

THE MESSENGER

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INTERNATIONAL SCABBING

By Chandler Owen



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County of New York.

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

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The Messenger Publishing Co., Inc., 2305 7th Avenue, New York; Editor, A. Philip Randolph, 148 West 142nd Street, New York; Managing Editor, Chandler Owen, 103 West 141st Street, New York; Business Managers, None.

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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is _____. (This information is required from daily publications only.)

CHANDLER OWEN, Mgr. Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 9th day of October, 1922.

(My commission expires March 30, 1923.

KENNETH DUNCAN.

New York Co. Register's No. 4443.
Clerk's No. 240.

Editorials

ANOTHER PONZI—GARVEY BUBBLE BURSTS

RECEIVER TAKES FOUR OTHER PIGGLY WIGGLY CONCERNs

Liabilities of the Five Estimated at
\$1,890,000—Promoter Elliot Has
Breakdown

SELLING OF THE STOCK HERE WAS OVERPLAYED

Not Enough Grocery Stores Established in This City and Vicinity to Warrant It

(This news item met your gaze in the metropolitan press, November 18, 1922.)

Still they fall. Yesterday it was Ponzi, of Boston, Bischoff of Chicago and Garvey of everywhere in general and nowhere in particular; today it is James W. Elliot of the Business Builders whose Piggly Wiggly scheme goes to the wall. The poor, ignorant black and white simpletons have been fleeced again. The Editors of the MESSENGER have repeatedly warned the Negroes against throwing their good, hard cash into these shoe-string, fly-by-night, wild-cat business ventures. We understand that a large number of Negroes have been hard hit by this failure. Too bad, they are amongst the poor who least can afford it; but always such is the case.

Negroes are the easy marks of the sharpers, having, as it were, some vague idea that they can make millions like Ford, Rockefeller and Morgan by buying stocks. Lots that are in the middle of the Hudson River and oil that exists only on the tongue of the salesman, have been sold to the Negro. When will they learn that no stocks which are worth a picayune would ever be peddled out to them. When stocks are valuable Wall Street buys them; when they are worthless, they are palmed off on the gullible and unsuspecting Negro. As long as a people can be duped by Black Star Line dreamers, by the fraudulent Co-operative Society of America which is condemned by the Co-operative League of America, and numerous labor unions; and the Piggly Wiggly which had nothing to commend itself to the public on except an efficient staff of salesman who were equipped to make one think that the moon was made of green cheese, there is little hope for any substantial economic strides in the very near future.

THE BRITISH ELECTIONS

THE British elections brought some surprises. The British Labor party, in view of its poor showing in the preceding municipal elections, was not expected to elect so large a number to Parliament. Critics of

the British "rotton borough" elections system affirm that the Labor party would have returned many more were there proportional representation in Great Britain. As it is Labor increases its number from some 70 odd to 142. Quite a stride, to say the least. Some brilliant labor figures were elected, including Sidney Webb and J. Ramsey MacDonald. For the first time in the history of the British Empire, the British Labor party becomes the party of His Majesty's Most Loyal Opposition. In the event of the fall of the Bonar Law ministry, the only alternative, according to precedent, is that the King request the leader of the party of Opposition to form a ministry, which means that in all probability the next government of Great Britain will be a Labor government. Not a very reassuring anticipation this to the British and American Tories, who have lurid visions of the ghost of the capital levy. But one of the most amazing failures of the election was Lloyd George. He was overwhelmingly repudiated. Nor was Bonar Law given any hugely popular mandate. On the contrary, his is a minority government. Asquith is in the limelight again, limping along with his foe, Lloyd George who has now become the leader of the "Wee Frees." Lady Astor, the reactionary, was returned by a smaller vote this time, showing that she is losing political caste. All eyes are centered on labor, watching its every move.

KU KLUX KLAN SEIZING THE GOVERNMENT

HAS it come to this? Has the Invisible Empire grown more powerful than our visible government? This question will have to be answered before many more moons. Governor Parker of Louisiana, recognizing his helplessness before the Klan, has journeyed to the Capitol of the Nation to consult with President Harding on methods for breaking the power of the Ku Klux. Parker is appealing for Federal aid to curb this notorious gang of masked cut-throats, who honey-comb every department of the State government, virtually defying him to proceed against them. It is reported that President Harding is hesitant about taking action. Is he afraid? Have Klansmen gotten themselves into places of power in the Federal Government, too? We know they boast of having a bloc of 70 or more in the House and the Senate. Election returns show that they have won in Oregon, and, of course, in practically all of the Southern states.

In New York City, the Klan has boldly begun recruiting members in the Rev. John Roach Stratton's church, New York's "keeper" of the public's morals.

When will the Klan make its *coup d'état*? Will Simmons or Clarke be America's Mussolini? Are the American Fascisti plotting the overthrow of the American Government? These questions grow logi-

cally out of the operations of the Klan. Two governments now exist in America, but only one can stand. We seem to be fast approaching the time when the American people must decide which government they will serve, whether it will be a government by masked marauders or government by law and order. Italy faced this situation only a month ago. Today she is in the grip of the dictatorship of the Black Shirt. Will the United States soon fall under the dominion of the "white robes"? To prevent this disaster, the Catholics, Jews, Negroes, organized labor and all foreigners must join hands to crush this Ku Klux monster, using the economic boycott, publicity and fighting fire with fire, as the weapons.

THE FALL OF LLOYD GEORGE

LLOYD GEORGE has fallen. He is the last of the "big four," who wrought the abominations of Versailles, to take the count. Mustapha Kemal's rout of the Greek army was the straw which broke the camel's back. His career has been dramatic and spectacular, replete with lights and shades that both charmed and dismayed the onlooker. Historians will probably set him down as a sort of brilliant political Houdini, without the deep, philosophic understanding of social, economic and political forces of Wells, Sidney Webb, Balfour or Shaw; yet, withal, a shrewd and practised contriver with an inimitable intuitive faculty to sense and accommodate his tactics to the shifting and fickle political temper of the times. Without principle, without respect for truth or fact, but always alert, able and resourceful at parrying the thrusts of his enemies, Lloyd George built up around him a kind of legend for achievement, for "carrying on" through the most tempestuous and troubled days, so that the average Britisher harbored an uncanny hesitancy about vetting his ministry. But makeshifts are makeshifts and they will break down under heavy stresses and strains ere long. So it was with the once labelled "little dirty Welshman." His political makeshifts collapsed. Though he still hangs around the wings of the stage, the curtain has been rung down on his act. He is gone to join Wilson, Orlando and Clemenceau—the political quartette who have plunged the world into a frightful chaos. But let us not rail against them; they were the mere puppets of worldwide imperialism, which, too, is riding to its fall.

THE NEGRO PRESS AND THE ELECTIONS

THE Negro press is almost unanimous in its condemnations of the Republican party. It assigns the nation-wide landslide of anti-administration candidates to the policy of the Harding regime on the Negro. Of course, this is not true, while undoubtedly it played some part. It is very significant, however, to note the changing attitude of the Negro press on the Republican party. It no longer hails the Republican party as the "ship and all else, the sea." While it has not as yet come out for any other party, the Negro press is beginning to take President Harding at his word and tells Negroes to split their ticket. Of course, it means for the Negroes to split their ticket between the Republican and Democratic parties. It has not advanced far enough ahead as yet to come out for the Socialist party — although the Rochester

Weekly News supported Randolph for Secretary of State. The Negro press is at least in a state of transition. Let us hope that it will see the folly of jumping out of the frying pan into the fire by advocating the cause of the Democratic party.

THE TURKISH SITUATION

MUSTAPHA KEMAL is the hero of the Near East. He has routed the Greek army, deposed the old Sultan, separated Church and State, called for the abolition of capitulations or the right of foreigners to be tried before their own courts in Turkish territory. The spectacular rise of the star of Kemal even distracted the old, crafty Lloyd George, and is assigned by many political observers as the cause of his fall. It was known that Lloyd George backed the Greeks while Poincare was partial to Kemal. All Europe is aghast at Angora. Kemal seems to be the voice of the new spirit in the Moslem world. It is the outburst of an intense nationalism with a background of religion, color, and geography against Western white world dominion. Kemal's cause is just and triumph it must. Despite the smoke screen of Hughes and Curzon that minorities must be protected from the bloody Turk, Kemal stands firm, realizing that Europe and America are not so concerned about religious minorities, but that they have their greedy eyes on the oil fields under Turkish control. This is the "nickle under the foot" which is about to cause the scrap at Lausanne.

LONGSHOREMEN FIGHTING FOR LIFE

ON the water front in Philadelphia and Portland, an intense and desperate contest is being waged by the I. W. W.'s to preserve a decent standard of living and to save their organizations from the savage and brutal assaults of the hypocritical and frightened Stevedores, the powerful steamship interests. In these struggles, be it said to the credit and honor of the I. W. W., the Negroes and whites are fighting shoulder to shoulder for more milk for their babies and to keep the wolf from their door, as well as to defend their organization which has been the very prop of their lives.

One great asset to the strikers is that they are industrially organized. Even the water-boy is taken into the organization for they have learned that it is impossible for labor to win while one part is scabbing on the other part, when a fight is on.

The MESSENGER bids you to hold out and hold on.

