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By Chandler Owen

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IN THE OCTOBER MESSENGER

The Only Way to Redeem
Africa

and

Reply to Ku Klux Klan Threats
with Human Hand

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

A New Solution of the
Negro Problem

By CHANDLER OWEN

Social Equality

By JAMES ONEAL

Social Conditions in the
West Indies

By J. A. ROGERS

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THE MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO.

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Editorials

AMERICANISM IN FRANCE

PARIS, France, July 5.—In pretty much the same way that Jack Dempsey has been dodging the black shadow named Harry Wills in America, over here Georges Carpentier, European heavyweight champion is keeping out of the way of a black Senegalese fighter, who calls himself Battling Siki.

Siki, first climbed to fame as a boxer in army camps during the war when he won the championship of the French armies. Since then he has been going like a house afire. His most recent victory was over Marcel Nilles on June 23rd, and the ease with which he disposed of the white Frenchman astonished his many admirers.

Carpentier was matched to meet the winner of this bout sometime in September, but the showing of the African boxer has given him cold chills in the region of his pedal extremities, with the result that his manager, Francois Deschamps has announced that Carpentier will not fight the black man.

Carpentier himself says that there is no sentiment for a mixed bout, in much the same manner that Dempsey declared there was no public sentiment for a fight between himself and Harry Wills.

We have never seen a boxing match. We are not devotees of the sport. We believe it harks back to the semi-civilized ages where men, according to Darwin, took delight in torturing others. We believe it is obsolete, destined to be tabooed, and finally relegated to oblivion, where under the corroding tooth of time it will wear away and cease to be. While the sport continues, however, it should be kept as democratic in its practice as possible.

The last place most of us would expect to see the manifestation of race prejudice was in French sporting circles. Is it possible that the French heavyweight champion is competing in bad manners with Jack Dempsey, the American heavyweight champion? Has the uncultured American, bigoted, uninformed, and unsportsmanlike—become the ideal of the former gentleman Carpentier, the national motto of whose country is "*Liberty, Equality and Fraternity?*"

If so, France is rapidly becoming Americanized. Yet nothing less could be expected. Thousands of American tourists are journeying into France every year since the war. Wherever they go, they carry their propaganda of race prejudice. And the philosophy is that "*a lie often repeated gets to be believed*"—especially when its refutation is absent. France's imperialism is bad enough without her taking on any more of our bad American customs.

NEGRO TROOPS SENT TO TEXAS

WHEN property is endangered the owners become color blind. The white owners of railroads and mines will call upon black-skinned men to protect it against white men—even in Texas! A few weeks ago the following news item fell before us:

WACA, Texas, Aug. 1.—Two carloads of black Federal soldiers passed through Waco this afternoon on a special train over the International and Great Northern Line bound for Fort Worth to guard the Texas and Pacific

Railroad shops: The men said they were from San Antonio. They carried complete field equipment.

One carload of equipment, including cots, tents and groceries, passed through here attached to the Texas Special bound for Denison, according to railroad officials. The equipment was sent from Austin.

Major C. A. Adams, by order of Governor Neff, left Crowell this afternoon for Vernon, Texas, with trucks and cars carrying 100 men who compose Company I, and headquarters of the Third Battalion, One Hundred and Forty-Second Infantry.

So soon as this fact came to the attention of Arthur Brisbane, he made this comment:

"Negro troops are sent to Texas, a special trainload, to act as police among the striking railroad men. There ought to be no race prejudice, but there is race prejudice. The sending of those men is unwise, unjust to the Negro troops, calculated to breed hatred here, and everybody concerned ought to know it.

"The first test of the Ku Klux Klan's political power, in Texas, shows real power. The man with the klan's backing for governor leads. That makes the sending of black troops to Texas still more unwise."

There is much truth in what Brisbane says here, but he seems to overlook that the fostering of race prejudice is just what the owners of the railroads intend. They want to make sure of no fraternizing between the troops and the strikers, and certainly in Texas no surer method for this end can be adopted than the flaunting of Negro troops in the faces of the whites. Besides, the Southern governors, like Neff of Texas, representing property interests, are seen to join hands against the railroad workers, never balking at the skin blackness of their competing workers or constabulary.

After all, the white owners of property are disseminating more education to white workers upon their race prejudice folly than all the labor papers in the United States. It is the education of experience, the most expensive, most bitter kind, but nevertheless one which holds fast to the individual when he gets it. *For how could a white man in Texas ever forget a lesson driven into his head by a bullet from a Negro's gun!*

CAN NEGROES LEAVE UNITED STATES?

IT is not so easy to leave these U. S. You cannot say farewell to the U. S. every time you want to. The white people have not deported any considerable number of Negroes to Africa—but they have seized hundreds of thousands by force and brought them from Africa into the United States! The work of getting a goodly supply of black labor here is not going to be undone over night, as it were, by a blustering blunderer from Jamaica. Look at this report:

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama, Aug. 5.—Ed. Pickens, agent of a large northern concern, whose business is to assemble black labor in the South for northern industries, was

arrested by deputies of state license Inspector Finch's office and charged with committing a misdemeanor. When arraigned before Judge H. B. Abernathy, in county court, he was fined \$4,312.

Most of the southern states have enacted laws prohibiting labor agents from seeking black labor for northern industry, in order to curb the steady exodus that has heretofore taken place.

To say nothing about carrying any considerable number of Negroes to another country, it is even difficult to carry them from one state to another—from one part of the country to another part of it.

The southern white bourbon is perfectly willing for Garvey to make speeches like this sample at New Orleans:

"This is a white man's country. He found it, he conquered it, and we can't blame him if he wants to keep it. I am not vexed with the white man of the South for Jim-Crowing me, because I am black.

"I never built any street cars or railroads. The white man built them for his own convenience. And if I don't want to ride where he's willing to let me ride then I'd better walk."

But when even a slight gesture is made at carrying out any migration program by the operation of which they would lose their Negro labor, the same Ku Klux Klan which Marcus Garvey has been eulogizing will turn upon the imperial black blizzard with tar and feathers.

If a labor agent is fined \$4,312 for trying to carry a few Negro laborers from the south of the United States to the north, (from which many of them would likely return), we suppose he would be fined four million dollars if he attempted to carry a hundred Negroes from Alabama to Africa (from which few of them would ever return)!

THE NICKLE UNDER FRENCHMAN'S FOOT

THE most powerful stimulus is the economic one.

This fact is once more corroborated in the recently passed law for the protection of French artists: "*On and after October 1, no orchestra may contain more than 10 per cent foreigners.*"

The above quoted law is a product of the sweeping monopoly which Negro jazz music has secured over the French populace. It has taken France by such storm that honor graduates from French academies cannot get a look in on cabaret and restaurant jobs. It seems that while the French people can dance to a "T" by jazz music, the French musicians cannot produce it.

As a result of this economic competition, the French who have never yielded to race prejudice, who have no qualms about social equality, who are by no means disturbed about amalgamation or miscegenation with colored races—have passed a law which for sheer economic discrimination takes rank with anything to be found in the South's Black Code and vagrancy laws during the reconstruction following our Civil War. For when an orchestra is limited to ten per cent foreigners let us examine the consequences. Seldom does an orchestra in a restaurant or cabaret contain more than ten members. So if ten American Negroes, (foreigners in France) compose an orchestra in a French restaurant, to reduce it to ten per cent means to leave only one member.

This is not an orchestra at all, since an orchestra implies an aggregation of several musicians. Not even the isolated single musician left over will have any refuge under this law because they cannot combine. The law is even worse than if it had said: "*Only ten per cent of the Negro musicians in France may remain and proceed freely with their work.*" The purport and effect of the present law will be to retire every Negro musician from France.

A word about political power needs to be said here. A man's economic existence may be completely destroyed by hostile law which cuts off his bread and butter. The "*no political actionists*" should take note of this, too.

UNITED FRONT AGAINST KU KLUX MENACE

IT seems that the leaders of all decent people have begun to realize the menace of the vicious Ku Klux Klan. No one fit to be outside the insane asylum is condoning the acts of this murder-graft-band, except the schemers who are greasing their fingers off the fees of the poor white dupes and Marcus Garvey, the chief hat-in-hand, me-too-boss "good nigger" puppet of Kleagle Clarke of Georgia. The following press despatch makes clear the present feeling on the matter throughout the nation. The Chicago *Defender* of August 19, reports:

A nation-wide effort to curb the activities of the Ku Klux Klan was launched at a meeting of the American Unity league here last Friday. Bishop Samuel Fallows of the Reformed Episcopal church was named honorary chairman of the militant organization. Patrick H. O'Donnell is chairman.

"A national conference on campaign plans will be held here Sept. 5, to which delegates from every state and leaders representing all the racial and religious groups in America are being invited," said Mr. O'Donnell. A weekly newspaper for distribution to members of national legislative bodies, and to others who may be helpful in outlawing the klan, is a feature of the program.

