it through the waist into the flesh of her tortured breast, until the blood seeps out. She sees herself as a vineyard full of grapes—rotted. No one gathers them. "I have cut myself," she says. "The beach will take me home."

The sadistic nature has determined that John Cloud must die. She walks into town as the revival crowd is leaving the tent. She holds aloft the knife and points to her bloody waist. The crowd gathers. Her brother recognizes the knife as "Lank Cloud's." The mob forms, and makes ready for its gruesome task, the women urging it on. Out in Niggertown, John Cloud has gone to Mary and told her that trouble was coming. He knew. She knew him innocent as she looked in his eyes and urges him to flee. His mother comes and begs flight. But he will not go. He has done nothing. The mob comes, and, as his mother falls in a faint at his feet, he goes with them, head erect, and Mary, with torn heart, sees him for the last time. Virginia Hade lies in her bed wondering whether or not she will interfere. A howl! The mob has started its work.

"Mess work, drag word, drag rope, draw the square in and down to the central point where a man stripped stark stands beneath a tree. . . . A rope whips taut. A body dangles in the air. . . . The fire tongues fall back from the charred body of John Cloud. . . . Virginia Hade, swathed by the silence, sleeps in her bed."

Once more white civilization has been vindicated.

ROBERT W. BAGNALL

OPEN FORUM

New Haven, Conn.,
THE MESSENGER PUB. CO., INC.,
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New York City.

GENTLEMEN: In your issue of January I noticed an article by Prof. W. H. Ferris, entitled "The Nutmeg State," in which he stated that New Haven has seven letter carriers and one clerk in the post office. This is an error, because there are at the present time eighteen carriers and eleven clerks. The writer of this letter is in a position to know, because he has served nearly six years as a clerk.

Hoping that this correction may be made in your next issue, I remain,

Yours truly,

PAUL TAYLOR.

Editors, THE MESSENGER,
New York City, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: I have been following your accounts of colored communities under the caption of these "Colored United States." I take it that this series of articles is an attempt to throw in relief colored communities in the United States. This is, of course, in keeping with the effort of your magazine to socialize the thinking of Negroes and advance the cause of real democracy that must replace the hollow pretensions of our present parliamentary system. But

when I read such an article as that on West Virginia I am inclined to believe that the cause you espouse is little helped, and the truth concerning West Virginia misrepresented.

The following section of the article that has elicited this criticism should not go unchallenged:

"The miner lives in mining towns which differ from other communities in that they are strictly industrial. The only reason for their existence is for the production of coal. The change from isolated mountainous condition to well-regulated towns is phenomenal. The log cabin of one and two rooms has been replaced by comfortable houses of four, five, and eight rooms, that have modern conveniences, such as electricity, water, gas, fenced yards and gardens. Social, education and religious activities and sanitation are superior to those found in the usual town.

"The average miner earns seven dollars and upwards daily. They set a splendid table and dress well. It is a common occurrence to see miners riding in their automobiles after hours and on Sundays."

If this had been written in the *New York Times*, I would have passed it over as the usual propaganda of the capitalist press. But for this piece of fiction to adorn the pages of the spokesman of labor is unthinkable.

Let us see what these "well-regulated towns" are like. In the first place, over

nine-tenths of the coal miners of West Virginia, where coal mining means pioneering, live outside of urban centers—i. e., with population less than 2,500.¹ Of these miners nearly four-fifths live in company houses. In a study of 167 self-governing communities, ranging in population from 1,000 to over 50,000, only 15 per cent had piped water throughout the city or town. This does not mean that where there is piped water it goes to miners' homes, for in communities of less than 2,500—four-fifths of the mining communities of West Virginia are such—only 7 per cent of the houses have running water. After considering these "well-regulated towns" let us examine the "comfortable homes of four, six and eight rooms that have modern conveniences, such as electricity, water, gas, fenced yards and gardens." Besides lacking running water these company houses consist of four and five rooms in the majority of cases and two-room shanties in a minority of cases. Over two-thirds of the houses in the communities studied were "finished on the outside with weather board, usually nailed directly to the frame with no sheathing other than paper (and sometimes not even that). Board and batten—the cheapest type of construction—formed the outside finish of over 25 per cent of the dwellings. . . . Over two-

¹ The Annals of American Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Sciences, Vol. XCI, p. 14.

thirds of the roofs were of composition paper.² Less than 3 per cent of the houses have bathtubs or showers. Three per cent have inside flush toilets." When we consider the conditions under which the miners live in the houses belonging to the beneficent coal Barons, we find that these people can be ejected when they cease to work for the company *for any cause whatever*. Moreover, the company reserves the right to enter and inspect the premises at any time. It is impossible to recount here other modes of tyranny, such as forbidding miners to entertain in their homes persons objectionable to the company.