NEGRO DEPUTY OF FRANCE CONDEMS GARVEY

FROM the four corners of the globe, we constantly hear echoes of condemnation of Garvey and his works. The peoples' eyes are gradually being opened to what a colossal fraud the entire thing is. According to the *Echo de Paris*, Monsieur Diagne, black Senegalese deputy says that: "Garvey's crusade for the redemption of Africa can only fall flat, for Africa's Negroes are diverse and lacking in cohesion. The dangerous Utopia proposed would not serve their real interests." Just so. How often has not the MESSENGER presented the very same view to the Negro

public. Diagne's view simply shows that Garvey's mad folly is beginning to attract the attention of the great powers that rule Africa, and that they recognize that it is a menace and are ready to crush it. Still there are lunatics that simply won't hear.

THIRD PARTY

A THIRD party is being widely discussed as the only hope of the American people. It seems to be pretty generally admitted that the Republican and Democratic parties hold out no promise of progressive change to the wide masses. LaFollette, Borah, Brookhart, Hiram Johnson and others, are mentioned in connection with this new political venture. Of course it is not really new, for we have had numerous third parties before. The Populist and the Progressive parties are the outstanding instances. It is interesting to note that whenever a third party is mentioned, no thought is given to the Socialist and Farmer-Labor parties. The reason is that the proponents of the third party idea are a very little different from the Old Guard, for if they were fundamentally at odds with the old parties of reaction, they would go into a genuine labor party which is opposed to injustice, economic, political and social. The Socialist party is now conducting a great campaign to increase its membership and it invites every lover of liberty and foe of labor exploitation, to join. This is the only third party which deserves the consideration of the wide toiling masses of America.

INTERNATIONAL SCABBING

THE trend of modern civilization has been toward the destruction of independence of individuals and nations. They have become more dependent upon one another. Whereas one man used to make a whole shoe, today a score or more persons will make only a part of the shoe. The finished product represents the handiwork of many. We talk much of labor internationalism but in practical application we are yet far from it. For instance, we have had a coal strike in this country for many months, but the English miners have been busy. Signs in the New York Subway say that the owners of those subways, anticipating that the American miners would be on a long strike, bought British coal. In other words, the British miners scabbed on the American miners. Again, when the American Brewery Workers would go on strike, the Czecho-Slovaks did not stop the manufacture of Pilsner beer. When California growers of currants faced strikes with their workers, the Greek workers labored all the harder to meet the increased demand. When the French rug workers stopped work in a demand for more wages, the Armenian workers speeded up to take advantage of the good times. America today has most of the gold; so much that the gold miners have slowed up in work. Who expects the gold miners in other countries to strike in the interest of the American gold miners? When the French workers in the wine industry stopped, did the Italians in that industry slow up or speed up? When the strikes came in the textile and silk mills of New Jersey, did the French, Japanese or Chinese silk workers slow up? Several months ago the shoe workers were out in Massachusetts. Did the British shoe workers threaten

to go on strike unless the American shoe workers got their demands? Italy produces lots of lemons. Suppose the workers in the lemon industry of Italy were to strike. Would the workers in this industry in California stop with the Italian workers? Latvia, Servia, Roumania and Finland and Russia are great wheat and meat countries. Do the workers in the wheat and meat industries of those countries strike because the stock yards workers of Chicago, and the mill workers of Minneapolis and St. Paul have gone out on a strike?

The answer to all these questions is "No"; and the reason is because self interest is the most powerful force in society. Every individual is seeking the gratification of his desires. He is seeking happiness, and the only way he can get happiness is by getting rid of these desires. From birth to death these desires prod and prick and goad him on. Even every effort at helping others comes under the same head. It is the principle of sympathy, the psychology of which is, *that pain in others produces pain in self*. One day Lincoln got out of his carriage to help a pig out of the mud. When praised for his generous spirit, Lincoln disclaimed it. He said he got the pig out of the mud to relieve his own mind. The pain of the pig was only a secondary consideration. A mother makes all kinds of sacrifices in the interest of her child. She is constantly trying to bring joy to it. The reason is susceptible to easy analysis. Suffering and pain to the child bring suffering and pain to her; while joy brought to the child delights the mother's heart.

The world is so organized that one part of it constantly benefits from the suffering of the other. One half of the world is constantly devouring the other. Chickens eat ants and insects. Hawks prey upon chickens. Men kill and consume hogs, cows, and chickens. And men in the early stages of society, eat one another. To a large extent, however, one group of men lives off another all the time. The few rob the many of the products of their labor. Large numbers of workingmen go into glee over an opportunity to make profits off the suffering of their fellows. In his splendid book, "Why War?" Dr. Fred C. Howe calls attention to the fact that nearly 200,000 British workers, employed in the manufacturing of munitions, always manifest either a desire for war or a lukewarm opposition to it. Every student of social problems must recognize that a great deal of the patriotic hysteria, which obtained in most countries during the World War, emanated from the steady employment and high wages which marked that period. The psychology of Labor is not so different from the psychology of Capital. The chief difference is that Capital has a larger income on invested capital than Labor has upon labor power. The two had a common interest in maintaining industry. They fought each other vigorously over the division of the resulting profit.

It is interesting to follow out the monism of this situation. For instance, when the Coal Strike came, the British coal operators got the market of the American coal operators. The British coal dealers were delighted to sell to the American coal dealers' patrons. The more buyers of British coal meant the greater employment of British coal miners. *It would be quite as rare to hear the coal miners complaining*

of getting American coal miners' jobs as it would to hear British coal dealers complain about getting American coal dealers' markets—their customers and patrons.

We are not unaware that the system of international investment has somewhat negatived this result among capitalists. By that we mean, American coal operators may hold stock in American mines. Both may still further hold stock in German and French mines. As a result it makes little difference from

whom you purchase your coal. Their income is everywhere. Not so with labor. It has not yet worked out a method of international sharing in strikes. As a rule it engages in international scabbing. It is competing instead of co-operating. Competition breeds hatred and war. Such are the fruits of international scabbing, made possible by modern means of communication and transportation.

CHANDLER OWEN

Economics and Politics

THE ONLY WAY TO REDEEM AFRICA

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

[*Mr. Randolph this month disturbs Brother Marcus's sleep by rubbing the paint off his beautiful "400,000,000-Negro" doll, cutting his rotten "anti-white man" apple, and becoming a nightmare in general to the Imperial Black Kluxer.*]

All Africans Not Negroes

All anthropologists know that all Africans are not Negroes, any more than all Europeans are Nordics, or all Asiatic are Mongols. Arabs are not Negroes. Egyptians are not Negroes. Yet these groups possess more power than the Negroid groups in Africa. Nor are the Berbers classified ethnologically and anthropologically as Negroes. Thus the absurdity of Mr. Garvey's claim when he speaks of 400,000,000 Negroes, assuming as he does that all Africans are Negroes, and that by adding the population of Africa to the Negro population in the United States, South and Central Americas and the West Indies, it will give that sum.

Besides, these different racial and national groups in Africa are as hostile as are the racial and national groups in Europe, the scene of the recent great World War. African history is replete with the inter-tribal wars between Zulus, Kaffirs, Bantus, Basutos, Hereros, Hottentots, Berbers, Matebeles, clinging steadfastly, as it were, to their respective tribal customs, language, "will" and land. It is also a matter of common historical knowledge that the Africans have fought heroically against white domination. The military Bantus especially are known to have fought the Boers for four long years to preserve their sovereignty. Now if the Africans will fight among themselves to maintain their respective tribal authority; if they will battle against British and Dutch control for decades, what evidence, may I inquire, is there that they will supinely submit to the blatant "138th Street Windjammer"? But, of course, these facts carry no force to this Harlem-African Black Ku Klux Emperor who can certainly boast of having no inconsiderable amount of African "ivory" doing duty for brains.

At this point, then, I will go specifically into an examination of the Garvey program.

First, a word about what brought it forth. It grew up during the turbulent days of the war—a period of political, economic and social unsettlement. Then the wide masses were fed up on glowing, rainbow promises of happy days, days of liberty, justice and democracy after the war. This was a war to end war, to usher in a "new day". Needless to say that the unsophisticated peoples believed all this. But, as time has shown, they were mere promises such as are made by the paytriteers in all wars. Still these promises served the purpose of stirring the oppressed in all lands of all races and religions. Out of this titanic upheaval sprang the Russian Revolution with its ringing, militant slogan: "No annexations, no punitive indemnities, self-determination for smaller nationalities." This became the fountain-head of a world-wide move of revolt. The Irish Easter Rebellion had also proclaimed to the world that a wild-eyed spirit of discontent was abroad in the land. Add to this the collapse of the ancient, historic house of the Hapsburgs of Austria-Hungary; the exile of the German Kaiser which followed hard upon the heels of the passing of the wicked and corrupt regime of Czar Nicholas of Russia, and one can visualize to some extent the forces of unrest that had been unleashed.

Besides, there were ample facts of injustice and wrong perpetrated upon the weak and ignorant in the name of humanity that needed only to be presented to stir the fires of revolt. Witness the march of nationalism of Egypt under the leadership of Zaglul; the non-co-operative movement whose prophet is Mahatma Gandhi in India; the rising tide of Islamism in the East; the protests of Corea and China against Japanese dominion; and, the outcry of the workers in the respective capitalist countries against industrial despotism; all indicating the purient readiness and eagerness on the part of the disinherited for a program to satisfy their high hopes; to salvage the wreckage of the world wrought by the mad "dogs of war". Even the romantic vagaries of D'Annunzio, as well as the hateful, criminal policies and practices of the Ku Klux Klan in America and the notorious bands of murderous Fascisti in Italy, may be ascribed to the

upturned state of affairs precipitated by the war and its aftermath. Thus, it is not strange that such a monstrosity as the Garvey Movement should have been born among the Negroes during this world debacle.

