

SEPTEMBER 1923 15 CENTS

# THE Messenger

Volume V

Number 9

Brilliant Editorials;  
cartoons; Dramatic  
and Literary Reviews

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THE LABOR DAY NUMBER

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*from the*

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## Editorials

### Labor Day

The great mass of American workers celebrate the first Monday in September, though there are a number of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that celebrate only May 1st as the international Labor Day. For the first time in the history of the American Labor Movement, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, sends a message of hope, good-will and cooperation to the Negro workers through the only Negro labor organ in America—THE MESSENGER. It is also heartening to note the message of John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, one of the most powerful internationals affiliated with the A. F. of L. A change in attitude on the Negro workers is destined to take place in the American Labor Movement. It is inevitable. Enlightened self-interest will dictate it. Meanwhile, the progressive elements of black and white workers should cooperate to work for a constructive mutual understanding. To this end the message from the venerable labor leader, Samuel Gompers, and John L. Lewis to the black laborers, skilled and unskilled, thousands of whom are in their ranks, will have an incalculable influence in breaking down the prejudices in the minds of the Negro workers against

their white brothers. Albeit the message of Mr. Gompers is timely, for the tide of Negro worker-immigrants to the north is rising. It will be a menace or a benefit to organized labor in proportion as it is unorganized or organized. Let us hope that something comprehensive will be done in the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor to join the black and white workers in the common struggle for a larger measure of economic justice.

### No More War

A good slogan this for all. In many of the liberal, radical and labor quarters, it is being rung down the changes. But mouthing slogans is not enough, though its propaganda value is unquestioned. More must be done. The worker must be told *why war* for they alone can end war. Only those who are the chief sufferers from a social malady can be relied upon to abolish it. Crepe on the door, high living costs, widespread unemployment and sowing the seeds for future wars—wars that are far more devastating than the last, are the chief fruits of our wholesale, modern, civilized killings in the interest of backward peoples, smaller nationalities and world democracy.

It is to be noted with great interest and satisfaction that the British Labor Party led by J. Ramsey MacDonald is giving enlightened attention to the question of the "Next War." Either labor fight for world peace or another world war will destroy it. And only a world organized for service can be a world organized for peace.

### Coolidge

Calvin Coolidge is now President. The *Nation* says he is "President by virtue of a myth." Labor says he is a hide-bound reactionary. Some say he is so reticent nobody knows what he believes. When all is said the truth is that Mr. Coolidge is a Mr. "X." Hardly anybody knows specifically what he stands for on anything—not even on a policemen's strike, since his *stroke* came in Boston after the *strike* was over.

Our readers want to know how he stands on the Negro. Our guess is, "about like Harding." Why? Well, he made a Southern trip last year. Wined and dined by the bourbon Southern aristocracy he didn't fail to accept their point of view on the South's chief problem—the Negro. In Atlanta and Charlotte, N. C., speaking before Negro audiences, he shocked the Negroes of Georgia and North Carolina when he told them "the Southern white man was their best friend." How does he show it? By lynching, Jim Crow cars, segregation, disfranchisement and peonage! There are many implications to this statement. If Coolidge feels the South is the Negro's best friend, he will, in trying to befriend the Negro, act upon the opinion of what he regards the Negro's best friend. The logic of this situation then is, that the only way in which Coolidge can serve the Negro's best interests will be by acting upon the principle of trying to injure him—that is, by taking the opinion of his alleged enemies—namely, people other than the Southern whites.

We should give him a chance to make good. Still our candid opinion reads: "Coolidge is pretty cool on the Negro question."

### France and the Negro

"Money talks," says an old adage. It talks even in France where the race question is involved. Recently Negroes journeying to the French battlefields in vehicles largely occupied by American white tourists have been pitched out or beaten. The same experience has been reported in the American restaurants of Paris. Americans hate for Negroes to enjoy social equality in France. They are spending the money. They will therefore introduce the American customs as they have done in Bermuda where they are also the chief tourists. This arrogance and color prejudice are new to the French people. They have been accustomed to see Negroes in their private and public life. Several hundreds of thousands of African Negroes are enlisted in the French Army. Civilly all are equal in France—so much so that President Poincaré has ordered an investigation into the conduct of white Americans. The French government has reiterated its position that all must obey the laws—even American foreigners. If they are above the laws in Texas and Georgia, or Dixie in general, they will not be above them in the French Republic. To use the *Temps'* quotation: "We expect Americans to obey our laws on civil rights (whether they believe in them or not) just as we would obey their prohibition laws (whether we believe in them or not)."

A little breath of manhood on the part of our president would do wonders in smiting our race prejudice subject on the head. For instance, if President Coolidge whose reputation in connection with the Boston police strike won him the sobriquet—"Law and Order" Coolidge—would use a few federal troops to establish law and order at Tuskegee, in particular, and in the South in general, the Ku Klux midnight moccasins would quickly take to cover. Yes, a little French spirit would do much for real law and order in America!

### Germany

Chancellor Cuno has fallen. Stresemann has taken his place. The mark has fallen also to the unbelievable level of 4,000,000 to the dollar. As Shakespeare would say: "O mighty Caesar, dost thou lie so low?" Further and further does Germany go down the international abyss. Each day sees her less and less able to pay her international debts. The Reparations Commission may impose, but the impositions will be decomposed by the ever descending mark. Drunk with power and unconditional victory the allies set about to ruin Germany. Revenge is usually blind, blind indeed when the creditor attempts to destroy his debtor, oblivious of the fact that the destroyed debtor can never repay the creditor. Nevertheless, Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George, Orlando and Clemenceau mystically did this very thing.

Constant pressure will reduce the mark even lower. The grim specter of hunger and the gaunt ghost of anarchy are stalking through the land. They know no national, race or state lines. They mount the hills and leap the seas. Order must be restored in Germany or other countries will have to prepare for the same disorders. The hope for a better Germany is justice—a substitute of national good feeling and justice in the place of war passion, national hate or hysteria.

