THE NEGRO IN “THE LAND OF THE FREE”

CHATTEL slavery, officially abolished by the 13th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, continues to exist in the South. The Negro working farmer and tenant farmer who goes into an indemnity debt to save his land until they work out the debt, which, under the system of renting to landlords, they rarely ever do. In the meantime, their condition forces them deeper into the debt of the landowners and employers. They are permitted to inflict heavy fines for the slightest offenses, and the sheriffs to lease the convicts to planters. Throughout the Black Belt Negroes suffer for arrests and imprisonments for petty offenses to an extent which makes their lives miserable. And bolstering up the legal terrorism of the capitalist courts is the terrorism of the mob! Both are based upon the determination of the white ruling class to subject the Negro to the most brutal and intensive exploitation. Chief among the forms of illegal white

The following day the Memphis Press carried a story from the scene of the lynching: "KILL NEGRO BY INCHES" More than 500 persons stood by and looked on while the Negro was slowly burned to a crisp. A few women were scattered among the crowd of Arkansas planters, who directed the gruesome work of avenging the death of O. T. Craig and his daughter, Mrs. C. C. Williamson.

"Not once did the slayer beg for mercy despite the fact that he suffered one of the most horrible deaths imaginable."

The economic factor is always close to the surface in these lynchings. In this particular case the capitalist press itself unwittingly pointed out the basis of Southern white ruling class terrorism against the Negro in its reference to the presence of Arkansas planters directing the torture.

Figures belie the arguments of the white planters. That most lynchings occur because of attacks on women. Among 2,522 Negro workers lynched between 1889 and 1918, 900 were charged with murder, 477 with rape, 237 with attempted murder on women. 210 with crimes against property, and 560 with miscellaneous crimes ranging from talking back to a white man to resisting an officer. Between 1889 and 1925 there are 90 instances of lynching of women.

Another method of terrorizing Negroes is by wholesale massacre. Since the World War, however, this method has lost its popularity as it was discovered that the most carefully planned and well-intentioned massacre would develop into a race riot on account of the queer notions of armed resistance acquired by Negroes since the war. For instance, there were bad feelings at Tulsa, Okla., Washington, D.C., El Paso, Ark., Charleston, S.C., Knoxville, Tenn., Longview, Tex., Rosedale, Fla., where the returned Negro soldiers gave a good account of themselves.

Savage whippings used to be one of the systems of chattel slavery. Chained slavery has been abolished by the Emancipation Proclamation. But in the South Negroes continue to be whipped by the white planters. In Louisiana, alone, in a period of 11 years, 682 Negroes were whipped, many knew the white man who did it.

The Negro in the South is denied even the delusion harbored by the white workers that he has a voice in the government. As Scott Nearing puts it in his "Black America": "The emancipation was only a paper liberation". The white ruling class "owns economically and dominates politically" the Negro masses of the South.

"Theoretically and legally, the Negroes were freed from slavery. Practically and economically, the Negroes were still under the necessity of making a living on land owned by Southern white men. Negroes obtained no new economic status as a result of the Emancipation Proclamation... Reconstruction left them land workers and house servants, serfs in fact, if not in law."

Grandfather clauses and other devices keep them disfranchised. When these fail, the rope and faggot are resorted to.

There are about 9,000,000 Negroes in the sixteen southern and eastern states of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas and the District of Columbia. In at least two of these states they constitute an actual majority of the population. Yet one holds state or county office or occupies a seat in the legislature and is in a few small towns and villages inhabited almost wholly by Negroes, there is not to be found a colored mayor or member of the municipal council, justice of the peace or even a policeman. Nor are Negroes permitted to sit on juries—not even in the trial of Negroes. Trial by a jury of one's peers is another denial denied the Negro under capitalism. They are not allowed to serve in the militia and are, of course, barred from registration and election boards.

Negro school have more pupils per teacher, more double sessions, fewer teachers and these badly paid, some as low as $15 a month, fewer and smaller playgrounds, and wholly inadequate provision for health and comfort. In some counties there are no schools for Negroes. Frequently, the planters, suffering from a labor shortage and objecting to Negro children being in the schools instead of laboring in their fields, band together and resist Negro schools. Negro schools are mostly housed in sheds and abandoned churches, ill-heated and unhealthy.

In education they are grossly discriminated against. While Negroes compose over 30 per cent of the population of the South, eight Southern States in the past ten years spent same ratio applies to other public education.

Per child of school age.

Alabama
Arkansas
Florida
Georgia
Louisiana
Mississippi
North Carolina
South Carolina
Tennessee
Texas
Virginia

Negro children must be housed small schools, through public schools for although arranges the white children's arrangement is made for Negroes only.

In 1910, ten million Negro teachers were paid. In 1927, with over 29,000 teachers and paying over a million dollars in wages and salary. Negroes are barred by the law from entering the schools. In 1910, 6,000 Negro physicians were registered. In 1927, only 100 were registered. Negroes are barred from working in the hospitals, from public hospitals and from public schools for Negro children.

Negroes are barred and are never allowed to work in the hospitals, and are also barred from public schools for Negroes.

FATHER AND SON—TEXTILE WORKERS

SLAVING IN THE "LAND OF COTTON"
“THE LAND OF THE FREE” - - - By Cyril Briggs

For the Negroes to lease or rent furnished quarters, they suffer from all offenses and miseries. It is no wonder that the ultimate aim of the mob is the disfranchisement of the Negro to his disfranchisement. When these fail, the rope and faggot are resorted to.