"Our organization," he declared, "is unique in that there are no fees or membership dues. It is financed by the voluntary contributions of those who sympathize with its efforts. While the league is non-political, it will oppose candidates who are to be supported by the 27,000 klansmen in Chicago in the fall elections."

The league plans to resume the anti-klan campaign under the leadership of former Governor Edward F. Dunne. The founders' committee includes lay and clerical leaders of all racial, religious and political groups.

Among representative members are Rt. Rev. Magr. J. E. Noll, Rabbi Abram Hirschberg, Callistus S. Ennis, Robert M. Switzer, Dr. S. M. Melamed, Rev. E. A. Kelly, Dr. Leon Fram, Joseph G. Keller, Benjamin J. Samuels, Thomas F. McDonald, Patrick J. Carr, Rev. W. J. McNamee, Dr. Joseph Stolz, Jesse Binga and Robert E. Shepherd. Headquarters have been established at 127 North Dearborn street.

Unity league committees are being organized in every state and county in which the Ku Klux Klan gains a foothold, and through mass meetings, patriotic demonstrations and an educational propaganda, its danger is pointed out. Bishop Fallows says: "The klan is a menace to religious freedom, a source of danger to the state, and its growing strength should be curbed through the United effort of all true Americans, regardless of creed, race or condition in life."

"The political activities of the klan, particularly in Texas, where the recent senatorial campaign was won by a candidate running with the open support of the Ku Klux; the rapid growth of the organization in the North during the last few months; the increasing menace of its intolerant religious attitude; the development of racial antagonism, social ostracism and economic boycotts are

among the reasons which prompt us to renew our fight," says Mr. O'Donnell. We had hoped," he continued, "that this un-American organization would succumb to the exposures which have showed its true character, but the fact is that its membership is increasing rapidly and its power is becoming stronger and more dangerous. We are now convinced that only a nation-wide educational campaign supported by our very best citizenship will awaken the public to the situation

"With the moral and financial support of the nation's best citizenship it is expected that formidable opposition to the klan will find expression in legislation suppressing the 'Invisible Empire' as it was suppressed in the Southern states after its reign of terror during reconstruction days."

SHOULD MARCUS GARVEY BE DEPORTED?

By CHANDLER OWEN

IN asking the question—Should Marcus Garvey Be Deported?—one is less concerned about the legal than the moral or ethical aspects of the question. The law on the question of deportation is so broad and elastic that an alien may be deported for almost any slight offense—with or without cause. The law applies to:

"Persons who are directly or indirectly members of or affiliated with any organization entertaining and teaching disbelief in or opposition to organized government." (i.e., Ku Klux Klan). "Persons likely to become a public charge" (getting something for nothing—buying shares in the Black Star Line). "All idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons; persons who have had one or more attacks of insanity at any time previously; persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority;" professional beggar, (in line with what has been intimated by Judge Jacob Panken that Garvey might be a paranoiac).

A *reductio ad absurdum* argument may embrace the above, i. e., Garvey is a "harpy preying on the vitals of the ignorant," i. e., a public charge.

This law has been applied only recently to white men and white women, and in America any penalties or disadvantages visited upon white persons can and certainly will be applied to Negroes, to even a harsher degree.

As a matter of fact no one in America except the radicals and liberals ever questions the rightness of deportation anyway. It is a mistake, however, to believe that radicals and liberals of any school are opposed to deportation under any and all circumstances. These groups are opposed (correctly I believe) to deportation for the expression of political and class war opinions—provided those opinions do not advocate violence. But so do radicals and liberals oppose imprisonment for the expression of political and class war opinions.

In other words, they are not opposed to imprisonment or deportation as such, but they are opposed to both or either one for certain, definite things.

A principle so far reaching as the above should be supported by specific historical facts. Napoleon was exiled, deported if you please, to the little island of St. Helena, after the battle of Waterloo. An imperial mischief maker, he remained there and died. It was a blessing to the world to have retired this military adventurer to private life and solitude where the machinations of his prolific criminal mind found no outlet for practical realization.

Kaiser Wilhelm has been deported to Wieringen, Holland. No radical or liberal has any concern about it except to see that he remains there and is not permitted liberty to return to Germany and stir up any of his monarchist plots.

Ex-Premier Caillaux of France was found guilty of giving intelligence to the enemy, as the result of which France banished (deported) him for five years. No liberal, Socialist or Communist even raised a voice in protest against the punishment meted out to the reactionary ex-premier.

Charles Morse, of Shipping and Atlanta Penitentiary fame, was seized in a French port not so long ago and deported to the United States. Nobody protested—no school of thought opposed this action.

Even the Communists favor deportation. In fact they resort to it on a larger scale than any capitalist government. The following was taken from the *New York World*, August 27th:

Moscow, Aug. 26 (Associated Press)—Approximately 1,500 intellectuals, charged with secret counter-revolutionary activity, or who after five years' opportunity have been unable to reconcile themselves to the Soviet regime, have been ordered exiled as a mild form of punishment, Commissary of Justice Kurski told the correspondent today.

Many of those banished had long sought the opportunity to leave Russia and were pleased with the decision, while others pleaded to be allowed to remain. This, however, was refused, except in one instance where, according to M. Kurski, a professor named Shepkin said he would rather die than leave Russia. He was permitted to stay.

"The new decree permitting administrative banishment is not going to be used very widely, and is not being applied to more than 1,500 persons at the utmost."

Yet, since nearly all people favor imprisonment for some things, and a small number are opposed to deportation for any offense—it is well to consider just what deportation and imprisonment mean.

According to the Standard Dictionary, Deportation means: *To take or send away forcibly, as to a penal colony; banish; as, the prisoners were deported by boat.*

Kent, one of the greatest legal authorities, says: *Every restraint upon a man's liberty is, in the eye of the law, an imprisonment.*

Close scrutiny reveals that all imprisonment is deportation in a sense (insomuch as it takes or sends away forcibly the prisoner)—while all deportation is imprisonment (insomuch as it is a restraint upon a man's liberty).

Some one no doubt will argue that at times a prisoner may be presented with an option. Many laws carry with their breach imprisonment or fine. Socrates was presented with imprisonment, with death, or exile. And several laws grant to the Judge the right of imposing both fine and imprisonment.

Ere this some of you have read between the lines that I favor the conviction and imprisonment of Marcus Garvey and his deportation immediately after he shall have served his sentence. Marcus Garvey is an anarchist in the truest sense of the word and his deportation as an anarchist in thought and advocacy would be in accordance with a true and non-strained interpretation of the law. In the *Negro*

World of August 5th, the following report of his speech of July 30, appeared:

"A WARNING TO THE ENEMY"

"We say, therefore, to the Negro enemies of the past, we are ready for you, and before the 31st of August comes we are going to give you your Waterloo. They threaten to smash the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Let me tell you somebody is going to be smashed in New York between the 1st and the 31st of August. So you will understand, whether it be Pickens, or whether it be Chandler Owen, the Universal Negro Improvement Association has no fears of anybody and when you interfere with the Universal Negro Improvement Association you will take the consequences."

The above was a suggestion to some of his fanatics to assassinate those who are leading the opposition to Garvey's criminal schemes of preying upon and exploiting the hard working Negroes of their little earnings.

The complete proof of my contention here may be corroborated by reference to the speeches of some of his satellites. Listen, for instance, to this from one of his little bonehead, lawless lawyers. The Baltimore *Afro-American* of August 18, 1922, reports one William Sherill as follows:

"Black folk as well as white who tamper with the Universal Negro Improvement Association are going to die. Black men and black women will be free even though the price of freedom is blood."

These are the words of Mr. William Sherill before over fifty persons Sunday afternoon at the Goldfield theatre. The occasion was a mass meeting of the South Baltimore U. N. I. A.

Let us add to this evidence the unquestioned, undeniable testimony of the actions of the U. N. I. A. savages with respect to street meetings held by their opponents. Sometimes these meetings are being held by intelligent American Negroes; quite as often they are being held by intelligent West Indians. The facts given out are more than they (the Garveyites) can answer. As a result they rush in and sometimes break up those meetings, meanwhile committing the crimes of trespass, assault and battery, along with the misdemeanor of disorderly conduct. They have even attempted to come into the indoor meetings of different groups and interrupt the speakers.

Now Garvey and his *Uninformed Negroes Infamous Association* meet in Slavery Hole (sometimes incorrectly termed Liberty Hall—liberty to make a fool of one's self) every night. We intelligent and honest American and West Indian Negroes are opposed to almost everything they do and say. Still we never interrupt that motley crew of Negro ignoramuses. No one ever attempts to interfere while the nefarious Negro lizard is making a report to his universally ignorant Negro savages for his imperial boss, the infamous white wizard. We grant them free speech—hardly a citizen among them.