### The Negro Workers' Hegira Hits South's Prosperity

According to President J. S. Peters of the Georgia Bankers' Association, Georgia's loss of wealth from her farms as a result of the number of Negroes who have already gone North is estimated at \$27,000,000 a year, or \$250,000,000 in a decade. Says he: "This will be a tremendous loss in wealth to the merchants, jobbers, railroads and other business interests of the State." Sound economics, this! Why? Let Mr. Peters explain: "The Negro is the South's best source of labor supply because he will work for less, live on less and in cheaper quarters than any other people save the oriental coolie," he observes. Of course, this is too true. Such is the reason for the Negroes' wretched economic and social state in Dixie. But it can and it must be remedied. How? Through migration. As the supply of Negro labor is decreased in the South, wages will rise, rent will fall, concessions such as more and better schools, more teachers and better pay; better housing conditions; a more equitable administration of the laws (since it would be good business); the eventual abolition of mob law, the jim-crow car and disfranchisement, will be made. "Take up your bed and walk" out of the land of bondage is a sound economic injunction to our brethren in the land of peonage, Southern Churchianity and hookworms. And from word of mouth and newspaper dispatches, our group, in common parlance, is on its way, hoping for a new day. Witness the following:

A survey by the bankers' (of Georgia) association indicates that 77,500 Negroes have left the state during the current year. In the last three and one-half years a total of 228,938 have gone north. There are 46,674 idle farm dwellings and 55,524 idle plows in the state.

South Carolina reports a similar exodus. A canvass by the extension service of Clemson College shows that since Nov. 1, 1922, 50,000 Negroes had left forty-six of the fifty-one counties in the state. Railroad officials estimate that 22 per cent of the Negro population has moved north, hitting chiefly for Pennsylvania. Early emigrants are now sending for wives and children. Reports of the same kind come from New Orleans and Memphis.

Of course, migration is not our sole weapon. Education and unionization must also proceed *pari passu*.

### The Workers in the Ruhr and Europe

Seldom through the long, tortuous, bloody path of the world's workers has there been enacted a more tragic and brutal drama than the Ruhr Crucifixion. But with an overmastering, majestic, eloquent silence and passive resistance, they are facing the mailed fist of French imperialism, surfeited with pomp, pelf and power, heedless of the call of the world's conscience or of her own best interests to desist lest her mad and insane spirit of vengeance plunge an already bleeding world into utter ruin. Rule or ruin the Ruhr is the consuming passion of the bankers of Paris. To Poincaré, a wrecked, a dismembered Germany is a "consummation devoutly to be wished." Of course, the land, coal and iron royalty of perfidious Albion object, for does it not mean that the French industrialists will supersede the proud Britons in European economic power? This can not be if diplomacy (an adroit way of lying), or war can prevent it. Thus another war is in the making. Meanwhile the toilers of Germany,

France and Great Britain look on in sullen and ominous silence, checkered with intermittent angry mutterings, especially in Germany where the yoke of the aftermath of the war to end war bears most hardly, most cruelly; where the currency, the mark, has collapsed to four million to the dollar; where cabinets rise and fall in swift and appalling succession; where Monarchist, Fascist and Communist coups threaten the seizure of the German state. At this frightful chaos all the world is baffled. There is no Delphic Oracle which can predict whether to-morrow the land of Kant and Goethe will awake in the grip of a red or white Terror; whether a revolution or a counter revolution hangs in the offing. One thing, however, is certain. The old tottering order of imperialist Europe, festering in moral degradation, politically degenerate and intellectually bankrupt, is riding to a fall.

### Native South African Workers Awakening

The following news item speaks volumes for basic economic vision and progress for our South African kinsmen.

JOHANNESBURG—Ethiopian labor is supplanting white labor in South Africa, even at skilled work and the industries formerly barred to them. There is no denying of the Ethiopian's determined invasion of all the skilled trades. For instance, 80 per cent of the members of the Bakers' Trade Union are Ethiopians; and at Johannesburg there are at present 8,000 unemployed white miners. The doors of white unions are opening as if by magic to the touch of the native workmen who have laid down the ultimatum to white labor of "Open Up or Bust!" Natives are now getting into the engineering trade and are admitted into the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

We commend it to the careful reflection of American and West Indian Negroes who are sometimes wont, though erroneous apparently, to consider themselves the whole noise in the black world. It may not be amiss to observe also in this connection that we are in receipt of a journal known as the *Workers' Herald*, edited and published by Negro South Africans, which has an enlightened conception of the significance and value of economic action in the solution of the South African Negroes' problem. And it is doubtful whether they got their lesson and inspiration from the brilliant editorials of the sage of the *Crisis*, or the uplift musings of the average American Negro editor.

### Harding

President Warren G. Harding has gone. Food and worry killed him. Men of wealth and distinction usually eat too much. Then, too, they worry. Overeating overworks the physiological processes. So does worry. Constant worry is constant overwork. Consequently public men are usually overworked in mind and body which necessarily affects their digestion.

Why was Harding worried? His popularity was slipping. The World Court was on his mind, just as the League of Nations was agitating Woodrow Wilson. American men have not developed the international mind to any great extent. A few years ago it was Morgenthau who said: "There are not one hundred men in America who possess the international mind." So wrought up were both Wilson and Harding that they made a long Western trip. It killed Harding and wrecked Wilson!

It is gratifying to see our American men maneuvering into world politics—world thought. At first the new habitat will wreck and kill; ere long our men will become immune to such strenuous intellectual activity. Still before the habitat becomes too safe and harmless, we should be elated to see more Southern statesmen (?) take some of these fateful trips. For instance, would it not be possible to persuade Vardaman, Cole Blease, Hoke Smith, Hefflin or Pat Harrison to go West and get a crab which had been on land longer than in the water?

### Tuskegee

The controversy over who shall man the Veterans' Hospital at Tuskegee has recently thrown this town and school into the lime-light or the smoke-light. Much has been written and spoken concerning the Ku Klux Klan—a white personnel or a Negro personnel,—whether Moton should be in Tuskegee or away,—and the use of Federal troops to protect the Negroes and Principal Moton. We have not agreed with either side—we mean either the Negro or the white contention.