Nor are we through with the misrepresentations in this account of West Virginia. It is stated naively that the average miner earns seven dollars and upwards daily. This sounds very well. But when we realize that the bituminous coal mines have operated on an average of only 214 days in the 32 years from 1890 to 1924, we see the true situation in respect to earnings.³

Another view of the situation shows that for 1921 the average earnings in the New River district of West Virginia were \$500.⁴

Even when we take the 1920 average of 220 days as a basis and compare it with \$1,603, which was considered in 1920 necessary for a "minimum of subsistence" and \$2,244 necessary for a

² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

³ The Coal Miners' Insecurity—Russell Sage Foundation, April, 1922.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

"minimum of comfort" for a family of five, we find it impossible to visualize these miners well dressed and riding in automobiles. We are already very well acquainted with miners riding in automobiles. The capitalistic press has of late tried to mislead the public by this fiction. The truth of the situation is that the workers of West Virginia are controlled by Industrial Barons who own the State and exercise power equal to that of medieval feudal lords. The story of Logan County, where unions were prevented from organizing, indicate the power of these Barons over the lives of not only white miners, but Negroes—if we are only concerned with Negroes—who constitute about 20 per cent of the miners of the State.

Any sketch, however brief, that undertakes to portray a community, does not tell the truth when it sets before us a few successful men and ignores not only the situation of the few independent farmers, but the thousands of servants and industrial serfs. We might as well take the recent progress of a few Atlanta Negroes as representative of the conditions of thousands of Negroes in the State of Georgia who live in peonage without educational opportunities and suffer all the other consequences of being black in the South.

Yours very truly,

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER,

*Professor of Social Science,
Morehouse College.*

Lost Opportunity

He talked of how his labors failed,
His early hopes had died;
The achievements he had struggled for
The gods of fate denied.
He talked, but did not quite reveal,
The burden of his soul—
The hidden cause that intervened
Between him and the goal.

He told his friend in confidence
The sadness of his plight;
With what reluctance he was forced
At length to drop the fight.
But, Oh! how often, when we speak,
We shelter dark and deep
Some trust germane that we defend
And, speaking, fail to speak.

'Twas so with him, for, while he claimed
The gods had been unfair,
The truth arose within his breast
And throbbled insistent there.
To every man a chance is given,
And each his fortune brings,
'Tis not in our stars, but ourselves,
That we are underlings.

J. C. HAZEL.

Pilgrimage

Lend me a candle by whose light
I may discern the road
Which winds into that magic path
That leads to love's abode.
GEORGIA DOUGLAS JOHNSON

"Now"

By ANN LAWRENCE LUCAS

Putting off things for tomorrow has caused more regret in the lives of individuals than any habit. Recently a friend met me on the street, he had "struck the numbers." "What are you going to do with your find?" I asked. "Spend it," he said. "Come on. Where shall we go?" I suggested, since it is a lucky strike, why not start a bank account? He pondered for a moment, finally decided that he would bank the best part. On our way to the Corn Exchange we met an old friend of his, who had "Something" to tell him. I had about consumed my lunch hour, so was compelled to leave them. Several days later I met this same fellow. I inquired if he met with any difficulty banking. To my dismay he had attended to the "Something" with his friend, which proved to be a poker game. Any unlucky "chip gatherer" knows what happened. There was nothing to bank. Why? Because he didn't bank NOW, while he had it.

Another striking incident, of the hundreds that exist, is this. A young lawyer from a small town hung out his shingle in a large city, some miles distant. The social glamor of society soon made him giddy, prosperity made him forgetful of those he'd left behind, in fact the business world and the accumulation of the almighty dollar had emboldened him to find it easy to make apologies to home for his absence. On expected occasions his mother would write, "Tom, I may not be with you another Christmas, do come home." "Yes, mother, I must," he would write, and at the time, he meant to, but always deferred, until a telegram finally came, "Mother is DEAD." No one had to decide for him then. The grim reaper had decided for him what his manhood should have forced him to decide for himself—I will go NOW.

Irony

By JOSEPHINE COGDELL.

Millions, back-bent, toiling—
Millions, sweat-wet,
In dust and grit and grime;
As endless pairs of hands
Make haste
To pile more coins. . . .

Do they work for themselves, these toilers?
Do they work for the joy of work
Are they piling coins
For a City of Gold
To spend their leisure in?

No. They work for a crust
And a bit of rag
And a hovel to shelter them.
Sleep their sleep to brace themselves
The better to work again
And continue to build
The City of Gold
For others to leisure in.

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