That a group of foreigners should come into our country and fight, *not for free speech for themselves—but to deny free speech to the citizens of this country*—is the most unmitigated effrontery, the most ungirdled gizzard of a nefarious Negro wizard, what we in the South call the cheek of a brass monkey. And, by Jove, we have sworn that it must be stopped right now. It should be met to such extent as to arrest the last foreigner among the U. N. I. A. dis-

turbers at street meetings and deport them along with Marcus Garvey, the infernal black blizzard of the presumptuous Ku Klux Wizard.

The American Negro has been exceedingly patient with this presumptuous demagogue, Marcus Garvey. He has paraded our streets making a laughing stock of the race. Resentful of criticism for his bombastic and empty schemes, he has denounced and berated every distinguished Negro leader, past and present, in the United States. I, Marcus Garvey, Kleagle Clarke of the Ku Klux Klan, were the only men in America to measure up to the mark of excellence. He tried to sell out the rights of American Negroes to a murder-graft-bund organization for thirty pieces of silver, (it might have been paper), for a mess of pottage, (it might have been a meal).

As a result, all decent, self-respecting Negroes in America — native and foreign — have vowed that "*Marcus Garvey Must Go!*" By his fool antics and his clown tactics he is disgracing American and West Indian Negroes. White people believe he represents us. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Every intelligent Negro, even those not so intelligent, is ashamed of such a buffoon posing as their leader. They wish to make it clear that the U. N. I. A. represents only the most ignorant West Indian and American Negroes, together with a few schemers of both groups revolving around the treasury, preying like hawks upon the earnings of ignorant Negro dupes and guillible fanatics.

The Friends of Negro Freedom will stimulate public opinion; it will crystallize sentiment against this Negro mountebank. It will urge the Department of Justice to bring Garvey to an early trial, to make an effort to convict him on all eight counts, each one of which carries five years, and then to sentence him. At the same time, if Garvey has left any of these poor washer women's and longshoremen's money, we shall show them how to institute civil action to recover what may be regained.

A campaign too will be made to retire to private life all the American crowd of Negroes, that motley crew of crooks and criminals who have wasted these Negroes' millions of dollars. Any Negro running a bank or business who, having received one of Garvey's disfigurements in his court for the knighting of the insane, does not openly, publicly and unequivocally repudiate Garvey and his proffered dishonor—we will use our influence, within the law, to wreck and break.

The die is cast. Marcus Garvey *must go*. Every self-respecting Negro is called upon to rescue the race from the Black Kluxer's disgrace. Garvey must get out of Negro life everywhere. There is no place in America for a black race baiter, one time reviling all white men; and a "good nigger" race traitor, at another time selling out the rights of all Negroes.

Economics and Politics

THE NEXT EMANCIPATION

By JAMES ONEAL

This pamphlet contains more valuable subject matter on the Negro problem than any publication of its size yet written. It is simply and scholarly presented by James Oneal, editor of the New York 'Call.' Mr. Oneal is one of the ablest thinkers and best controversialists in America.—The Editors.

(Continued from last issue)

Marcus Garvey's Program

Marcus Garvey claims to have a program that means the liberation of the Negroes of the world. It is important to consider this claim. It is his idea to create a Black Africa ruled by the Negroes. He would drive out the whites and create an Africa for Africans.

Now, it is true that the whites in Africa have practically stolen the territory which they possess. They have acquired their holdings by force, fraud, invasion, war and conquest. They have enslaved Africans and established white mastery in Africa. They have established governments in violation of self-determination. They have exploited and robbed the Africans, and continue to do so unmercifully.

But the Negro worker should not forget this: The white masters in Africa have also mercilessly robbed the white workers who have gone to that country. Only a few weeks ago (March, 1922) there was a strike of miners on the Rand. In dealing with that strike the white masters were just as brutal and ferocious in suppressing the aspirations of white wage workers as they have been in suppressing the aspirations of the native blacks.

Here again there is no color line in exploiting wage labor.

Suppose that Garvey succeeds in his program of driving out the whites and creating an Africa for Africans. What does this mean for Negro wage workers who go to Africa? It means that Negro capitalists will own the mines, ranches, railroads, factories and other forms of producing wealth. The Negro workers who go to Africa will have to sell their labor power to Negro capitalists, just as they now sell labor power to white capitalists. In other words, Garvey would have the Negro aid in establishing a Negro capitalism in Africa instead of the white capitalism which now rules there!

What advantage would this be for the Negro worker? None at all. *He would simply change the color of the skin of the men who skin him, that is all.* The program does not even have the merit of the Colonization Society in the old days of slavery in the South.

In those days Liberia was established in Africa as a home for Negroes who became free in the South. When the Negro went to Liberia he did not go from

one chattel slavery to another. But Marcus Garvey would have the American Negro leave American white capitalism for a black capitalism in Africa!

Consider further: With Negro capitalists owning the mines, railroads, ranches, factories and plants of production, the Negro wage workers would be dependent on those Negro capitalists for a chance to live. The Negro workers would have to organize their trade unions to raise wages and reduce the hours of labor.

Suppose a strike occurs. Would the Negro capitalists, controlling the government, use the courts and military powers against the Negro workers as white capitalists use the courts and military powers against white workers here? Of course they would. The mere fact that the African capitalists' skins were black would not change matters. *Capitalists act the same way in all countries, no matter what the color of their skin may be.*

Strikes and struggles of Negro workers in an Africa for Africans would be dealt with in about the same way that they are dealt with in all other countries. There would be a Negro mastery over Negro wage workers. The class lines would be the same as in all other capitalist countries. The Garvey program would have Negro workers help to establish another capitalist mastery on this earth instead of abolishing one. /

It is much better for Negro workers to stay in America and join with white wage workers in abolishing capitalism here rather than helping to establish a black aristocracy of capital in Africa. The first has some promise of hope; the second none at all. Negro capitalists might well favor the Garvey program, but Negro wage workers have everything to lose by supporting it and nothing to gain.

Black Mastery and White Diplomacy

Suppose Africa does become an Africa for Africans. Garvey does not carry with his program any solution of the problems of black wage workers. Why should the Negro travel many thousands of miles to live under a black capitalism? Is the journey worth the trouble? If he is a wage worker under a white capitalism here, he would be a wage worker under a black capitalism there.

A black capitalism in Africa would produce for Negro wage workers the same conditions that all wage workers face in the United States. Negro

wage workers would have to organize to abolish a black capitalism that sustains a Negro capitalist class. They would have to organize their labor unions and these unions would be bitterly fought by black capitalists. Courts would be used by Negro capitalists and against Negro workers. The military and police powers would also be used against Negro workers when the masters thought necessary.

As black capitalism developed in Africa, a black imperialism would also follow. With it would come the old diplomacy of the white imperialist countries. If the Negro capitalists found that the Negro wage workers were becoming strong in their movement to abolish robbery, the Negro masters would appeal to *the white masters of other countries for aid.*

Consider this fact. The old Russian ruling classes appealed to the ruling classes of other countries for aid when their power was taken away. In Mexico the old ruling classes have appealed to the ruling classes of other countries for aid in restoring their old privileges. In Russia and Mexico the old deposed ruling classes would welcome foreign bayonets, even if workers of their own race were slaughtered. The old masters of Russia and Mexico feel that they have more in common with the masters of other countries than they have in common with the workers of their own countries.

On the other hand, the ruling classes of other countries feel that they have much in common with old Mexican and Russian ruling classes. Both feel this way, regardless of their race, nationality or the color of their skins. They appreciate class brotherhood and solidarity. They do not permit national frontiers or flags to interfere with common action against the workers of any country.

The same thing would be true of a Negro capitalism in Africa. The Negro masters of Africa, when their power is endangered by awakened Negro workers, would call across the seas to the white masters for aid. The white masters would respond with arms and troops to help the Negro masters keep power over Negro workers. Providing, of course, that the wage workers of the other countries appealed to were not strong enough to restrain their own masters from extending such aid.

What would control the actions of the Negro masters in their desire to retain their power to rule, their privilege of owning the natural resources and plants of production. These property interests are the same as the property interests that dictate the actions of white capitalists where white capitalism rules.

Marcus Garvey's program ignores everything that is vital to the freedom and happiness of Negro workmen and women. What the workers of all colors and nationalities need first of all is a program that leads to a *mastery of their own lives*, not a mastery over their lives exercised by a class of capitalists, be they white or black.

The Negro in the United States

We will return to consider the problem of the Negro wage worker in the United States. This is the same as the white wage worker. There is no more reason for the Negro worker to go to Africa than there is for the white worker to go to Alaska.

One is as much entitled to be here as the other. One is essential to the other, also.