Human beings care little about logic, and less about justice. They are concerned chiefly about advantage. They are controlled by the "law of parsimony"—securing the greatest gain for the least effort. In this respect Negroes and white people are quite similar. In fact, human nature is uniform. Under similar circumstances blacks act like whites, and vice versa. The very truth of the Tuskegee situation is that there is a two-million dollar institution with an administration fund of \$1,250,000 annually. The whites want the money and the Negroes want the money. The whites want that million and a quarter so badly, that white crackers of Alabama are willing for white women to nurse Negro soldiers—even in Dixie! The Negroes want that money so badly that an organization like the N. A. A. C. P. (whose very foundation stone is anti-segregation) has demanded most vigorously that the Tuskegee Hospital be segregated!

What are the arguments of the various groups?

The whites simply adopt the crude robber psychology—"We want the money"; "We have the power to take it in Alabama"—whereupon the Ku Klux—Tuskegee's government—parades, demonstrates, carries on.

The Negroes feed the South its time (dis)honed fallacy—"Whites for whites" and "Negroes for Negroes." Say the Negroes—"You have Negro teachers for Negro schools, so you ought to have Negro doctors and nurses for Negro wounded veterans." This is opposing one fallacy against another. What the Negroes mean to say and should more plainly state is the following:

"The Veterans' Hospital should be manned and administered by physicians *sympathetic* with the Negro. Very few Southern white physicians are so sympathetic. Not many of the other kind will go to Tuskegee. On the whole, the physicians who measure up to that requirement will be Negroes. But we insist that every physician shall measure up to this requirement as well as the technical and medical ones. Moreover, we urge that the head of the institution shall be a capable Negro physician. This is because the head has the power to direct the subordinates. He can assign white and colored physicians to do special work. He

can keep check on doubtful white workers in the institution. And we believe they need watching. So interested is the Klan in the institution, Negroes suspect it plans through Klan surgeons to carry out the Klan's expressed purpose of sterilizing Negro males. (Probably the reason the Klan is so willing to permit white nurses to wait on Negroes!) So where a watch dog is so needed, he should be of those who are most likely to be injured and therefore, most likely to be vigilant."

One very able anti-segregation colored scholar said to us the other day the reason why he urged *Negro* physicians for the Veterans' Hospital was because Negro patients *only* could be admitted. This position does not seem tenable to us. Negroes only may be admitted to Virginia Union University, Fisk, Atlanta, Hampton and other Southern schools and colleges, but that *would not justify our request for the removal of the splendid white instructors and teachers in such schools!* On the contrary it would be abominable in principle—a distinct injury in practice to the Negro students.

Wherever possible the mixed method should be adopted—school, church, politics, stage, labor union, hospital, prison or what not. It is done on the police force and in the post office. It can be done anywhere—especially when there is a fund of \$1,250,000 lying around loose. Knowing the South as we know it, we say without reservations those hungry "crackers" will work under any Negro in the United States if that is necessary to get possession of that money.

Next, should Dr. Moton be in Tuskegee or away during the fight? We hold no brief for Major Moton. No pen has been more cryptic in criticism of him than ours. Yet we regard the cheap clap-trap of Ben Davis, calling Moton to return and die in Tuskegee, as unworthy of a decorous answer. If it were Moton's vacation time there was no reason for his remaining in Tuskegee. Better still we think his place is away. If we were principal of Tuskegee we would be in conference with the powerful white financial masters and economic oligarchs who own and control Tuskegee. They almost can control the President, so among them should Moton be working to bring pressure upon the

President. We do not dare say that is what Mr. Moton is doing; we simply say that is what he ought to be doing—what we would be doing!

Last, should federal troops be sent to protect colored physicians at Tuskegee? If necessary, yes. The hospital is a federal institution. The Ku Klux Klan controls the Tuskegee police, so they cannot be relied upon to protect the Negro physicians. We say, if necessary, yes; because we know something of the South's fear of the federal government. It remembers the Reconstruction Period, Grant and the Union Army. A federal agent is still highly respected and feared in Dixie. And if it believed either Harding or Coolidge would have the manhood hardihood to send federal troops, the mere threat or implied threat would be sufficient to call the Ku Klux bluff.

Here, however, we are called upon to explain what we believe was Harding's and will be Coolidge's policy. The 1924 election is coming on. Harding wanted the Negro's vote and he was nursing what Roosevelt and Taft tried to nurse, namely, the delusion that they could break the "solid South." Harding sent Negro physicians to Tuskegee. The Ku Klux threatened them. No protection was provided. The men were justly afraid, so left. Other Negroes will be sent. The Ku Klux will intimidate them, most likely causing their flight. After a while Coolidge will say, and Harding would have said: "I kept my word. I sent Negro physicians to the Veterans' Hospital, but they would not stay. There's nothing left except to send white ones now."

Such is the believed subtle "game" which Harding was playing. We believe it will be Coolidge's, too, especially since he has already announced his intention of carrying out Harding's policies. The Negro press, pulpit, and platform should herald the fact broadcast that they have penetrated the whole game! It should thoroughly warn the Republican party leaders to look out for a political slap and the G. O. P. (Grizzly Old Pirate) is shaky enough already. It is reeling with blows to which it will not add, if Negroes but make their demands intelligently and courageously.

New Negroes, "Up and at them"!

## SHAFTS AND DARTS

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Time: 1973. Place: Harlem, New York City.

Visiting Martian: Who were those fellows, Kinknomore and Facebleach to whom you have erected these great monuments.

Harlem Host: They were the gods of our parents. They solved the race question! —

His Maritime Highness, the self-styled Emperor of Africa, booms from the confines of his Centre Street abode: "Where are the newspapers for which the Negro Communists collected funds?"



MR. SCHUYLER

Negro Communists: "S-s-h-h! Newspapers, like steamships, are difficult things to float, and even we must eat—occasionally!" —

Imperial Wizard to Assembled Morons: "I tell you, Klannishness, the true American spirit is spreading. We should rejoice, Klansmen, we should rejoice. Even the talented leader of the black folks says the Negroes are moving toward a colored world and favors segregated schools." Assembled Morons: "Hooray for 'Darkwater'!"