The Negroes, then, like other peoples, were not critical. Like the exploited and outraged everywhere, they were weary, distraught and impatient. They were looking for a program, a leader. They were willing to heed any voice which rang out above the din and clangor of confusion and conflict.

Rise of a Demagogue

Hence it was no difficult task for anyone, sufficiently unscrupulous, reckless of fact and truth, deft in the misrepresentation of sound measures and honest, intelligent leaders; possessed with an inordinate "will to lead," fairly clever in playing upon the instinct of race loyalty, to capture the ignorant and uninformed among the Negroes everywhere. Such is the reason for the rise of Garveyism.

Any thoughtful person who reads the Garvey utterances will instantly realize that the man is a typical demagogue, ready and willing to say wellnigh anything, at any time, in order to achieve a moiety of advantage. Sensational statements, and posing as a martyr are his stock and trade. All demagogues dig up some illusory, impossible, visionary, unattainable goal to be purveyed up to the lambs upon the plate of a 100 per cent fetishism, whether national, racial or religious, such as "Negro First", "Back to Africa", "the purity of Nordicism", and "100 per cent Americanism". And it will be seen that every aspect of the movement partakes of the demagogic character of the self-elected savior of the so-called 400,000,000 Negroes in the world.

Nature of Program — Foreign and Domestic

Every plan and measure are formulated and adjusted to satisfy the ends of the main doctrine or supreme crux: "Back to Africa". Africa is sufficiently far distant and invested with the halo of mysticism as to ensnare the unsuspecting. The foreign, too, has a touch of novelty among Negroes. It has, not as yet, become worn and hackneyed. Besides, Africa is not accessible to the ignorant masses of Negroes so that they could themselves see the utter folly and absurdity of the project. They can only be disillusioned by the slow process of education, which is invariably a costly one.

But I need make no labored argument to establish that no movement whose program is essentially foreign will ever command the interest and support of the American Negro. While I recognize the international character of the Negro problem that does not imply that the national, or more immediate and concrete aspect is to be ignored. Frenchmen are interested in foreign questions, but that does not make them sacrifice their vital, domestic problems. What is true of the French is also true of the British, Russian and American. A consideration of both aspects, domestic and foreign, must go hand in hand.

But it takes no strained interpretation to see that Garvey has no domestic program; that he is not concerned, here or there, with the fate of the American Negroes. Nor is he bothered about the problems of the West Indian Negroes. All of the money which the U. N. I. A. secures from the credulous Negroes

is used to pay fat salaries, to take pleasure jaunts throughout the country, the West Indies and South and Central Americas in the interest of collecting more money to enable Brother Marcus to yell more lustily about going "back to Africa". In short, everything which is done in America is done with a view to hastening the exit of the Negro from America. This explains the non-citizenship character of the U. N. I. A. This is why Mr. Garvey does not advise his non-citizen followers to become citizens of the United States.

Out of the slogan "Back to Africa", all his senseless doctrines have grown. First and foremost of which is the "anti-white man's" doctrine. This is based upon the assumption that all white men are the enemies of all Negroes, (except, of course, the Ku Klux Klan which was discovered by the imperial Black Blizzard Garvey in secret conference with the imperial white Wizard Kleagle Clarke). *This pro-Ku Klux Klan attitude of Mr. Garvey's is either the result of ignorance or dishonesty, either of which is detrimental to the Negro. If it is the result of ignorance, it is proof that he does not know how to lead the Negro; and if, on the other hand, it is the result of dishonesty, it is evidence that he can not be trusted to lead the Negro. Thus, his unfitness for leadership is established upon the establishment of either assumption, one of which is unquestionably true, and both of which are probably true.*

As to the "anti-white man's" doctrine, no intelligent Negro needs to be told that this is both dangerous and false. It is dangerous because it pits whites against blacks; it engenders and fosters a virulent race prejudice, the very menace which we are trying to eradicate, and gives birth to such destructive and violent race riots as East St. Louis, which was a conflict between black and white workers.

It is false because there is ample history to prove the contrary. One has but to mention the names of John Brown who sacrificed his life to emancipate Negro slaves, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Lovejoy who suffered, but fought unselfishly for the cause of Negro liberty. Then there is Eugene V. Debs and a host of American and European Liberals and radicals who have nothing to gain by taking an attitude of justice to the Negro. Only a knave or a hypocrite would argue the contrariwise. To be sure it is good propaganda for one who wants to exploit racial chauvinism for profit; but it is dynamite, which, when once exploded will work havoc in the land, spreading death and destruction everywhere. He who would sacrifice the Negroes' welfare by building up a tinder box of race hatred is not his friend, but his foe. Garvey selected this slogan of "whites against blacks" because he knew that the history and conditions of the Negro would give it some color of truth, and that he could collect more money from Negroes by pandering to their feeling of race hatred than by seeking to abolish it, the only rational program.

Now, out of this "anti-white man's" doctrine grows the subsidiary or corollary doctrine of "Negro First." Let us see how sound this is. Obviously for anyone to assume that he is "first" provokes a similar attitude on the part of everybody else.

If Negroes have the right to maintain that they are

first in all affairs, then the white peoples have a right also to maintain that they are first. It is a natural, protective measure. Take for example, a crowd of people going to a subway to buy tickets. Suppose that one person out of the crowd, regardless of his position in the crowd, states that he is going to be first at the window. What do you suppose will happen? Obviously, everybody else will take the same position. Suppose further that this individual is the weakest person in the crowd. What then? Simply this: He will not only not be likely to get his ticket, but he will be trampled upon, and perhaps killed as a result of his own blind, ignorant selfishness. This is fairly representative of the Negro group, should it proclaim the inane and silly doctrine of "Negro First." Being without education or wealth or power of any kind, it would be the victim of an irrational "race first" policy. What would become of the millions of Negro workers who are employed by white employers? But few Negroes are working for Negro employers. Already it is rumored that white employers are telling Negroes seeking work to go to Garvey, their "Moses".

Moreover, there is the element of education. Suppose all of the white colleges and schools of every kind, white professors and teachers of every kind should adopt the doctrine of "white man first" as a counter-irritant to the policy "Negro First." Is it not clear that the policy would shut the Negro off from the various agencies that supply a technical, scientific and cultural education? Surely no one will contend that the Negro schools and teachers are adequate to educate the Negro so that he can compete in modern life. In fact, this "anti-white man's" doctrine, if pushed to its logical conclusion, would prevent Mr. Garvey from even getting to Africa; for certainly it is illogical to assume that white men will supply the means of transportation to their enemy. And if the frenzied Garveyites exclaim that we will go in their own ships, I must respectfully inquire where are they? If the retort is, "We will get them," again I must query, "Where from?" The white people have all of the ships; they control the weapons of destruction, warfare. So, there now, Brother Marcus! Of course, these facts and arguments mean nil to this modern Magician of the Arabian Nights.

Other aspects of the "anti-white man's" doctrine are the establishment of a "Black House" in Washington, D. C., to compete with the "White House", a Black Cross Nurse, a Black African Legion and a Royal Court for the Reception of Fools engaged in the pastime of knighting the "insane". Some of the titled heads who will grace the Court are: Lady "V.D." of the Most Lowly Order of Ignorance and Nonsense; Sir "P." of the Extinguished Order of Spitoons and Mops; Duke "B.G." of the Most Obvious Order of "Nuts and Weak Minds."

And for the chief Mogul, Potentate and Supreme Psha! What shall we call him? I am amazed that he didn't have the gizzard to request the Imperial White Wizard Clarke to knight him as the Infernal Blizzard of Black Ku Kluxism and also to take his title of the Exalted Ruler of the Most Dishonorable Order of Skinners, Fakirs, Hot-Air and Buncombe Dispensers.

(To be continued)

BOOKS

A FRENCH NEGRO AUTHOR

BATOUALA. By Rene Maran. Thomas Seltzer, New York, publisher.

A friend once told us he would collect various parts here and there and build a Ford racer that would start off at 15 miles an hour. That flivver, if it were ever constructed, seems to us a graphic simile of Batouala.

This tale is swift, it is fascinatingly swift—the language. Figuratively, there isn't a semicolon in the entire book. Actually, there is only one in the whole first chapter. It hasn't time for such stops.

Maran is a master stylist. His description is livid vivid. But this is practically all that has made him famous. His theme is common. It deals with people of minor importance. This is a story of Africa—of white domination of Africa. It tells how the natives are butchered. Naturally this arouses our sympathy. We pity them—what more? Their case is but a corollary of the proposition of imperialism. To correct it means changing the organization of society.

We like Batouala. It is a book of art. It is worthy of high honors and high praise. F.J.C.

WHITE SUPREMACY

WHITE AND BLACK. By H. A. Shands. Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, publishers.

We have always "just known" certain relationships existed between white and colored people in the South, yet we had no direct, first-hand proof. We have likewise had certain questions in our mind for years that we wished to see answered in print—by some white man or woman. In White and Black we have found our cue. Both phases are so clearly set forth that we are willing to rest our case without comment.