We have seen that the problems and the interests of white and black workers are the same. There is one difference, however. This is the persistence of the color question. It has a special bearing on the theme of this booklet. There is race prejudice and race discrimination against Negroes in general. There is the Jim Crow car and exclusion from public places. There is a white prejudice against Negroes in the skilled trades and in the professions.

But note this: All of this is founded on ignorance, prejudice and stupidity and will of the masters of both white and black wage workers to keep this prejudice alive.

One before we had this prejudice against, not color, but a certain nationality. The Irish workers who came to New England were regarded by the New England aristocracy as a servile class. Many native workers shared this prejudice. The skilled trades and professions were closed to the Irish immigrants. They were shunned in politics. Most of them being Catholics, their churches and convents were burnt. They were the victims of mobs.

But the Irish people in New England braved all this ignorance and prejudice, and slowly beat it down. They have so emancipated themselves from it that in many sections of New England the danger is that they in turn may persecute others. In fact, they have been used by designing political and clerical leaders to terrorize "radical" and Socialist opinions. But the point is they have won the respect of their old enemies and even their fear. They have obtained POWER, and this always wins respect.

The anti-Irish prejudice was once as deep-seated as the anti-Negro prejudice is today. It helped to keep the workers divided as Negro prejudice today keeps the workers divided. When workers are divided it means weakness for them. The white worker may not be as weak as the Negro, *but he is much weaker than he would be if both white and Negro workers were united for their common interests.*

Consider the situation in the South. Thousands of white workers there have deep prejudices against the Negro. Yet many thousands of these whites are steeped in the deepest poverty. They get little more education than the Negro. Why are they ragged, ignorant and poor? Because the same ruling whites that rob the Negro worker rob the white worker!

If every Negro's place in the South was filled by a white man, conditions of the white workers would be what they are now. But the white worker, because of his ignorance and prejudice, sees only the color line and not the class line. He sees the Negro whom he dislikes instead of the white masters, whom he should dislike.

Now, the Negro worker dislikes the white worker because the latter dislikes him. **YET BOTH ARE ROBBED BY THE SAME CLASS OF WHITE CAPITALISTS, CONTRACTORS, BANKERS AND EXPOITERS IN GENERAL!**

(To be continued)

THE WEST INDIES

THEIR POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION

By. J. A. ROGERS

[The writer is a native of the West Indies. He has travelled for six years over the United States and is the author of three books on the racial situation.—The Editors.]

CONSIDERABLE light will be thrown on the present political, social and economic status of the British West Indies, at the outset by pointing out the following: first the purpose of the earliest Europeans who visited them; second, that Negro slavery existed in all of the islands; and third, that present conditions are very likely to be an evolution of the above-named facts.

Purpose of the Earliest Europeans

In the colonization of the New World there was a distinct difference between the type of European who came to the region north of the Rio Grande and the one that went to all that region south of it. The former came to settle; he was the victim of religious and political persecution; the latter came to plunder. Like burglars, the sole aim of the Europeans of the second type, was to get all the wealth they could lay their hands on in the shortest time and scuttle home to live at ease. The result was that the natives were ruthlessly butchered, and their civilization quickly swept out of existence. The planting of crops was out of the question with these Europeans.

Negro Slavery

To replace the Indians, who were nearly all exterminated, Negroes were introduced. Slavery began in the West Indies more than a century earlier than in the United States and was abolished in the British Islands in 1838, twenty-seven years earlier than in the United States.

Population

The population of the British West Indies including British Guiana is approximately two million, three hundred and fifty thousand, about half a million less than that of Cuba. Of the forty-five islands or so that comprise the group, Jamaica with 4,209 square miles and a population of 858,118 is the largest. Trinidad, next in size, is 1,863 square miles and has 312,803 inhabitants. The vast bulk of the population are full-blooded Negroes; from twenty to twenty-five per cent are mulattoes, while the whites number about 40,000 or less than two per cent. A third of the population of Trinidad, and nearly half of that of British Guiana, are Hindus. Jamaica has about five thousand Chinese, eighteen thousand Hindus, and a sprinkling of Syrians. Antigua and St. Kitts have a considerable number of Portuguese. Dominica and St. Vincent still have a hundred and fifty of the aboriginal Indians. In short almost every race and nationality under the sun can be found in the British West Indies.

Politics

All of the islands, except the Bahamas and Barbadoes, which have a measure of self-government, are Crown Colonies, that is to say, the control of affairs that are really vital, lies in the hands of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who sends officials

from Downing Street as governors. Jamaica is said to have representative government but this will be found to be merely a euphuism, as in really vital matters the representatives of the people have no real power. The chief legislative body of that island is composed of fifteen government officials and fourteen members elected by the people, with the governor as president of the Council. The fifteen officials are directly and indirectly appointed by the Crown, and vote always as directed by the Governor. These officials, except in rarest instances, are all white and from the British Isles. The elected representatives, as will be seen, are always outvoted by a permanent majority of one. To defeat or to pass any measure the Governor has but to declare it "a matter of paramount importance," and bring up his battery of officials. He, himself, has a casting vote.

In Barbadoes the government consists of a Governor, a legislative council of nine members appointed by the Crown, and a house of assembly elected annually by less than two thousand voters. The executive council consists of the governor and any number of officials the Governor thinks fit, together with one member of the legislative council and four members of the assembly named by the Governor. The latter body introduces all money votes, prepares the estimates, and initiates all government measures. Barbadoes is empowered to refuse a Governor it would not like, but, as with Jamaica, the Crown controls in vital affairs. Trinidad is a Crown Colony pure and simple, the people having almost no voice in the control of their own affairs.

Unlike Martinique, which sends representatives to the French Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, no British West Indian goes to the British Parliament. The West Indian, with all his patriotism, thus has no means of influencing British imperial policy. His only method of redress is by petition or memorial. For the first time in the history of Jamaica, a dark mulatto, Rev. A. A. Barclay, has been appointed a member of the local privy council.

In minor domestic affairs there are lesser houses, like the State legislatures in the United States. In these the peoples of nearly all the islands are permitted their own way. The Governor, however, is permitted to dissolve them when he sees fit and appoint a Commission to administer affairs.

The Vote

In the West Indies there is no manhood suffrage as in the United States. To vote one must pay taxes. In Jamaica one must have or hold property on which he pays not less than ten shillings (normally two dollars and a half) a year; or must have personal property on which he pays seven dollars and a half a year; or must receive a salary of not less than two hundred

and fifty dollars a year. The result is to disqualify the greater part of those of voting age. Many of the peasantry own their land, but the land tax is twenty-five cents on every fifty dollars' worth. Many also rent land for which they pay five dollars an acre per annum. Most of the taxation, as will be shown later, is indirect.

The high financial qualifications for eligibility to the Legislative Council, and other assemblies, effectually bar black men from these places.

The salary qualification would seem absurdly low, but the low wages, as will also be shown later, makes it excessive. In 1921 there were only 42,267 Jamaicans qualified to vote, about one in every 200. In Barbados matters are even worse. Barbados is a sugar country, and like most sugar countries the land is in the hands of a few. Barbados presents, possibly, the most perfect example of a landless proletariat anywhere in the world. There are less than two thousand voters in Barbados. The census of 1913 gives 1886. In Trinidad, where Hindus constitute a third of the population the percentage of voters is even less. As in parts of Mississippi and North Carolina, where Negroes are not permitted to vote, the total polling strength for the election of important offices does not exceed twenty in many districts in the West Indies.

Very little interest is taken in elections, except in the larger towns like Bridgetown and Kingston. Elections are usually uncontested. When contested the number of voters at the polls rarely exceed one-sixth of the voting strength. In short, the black population is pretty thoroughly disfranchised. The difference between the disfranchisement in the Southern States and that in the West Indies is solely that in the latter place the process is more politic. The government of the British West Indies, like other British Colonies where colored peoples predominate, may accurately be called a Caucasian oligarchy.

Social Conditions

As was said, the first Europeans who went to the West Indies were adventurers. Having thoroughly plundered the Indians, many of them next started to exploit the soil. Establishing sugar and tobacco plantations, they then left them to overseers, and returned home to live on the monies from them. Because of this there was at all times a great preponderance of first, Indians, and then Negroes, over the whites. Massacres of the whites in all the islands, British, French, Spanish, or Dutch, were numerous. The Maroons, or runaway Negroes, of Haiti, Cuba, Guiana and Jamaica, wiped out settlement after settlement. Slave revolts were common. The whites now resorted to strategy to make their position safe. A mixed population had grown up in the islands. These, the whites erected into a superior caste over the blacks to serve as a buffer between them and the blacks with the result that throughout the West Indies there exists at the present time an officially and unofficially recognized color line between the mulattoes and the full-blooded blacks.