Well! Well! Harlem's champion traducer of the N. A. A. C. P. salariat (having fooled the Black Klan into believing he can get the Provisional President out of durance vile), has wormed his way to the Imperial cash register of the U. N. I. A. It's an extraordinary agitator who will not succumb to the blandishments of the filthy lucre and a fat job! Is it now too much for us to expect a cessation of diatribes against the quail eaters, poets and literati of 69 Fifth Avenue? People who live in glass houses, etc.!

The unshelchable self-styled sociologist who has bored Harlem by his "conferences" this summer, must be given credit for one innovation. He is the first chairman in history to speak longer than the real speakers, criticize the views of each, and debate with all. Yes, he is not a first-class reporter!

The sleeveless dresses are a godsend. How could we distinguish some of our Negro maidens without them?

Negro leaders take notice! A simple formula for enlarging your membership has been supplied. Again we are indebted

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# Economics and Politics

## A Message to Negro Workers

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

*President of the American Federation of Labor*

With the Negro becoming a more and more important factor in the industrial life of the nation, it is of increasing importance that he be organized in trade unions, not only for his own benefit but for the benefit of all labor as well.



Mr. GOMPERS

If the Negro is not organized, he will tend to hamper the onward march of his white brothers and be an influence in holding back the improvement of the condition of American toilers in every state. In the past, the Negro has only too frequently been used by the employers to break strikes and to beat down wages in our

industrial centers. The Negro could not have been used in this way if he had been organized and infused with the point of view of the working people of the United States. Hence the vital importance of pushing organization work among the Negro workers of all trades and industries.

The American Federation of Labor is doing its best to advance organization work among the Negroes and it seeks the help of all forward-looking men and women in this task. The Federation is striving in every way to live up to the purpose repeatedly declared at its conventions, that of organizing all wage earners without regard to class, race, religion, sex or politics.

As I have pointed out before, Labor Day is the real Emancipation day for the Negro, for it signifies the dignity of labor and the organization of the working people, with their consequent ability to win freedom and happiness for themselves. As the Negro forms strong labor organizations, he will more and more win a real emancipation for himself and take his rightful place in the ranks of those who do the world's useful work.

You cannot afford to miss a number of *The Messenger*.

The Great Series of Articles on "These 'Colored' United States" is creating worldwide interest.

Some States in preparation are: Alabama, Connecticut, Illinois, Ohio, Georgia, New York, Texas, Massachusetts, Indiana, Florida, Michigan, etc.

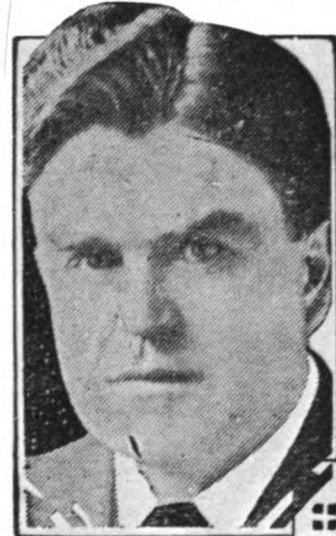
## Labor Day

By JOHN L. LEWIS

*President, United Mine Workers of America*

Labor Day once again reminds us of the greatness of the American labor movement. It is well that one day has been set apart in each recurring year as a time

when labor may pause and consider its aims, its purposes, its achievements and its accomplishments. And, it is gratifying to all of us that we may look back over the years as they pass and count up the many benefits that have accrued to the workers and to the nation itself by reason of the existence of the trade union spirit in America. Let us remember that without organization, labor would be helpless to express itself or to take its own part in the struggle against the forces that would destroy labor's



Mr. LEWIS

liberty. It is only through close, compact and virile organization and banding together for their mutual good that the workers get their strength to carry on this battle.

The past year has been filled with trials and vicissitudes for organized labor. A constant and steady attack has been in progress, commanded by powerful interests and influences, for the weakening or the destruction of the labor movement. Every conceivable weapon and means of industrial warfare has been utilized by the attacking forces but the flag of trade unionism still floats at the top of the mast, unsullied and unafraid. Labor has lost skirmishes in the past year, but it has won the great battle for the maintenance of labor's rights, until, to-day, it is stronger and more efficient than ever before in the history of the labor movement. Our enemies have learned in the last year that organized labor cannot be destroyed. They have learned that the trade union is a legitimate American institution and that the American public has given its full approval to the idea. We have made progress—rich progress.

What the next year may bring forth no one can foresee, but organized labor stands in favor of peace in industry. Labor desires that peace which comes with honor and through the application of the principles of fairness and justice. Labor will do its part to establish and maintain that kind of peace. Let us all express here and now the hope that this wish may be

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# WHITE SUPREMACY IN ORGANIZED LABOR

By CHANDLER OWEN

TWO decades ago it was Booker T. Washington who said: "In the South the Negro can make a dollar but can't spend it, while in the North the Negro can spend a dollar but can't make one." Here Mr. Washington was referring to the comparative ease with which Negro bricklayers, plasterers, painters, moulders, carpenters, and Negro mechanics in general, could get work in the South at their respective trades, but were so proscribed in their privileges of entering such places of public accommodation and amusement as theatres, restaurants, pullman cars, and the like as to amount almost to a denial of spending their money. At the same time he noticed that whereas the Negro might freely (?) spend his money in most of such places in the North, still there the labor unions had so completely shut out of the trades all but "white-black men" who could "pass"—to all intents and purposes the Negro could not make a dollar.



MR. OWEN

In all parts of the United States the Negroes are generally opposed to labor unions. They favor the open shop. It is not facetious to state that many Negroes understand the term "closed shop" to mean "closed to Negroes." Though such is not its etymological history, in substance the closed shop has meant just about that. It still means that in a large area of labor circles. This is true of the railroad brotherhoods and the machinists, who with brutal frankness have embodied in their constitutions Negro exclusion clauses. Many other unions lacking the written boldness to "write out" their black brother, nevertheless "read him out" religiously in practice. The machinists put into their constitution: "Each member agrees to introduce into this union no one but a sober, industrious white man." Part of this rule is not lived up to judging from the alcoholic breath which we have sometimes smelt at machinists' meetings. Still it was white breath!