This book is a mess! But it is true. It is a story of the race problem in rural Texas. It shows what happens when things are run on the principle of the strong over the weak. The only thing for the weak

to do is to clear out or shut up. F.J.C.

INTERESTING STORIES

THE VENGEANCE OF THE GODS. By William Pickens. Order from the author, 260 West 139th Street, New York City.

William Pickens' work is along the color line. As field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People he is constantly observing and experiencing all the bewildering phases of human conduct relating to whites and blacks in America which are ever on public exhibition. He has embodied the gist of these experiences in four short stories. They are clever, crisp, satirical. The wit is enjoyable; the subtle irony exhilarating. We commend this small volume as delightful leisure reading.

F.J.C.

Education and Literature

THE FUTURE OF WEST INDIANS

Concluding THE WEST INDIES

By J. A. ROGERS

Trinidad exports sugar, cocoa, cocoanuts, copra, petroleum and asphalt. The two last products give Trinidad a reliable income, and makes it the most uniformly prosperous of the islands. Situated at the mouth of the Orinoco, it is also a port of entry and exit for trade in the South American interior. In 1919 Trinidad yielded 64½ million gallons of crude oil. In proportion to its size and population the revenue of Trinidad is nearly three times that of Jamaica.

The chief export of Barbados is sugar. More than half its arable land is given over to sugarcane. Some cotton is grown. Barbados had a whaling industry, now almost dead.

The principal exports of St. Kitts, Nevis, the home of Alexander Hamilton; St. Vincent; Monserrat and Antigua is Sea-island cotton. British Guiana exports sugar and rice.

Dominica, whose principal export is lime, a citrus fruit, similar to the lemon, is another island severely hit by prohibition. In pre-Volstead days great numbers of limes were exported to the United States for use in cock-tails and gin-rickeys. Dominica exports citric acid, which is used as a fixative in calico printing, and for use in the Navy, as a preventative of scurvy.

The boom of the sugar industry in the latter part of the war brought a prosperity that carried a great deal of hardship in its train. The sugar industry had been languishing since the Brussels Conference in 1874 when England gave the preference to German and Austrian sugar over that of her colonies in the West Indies. The result was that most of the estates were either in ruin, or their machinery in bad shape. Then came the boom. The banks made great loans, machinery was installed at the time when it was abnormally expensive, and the industry was getting on its legs once more when the price of sugar tumbled downwards, leaving the planters with their crop and no market for it. The price of sugar is now \$62½ a ton. The producers insist that they cannot make it pay under \$75.

The possible competition of beet sugar from countries like Czecho-Slovakia and Germany with their depreciated exchange makes the situation still worse for the British West Indian planters, many of whom, with their estates heavily mortgaged, are thinking of giving up sugar altogether for other crops.

Another factor against the West Indian planter is that the United States give a preference of about \$40 a ton to Porto Rican sugar and \$8 to Cuban, thus crowding British West Indian sugar out of the U. S.

markets, the best in the world.

Major Wood, in the report already mentioned, in speaking of industrial conditions says:

"During the last year of the war and the two succeeding years, the West Indies enjoyed a brief period of exceptional prosperity. The price of all their products, except limes, rose to abnormal heights, big profits were made, wages and the cost of living generally increased, the revenues of the Colonies expanded, and the Governments seized the opportunity in many cases, of improving the pay of their educational and other services. This period of abnormal prosperity has been succeeded suddenly, and with great violence by a period of acute depression. The revenues are contracting and every Colonial government is finding that it is much easier to increase expenditure in good times than to reduce it in bad times—the same problem in fact which is facing the Government at home. Taxation, which was hardly felt two years ago, is now proving a burden upon industry as a whole, as well as upon all classes of individuals. Though the prices of imported requirements have come down they are not yet down to pre-war level, whereas the prices of the agricultural products have reached pre-war level and in some cases have sunk below it. Nevertheless it would be wrong to paint too black a picture of the economic outlook, whether in the present or the future. Taken as a whole the West Indies are standing the strain. There is little or no unemployment and thanks to the bountiful provision of nature, there is no real physical distress among the poor section of the community. In this connection it should be borne in mind that, except the sugar islands of Barbados, Antigua and St. Kitts, the vast bulk of the population consists of families who have obtained or can obtain sufficient land on which to grow enough to feed themselves."

"The real difficulty is that of the planter or proprietor who has invested in land and its equipment during the boom period immediately following the war.

"Credit which was given freely by the banks, during the boom period is now drastically restricted."

Constitutional and Trade Reforms

Major Wood has made most liberal recommendations to Parliament for the betterment of conditions. Among them are a lowering of the import duties; a minimum preference of \$18.75 a ton in the British markets in favor of West Indian sugar; and a greater measure of representative government in all of the islands. In Jamaica, for instance, he recommends that the elected members should be placed in a permanent majority, and that the governor have a re-

serve power to be used only in extreme emergency.

He adds: "Several reasons combine to make it likely that the common demand for a measure of representative government will in the long run prove irresistible. The wave of democratic sentiment has been powerfully stimulated by the war. Education is rapidly spreading and tending to produce a colored and black intelligencia, of which the members are quick to absorb elements of knowledge requisite for entry into learned professions, and return from travels abroad with minds emancipated and enlarged ready to devote time and energy to propaganda among their own people."

Local Race Problems

Both Jamaica and Trinidad have local race problems. The former with the Chinese and the Hindus; the latter with the Hindus.

After emancipation the slaveholders seeking the cheapest possible labor, imported East Indians. They were indentured for five years and paid twenty-four cents a nine-hour day. The Jamaican laborer got 36 cents. These East Indians were virtually slaves. The indenture system has ceased.

The question of the Chinese is more aggravated. About 5,000 in number, they have cornered the small retail grocery trade in pretty much the same way the Jews and the Greeks have cornered Negro business in the United States. With their superior trading instincts the Chinese merchants are driving out the Jamaican ones. They grow fat where others fail. The governor in Council, July 5, 1922, said: "The Government was fully resolute that the time had come when the Chinese settlement should not be allowed to increase in size." A literacy test will be used in an endeavor to keep them out. Emigrants to the island will be called upon to read and explain any fifty given words in the English language.

In Trinidad and British Guiana, East Indians constitute 33 and 42 per cent of the population, respectively. They are the backbone of agriculture. According to the report of Major Wood they complain of discrimination in the schools, and of having no voice in political affairs.

In Antigua and St. Kitts, the Portuguese have cornered the retail business, as the Chinese in Jamaica.

Annexation to the United States

This is a topic that provokes great bitterness in the West Indies. The mere thought of annexation is regarded with horror. In 1860, when during a period of unusual depression, it was seriously suggested that the islands be given over to the United States, the people were near the point of rebellion. In 1907, when an American admiral landed in Kingston to relieve the earthquake sufferers, he was very coldly received, and in the sharp diplomatic correspondence that ensued the governor was recalled. American visitors are received with that courtesy native to all classes in the islands, particularly as the former have money to spend. But annexation they do not want.

The case of Cuba and Haiti has but served to aggravate this decision. In Cuba before the war of 1898, Negroes had equal rights. Intermarriage was common. They took an equal part in the war of liberation. Many of the most famous leaders, as Antonio Maceo, were Negroes. American intervention awoke color prejudice. This resulted in a rising

of the Cuban Army of Liberation, in which Estenoz and over five thousand of his followers were slain. Race prejudice is an American disease, and like the Wandering Jew, the American spreads it wherever he goes. Annexation would mean an influx of Americans, who would at once side with the native whites and establish an aggressive white despotism. The near-whites, colored, and blacks would then be thrown together, and violence would undoubtedly result. The question as it stands is: "Which is preferable? Peaceful exploitation of the blacks by the whites, near-whites and colored, or violent exploitation of the near-white, colored and blacks by the whites?"

On the other hand the economic condition of the islands would be undoubtedly improved by annexation, something like that of the West Indian immigrant to the United States who, although he suffers more sharply from color prejudice, lives much better than at home.

Cuba and Porto Rico have benefited enormously from American intervention. In 1899 the total exports of Porto Rico was \$10,156,541. Under American rule it leaped in 1919 to \$150,811,449. During the same period imports have increased from nine to ninety million dollars. Cuba has shown a similar phenomenal increase. In both Cuba and Porto Rico exports now exceed imports; while in the British West Indies the opposite is true except in Trinidad. Both these countries have the advantage of American capital and they have enjoyed the greatest prosperity of their entire history under American control.

Proximity makes the United States the logical market for West Indian goods, and the logical protector of the islands.

Political Attitude of British West Indians in U. S.

The census of 1920 gives 73,803 foreign-born Negroes in the United States. The majority, say about 60,000, are British West Indians, the most of whom live in New York City.

Comparatively few West Indians become American citizens. Coming to the United States with a strong British bias and hatred of American color prejudice, they see the Negro Americans possessing few rights that they, the West Indians, cannot get. Indeed, a certain preference is given them particularly outside of New York, the more so if they have a smattering of French or Spanish. They see that even a newly landed immigrant, who is white, is accorded privileges that are withheld from the Negro America, and that late enemies in the last war, though they had each slain a thousand Americans, and made a thousand widows and orphans, have opportunities that are denied a Negro American veteran though he had saved an army division from destruction. Consequently they are inclined to look down upon the value of American citizenship, while their pride takes refuge in their British birth. But it is precisely because of this that the West Indian should draw closer to the American Negro, it is precisely because of this that a feeling of common humanity should prompt him to aid the American Negro in his long fight for liberty.