Everyone in the West Indies, except Asiatics, belongs to one of three divisions. The first in importance is the whites, which includes the near whites, or white-by-law, as they are called. Many classed as Negroes in the United States would be counted as

white in the West Indies. The second is the colored, or those whose white blood exceeds the black. The lowest in the scale are those with a preponderance of Negro blood. How the distinction between colored and black is determined it is difficult to tell. By some subtle process of judging, now of hair, now of color, one is immediately placed in his proper group at sight. The census reports of the different islands all give populations as belonging to one of three groups. The Asiatics are generally regarded by the blacks as being inferior to them.

As W. P. Livingston, author of "Black Jamaica" puts it, society in the West Indies is like a pyramid; "the whites constitute the apex; the colored, the middle courses; and the masses, or Negroes, the broad base." In other words, the whites are seated on the shoulders of the colored, who in turn are seated on those of the blacks.

Many visitors to the West Indies, like the late Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Prof. Royce, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Robert R. Moton, give the impression that there is no color line there. Such also is the proud boast of many West Indians in the United States. This view is very superficial, and far from being correct.

The difference between the United States and the West Indies as regards color differences is merely the difference between an active volcano and an inactive one, or between a visible disease and a secret one, which, while leaving the victim in apparent good health is undermining his constitution, just as effectively.

The color question is little agitated because the black peasantry, as a mass, are extraordinarily, almost preternaturally, good-natured. Intensely religious and patriotic, they accept their inferior position and regard the mulattoes as superior. They voluntarily segregate themselves as in street cars and urban churches. The mixed bloods, in their turn, having a left-handed association with the whites, are content with their superior position over the blacks. They also look up to the whites, and permit them, with their vastly inferior numbers to stay at the top. The color question will then be seen to be merely dormant and as having all the potentialities it manifests in the United States. But let the mass of struggling blacks be once aroused to a sense of their great injustice, let them once feel that they are the equal of the mixed-bloods, and there would be the devil to pay. Now and then one may catch fierce glimpses of the revolt that slumbers deep in the sub-conscious minds of the blacks, when pushed too far, they raise the cry of "color for color."

Again, let the number of whites be suddenly increased, as in Cuba and the West Indian whites would no longer be forced to maintain their left-handed alliance with the mulattoes. They would very likely declare, as in the U. S. and Cuba, that one drop of Negro blood makes a Negro. In that event the mulattoes would then throw in their lot with the blacks in the U. S. Patriotic West Indians will assert that race discrimination as it exists in the United States would not be permitted on British soil. One has, however, but to point to South Africa.

In 1865 the blacks in a corner of the island of Jamaica revolted because of oppressive taxation and

injustice in the courts under Paul Bogle and a mulatto named George William Gordon. They killed twenty-one whites and near-whites. The blacks were punished with such ferocity and brutality that they have been intimidated ever since. Four hundred and thirty-nine were killed, six hundred men, women and children were scourged, and over a thousand of their homes burnt to the ground. "We shot the niggers

like the blackbirds off the trees," said an English soldier in a letter.

There is no color question in the West Indies simply and solely because the black peasantry accepts exploitation passively.

Two other factors that aid in keeping the color question dormant are education and emigration. These will be dealt with later.

Education and Literature

WHY SEPARATE SCHOOLS SHOULD BE OPPOSED

By ROBERT W. BAGNALL, *Director of Branches, N. A. A. C. P., in address delivered at Allen Temple in Philadelphia, Sunday, July 16, 1922.*

I AM informed that here in Philadelphia separate colored schools are being established at the approximate rate of one a year; that there is agitation on the part of some misguided colored people for separate junior high schools and separate high schools. Two things occasion this agitation. (1) The very natural desire of parents that their sons and daughters finishing normal school shall obtain positions in public schools. They realize that the easiest way is to agitate for and agree to the creation of a separate school system. In life, however, very rarely is the easiest way the best way and they fail to realize that the necessary consequence of a separate school system is a train of disabilities, economic and social, greater than what the Negro faces under a mixed school system. While obtaining in the easiest way jobs for their children, they are ultimately dooming them to smaller salaries and their children's children to inferior education, fewer economic opportunities and fewer civil and social rights.

(2) The second class of those who desire separate schools is composed of persons who are merely blinded as to the ultimate issues, though they may not have any personal interest in the matter. These say, "Why not have members of the race teach our children?" They cite sporadic instances of lack of attention on the part of an occasional white teacher. They imagine that with colored teachers in separate schools there is an opportunity to show to whites that of which the Negro is capable. They also make the mistake of supposing that the easiest way is the only way. They further err in imagining that occasional instances are typical of the treatment of colored children by white teachers. I have had both white and colored teachers and many of you have had the same experience. You know and I know that there are white teachers who give the fullest measure of attention and care in the training of colored children as well as the white children; that there are colored teachers who fail to do this. The injustice to the pupil on the part of the teacher is not a matter of color. There are both good

and bad white teachers as there are good and bad colored teachers.

I said it was a perfectly natural desire that parents and friends should desire their own to obtain positions in the school system, but this can be done without condemning the present and future generation to limited opportunity and inferior education. It will take a longer time and a larger amount of work, but it is well worth the price.

After all, why should colored teachers teach only colored children and white teachers teach only white children in a supposed democracy? That colored teachers can teach white children with acceptability is demonstrated by the examples of Cleveland, Ohio; Detroit, Mich.; Boston, Mass.; New York City and many other places.

In Cleveland, Ohio, there are well over one hundred colored teachers in the school system, teaching not only in the grammar and graded schools, but also in the high schools. They work well with the members of the faculty of the other race and are acceptable to their pupils and to the pupils' parents. In Detroit, Mich., their number has steadily grown and there has been a favorable consideration of a colored man for a principal in the mixed schools. These cities have each a smaller Negro population than 45,000. In New York City colored teachers are teaching in mixed schools, graded and high, and there have been several instances of colored principals in mixed schools in that city. If it works in these places, why will it not work in Philadelphia? Why, here is it necessary to surrender to that which must mean inferior education, as I shall soon show and which will ultimately end in further public and civil segregation and discrimination?

The fact is, there is no decent and sound argument for separate schools, except one postulates that the Negro is inherently unfit to associate with and be educated along with whites. There are some people who love to cite the number of Negro graduates in such high schools as are in Washington, Baltimore, and St. Louis in comparison with the number of Negro graduates in mixed high schools in such places as Philadelphia, Cleveland and Boston. These utterly fail to note the difference in the Negro population of high school age in the cities compared. They fail to realize that one cannot logically include in such population the increase through migration in the

northern cities named, as the children of the bulk of these migrants are just beginning to reach high school standards in these places. This is indicated by the marked increase in the number of graduates in Detroit and other points compared with previous years. To compare Washington with its population of 100,000 Negroes; Baltimore with more than 100,000, to Boston with fewer than 17,000, even with Philadelphia, which until the time of the migration was much below Washington and Baltimore in its population, is not fair at all.

Further, the argument offered by these persons, even if true, has no value as an argument for separate schools. It simply would indicate that there is more organized stimuli in the communities named for continuation through high school, than in the other communities. The remedy is not to be found in separate schools but in organized stimuli for continuation in high school. Further, when one mentions a high school graduate in Baltimore, he would rightly have to compare him with a student in the second or at best in the third year in a standard high school in Philadelphia. The Baltimore High School is at present much below the standard in its curriculum.

There are others who want separate schools because they are used to them. These same people are also used to jim-crow cars, lynching, peonage, segregation in parks, museums, libraries, restaurants, hotels, street cars, etc. Do they want these things also? They remind one of the story of the woman whose first marriage was quite unfortunate, but whose second marriage was to a kind husband. She was not happy, however, because as she expressed it, she had gotten used to her husband beating her.

I said there are no decent arguments for separate schools. But there are very weighty ones against them. Everywhere where there is a separate school system you will find these things following: inferior school buildings, inferior equipment, smaller salaries for teachers, fewer teachers in proportion to the population, lower, curricula, shorter school terms, double and triple sessions, more Negro children out of schools, greater ignorance on the part of the Negro population, more juvenile delinquency, more crime, more race friction and misunderstanding. This is a powerful array against separate schools. And while it is true that all of these things are not found where there are separate schools, yet many are found in some instances and all in many instances. The reasons for them are easily seen.

A separate school system means, if there should be equality of education, double expense for the commonwealth. Nowhere have we adequate funds for education. Everywhere educators are complaining of what they could do if more funds were available. Whites have the administration of funds. What more natural then, if there is not enough for all, that they would give to their own the lion's share and to the Negro the leavings? This is what actually happens everywhere where we have separate schools.

It is a fact easily proven that \$5.00 will not provide children so good an education as \$35.00 will.

To paraphrase the Negro story, "It is true that 'poor pay means poor teach.'" When money is lack-

ing, of course it means there are fewer school buildings, poorer equipment, fewer teachers, lower curricula, (because teachers trained for higher curricula demand higher salaries), overcrowding, double and triple sessions and a winking at children staying out of school in spite of truant laws because there is really no place for them in the schools.