## White Men's Jobs

Among the various methods employed for keeping out Negro workers many unions have combined with their employers in proclaiming certain lines of labor as "a white man's job." For instance, conductor is a white man's job. There is no question of efficiency involved here since all it requires to be a conductor is the physical power to clip and take up a ticket and a good memory. And every traveler will attest these are exceptional possessions of the pullman porter. He can and often does collect tickets from the passengers, while his memory is so excellent he can quickly take in and bear in mind over several days each passenger and the baggage which goes with him.

Motorman—street car, elevated and subway—is a white man's job. (Detroit is probably the only city in America which employs Negroes.) Yet Negroes make splendid chauffeurs. We submit, too, 'tis much more difficult to run an automobile through a crowded city like New York, Chicago or Los Angeles, where guiding and steering are demanded, than it is to run a street car, subway or elevated train chiefly down a straight track.

Next, railroad engineer is considered a white man's job. We cannot resist the temptation to tell an incident which happened about two years ago when the railroad brotherhoods were conferring at Chicago relative to calling a strike. Southerners, of course, were present. At one time when the strike call seemed imminent, Southern delegates from Georgia and Texas, mind you, rose and opposed it. Said these gentlemen: "*We cannot afford to strike, because my fireman is a Negro who can run the train as well as I can. In fact he does run the train most of the time. So if we strike the bosses will put the Negroes in our places.*" It needs no comment that if the Negro can run the train, and does run it most of the time, he ought to get both the pay and the name or credit for being engineer. At the present time Negroes get everything but the pay and the public credit.

Moreover, telephone operator is a "white woman's job." Telephone companies nowhere employ Negro operators in the exchanges. We discover no justifiable reason—certainly no efficiency excuse. Colored girls in New York frequently operate switchboards for apartment houses which hold a population bigger than many American towns!

Again, even the telegraph companies attempt to make the messenger boy service a "no-Negro" service, notwithstanding the fact that colored boys can run across a city delivering messages as rapidly and as efficiently as white boys.

At the outset I stated white employers and white unions combined in propagating the psychology of certain jobs as "white men's jobs." An illustration of this came to us a few years ago in the building trades. A Negro electrician went to an employer for a job. The employer informed him: "*We employ only union labor. If you get a union card we shall be glad to give you a job.*" When the young colored electrician made application to the electricians' union for membership, the union officials informed him: "*We take in only persons who are working on the job. If you get on the job, we will grant you a union card.*" Whereupon the Negro could get neither into the union nor on the job, because each party—employer and union—set up a condition which could only be met by the other.

## Negroes Lost Confidence in White Unions

It is obvious the Negroes could not secure or retain confidence in white unions so long as everything—from pretext, ruse and evasion to brutal frankness—excluded them from the labor unions. Naturally and properly the *man of color* decided: "*What care I how fair she be, if she be not fair to me?*" It is better to have *low wages than no wages!* The Negro quite sanely prefers a *lower standard of living*, in the open shop, to starvation, or no standard of living, as a result of the closed shop!

## Flirting With the Employers

Self-preservation is an instinct. All sentient organisms act upon this basic principle. The employers, understanding the psychology, have appealed to the Negro worker on the ground that white unions were



the Negro's enemies. Proof was never lacking: on the contrary, the evidence was abundant. For the paucity of instances of trade union fairness to Negroes presented by union advocates the bosses could marshal a plethora of hostile instances. Most Negroes could fall back on their own experiences. Nor was it difficult to make a test case in any city any day. (It is not difficult even now!) Consequently Negro workers were and are ever ready to take the places of union strikers. They are coddled by the employers and repulsed by the unions. White employers are, and to a large extent have been, the Negro workers' patrons, while the white workers have been chiefly their competitors. Patrons aid while competitors fight. One is your friend, the other your enemy. Everybody likes to get in a blow at his enemy, revenge being sweet. Add to this sweet revenge the sweetness of economic income and the blow is sweeter! The labor unions of America have frequently felt this blow. Negroes have participated as strike breakers in most great American strikes. They have been a thorn in the strikers' side in such big strikes as the steel, the miners', packing, longshoremen's, waiters', railroad shopmen's and other strikes.

#### Employers Put Negroes in Unions

In business there is first competition, then combination. From 1873 to 1898 was the period of large scale business in the United States. The period was noted for railroad rate cutting, clashes between the Standard Oil and other independent oil companies, steel, automobile, tobacco and banking "cut-throat competition." Then came pooling, monopolies, trusts, syndicates—"combinations in restraint of trade." Competition was said to be the "life of business." It was really the death of more. Each business tried to destroy its competitor until the process grew so wasteful and destructive that those businesses which did survive decided that co-operation—combination, peace—was better than competition, opposition, warfare. Businesses then combined—businesses which had done all they could to kill each other.

The world of labor is little different from the world of business. White labor has constantly fought to keep Negroes out of the industries—not especially because of a dislike for Negroes but because to limit the supply of labor would increase the demand for white workers, raise their wages, shorten their hours, and extend their tenure of employment. The unions even try to limit white apprentices, also white women. But one day along would come a strike. White men walk out. They want more wages, shorter hours—some demand the employers are unwilling to grant. The white bosses send out an S. O. S. for Negro workers. The Negroes reply as it were: "*We are coming, Father Abraham, hundreds of thousands strong!*" White employers take on the Negroes, not because they (the white employers) particularly like the Negroes, but *because they like black labor cheap better than white labor dear!*

Then is it that white workers learn the lesson of the bosses' disregard for white supremacy. They (the white workers) see the Negroes in the industries. The white unionists cannot get them out. "How can the Negro workers be made to help us?" the white workers ask. "Lo and behold! the thing to do is to take them into our unions where we can at least get

dues from them which will pay white officials' salaries in good jobs and help the union generally." And just as business in combining with its competitor does not do so because it likes the competitor any better (but because it could not kill its competitor), so the union white men in admitting Negroes do not do so because the white men like the Negro workers better, but because they could not keep the Negroes out of the industry—that is, they could not destroy their colored laboring competitors.