The facts to be taken into consideration are that the West Indians came here almost solely because of the pressure of conditions at home, and they have

found relief; that as long as they are here they are virtually American Negroes, being indistinguishable from them except by their accent; and that they will in all probability stay here for the remainder of their lives.

At the present time the Negro in New York is greatly handicapped in the fight for his rights because of the large percentage of West Indians who cannot vote. New York has the largest Negro population in the United States, yet in political strength it is behind Chicago with nearly forty thousand less Negroes.

The destiny of the West Indian Negro and the

American brother, as is also that of the white American, appears to be firmly linked. To the far-visioned and humane it will seem no different whether the battle against color hate and economic injustice be fought in the West Indies or in the United States.

[This concludes Mr. Rogers' articles on the West Indies. Taken together they compose his third book. The other two are "From Super-Man to Man" and "As Nature Leads".

West Indians and others are invited to write letters to our Open Forum department, commenting on the way Mr. Rogers has handled his case.]

Who's Who

THE MIRRORS OF HARLEM

STUDIES IN "COLORED" PSYCHO-ANALYSIS

By FLOYD J. CALVIN

WILLIAM PICKENS.—Formerly Dean of Morgan College, Baltimore; now Field Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

My office is two flights up. Of a morning I sat at my desk reading a newspaper.

Blam! Blam! Blam! came an unusually loud noise up the first flight. It kept coming nearer and getting louder until finally three heavy raps came on my door. I opened and greeted Prof. William Pickens.

* * *

I was walking down 8th Avenue at mid-day. Suddenly a colored man passed me running—bareheaded. No one else seemed to be excited so I quickened my pace to see what might cause him such discomfiture. By craning my neck and straining my eyes I finally saw him stop a man who was walking in the opposite direction, and begin talking earnestly. Evidently the pursuer had forgotten to mention something in a late conversation. I recognized the hatless man as Prof. William Pickens.

* * *

I was crossing 136th Street at 7th Avenue. I had just looked to the left and taken one step forward, looking to the right. Suddenly: *Honk!* and the wind of a five-passenger car fanned my face. A glimpse told me that the man at the wheel was Prof. William Pickens.

* * *

"Sure I'll lend you the books. If I'm not there when you call here's a note to my wife; she'll understand."

I called about 7.30 p. m. Will Jr. answered the bell. A strong bass voice yelled up from the dining table below: "Give the gentleman a seat. I'll be up in a minute."

* * *

Writing to Marcus Garvey on July 24, 1922, Prof. William Pickens said: "... In that you make a poor

deal: for twelve million people you give up everything, and in exchange you get nothing." "Everything" and "nothing" were capitalized.

Again: "I would rather be a plain black American fighting in the ranks against the klan and all its brood than to be the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan or the Allied Imperial Blizzard of the U. N. I. A." This whole passage was capitalized with italics.

* * *

William Pickens is probably the most prolific Negro writer not bearing the label of a professional editor. He has a zeal for giving his opinion on current events, and while he touches no dynamic and fundamental depths, his articles are, nevertheless, quite interesting. He exercises great skill in dressing the "surface" of our racial wounds, then speaks of his work so admirably you think he has eradicated the evil by purifying the blood!

* * *

GEORGE W. HARRIS.—Now serving his second four-year term as member of the Board of Aldermen of New York City, and Editor of the New York "News".

It was October, 1921. My brother and I were passing Mother Zion A. M. E. Church in 136th Street just as the congregation was dismissed.

"Why here is George Harris at church," said my brother.

"He's up for re-election next month," I returned absently.

* * *

"I hardly ever see the word 'Negro' in the New York News," said my friend.

"What do you see?" I asked.

"I see 'black race' and 'colored.'

"Does not that take us all in? An Editor has certain reservations of his own."

* * *

"Hello! . . ."

"This is Mr. Harris. . ."

"Why yes, yes, that article is right to the point. It hits the nail on the head, exactly. . . . I've been so rushed—in the heat of the campaign—I haven't had a chance to get it in. But it will come around all right. . . ."

"Oh yes, sure. Er, lets see—what paper is that you're with—*The Tattler*?"

[“No, the MESSENGER.”]

“Oh—h!—”

* * *

The Metropolitan Baptist Church was packed. Governor Miller was the next speaker.

"I know the Governor needs no further introduction after the flattering remarks by Mme. Dempsey," said Alderman Harris. "But I would like to

mention this *one* thing"—and he talked nearly ten minutes on as many different topics.

* * *

"Frank A. Munsey should be sued for advertising the criminal Ku Klux Klan," said the New York *News*. A short time after I read in the same paper a feature: "*New York Herald Praises Alderman Harris' Work for Harlem.*" [Frank A. Munsey is publisher of the New York *Herald*.]

* * *

Alderman Harris is by far the most intelligent and progressive weekly newspaper editor in Harlem. One has only to compare the publications for proof of this assertion. He has the rare faculty among Negroes to distinguish between his editorial and news columns.

T. THOMAS FORTUNE,

Editor, The Daily Negro Times and sometimes known as the “Dean of American Negro Journalism”

"Mr. Fortune takes the MESSENGER to task for to reply, that the only thing grav we respect is gray of Mr. Fortune's head and formed gray hair on the nothing about political science, about economics and however, that Fortune knows anything about the old

In the *Daily Negro Times* in November Mr. Fortune writes:
On the Republican Party's rebuke:

"The rebuke administered the Republican party in the recent elections will be appreciated by the fact that the voters of the country do not take kindly to President Harding's negative sort of character. . . . He is on the wrong side of too many great questions. . . ."

On Governor Parker from Louisiana coming to the White House:

"President Harding has done the unexpected thing. . . . He has turned a deaf ear to the hypocritical and siren pleading of Governor John M. Parker of Louisiana. . . . to withdraw his recess appointment of Mr. Walter L. Cohen to be Controller of the Port of New Orleans. . . . It is none of Governor Parker's business to interfere with the appointments of a Republican President."

On Homicides in Harlem:

"There has been a homicidal wave in New York City and in Harlem among Negroes, in the past ten days, that is not gratifying to our vanity, nor for our best interests. . . ."

On the Extra Session of Congress:

". . . The elections so far went against the Republican Party as to make it doubtful if such an extra session will have the confidence of the American people."

On "Scalping Dr. Du Bois":

". . . Mr. Garvey has characterized it [the N.A.A.C.P.] as the Association for the Advancement of 'certain' Colored People. . . . We find the Washington 'Tribune' has added to the characterization by Mr. Garvey by calling it the Association for the 'Advantage' of 'certain' Colored People. We have nothing to do with that. . . ."

On "Physical Miracles and Scientific Jargon":

"There have been many echoes of the articles. . . in the 'Negro Times' and the 'Negro World' on . . . physical miracles and the explanation of them. Much of the discus-

not respecting gray hairs and age. To this, we wish matter, most of which seems to have gone from inside outside of his head. . . . Of course, Mr. Fortune knows sociology. They are new sciences. We do not mean, sciences. . . ." —THE MESSENGER, July, 1919.

sion has drifted into the dryrot of scientific definition, which defines nothing, and conveys little meaning to scientists and none whatever to the average reader. . . ."

On the Ship Subsidy Bill:

"On the opening of the Special Session of Congress, . . . President Harding laid before it. . . . the Shipping Subsidy Bill proposition. . . . It has developed that a very large membership in the House and Senate are opposed to the enactment of the legislation to foster our Merchant Marine, . . . and it is doubtful if the measure can be enacted with this pronounced opposition."

On Senator Newberry's Resignation:

". . . Senator Newberry was charged with spending too much money to secure his election. . . . Limiting the expenditure of candidates for office, is a mighty good thing. It will make rich men spend reasonably and poor men spend nothing if they do not have to. . . . That is a great gain to public morality."

Writing in the New York "News", Mr. Fortune said:

"The New York 'News' has asked me to give it my views as to the causes of the defeat of the Republican party. . . ."

"It has been a common thing in our politics that when an administration fails to live up to the public expectation a vote of confidence is denied it. . . ."

". . . When we have organizations of the race wherever we are strong, such as the West Harlem Republican Club, . . . we shall get our honest due in party politics, and we are not going to get it before."

Writing on the same subject in "The Hotel Tattler", he said:

"The 'Hotel Tattler' is in no wise a partisan newspaper. But it believes that it is the right and duty of every citizen to take a personal interest in the affairs of Government. . . . The late elections teach us this much."

Referring to Lady Senator Felton, he said in the "Negro Times":

". . . We do not believe that any woman, black or white, has any proper place in the Federal House of Representa-

tives, or Senate, as nature did not originally endow her with the physical and mental qualities to do the work of man, and she has not acquired them in the evolution of ages, and will never acquire them."

* * *

"T. Thomas Fortune is a peddler of editorial slush."

—A. Philip Randolph.

"Don't stress the obvious!"—Chandler Owen.

* * *

Every time I see T. Thomas Fortune he is frantically waving his arms and twisting his countenance, seemingly trying desperately to prove something to whoever he happens to be talking to. He is a very earnest looking man. You would never think him insincere, to watch his gestures.