Wherever there are separate schools, also whites have inferior education in comparison to places where there are mixed schools, but always they get the lion's share of the appropriations for education. Let me give you some examples from the report of the United States Commission on Education. New York state which has mixed schools, spends \$45.32 a year on each Negro child. Louisiana has separate schools. It spends \$1.31 a year for each Negro child. However, Louisiana spends \$13.73 on each white child. The results are that in Louisiana nearly fifty-eight out of every hundred Negro children of school age are out of school and nearly thirty-nine of every hundred Negroes in Louisiana can neither read nor write. To a lesser degree this is always true where we have separate schools.

Pennsylvania, your state, spends \$36.20 a year on each Negro child. It will not do that very long if separate schools are instituted in its chief city, for then the separate system will shortly spread through the entire state. Maryland, the neighbor of Pennsylvania, where there are separate schools, spends \$6.38 per year on each Negro child. Delaware, another neighbor of Pennsylvania spends \$7.68 per year on each Negro child. Why does Pennsylvania spend so much more on each Negro child than its neighbors? Because whatever advantage the white child gets, the Negro child gets in the mixed school system. Separate them and the Negro child in Pennsylvania will have the fate of the Negro child in Maryland and Delaware.

Look too at the fact of the illiteracy of Maryland, your neighbor. It spends \$6.30 on each Negro child and over eighteen out of every one hundred can neither read nor write. In Pennsylvania, just a little over six in every hundred can neither read nor write. New York spends more than Pennsylvania on each Negro child with the result that fewer than three out of every hundred Negroes can neither read nor write. In other words, we find that the more money spent on education for a group, the lower the number of that group who will be unable to read and write. Now ignorance does not make for good citizenship and ignorance always follows in the wake of separate schools.

Mississippi, as an illustration, has over twenty-nine out of every hundred who are unable to read and write. In varying ratio we find everywhere that ignorance where we have separate schools, is greater always than where we have mixed schools. Look at these figures. In the Middle Atlantic States, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, in spite of the migration, only five out of every hundred Negroes are unable to read and write. In the East South Central States, including Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, the states where for the most part you have the best separate schools, nearly

twenty-eight out of every hundred are unable to read and write.

We find, where there are mixed schools the average is a teacher for every thirty-six pupils, but where there are separate schools, the average is a teacher for every fifty-six Negroes and some of these teachers are jests. Where there are separate schools, Negroes receive less than sixty-nine per cent of the general average of the school session throughout the country. And their curricula are such, a statistical study, recently made at Tuskegee, stated, that it would take a Negro child in Louisiana twenty-two years to finish a standard eight-grade course; in Alabama, twenty-six years; and in South Carolina, thirty-three years.

What is true of fewer teachers and inferior curricula, is also true of fewer and poorer buildings. In Alabama, sixty-one per cent of all buildings used for public schools are rented. In Georgia sixty-three per cent. This means that churches, lodge halls, store fronts, cottages and shacks are rented for school purposes. These of course are not properly equipped, are not sanitary and in many instances are truly unfit for habitation. I have seen many buildings in Wilmington, N. C., Atlanta, Ga., Savannah, Ga., and in other places, which are fire traps and are a disgrace for any civilized community.

I stated that there is always over-crowding with double and triple sessions. I have seen as many as 163 children in a room under one teacher in places where they have separate schools. In Atlanta over eighty per cent of the Negro children are on double session and in one school with 879 pupils, 515 of them are on double session and 314 on triple session. This is not true of the whites. In Norfolk, Va., one third of the Negro children are on part time. The little over-crowding of white children has been remedied by new white schools. It is a common thing to tax Negroes for new white schools and some incommodious old ones and to dismiss them with a promise of what they are going to do for Negroes. Once in a while they condescend to turn over an old worn-out white school building that they are abandoning.

A little while ago I stated that always the whites receive the lion's share of the appropriation. Here are some figures on the matter as given out by the Commission on Education. They are the amounts spent for education in a year for each child:

	<i>White</i>	<i>Colored</i>
Alabama	\$9.41	\$1.78
Arkansas	12.95	4.59
Delaware	12.61	7.68
Florida	11.05	2.64
Georgia	9.58	1.76
Louisiana	13.73	1.31
Maryland	13.79	6.38
Mississippi	10.60	2.26
North Carolina	5.27	2.02
Oklahoma	14.21	9.96
South Carolina	10.00	1.44
Tennessee	8.27	4.83
Texas	10.08	5.74
Virginia	7.72	3.18

Certainly you can see from the above that the price which you pay for separate schools is far too great for the easy securing of jobs for a few individuals. Further, where you have separate schools, the children cease to be acquainted with each other and grow up with greater misunderstanding and greater lack of sympathy. Nothing makes for understanding and sympathy like contact. Men and animals are alike in being hostile to that which they do not understand.

The child who has a Negro teacher and a Negro classmate can never feel the same as a child who never came in contact with them in school. If the child gets to feel that a Negro is not good enough to come to public school with him, he will surely feel that he is not good enough to go to the university with him; not good enough to ride in the same street car with him; should not be permitted to go to the same library, parks, and theatres. If it is forced upon the Negro child that he is unfit to go to school with the white child, one or two results must follow. Either he accepts the status of inferiority and so has his soul lynched or else he resents the implication and grows in bitterness and hatred towards his white fellow.

For the above reasons we urge the citizens of Philadelphia no longer to remain asleep, but to use every power possible, both legal and economic, to stop the further segregation in schools and to end that already existing.

THE NOVEMBER

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The Friends of Negro Freedom

Politics and Religion

You may have any politics and any religion, or no politics and no religion, and yet be eligible to join the F. N. F.

The reason for this is, they are not material to these chief economic issues. The landlord may be a Catholic, a Protestant, or a Jew. The tenant may be of the same or a different faith. But the landlord will charge all the same rent. The vendor of goods will charge the purchaser without regard to religious faith.

What is true of religion is true of politics. The landlord may be a Republican or a Democrat. Yet he will charge the tenant of his political faith just as much as he will the tenant of a different political faith.

The organization will naturally have in it Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Baptists, Methodists, Spiritualists, Catholics, Episcopalians, Agnostics and infidels. It cannot be called agnostic because it may have agnostics in it, any more than the Republican party could be called infidel because it had Robert Ingersoll in it. Neither can it be called Socialist because it has Socialists in it, any more than it can be called Republican because it has Republicans in it.

Economic Statesmanship

Economic statesmanship is the chief issue. Getting Negroes into industry, getting more wages after they get in, saving wages after they get them by lowering rent and the cost of living generally, creating and maintaining those industries which afford the largest amount of employment, educating the membership in these principles and methods, and building up an ever bigger organization to express them in the Negroes' life—these are the fundamental problems with which the Friends of Negro Freedom deals.

Foreign Problems

What applies to the Negro in America applies fundamentally in foreign countries, especially on the economic field. Slight differences may be observed here and there, but not substantial ones. We offer the hand of unity and fellowship to our foreign brothers on a basis of entire equality with our native brothers.

Their different committees will work out their particular problems with the same type of economic statesmanship.

National Day

By the setting aside of a National Day for annual celebration, nearly all great movements have given publicity to their work and aroused the enthusiasm of their followers.

The Labor Movement added considerable impetus to its development by setting aside of May 1st for its international holiday. More in point, is the Irish race's setting aside March 17th, St. Patrick's Day, on which they (the Irish) have great parades, mass

meetings, etc., to keep before the world the cause of oppressed Ireland and its determination to be free.

The Friends of Negro Freedom has also established an annual National Day.

The organization has designated the birthday of John Brown, May 9th, as the day to be observed. On this day, the local councils everywhere should organize a parade with appropriate floats and banners. This should be followed by mass meetings, and, where possible, pageants, in the afternoon and evenings.

On this day a membership drive should be conducted; girls should sell tags and distribute propaganda matter. Buttons should be worn, and two months prior to the day all members of the Friends of Negro Freedom should use on their mail the seals which may be secured from the National Office. Ministers should be urged to preach sermons, papers to write editorials, and instructors to teach the children to revere the day.

Program of Destruction

Destruction precedes construction. Excavation must go before erection. Disease must be destroyed before health can be developed.

Much of the chief work in the liberation of Negroes calls for the destruction of many deep rooted American institutions. We, therefore, urge the abolition of disfranchisement, the annihilation of peonage, the extirpation of lynching, the elimination of the Jim Crow car; in short, the relegation to oblivion of every form of race and color discrimination in every country of the world.

This tersely and succinctly sets forth the salient principles and methods of the Friends of Negro Freedom, a program of thought and action, calmly and dispassionately entered upon by a convention characterized by more light and less heat.

We believe that its pursuit will usher in a new day for an oppressed people. We welcome examination and criticism of its content and method, believing that where attention is given it, without prejudice or prepossession, the inquirer will find it rich in construction,—fraught with bigness and consequence.