Herein we are called upon to state a truth which we have nowhere seen expressed in the radical and labor literature: "*The white employers and capitalists have placed the Negro workers both into the industries, and consequently into the unions, while the white trade unions have kept the Negroes out of both the unions and the industries, so long as they could!*" This question must be faced by labor leaders and organized white labor. The Negro worker may not be able to state the philosophy and the theories underlying the situation, but he is well aware of the facts. We have just returned from a long trip to the Pacific coast, during which time we passed through Topeka. Here the Santa Fe Railroad put in Negro shopmen, machinists, etc., during the shopmen's strike. The employers are keeping the Negroes in the shops despite labor union opposition. The unions are in a terrible dilemma. They cannot call upon the Negroes to join the unions because the unions exclude Negroes as members. The employers would no doubt discharge the Negroes if they did join the union. What inducement can the unions offer as presently constituted? And if the Negro workers are not right, wherein are they wrong?

#### Machinery and Labor Movement

There are two forces which capital is adopting today. Sometimes it moves the machinery or capital to the labor and raw materials. This is what generally happens as the result of imperialism in undeveloped countries like the West Indies, Mexico, parts of South America, Central America, Haiti and Nicaragua. Capital sends machinery right where the labor supply is overwhelming and the raw materials abundant.

The other method is to attract labor to the machinery, the raw materials and industry. That is what is going on in the case of the present large Negro migration. Negro labor, attracted from the South to the North by higher wages, is coming to the steel districts of Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Ohio, and Duluth, Minnesota; to the automobile center of Detroit; the packing districts of St. Louis, Chicago, Kansas City and Omaha; as longshoremen to the ports like New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston, and to the great industrial centers of the East and central West.

#### What Will the Unions Do?

The Negro workers at last are here. They are in many industries now; they will be in more shortly; eventually they will be in all. What will the unions do—take the Negroes in or permit them sullenly and inevitably to build up a veritable "scab union" ever ready, willing and anxious to take the places of the white workers?

We are face to face with a serious problem—the

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## The Mixed Union

### MERITS AND DEMERITS

By WILLIAM D. JONES

*Secretary, Philadelphia Longshoremen's Union*

**A**T this period and time when the world is in a condition of dissatisfaction and the cost of living is high, it is absolutely necessary that all workers, regardless of color, should join together in one solid union, in order that they may obtain better living and working conditions, and better support their families.

The Negro is a large factor in American industry. But the trade unions have been shortsighted in not admitting the Negro to membership, and by so doing have forced themselves into the conditions that exist at the present time—into the hands of the employers, who are forcing the open shop, and when necessary, using the Negro for that purpose.

The reason why the Negro has not been admitted to membership in the trade unions is on account of that distinguished slogan: Americanism. It is translated into what is better known as American race prejudice.

The merits of the mixed union are: that it eliminates the feeling of prejudice among the workers and establishes a congenial and most cordial feeling; it teaches each one that all have each other's interests in common; that they can maintain for themselves the best wages and working conditions only so long as they do not allow themselves to be divided. This equality has nothing to do with private social intercourse as has been stated by the employers to keep the workers divided. There is nothing to hinder an individual from selecting his or her social group or personal associates. The sooner the workers learn that they are workers, and that all workers are the same in the employers' eyes, the better off they will be. The sooner they learn this, the sooner will they attain a higher plane of living for themselves and families. There is no way to accomplish such an end as long as the workers are divided on national and racial lines.

It is an undeniable fact that the employers will use one race or one group of workers to defeat the other group. Whenever the employers are successful in destroying the benefits achieved by the most advanced group by using the other group, they also destroy the chances of both groups for advancement. In so doing they succeed in lowering the standard of the workers to a level of poverty.

As long as the workers allow themselves to be used, one group against the other—preventing each other from maintaining a high standard of living—they will not be successful in accomplishing those high ideals and better things for which the human race craves. Not until all the workers are united into one union—and that union will see that each worker's rights are protected regardless of race or nationality—will the working class advance to that higher standard of living.

Mixed unions are the only kind for the workers in this country. They will frustrate the attempts of the employers to use one race against the other. The workers become more interested in each other, and in so doing establish the very key to the situation: Solidarity. Wherever solidarity exists the object, victory,

which is in view is sure to be accomplished. Having had personal experience in a mixed union for the past ten years, the writer is in a position to know that within that time the members succeeded in advancing their wages and bettering their working conditions to the point where they were the best paid of all unions that are in the same industry in this country. This was on account of solidarity and proves the merits of the mixed union.

Now as to the demerits of the mixed union. In mixed unions there often arises internal controversy, especially when the epithet ("nigger") is used which is the pride of Americans. This usually occurs when they want to take advantage of the other fellow. For instance, if something occurs that is to the advantage of one group and not to the other, there is jealousy and dissatisfaction, with the less fortunate group contending that discrimination has been used. This will keep up an eternal controversy. The best way to overcome such a condition is to use a mixed working force. Especially in selecting officers should this be done.

The writer does not believe in any Negro union that is not part of some craft or industrial union, unless it is in some of those loving states that make it a crime for a Negro to look at a white man or sit beside him. The workers should learn that such laws are to keep them divided and are a special benefit to the capitalist class. Wherever such laws exist the workers themselves should remove the condition by a joint committee composed of both races, if possible. There is no advantage to the Negro in being in a separate union. It is true that he would do his own bidding, and, should he receive the largest percentage of the work, there is no doubt that it would be the most laborious kind in the industry. He would be expected to produce more than the white unions and take a smaller wage.

One can readily see that would give the employer the opportunity to defeat both unions and in so doing would benefit only himself. The fact is that all Negro unions are failures, just the same as a craft union. The advancement of labor at this period must be along industrial lines if labor is to receive a fair percentage of the industrial product. In order that the Negro, who is a strong factor in the industrial market to-day, may receive a fair consideration for his labor, he must be in mixed unions. Wherever a Negro union exists there should be efforts made to work in conjunction with the other unions to bring about energetic action to obtain higher wages and better working conditions for themselves.