* * *

JOHN E. BRUCE

Associate Editor, *The Daily Negro Times*,
Contributing Editor, *The Negro World*

"Is Bruce with Garvey for the job or because he conscientiously believes in the thing?"

"I don't know, but I think its for the job." He was reading a newspaper and didn't look up.

* * *

John E. Bruce has the reputation of being one of the oldest Negro journalists still in the harness. He and Mr. Fortune are twin-brothers in this respect. Incidentally both are Americans.

* * *

This is Bruce at his best:

"The Negro has always been noted for oratory and music. I think there are more natural orators among us than among any other race, except, possibly, the Irish, who, like the Negro, have long had a grievance against the dominant races which finds eloquent expression whenever 'two or three are together' to register against the wrongs inflicted or injuries unredressed."

This is the other side of Bruce:

"Somebody has proposed a law to punish for murder, makers of 'kill me quick' or hooch, made in twenty-four hours, which furnishes work for undertakers. This meas-

ure, if passed, ought to result in the making of a better grade of hooch, by those at whom the law is aimed."

This is just plain John Edward Bruce:

"We have a parrot in our family from Nicaragua who swears and sings in Spanish, and we also have a black tabby cat which is half rabbit, whose original home is Philadelphia. The tabby is much interested in the parrot and has been trying to make friends with it for some time. The other day I let the parrot out of her cage for exercise. Mr. Tabby was playful, and in an unguarded moment turned her short rabbit tail in the direction of the parrot's sharp beak. I was writing at the time, and heard the commotion and immediately got into action, when I saw what had happened. The parrot had a half-nelson grip on the cat's tail, and the cat was making circles around the room like a pin wheel in a brisk wind. It was clearly a case of the Tar and Tartar. I finally succeeded in separating the twain, with a cane, and Tabby went into retirement under a bed couch. Polly cussed a blue streak, and then sang in Spanish. Afterwards she permitted me to put her in her cage, after bribing her with a cracker—where she talked herself to sleep. It was one of the most exciting races I have seen in a long time, but the running was chiefly done by Tabby, who is still resting."

(Quotations from the *Negro Times*.)

Bruce is gray-headed.

* * *

Every time I see John E. Bruce he is on the streets. He looks like any other ordinary man, except that he always has a newspaper under his arm or in his coat-pocket. (He sometimes has a cigar in his mouth.)

* * *

P. S.—Mr. Bruce is known to the Garveyites and readers of the *Negro World* as "Sir" John E. Bruce, K.C.O.N., ("Knight Commander of the Order of the Nile") I think. He was awadred this title by Mr. Garvey. (I don't know what for, or I would tell for the edification of the curious.)—Oh yes, I almost forgot: Mr. Bruce is also "Duke of Uganda"—whatever that means.

* * *

Next month: "W. E. B. Du Bois"—Learn of the man who sits in the 70 Fifth Avenue "Tower."

Open Forum

EIGHT WEEKS IN DIXIE

By FLOYD J. CALVIN

[*Mr. Calvin takes up his narrative at Memphis, Tenn., where last month's installment was concluded.*]

I thought once I had let my foot slip. I was in the Negro department of the Union Station and wanted to send a telegram to Little Rock, Ark. The telegraph booth was in the white section. Therefore the only way to carry out my purpose was to break through the barrier. Now I had been carefully avoiding contact with white people, but here I must go among them. I didn't know whether to take off my hat or not. After debating with myself my method

of procedure about five minutes I was still far from what I sub-consciously thought was a safe line of action, so I flung discretion and timidity to the wind, slipped my cane over my left arm, set my hat at a becoming angle, leisurely dropped my kodak to my side and went striding in as I was formerly wont to approach the box office of a Broadway drama house.

But suddenly there came a whistle and something instinctively whispered it was meant for me. I swiftly about-faced and there stood a languid policeman lazily swinging his club. He looked like the prototype of Stribling's Constable Dawson Bobbs (of

"Birthright" fame) imported from the rural environment of Hooker's Bend and elevated to a blue suit with a cap!

"Where d'ye think you are going?" he asked brusquely as he placed his arms akimbo and leaned back on the dignity and majesty of Tennessee law.

"I'm going here to despatch a telegram," I replied, as cool and as even as Charles Gilpin would tell of his Drama League dinner.

He eyed me up and down, to and fro, across, then up and down again. "All right!" he finally drawled. (I guess he at least decided that I was not late of Memphis!)

I quietly proceeded on my mission, even more dignified and impersonal than before. When I started out he was still eyeing me and I maintained my rigid air of indifference until I was in the Negro department again.

* * *

Saturday evening I entered "Mississippi: heart of Dixie". The colored people were a jolly lot, and I enjoyed observing their courtesies and mannerisms all the way to Tupelo, Lee County, 105 miles south of Memphis.

Tupelo is a town of about 5,000 inhabitants; 2,000 Negroes. Walking up from the station a great electric sign stretched across the street reads: "Welcome to Tupelo". A tall white statue of a Confederate soldier is just around the corner from the "Welcome", in Main Street. In a furniture store window Edith Wilson, one of our many jazz queens, is given first place in featuring her latest "blues." On up the street I go and pass the County Court House. It is a beautiful building, and to its right is the County Jail from which no Negro has ever been taken and lynched. Lank, shaggy white men peer through the bars and my companion tells me they are up on whisky charges.

I turn a corner and am in the colored section. There sits the residence of my friend, a neat, becoming bungalow—even imposing when compared to those surrounding it.

I spent five days at the home of Mr. William Kohlheim, a prosperous blacksmith, and his hospitality is still pleasantly remembered. There were the three fine meals each day, his Hupmobile for driving; his daughter, Miss Louise Delyene, on vacation from Lane College, of cultural conversation; his son for jaunts into novel places to satisfy my curiosity; his smaller children for play—and we just had five days of swell times!

Other young people of the city were glad to meet me. It is typically a college town among the girls—all go up to Jackson, Tenn., in winter.

I spoke at Lane Chapel, a big brick edifice, Sunday night, July 2, on "The Growth of Negro Culture." A goodly audience greeted me and while some manifested a real interest, it aroused only the curiosity of others. Rev. J. B. Stevenson, the pastor, showed much appreciation and in his closing remarks reiterated that he was glad to have changed the program from regular preaching services to that of a lecture.

The colored people have five churches, three brick; two schools, one a County Training, and a Public.

The races seem to get along very well in Tupelo. The Negroes "know their place" and keep it without

a word. But within the last five years, I was told, nearly all have left—"going North." The young people who are coming on are constantly thinking of what they will do "when I leave." There are no inducements to stay. The older folk, who were trained to nothing but servility, can somehow put up with their fare; but the youngish ones, who sit nine months of the year in college classrooms, are only biding their time until they can do better.

* * *

At 8.00 a. m., July 7, I was the only passenger to step off the "Sunshine Special" at Hope, Arkansas, 112 miles south of Little Rock and 32 miles north of Texarkana, Texas.

Here I went to the Shover Street High School four years and am esteemed as a native son. Here also I got my start as a journalist.

Hope is the most important town in Hempstead County. There is a population of 6,000—2,000 Negroes. There are two colored schools—the brick High and the Rosenwald (grade). The largest grocery store in Hope is owned and operated wholly by a Negro. Many white people are among his patrons.

* * *

The Summer Normal for teachers happened to be in session and I soon found myself at my Alma Mater to witness proceedings. Everything looked natural enough. I myself was the only new object about.

All went well until the County Superintendent, white, arose to address the teachers. He even looked like trouble was brewing. The first thing he said was, if there were any colored Catholics in the room who didn't want to hear what he had to say about Catholics, they might quietly withdraw. I was doubly attentive then; here came the true spirit of the South.

He prefaced his remarks by explaining that he had been thinking over the subject for two years and that he felt competent to speak thereon. Then he began, in all seriousness, denouncing Catholics and Jews. He called Pope Benedict XV the "dago daddy" of the Romans and charged that they "kissed his holy feet" when he died last January. He soared in eloquence and "righteous" indignation: "I tell you, colored teachers of Hempstead County, I don't want no 'dago daddy' for mine. I'm content with the God of my mother and father—our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ!" He then proceeded to enlighten the teachers. He told how the "dirty Catholics" were out trying to get Negroes into their church; dramatically showed how they were even elevating Negroes to the priesthood—"Why! up here at Little Rock they already have two colored [he wanted to say 'nigger'] priests out trying to drag your folks into this thing. But I know you people's record. I know you won't submit to such a thing. I know you will stand by your good, pure American white people."

He came out just where I had expected and I laughed. But he hadn't finished. He went on to give the history of the Jews: exposing their "iniquitous" love of "filthy lucre" from the earliest days down to the present, culminating in a grandiose exposition of their scheming, crafty nature, their hope of eventually controlling this country by manipulating its finances, or possibly leaguering with Catholics and Negroes—Lord! such a combination would be the end

of the Republic! What with the Catholics now censoring the news sent out by the Associated Press (always ridiculing protestant ministers, but never Catholic), and the cunning Jews owning the principal organs of publicity,—“Colored teachers of Hempstead County! I call on you to have nothing to do with them! They have even changed the *Bible!* They are trying to change the histories taught in our schools (haven’t you all noticed that?)”—and so he rambled on, waxing mightier and mightier, until he ran out of material and sat down.

I was surprised and yet not surprised. I hadn’t dreamed of meeting this kind of intolerance so rank and open, and yet I knew it was perfectly possible.