Order of Business for the Regular Monthly Meeting of Local Councils of the F. N. F.

1. Reading of minutes.
2. Adoption, amendment, or rejection of minutes
3. Unfinished business.
4. Report of Committees
5. New business.
6. New applications and payment of dues.
7. Good and welfare. (Discussion of ways and means for the perfection of the organization, suggestions for improvements and the general good of the council.)
8. Announcements.
9. Adjournment.

Who's Who

CARTER G. WOODSON

A RECENT contribution of \$50,000 to the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, will enable Carter G. Woodson to devote his entire time to the work of this association, an important part of which work is the publication of the *Journal of Negro History*. A quiet, industrious and unassuming man, few people know much of his fitness for doing this kind of work. By experience and training Mr. Woodson is admirably fitted for just this type of arduous mental work and research. He is probably the most prolific producer of serious works in the Negro race.

We do not always agree with his interpretations of history, but we recognize his versatility in research and his independence in proclaiming his honest opinions. He was one of the founders of the Friends of Negro Freedom in 1920, along with other distinguished thinkers and scholars.

We are herewith giving a short survey of his life.

Dr. Woodson was born near New Canton, Virginia in 1875. Moved to West Virginia in 1892 and worked six years in coal mines. Completed the course of the Douglas High School, Huntington, W. Va., 1896. Attended Berea College in Kentucky two years, beginning 1896. Studied two years at the University of Chicago, completing the college course in 1907. This is the sum of his academic education. During his professional training he was a student of the teaching of modern languages, one summer, at Columbia University, New York; student of History one semester at La Sorbonne, Paris, France, 1907; student one and a half years in the Graduate School of the University of Chicago, specializing in History,

1908-1909. He has received the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, the University of Chicago, 1907; Master of Arts, the University of Chicago, 1908; Doctor of Philosophy, Harvard University, 1912.

In experience Dr. Woodson is rich indeed. He taught two years in an elementary school at Winona, W. Va., 1898-1900; served three years as principal of the Douglas High School, Huntington, W. Va. 1900-1903; served three years as Supervisor of Schools in the Philippines, 1903-1906; served one year as principal of the Armstrong Manual Training High School, Washington, D. C., 1918-1919; taught ten years in the secondary schools of the District of Columbia, 1908-1918; served one year as Dean of the School of Liberal Arts, Howard University, 1919-1920; served two years as Dean of the West Virginia Collegiate Institute, 1920-1922; services now devoted exclusively to research and editing the *Journal of Negro History*, Washington, D. C.

Besides having contributed many painstaking articles to magazines, Dr. Woodson has written "The Disruption of Virginia" (an unpublished thesis); "The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861" (appeared in 1915); "A Century of Negro Migration" (appeared in 1918); "The History of the Negro Church" (appeared in 1921); and "The Negro in Our History", a text book for schools (appeared in 1922).

Among his travels he has been on tours through the Middle States, New England, the South and West; a tour through southern and eastern Canada; a tour around the world, taking in Egypt and all European and Asiatic countries of importance except Spain and Russia, 1906-1907.

Open Forum

THE KOO KOO KLAN AGAIN

DURING the past three months there has been a general outbreak of Koo Koo again. They show unmistakable signs of growth and their activities have increased to a wider field than heretofore. Especially is this noticeable on the Pacific Coast and in the Northern and Western states generally.

About one year ago the *New York World* went to great trouble to gather a great lot of data showing the original tendencies of this organization and its unlawful purposes. In fact, it took the law into its own hands. As a result of this exposure by the *World* and a score of other papers a congressional investigation was held which proved all that was

charged against the Klan. But suddenly was felt the power of an unseen hand and an unheard voice went rumbling forth. It spoke to Congress. It was the invisible government in Wall Street. It told the politicians to lay off the "Black Hundreds" (the Ku Klux Klan), and right in the midst of one of the most intense hearings before the congressional committee all further hearing was postponed indefinitely.

The Ku Klux Klan is the terror that Wall Street is using and will continue to use against the labor movement. Its purpose is unlawful. The klansmen do not rely upon their own law, they go beyond it to accomplish their work of suppressing all activities by organized labor in the interest of the toilers.

Recently Adjutant General Boree of the California

National Guard made a special investigation of the Ku Klux Klan and found a very large body of Los Angeles organized under the name of the "Mounted Rifles" to secure the use of the state armory for military drill purposes. This name was a subterfuge. They were all members of the Koo Koo Klan. This organization is a law unto itself. They accuse, try by mob and impose and execute sentence on all those accused, for to be accused is to be guilty. There is no appeal from their decisions.

Organized labor must not be fooled. There are now being built up in a number of different directions powerful secret organizations, all of them aimed at those who have to work. This is the work of the invisible government of Wall Street. That is the real significance in its name, it is invisible—you cannot see it on the surface, but its nefarious work is at all times going on in all works of life. They buy, bribe, browbeat, or kill all who will not fall under their spell. Where they fail in this they imprison those opposed to them. Down with this crew, the "Black Hundreds"—the Ku Klux Klan.

—Tom Mooney's Monthly.

VANZETTI — A TRIBUTE AND AN APPEAL

By UPTON SINCLAIR

(Upton Sinclair visited Vanzetti. Upon leaving the prison he wrote the article. It is both a tribute and an appeal: one of the most eloquent expressions elicited by a case that has touched deep chords of class solidarity and brotherly sympathy in a million hearts.)

BOSTON, May 31, 1922. I have spent an hour in Charlestown Jail with Bartolomeo Vanzetti. I have had some acquaintance with radical agitators of all varieties and races, and I think I can qualify as an expert in this particular line. I offer my testimony in the court of public opinion: that this humble Italian workingman is precisely what he pretends to be, an idealist and an apostle of a new social order. I should consider him just about as likely a person to be guilty of highway robbery and murder as I myself should be. He is simple and genuine, open-minded as a child, sensitive and possessing that innate refinement which makes good manners without need of teaching. He has devoted his life to the service of his fellow wage-workers and he is still serving them and knows it well.

Also, I have had some experience in literary criticism, and of human personality as revealed thereby. I have talked with some thousands of people who have read my books, and I am able to judge if they have understood them. Vanzetti has read my novel "Jimmy Higgins" and it was very plain to me that he had entered into the soul of that working class martyr, that he had shared all those dreams, endured all those privations, and conquered all those terrors. He is indeed "Jimmy Higgins" incarnate—the same as thousands of others who have vowed in their hearts that life has no meaning apart from freedom, and that justice for all the oppressed of our social system is their god in life.

Now, I might say something about the peril to our law and government involved in the fact that those

acting in its name have deliberately conspired to send such a man to the gallows. But after meeting Vanzetti one cannot think of legal systems, one can only think of the man. This brother of ours must be saved: warm-hearted, brave and true, the precious life that is in him must not be strangled by the hangman's noose!

He asked me to get him an Italian book, dealing with—what do you think? The making of bombs and dynamite? The tactics of the class war? No—with the making of verses? He wants to write a song, to waken the workers of Italy!

I say to the workers of America, bring this man out from behind the steel bars. Give him his book on Italian versification and let him write his song.

INQUIRER FROM ST. LOUIS, TAKE NOTICE

WHETHER or not we agree with Editor Owen and Randolph of the Messenger Publishing Co., of New York City, in their analysis of industrial society, and without attempting as yet, to pass judgment upon their philosophical doctrine, it is safe to say that no one can study their policies, as they deserve to be studied, without recognizing the fact, perhaps with one or two exceptions, that no more original, no more powerful and no more acute intellect has been used in the interpretations of economics and sociology in the combined *Negro Press*.

In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which it is built up and from which alone can be explained its phenomena. We think one will experience but little difficulty in reading the MESSENGER to find out that its editors, in their clear and concise treatises on these special subjects, are past masters of the art.

—Ethiopian World.

MONTH'S BEST EDITORIAL

Spurious Social Equality

SOCIAL equality as a reciprocal relationship based on mutual respect and esteem is almost non-existent between white and colored people. There is a kind of one-sided jim-crow equality that Negroes would do well to reject and eradicate. This is the sort of social equality that one beholds when a white man dances with a colored girl at one of our basketball games or when our married and single young women visit white clubs and "rests" and place themselves in the position of mistress to the white members.

At this time we are not raising any question of ethics or morality. We make no objection here to colored women, married and single, becoming concubines to white men, or going to clubs and posing nude before wide-eyed, open-mouthed white guests. The act per se of white boys dancing with colored girls is not the point at issue. But our opposition springs rather from the fact that this is not true social equality. For the reason, that although it is mixing of the races socially it is the kind of social intermingling that has produced a horde of bastard Negro children and the degradation and humiliation of Negro women. It takes place in Negro social affairs with the white

race represented by its MEN only or in white clubs with the Negro race represented by its WOMEN only. When white boys come to play basket-ball with colored teams they leave their girl friends at home. But some will remain after the game to dance with the colored girls. A white man goes to a banquet given by colored people but usually leaves his wife and daughter at home. If he brings them they will leave before the banquet is served. When he is alone he will eat the meal and enjoy himself to the fullest in the company of charming Negro women. And the cry is raised neither by Negroes nor whites that he wants to marry one of these women.