There are about 9,000,000 Negroes in the sixteen states and southern states of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas and the District of Columbia. In at least two of these states they constitute an actual majority of the population. Yet not one holds state or county office or occupies a seat in the legislature and, in a fact, a small town and villages inhabited almost wholly by Negroes, there is not to be found a colored mayor or member of the municipal council, justice of the peace or even a policeman. Nor are Negroes permitted to sit on juries—nor even in the trial of Negroes. Trial by a jury of one’s peers is another denial denied the Negro under capitalism. They are not allowed to serve in the militia and are, of course, barred from registration and election boards.

Negro schools have more pupils per teacher, more double sessions, fewer teachers and these badly paid, some as low as $15 a month, fewer and smaller playgrounds, and wholly inadequate provision for health and comfort. In some counties there are no school provisions for Negroes. Frequently, the planters, suffering from a labor shortage and objecting to Negro children being in the schools instead of laboring in their fields, band together and refuse to send Negro schools. Negro schools are mostly housed in shacks and abandoned churches, ill-heated and unhealthy.

In education they are grossly discriminated against. While Negroes compose over 30 percent of the population of the South, eight Southern States in the past ten years spent

same ratio applies to other school expenditures. Perhaps the lowest average annual expenditure per child in 10 Southern States will give a better idea.

$270,547,343 on new schools for white children (little over two-thirds of the population) and $29,547,723 for Negro children. The and forced to confine themselves to the putrid pleases of the slums, the pool rooms, etc.

It is not surprising to find the Negro death rate abnormally high. It is 62.5 per cent higher than the white death rate. In some urban centers, south and north, it is as much as 90 per cent higher. Negro babies die two

A TYPICAL NEGRO VILLAGE IN THE SOUTH

AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE PER CHILD OF SCHOOL AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>for whites</th>
<th>for Negroes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>26.57</td>
<td>3.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>13.36</td>
<td>6.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>42.01</td>
<td>7.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>25.84</td>
<td>5.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>33.73</td>
<td>5.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>25.95</td>
<td>5.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>25.31</td>
<td>7.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>27.88</td>
<td>7.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>21.62</td>
<td>11.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>31.77</td>
<td>20.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>40.27</td>
<td>10.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negro children must plod through miles of bad roads, through slush and snow, to school for all kinds of arrangements are made to get the white children to school by bus. No such arrangement is made for the Negro children.

In 1910, ten million Negroes had only 29,727 teachers and professors, most of them lacking proper training, all of them poorly paid.

Negroes are overlooked in sanitation and health service. This is true of the north, too, but tragically true of the south. Negroes are barred from white hospitals and over 90 professional hospitals having poor plants, inadequate and uncertain support. Negro physicians are usually excluded from public hospitals and denied practice as interns.

Negroes are barred from the theatres, except when "nigger galleries" are maintained. They are also barred from the public park by signs "Niggers and Dogs Not Allowed". They are denied the use of recreation centers

FATHER AND SON—TEXTILE WORKERS

(Continued on page 183)
Defense for Seamen

By GEORGE MINK
(Secretary Marine Workers League)

THE marine worker is not only one of the most exploited workers but he is also one of the most persecuted. And why? Because the seamen while at sea are subject to maritime law which empowers the shipowners’ agent, the captain, to be the sole judge and jury. The marine worker has no redress for his grievances and should he act contrary to the wishes of the “master” he is thrown in irons, on bread and water. Should a seaman while under “articles” (contract) incur the displeasure of the captain he is “logged” (reducing of wages; two days for every day off, four days pay for refusing duty, etc.) For instance, on the S. S. Leviathan on each round trip which takes her 17 days we find that $1000 is sliced off seamen’s wages. On arrival at port the captain’s word is sufficient to imprison any one whom he charges before the federal authorities.

While ashore most seamen are friendless and have no definite abode. Here is where the dirty work comes in. The sailor is robbed of his pitiful, hard-earned wages by money changers, seamen’s church institutes and missions on the various water fronts. On the New York waterfront the ship owners have erected a “club” of fourteen stories which is to accommodate the marine workers. They employ their own private uniformed thugs, and the clubs of these thugs are used indiscriminately on seamen’s heads.

On July 29th two seamen, McDonald and Barshaw were brutally clubbed by the thugs of this famous ship owners’ institute. While entering the institute to go to their lodging these men were turned over to the civil authorities on a series of charges ranging from disorderly conduct to resisting arrest. In this case the I.L.D. defended the seamen and had them released. In another case the I.L.D. defended one of the organizers of the Marine Workers League who was framed-up by the Standard Oil Co. when he boarded one of their ships for organizing purposes. While there have been many working class organizations with defense branches, and funds nevertheless none have offered seamen any aid and counsel when they were badly in need of it. The I.L.D. in 1928 secured the release of two seamen imprisoned in Portland, Maine, on framed-up charges during the seamen’s strike in 1921. These seamen were never defended by the International Seamen’s Union which retains a “shyster” lawyer who has made thousands of dollars on seamen.

The Marine Workers’ League which laid the basis for a marine workers industrial union at its recent Atlantic Coast Conference, which was held at 28 South St., Aug. 17th, is definitely decided that labor defense branches be formed on all ports and on every ship afloat.

NEGRO IN “LAND OF FREE”
(Continued from page 179)

South, white and Negro children, but especially the latter, being subject to intensive exploitation in the fields and factories. Many Negro children of tender age are to be found sweating and slaving in the fields. Of one group of 3,222 studied (Maryland) 8.1 per cent were under 8 years; 20.2 per cent were from 8 to 10; 23.9 per cent from 10 to 12! 46.9 were over 12 years.

Where labor is organized it is under the leadership of the American Federation of Labor which pursues in the South even a more cowardly and reactionary policy of discrimination towards Negro workers than it does in the North. Until the invasion of the South by the left wing National Textile Workers Union there was no effort to organize the Negroes and no voice raised among organized labor in their behalf. Negroes work in many of the skilled trades in the South are, as a rule, organized in Jim Crow locals of the American Federation of Labor.