The teachers were apathetic. The Conductor remarked that undoubtedly the Superintendent was presenting facts. He smoothed things over as nicely as he could without definitely committing himself to the program presented, and we were dismissed.

But I was shocked again. When we began marching downstairs everybody passed under the flag and saluted—men and women. I thought to myself, the country is getting into a pretty ugly predicament when it has to force its citizens (subjects?) to be patriotic.

* * *

At the Normal I met Dr. A. E. Rankin, a graduate of Lincoln and Cornell; Dean O. A. Fuller of Bishop College, Marshall, Texas; Prof. R. C. Childress, State Agent for the Rosenwald Fund; and others.

* * *

Later I addressed the teachers myself and took pains to mention Benjamin Brawley’s new “Social History” and his book on the English Drama; Carter G. Woodson’s “Negro in Our History”; and stressed the importance of such books being universally adopted (except the Drama) for the use of Negro children. I was told this is gradually being done—the Negro child is being taught Negro history direct.

It was afterwards brought to me that the Ku Klux Klan was all over town, that anti-Catholicism was rabid and the anti-Jew mania was growing. But apropos of this were the facts that the one Catholic church was the only white church which would welcome colored communicants if they desired to come, and the few Jews were kindly disposed—one going so far as to tell me he would come out and hear my lecture if he thought any other white people would be present. It happened that this particular Jew graduated from Townsend Harris Hall of the College of the City of New York—where I had been a student also.

On July 12 I spoke on “How the White World Views the Darker Races.” There was no large crowd. The mass of the people were disinterested in such a subject, but the brain of the town were present and testified that the discourse was “practical and full of thought.”

* * *

At last I reached home—Clow—twenty miles north of Hope. It happened to be my birthday. There was the brass band playing lively tunes, a good old time country “dinner,” baseball, pretty girls, and other inviting attractions. In the evening I spoke to them on “Negro Leaders—Past and Present.” Such a shower of congratulations I had never received before. (I hadn’t felt so good since I was elected President

of the Current History Club of Townsend Harris Hall over two white aspirants, and me the only “dusky” member of the entire assembly.)

They asked me all kinds of questions: What do you think of the Ku Klux? Did you really go to school with white people? What is Socialism like? When is Garvey going to Africa? Do you think I could get along up North with all these children? Do you suppose lynching will ever stop? Will times ever get any better? Do trains really run under the ground in New York? Well won’t you smother in them? What does a radical look like? Who is Du Bois? What do they mean by an Anti-Lynching Bill? Where is Roscoe Simmons? Do you want to go to Africa? Aren’t you afraid to be down here?

* * *

For the next five weeks I traveled over Hempstead, Howard and Sevier Counties. I spoke at Nashville, County Seat of Howard, at Paraloma, in Sevier. At the latter I found much agitation over Garvey. They were reading his paper every week, *The Negro World*, and seemed to think that sure enough they would all be going abroad in short and that the European powers would fall back out of their way as if by magic. Their ignorance on this point was pitiable. For instance, upon invitation, I spoke counteracting this propaganda at St. Paul’s Church near Nashville. One venerable “back to Africa” sponsor arose and said that one thing he had learned from my talk was that there are more Negroes in the world than he thought (*he* happened not to have read of Garvey’s 400,000,000). Also that he didn’t know there were white people in Africa. He thought it was a wild country except (or with) the natives running about helter-skelter.

* * *

In the middle of July I was fishing on Saline River, “far from the maddening crowd”; in early August I was playing, seining, “muddying,” riding, driving. On Fridays and Saturdays I went to picnics and enjoyed ball games and girls; on Sundays I ate rich private dinners and talked of this and that. Watermelons, cantaloupes, peaches, pears, apples,—everything ran riot to pleasure me.

This was all at my country home. Misses Charlean Greene, Beatrice Farmer, Sedalia Hall, Queen A. Rogers, Annie B. Sampson and a host of others, together with their boy-friends, easily led me to forget Seventh Avenue and One Hundred and Thirty-fifth Street.

* * *

On Sunday, August 6, I addressed the District Baptist Association at Clow on “The Weaknesses of Modern Christianity.” My presumption and boldness were at first shocking, but the preachers recognized the wealth of information accompanying the bitter pills and swallowed them graciously. Such things they knew were true but somehow never touched on them.

The same day I spoke to their Sunday School and suspect that had I been a stranger they would have thought me sacrilegious. I was impatient with biblical dogma and scored the “old time religion” unmercifully. “But he’s young yet,” they said. “Give him a little time and he’ll be all right. That’s that *New*

York in him, I reckon. Thank the Lord he is at least smart."

* * *

Hope I made my headquarters, and was back there every few days to think over what I had seen and heard. But the social set claimed me. This was "city," you know, while all the other entertaing was "country."

My former classmate, Mr. Earl L. Smith, late of Hampton Institute, was my constant companion. My round began with a Lawn Party, conducted by Mrs. A. E. Rankin, and ranged through calls on Miss Mayme C. Hamilton (now of New Orleans Univer-

sity), special music by Miss Ozaree Hamilton (now of Bishop College), kodaking outings with Miss Willie Lee Johnson, late of Lane College, and numerous attentions from many others.

(Concluded in next issue)

[In his conclusion next month Mr. Calvin will give a thorough, fundamental, clear-cut analysis of "THE PRESENT SOUTH", and prescribe the remedy for the situation. See and understand the REAL state of affairs, Race Relations Commissions, "the better element", and general pussyfooting to the contrary notwithstanding. "The truth this time."]

A SYMPOSIUM ON GARVEY

By NEGRO LEADERS

IN late September Chandler Owen, Executive Secretary of The Friends of Negro Freedom, sent a questionairre to twenty-five prominent Negroes of America to see what they thought of Marcus Garvey. Accompanying the questionairre was a personal letter and a set of facts, which, it was hoped, would assist those who were not so well posted on Garvey's antics, in framing their reply.

The letter sent was as follows:

Dear Sir:

No doubt the sending of the human hand by the Ku Klux Klan to A. Philip Randolph, leader in the fight against Marcus Garvey, directing him to cease his attacks in his MESSENGER Magazine and immediately become a paid-up member in the Garvey machine, has brought forcibly to your attention the fight the Friends of Negro Freedom has been waging against the Garvey menace since last July. Associated in this campaign are Chandler Owen, co-editor of the MESSENGER, Robert W. Bagnall, director of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Prof. William Pickens, field secretary of the N. A. A. C. P.

The Friends are fighting Garvey because of his non-resistant policy toward the Ku Klux Klan, and because of his flagrant squandering of funds in his Black Star Line and other fantastic schemes.

Garvey denies that he is allied with the Klan, but does not condemn it. He says let it alone. He says do not blame white people for mistreating us. He says this is "a white man's country" and the Negro has nothing and should get out—"and go to Africa."

We believe this policy to be suicidal. We believe the future of the American Negro is here in America. We believe it only takes time to work out this future. We want to know what YOU think. Kindly use the enclosed blank for that purpose.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) CHANDLER OWEN, Ex. Sec.
The Friends of Negro Freedom.

P.S.—This letter is being sent to other prominent Negroes for the purpose of a symposium to be published in the MESSENGER Magazine.

* * *

The accompanying set of facts was as follows:

1. Last June Marcus Garvey held a secret conference with Acting Imperial Wizard Edward Young

Clarke of the Ku Klux Klan at Atlanta, Ga. He has never made public that interview although he promised to do so.

2. Shortly after the interview Garvey made a speech at New Orleans in which was this statement:

"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."

3. On September 5 A. Philip Randolph received through the mails a human hand, accompanied by a letter signed by the Klan saying he had better be a paid up member in the Garvey organization ("your nigger improvement association") "within a week." A second letter came September 12, postmarked New Orleans, from which the first was postmarked.

* * *

The questionairre was as follows:

1. Do you think Garvey's policy correct for the American Negro?
2. Do you think Garvey should be deported as an alien creating unnecessary mischief?
3. Remarks:

* * *

Of the twenty-five persons to whom the letter was sent, fourteen replied. The replies are as follows:

HARRY H. PACE
President, The Pace Phonograph Corporation
New York City

Replying to your inquiry concerning Marcus Garvey I beg to advise that I do not think the Garvey policy is the correct one for either the American Negro or any other kind of Negro. Mr. Garvey took advantage of the unrest among Negroes immediately following the world war when they like every other people were clamoring for new ideas and new things. He had enough semblance of substance in his doctrine to make them appeal to the unthinking, but everybody knows how foolish it is to think of any back to Africa movement. The whole scheme of an African Empire is absurd and is merely a romantic ideal with which to separate the fools from their money. Garvey has linked idealism with commercialism and has failed in

both things. He had a fine chance to be a huge commercial success had he continued his business as a business proposition instead of as a financial scheme. With the organization and with the start that he had he ought to have been a tremendous factor for good in the race.

It seems to me that it ought to be suggested very forcibly to him that he adjourn to Africa himself, taking with him the faithful who want to go and it would be much better for both him and those of us who desire to remain behind. He has already done untold damages to the race and has destroyed friends for us whom we never thought could be reached.

* * *

CARTER G. WOODSON
Editor, *The Journal of Negro History*
Washington, D. C.

Replying to your communication of September 21, I beg leave to say that I have given such little attention to the work of Marcus Garvey that I am not in a position to make an estimate of his career.