White men go into Negro cabarets, approach colored women whom they do not know, and yet nothing happens to interfere with orderly breathing or locomotion. White men, we say, can do this and be safe from beating or lynching by Negro men or from molestation by the police.

We think it is high time that this sort of social equality be done away with. It is colored men who can stop it. They should be as solicitous about Negro women as white men are about white women when they consort with a man of the other race. As long as racial conditions are as they are now, it is

the right and the duty of colored men to become as infuriated when they see a colored woman with a white man as white men become when they see a white woman with a colored man.

We are in favor of honor and respect being shown any woman, white or black, but at the same time we believe in balance and impartiality. If Negro women are to be debauched in white clubs by white men we demand the right to debauch white women in Negro clubs. If white young men consort with our girls in various places we must have the right to consort with their's under the same conditions. There must be no social relations between white men and colored women that cannot exist between Negro men and white women. We must insist on this and be prepared to enforce it. We must do away with these infamous practices born of slavery. White men, as a rule, have no respect for the best Negro women. They have got to be made to respect them.

After all, since it seems that white men have a weakness for the society of Negro women, insistence on the things mentioned above might help to do away with the myth of Negro inferiority.

—Pittsburgh American.

BOOK REVIEWS

NEGRO FOLK SONGS, WITH A STUDY, by Thomas W. Talley, of Fisk University. (The Macmillan Co.)

A white lady not long ago wrote one of her intellectual friends, . . . "I would make special mention of Prof Talley, whom I consider the equal if not superior to any teacher of Chemistry that I have met anywhere. I think I am qualified to speak for I have been in touch with many of the leading Universities in this country."

Not only is Prof Talley a chemist, but judging from the Study appended to his Negro Folk Rhymes, he is much of a musician also. His adept handling of such words as "Doublet," "Cluster," and "Solitaire," in his analyses indicate a technical knowledge of the subject to be envied.

It is well that such an analytical mind has been brought to this task. Prof. Talley has done for our songs what Joel Chandler Harris did for our stories. Such a work requires much time and patience as well as careful and painstaking analysis and presentation. He is not the author of the Rhymes, but merely the compiler, so whatever praise or criticism falls their lot is to be shared by the Race as a whole. They are all quite crude, and to the later generation, perhaps meaningless and absurd, but they are a part of our history and should be preserved if for that reason only. Indeed the author himself says, "The writer thinks his ability to recall from childhood days a clear remembrance of many of these crude things is due to the fact that he belonged to a Negro family that laughed much, early and late, at such things." And they are good laughing material yet. I say "laughing material" but the truth is, in parts of the rural South today some of these very sayings are

still current in all their ancient sincerity. That is one point on which I think the author errs. He seems to proceed on the premise that all this has long since become obsolete.

As we have said, we cannot take Prof. Talley to task for the substance of the Rhymes, but we are free to critically comment on his interpretation of them in his searching study.

The other race, and some of ourselves, may at times wonder how came all our lore based on animals, religion, etc. The author hazards an explanation. Tracing back to Africa, he writes:

"The Bushmen worshipped a Caddis worm and an antelope (a species of deer). The Damaras believed that they and all living creatures descended from a kind of tree and they worshipped that tree. The Mulunga worshipped alligators and lion-shaped idols. The Fantis considered snakes and many other animals messengers of spirits. The Dahomans worshipped snakes, a silk tree, a poison tree and a kind of ocean god whom they called Hu.

"Now turning our attention to Negro Folk Rhymes we find them clustering around the animals of aboriginal African Folk worship. The Negro stories of Mr. Harris (Joel Chandler) center around these animals also. In the Folk Rhyme "Walk Tom Wilson" our hero steps on an alligator. In "The Ark" the lion almost breaks out of his enclosure of palings. In one rhyme the snake is described as descended from the Devil and then the Devil figures prominently in many Rhymes. Then we have "Green Oak Tree Rock-o" answering to the tree worship."

Prof Talley shows the origin of petty thievery in such a way that it might help those who were overwhelmed by T. S. Stribling's novel "Birthright." He says:

"In a few Rhymes the vice of stealing is either laughed at, or apparently laughed at. Such Rhymes carry on their face a strictly American slave origin. An example

is found in "Christmas Turkey." If one asks how I know its origin to be American, the answer is that the native African had no such thing as Christmas and turkeys are indigenous to America. In explanation of the origin of these "stealing" Rhymes I would say that it was never the Negro slave's viewpoint that his hard-earned productions righteously belonged to another. His whole viewpoint in all such cases where he sang in this kind of verse is well summed up in the last two lines of this little Rhyme itself:

'I tuck myself to my tuck roos',
An I brung my tucky home.'

"To the Negro it was his turkey. This was the Negro slave view and accounts for the origin and evolution of such verse. We leave to others a fair discussion of the ethics and righteous conclusion; only asking them in fairness to conduct the discussion in the light of slave conditions and slave surroundings."

This excerpt no doubt will shock those venerable souls who have fond memories of their "black mammys" (God bless 'em!)

"The Parody on the beautiful little child prayer, "Now I lay me down to sleep" is but the bitter protest from the

heart of the woman who, after putting the little white children piously repeating this child prayer, "Now I lay me down to sleep," in their immaculate beds, herself retired to a vermin-infested cabin with no time left for cleaning it. It was a tirade against the oppressor but the comic, good-natured "It means nothing" was there to be held up to those calling the one repeating it to task. The Parody on "Reign, Master Jesus, Reign!" when heard by the Master meant only a good natured jocular appeal to him for plenty of meat and bread, but with the Negro it was a scathing indictment of a Christian earthly master who muzzled those who produced the food. "He Paid Me Seven" is a mock at the white man for failing to practice his own religion but the clown must be there to be held up for safety to any one who may see the real side and take offense."

We think the book is a great work. While it is not popular, it is extremely vital. Every Negro who is proud of the achievements of his race should possess a copy.

Fisk has distinguished herself again as a centre of Negro culture.

FLOYD J. CALVIN.



The author of these little poems is one of the foremost opponents of the institution of war. They are taken from a splendid little book of poems entitled "The Voice of the Counter Current." The author, Fannie Bixby Spencer, lives at Costa Mesa, California.—Editor.

NOTHING

TH**E**R**E** is nothing ahead on the scarlet path,
For wilted the Glories fade
When stands revealed to the lighted mind
The shame of the cannonade.

There is nothing but shrouds in your knitting hands,
O women. Look up and see
That the death-forged shackles of crumbling time
Are the bonds of your loyalty.

There is nothing to gain from the belching guns
That deadlock the riven earth;
For nothing but hell is the mad exchange
For the boom of an age-long dearth.

—FANNY BIXBY SPENCER.

AFTERMATH

TH**E** day is quiet and the roses blow
Their fragrance to us on the summer breeze:
The war is over and our soft thoughts flow
In gentle waves across the bitter seas.

But can soft thoughts and tender longings still
The storm that waits, the tyrannies that loom?
Proud victory must its own curse fulfill
And lay new bases for the guns to boom.

Where is the solace to the grief of man,
And when the pause to his long agony?
Brother, on journeys time's dull caravan
Race-bound. Only world-wayfarers are free.

—FANNY BIXBY SPENCER



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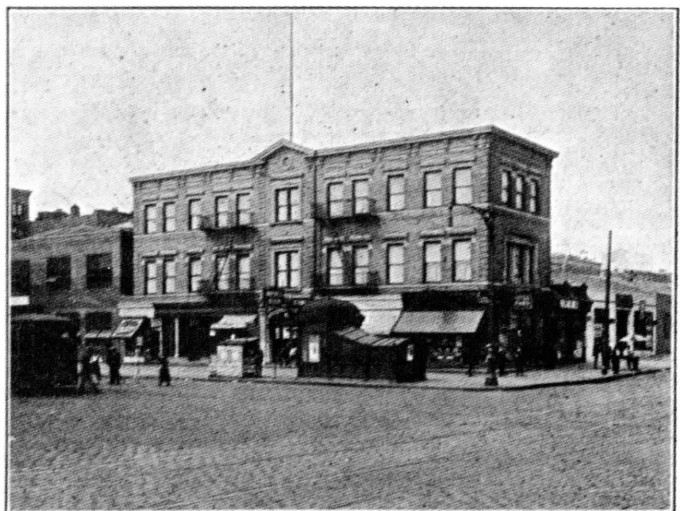
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