Black and white labor to-day is learning more about their increased power when closely united to gain greater concessions under the present conditions. It is to be hoped that in the near future all labor will be united for one common cause. It is an undeniable fact that all labor has something in common: a desire for a higher standard of living. This can only be attained through interracial solidarity in the mixed union.

On July 1st, 1923, Mr. John T. Gibson, of Philadelphia, donated the Dunbar Theater to the Friends of Negro Freedom for a mass meeting against segregated public schools.

## "A CALL FROM MACEDONIA"

By CLEMENTS KADALIE

*Editor of "The Workers' Herald," General Secretary, Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa, and South African Correspondent of THE MESSENGER*

MY comrade and brother, the editor of THE MESSENGER has deemed it wise to ask me to act as South African correspondent to this indispensable New-Negro-Thought magazine, with a view to keep informed the black workers of America of the course of events in South Africa and the continent as they affect the native African. The request is complimentary and timely, and in view of the fact that I am aware that the bulk of organized labor in the United States celebrates the first Monday in September as Labor Day, I shall take my first opportunity to inform my comrades across the great expanse of the



MR. KADALIE

Atlantic of the struggles, obstacles, failures, and success, also torment, surrounding the African workers in the "Dark Continent." I need not then hesitate to appropriately name my article "A Call from Macedonia," for if I shall pen of our struggles, obstacles, failures and success, also torment, I am fully

aware that these will be told in such a thrilling way that they shall bear a message and a direct challenge to enlightened American Negro labor.

Africa has long been pictured to the outside civilized world in terms of heathenism and savagery, yet it is not my intention to review this question at present. Dating far back to 1486, South Africa has a political history; when the adventurous Diaz, the friend and contemporary of Columbus, seeking a waterway to the riches of India, sighted the Cape of Good Hope. But I venture to state that the romance of the African toilers has never been written gallantly so as to create attention in the outside organized labor world, more particularly to reach kinsman and brother, the American Negro. The fact that the writer is an African native, born somewhere in the interior of the great continent, where once upon a time it was believed to be the hell of the white man, and that he is at the age of twenty-nine engaged in the economic struggle on behalf of the millions of African workers, surely ought to be sufficient evidence to our comrades in the United States of America, that the "African has ceased to be a child among nations, attained manhood and must now recognize his responsibilities and obligations both to the race now living and those yet to be born. For we die unto ourselves, but we live for posterity."

It was in the year 1909 when the Union of South Africa was created embracing four large provinces. That year is looked upon as a curse by the political leaders of my race. Because it was then the white race of this country accelerated the spirit of selfishness, that instead of declaring that "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights," etc., they inserted a blot in the South African Constitution, that the black man shall be the hewer of wood and drawer of water. Since the inauguration of the Union of South Africa, our Parliament has entered in the Statute Book many laws, most of which have worked havoc with our progress.

As a result of our political disintegration and troubles, there were several associations formed with a view to free ourselves from that serfdom. The writer can recall the trouble in the mines of the Transvaal in the earlier part of 1918, when the African workers marched in thousands, determined to suffer affliction and bayonet rather than carry a "pass" (identification certificate) in a British Dominion, knowing full well that they were not Cain, the criminal who murdered his own brother. In the provinces of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, the African, male and female, are forced by law to carry a pass, so that they are not free to move about in the land of "our forefathers." This system is forced upon educated and uneducated, professional and non-professional Africans. In the pass struggles of 1918 many Africans were brutally shot down and arrested. The South African Native National Congress, now known as the African National Congress, directed the operation.

Although the last Great War manifested the brutality of mankind, one could credit it also that it visualized in the minds of nations a phenomenon of a millenium, and, as ex-President Wilson declared, the heroes fought "to make the world safe for democracy." This clarion call of the Allies became universal, workers of every land responded to it. The African native did his share and through his patriotism to the British Empire he gave all his worth. Thus the Allies won the war in late German East and West Africa. The armistice relieved humanity of the task of slaughtering itself, but was it really the dawn of a world safe for democracy? Instead of witnessing the fulfillment of those numerous promises made to the heroes, we heralded industrial strifes in every country. Workers have been deceived, and here in the richest continent in the world, employers of labor and the various Colonial British Governments had to continue to exploit the aboriginals. We felt the economic oppression, far more drastic in its effects than the former system of chattel slavery. We learned the industrial weapon, hence in January 17th, 1919, sprung up the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, a great labor organization of black men and women, striving for better treatment and higher wages. In some measure we have succeeded, but at the cost of blood and suffering.

The industrial weapon was first exercised in these parts in Bloemfontein, the capital city of the Orange Free State, a province under the domination of the Boers. These Boers are the offshoot of the original Dutch or Hollander, and the majority of them are lacking in culture and refinement. Public opinion, as one of the most powerful social solvents counts for little, with the mass of the Boers. Although there was no actual industrial union at the time, the African workers in the city of Bloemfontein made an attempt in April, 1919, for higher wages. The result of this attempt was that Mr. H. Selby-Maimang, late organizer of the I. C. U., who was the leader of the movement was arrested. A spirit of comradeship and brotherhood prevailed in this struggle inasmuch as my

union, the only properly organized labor union at the time, although in its infancy, came to the financial rescue. The leader was released.

This arrest was the beginning of greater industrial activities amongst the African workers. Although our chief obstacles here are our various native languages and also the uncultured state of mind of the many thousands of the race, the year 1919 proved to us that we were about to surmount these difficulties. The two provinces, the Cape Colony and the Orange Free State, were first organized in modern industrial unions. The campaign was actively begun in the Cape Province; Cape Town was the seat of industrial agitation. The Cape Town dock strike at the close of the year 1919, which lasted over three weeks, was truly the birth of a working class consciousness amongst the African workers. It was significant by the fact that we realized our own power when industrially organized and intelligent. Another significance of the Cape Town dock strike was that it created a new theory of race consciousness in that both the native and colored people realized, so to say, that no victory could be accomplished by either in the struggle for existence unless they had accepted in toto the fact that as workers and exploited they share in common in all their sufferings, and as such a united front had to be presented. (The colored man of South Africa is generally the offspring of the European of different nationalities, and the Hottentot and African native. He numbers six hundred thousand in South Africa. He has always been led and controlled by the European, both in church and state. He has no conception of, and cannot comprehend the reason for, the American Negro's pride of race. In short, the colored man of South Africa is what is termed "mulatto.")