* * *

CARL MURPHY
Editor, *The Afro-American*
Baltimore, Md.

To question No. 1: "No."

To question No. 2: "No."

To Remarks: "I think the authorities of New York should see to it that Mr. Garvey's stock schemes are kept within bounds of the law."

* * *

O. A. FULLER
Dean, Bishop College,
Marshall, Texas.

To question No. 1:

It is absolutely incorrect, and too wide of the mark to be called really a policy, if what I have seen in print is the thing he is advocating.

To question No. 2:

I really do think that he is an undesirable citizen, if he can be called a citizen, and if not a citizen he should be handled for disturbing what may be termed peaceful relations that we are striving to establish between the races.

To remarks:

I have answered the above questions in the light of the information brought me through your recent letter. I have been too busy during the summer months to read anything about Mr. Garvey. I have read a few unfavorable comments in *The Richmond Planet*. I have not the information at hand that I desire. But taking facts as I have been able to see and get hold of them I am of the opinion that Marcus Garvey is a dangerous character. I think the American people can and will be able to settle all of their differences without any interference from abroad, such as Marcus Garvey is advocating.

* * *

W. E. B. DU BOIS
Editor, *The Crisis*
New York City

I have published from time to time my opinion of Mr. Garvey in *The Crisis* and shall add to that in the future.

R. R. CHURCH
Politician, Real Estate
Memphis, Tenn.

In reply to your questions of September 27 I beg to advise that my answer is "no" to both of them.

* * *

ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE
President, District of Columbia Branch, N.A.A.C.P.
Washington, D. C.

To question No. 1:

I do not. It is colossal in its folly.

To question No. 2:

I think not. The State and Federal laws ought to be sufficient to take care of him without resort to deportation.

* * *

ROBERT S. ABBOTT
Editor, *The Chicago Defender*
Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Abbott desires to acknowledge receipt of your favor of September 20th.

You will note from news articles carried the columns of *The Defender*, that we have kept pace with most of the information contained in your letter.

I think Mr. Abbott believes that Mr. Garvey's policy is not correct for the American Negro, and I am sure that he feels that any individual who desires to assume a position of leadership for American Negroes, ought to show his sincerity by becoming a citizen of these United States. The question of deportation, is one which I do not believe he cares to give an expression on.

THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUB. CO.
(Signed) A. L. Jackson, Asst. to Pres.

* * *

J. B. BASS
Editor, *The California Eagle*
Los Angeles, Cal.

To question No. 1:

I should say not.

To question No. 2:

Yes!

To Remarks:

I must heartily approve of the gallant fight which you are making against the pernicious propaganda of Garvey. The straw that broke the camel's back was his assimilation of the Ku Klux Klan. He has become a menace to the future progress of the Negro race.

* * *

EMMETT J. SCOTT
Secretary-Treasurer, Howard University
Washington, D. C.

I hold the definite and positive opinion that a too intensive *intra-racial* struggle is most destructive. It opens wider the opportunity for that *inter-racial* struggle which we all agree is the greatest menace from which we colored Americans suffer. Naturally our race must be and is divided into several schools, or groups of thought, each urging a policy which it believes strikes at a common wrong. What we need therefore is a more charitable understanding within and among our race groups. It is just possible and highly probable that there is much right and much wrong in all of us, which is treated with the alchemy

of *intra-racial* tolerance and mutual respect will yield a product most serviceable to the race as a whole.

The following are my thoughts with reference to the questions submitted by you:

1. In re Marcus Garvey's policy for the American Negro:

I do not for one moment believe that any benefit is to come to Colored Americans in the matter of seriously considering the Garvey suggestion of undertaking to set up a government on African soil. The international questions involved are too great and require no statement from me. There is not a foot of African soil not already claimed by European or other governments. I regard even the suggestion as a fantastic dream.

2. In re Marcus Garvey's deportation:

Our government was founded upon the principle of free speech and tolerance of individual opinion. However much I may discredit Marcus Garvey's preachings, I am disposed to be tolerant, feeling that the acid test of truth and time will prove what is right and what is wrong therein. We cannot wander far from the teachings of Gamaliel in such matters. Garvey has set men thinking, and nothing helps a race and a nation so much as serious thought.

* * *

THOMAS W. TALLEY

Professor of Chemistry and Biology, Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

I am in receipt of your communication of September 21. I am enclosing the data-sheet sent me. On its face will be found my estimate of all men of the Garvey type.

To question No. 1: "No."

To question No. 2: "Yes."

To Remarks: Thomas Jefferson, in penning the Declaration of Independence, wrote: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

This is pure unadulterated Americanism. It is the standard set up for and by our government at its very beginning. The loyal American white man and the loyal American Negro have joined hands in an earnest endeavor to bring the masses into harmony with this their rich heritage. There is therefore no place in the American thought and plan for men of the Garvey type who freely pour their oil of vitriol on men of one color while they pat the men of another color on the back until they can empty their pockets; and then, when they have emptied the pockets of these, wantonly appeal to the worst in those whom they have once abused with the hope of somehow reaping a new rich harvest through their chicanery.

* * *

JOHN E. NAIL

Nail & Parker, Real Estate
New York City

To question No. 1: "No."

To question No. 2: "No."

To remarks: "I believe Mr. Garvey's first program for economic organization of colored peoples in America was sound, but he has deviated considerably from that program and developed a visionary one without substance."

* * *

KELLY MILLER

Dean, Junior College, Howard University
Washington, D. C.

To question No. 1:

The redemption of Africa through Negro initiative and genius is worth the strivings of the race for the next half thousand years. While Garvey did not originate this idea, he has given it expression and emphasis beyond all others. It is difficult to disentangle the good from the evil of the Garvey propaganda. In so far as it stimulates Negro initiative and self-realization, good; in so far as impossible hopes may mislead the simple, bad. The movement lacks the practicality and freedom from the taint of suspicion to warrant adoption in its present form as a race policy.

To question No. 2:

I do not think that Garvey should be deported and am surprised that the suggestion should come from any Negro. I do not believe that any individual should be banished from America or put in the penitentiary because of his belief or the expression of it. I do not believe in the imprisonment, expulsion or suppression of ideas. Freedom of speech is the bulwark of the weak; suppression is the weapon of the strong. If Garvey's doctrines are false, combat them with the truth; if his dealings are devious, correct them with the law; if he misleads the simple, show them the more excellent way. But by no means should the oppressed become oppressor, nor the persecuted turn persecutor.

* * *

ROBERT W. BAGNALL

Director of Branches, N. A. A. C. P.
New York City

To question No. 1:

Garvey's policy is, in my opinion, a great menace to the progress of the Negro here and elsewhere.

To question No. 2:

Most decidedly he should be deported. He has already increased the friction between the races and race antipathy. He has also essayed to introduce the West Indian problem of color within the race. He has robbed many Negroes of patriotism by developing a cult which believes Africa their country, and America, "the white man's country." He has, beyond doubt, made an alliance with the Ku Klux Klan, an organization hostile to all Negro advancement here.

To Remarks:

Not only is Garvey a menace, but so is Garveyism. It fundamentally stands for segregation, the root of all our evils. It is undermining a quality which must be preserved in the American Negro.

THE ANSWER

(The Importance of Being White)

"A white worm and a black worm lived in a clod;
The white worm to the black worm wouldn't even nod,
For the white worm, you know, was the Chosen One
of God;

But along came a man with feet stoutly shod,
And both the little worms without preference trod,
Now, squashed together they fertilize the sod;
O dear! what a fate for the Chosen One of God."

JOSEPHINE COGDELL.

San Francisco, Cal.



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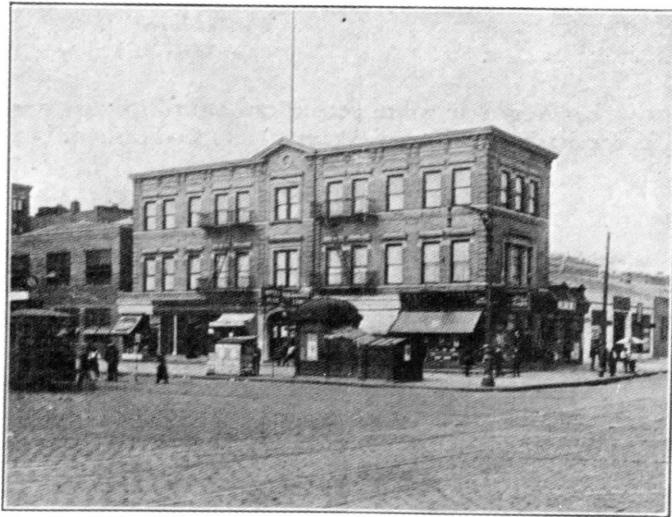
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Does this look like it is on the wane?

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- The Truth About Harding's Negro Policy.
- The Crisis of the Negro Worker.
- The Disarmament Fiasco.
- The Growing Revolt of Color Against White World Dominion.
- The March of Progress—Negroes Keep Up!
- Why White Leadership Is No Longer Accepted.
- American Imperialism

Education and Literature

- Training Negro Children to be Good—?
- Where Stands the Negro Church?
- Will Negroes Become Lynchers?
- Will France Become Americanized?
- New Problems in Medicine
- Ignorant College Graduates
- Why Anti-Lynching Isn't Popular
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