During the three weeks of this great strike which involved about 8,000 workers, the organized employers, backed by troops, did all they could to break the combination of the workers, but on the contrary they cemented it. It was indeed a triumph of modern trade unionism—"The right to strike," the birth of an outstanding propaganda of a great Labor Organization of the African workers that abides for future years.

The opening of the year 1920 was the landmark of genius and determination. The writer, who could very well claim to be the founder of the I. C. U. and the director of the Cape Town dock strike, was picked out as an "agitator" by the authorities. He had to choose whether he was going to serve his race and the class he represents, the working class, or the authorities. These were his alternatives. As will be pointed out later in these columns he pursued the path of duty and served his race and the working class.

Indeed the agitation was on and in full swing. The first labor convention of the African workers was convened in Bloemfontein in July, 1920. We were now getting ready to deal with the labor question as it affected our people. We began to draw the attention of the employers of labor and the Government. It has always been followed in any reform movement, that the oppressors—the capitalists—will engage the services of a few individuals amongst the oppressed to retard the forward movement. This was evident in our first conference where fifty delegates met belonging to the various tribes, because we could come to no proper understanding to launch out a "One Big

Union" movement. It was no less discouragement to the determined ones, however. It was only a temporary setback. Three weeks after this conference new demands were circularized to the employers of labor on behalf of the workers. On the Cape Town docks African workers were being paid at that time at the rate of 4/ per day, we demanded 8/ for the laborer, 9/ for the winchman and 12/6 for the foreman per day, respectively. The Government attempted to make some more bluffs, the private employers had learnt a lesson from the dock strike and were convinced that we meant to fight, since it was but eight months before that we testified our ability. A conference between the employers including the Government representatives and the I. C. U. representatives was convened, the writer numbering amongst the three workers' delegates. We ably represented the case of the workers without compromise. We won. Our demands were granted and this was the first attempt when in the history of the Union of South Africa, the black workers had scored a victory over their masters.

The news of this victory flashed to other cities. Port Elizabeth was the next center that followed to demand an increase in wages. The local authorities had intervened, ignoring the explosive warnings. Before a strike which was set for November 3, 1920, was called out, Mr. Samuel M. Masabalala, the leader of the workers, was brutally arrested on Sunday morning, October 23, 1920, the blackest day in the African labor movement. The members of the union, men and women, gathered together on that Saturday afternoon and passed a resolution to bail their leader. Determined as they were, with sufficient funds, they marched to the local police headquarters, in a peaceful manner, for that purpose. The request was ignored. What a serious blunder was made by the local authorities! Twenty-three workers were shot dead on the spot. Men and women were wounded, some of them maimed for life. War was declared on these unarmed black workers. Men and women were murdered in cold blood in that thoroughfare—Market Square, Port Elizabeth. They were removed to the graveyard. Above their graves comes a sound as voices of many waters that moan like mighty autumnal winds, yet lip the lightning through the soul in deathless song to tell the toiling masses of Africa:

"We are the dead, short days ago  
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow—  
Loved and were loved, and now we lie—  
In trenched graveyard. Take up our quarrel  
With the foe. To you from falling hands we  
Drop the torch. Be yours to hold it high.  
If ye break faith with us who die—we shall not sleep—  
Though poppies grow in graveyard."

The I. C. U. became militant and outspoken, denounced the shooting as unjustifiable, and championed the cause of the Port Elizabeth workers. The authorities were determined to suppress industrial movements of the African workers. This was clearly shown while we were mourning for our comrades at Port Elizabeth. The writer was placed under arrest for deportation back to East Central Africa where he was born, and was marked in Government circles as responsible for this new awakening. When the authorities had made this bombshell for my deportation, the members of the I. C. U. had shown the spirit of com-

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# Education and Literature

## THESE COLORED UNITED STATES

### V. MISSISSIPPI—HOME OF "SUN-KISSED" FOLKS

By J. EGERT ALLEN

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

TO those who have been fortunate enough to read Shapd's "Black and White," a description of conditions in Texas, Stribling's "Birthright," portraying the acute situation in Tennessee, and Clement Wood's "Nigger," openly denouncing the rottenness in Alabama, Mississippi may be described as the embodiment of all.

This home of "sun-kissed" folks can be found in the southwestern section of our group of Southern states. Its area consists of over 46,000 square miles and a population of approximately 1,800,000. Her citizens have applied the cognomen "Magnolia State" to their earthly paradise and solemnly declare that you can be lulled into the arms of Morpheus by the sweet-scented evening breezes and awakened in the morning by the silver-toned mocking-bird.



MR. ALLEN

The climate is rather constant. Summer extends until October oftentimes. In late September many flowers are in full bloom. Last Thanksgiving Day a year ago, a party was motoring through the country from one village to another and all were in shirt and waist sleeves. It was so strange to a New Yorker in the group that she had to wire this bit of information home.

Very little snow falls during the Winter but a tremendous amount of rain falls throughout the year and causes rivers and creeks to swell and oftentimes overflow the surrounding country.

There are two principal geographical divisions of the state; the Prairie or higher level and the famous "Delta" or lower section. The great majority of "sun-kissed" folks live in the lower regions. A decided contrast can be seen in the people of each division. They differ *inter se* in language, customs and institutions.

The Delta region is truly one of the wonders of the age. The majestic "Father of Waters" sweeps along a wide area in his final dash to the Gulf and has deposited rich layers of sediment that have meant millions of dollars to the Cotton Kings of the State. The huge concrete line of levees extends the length of the State to assist in keeping the waters in the proper channel, and just the word "levee" has been the source of many songs, plantation melodies and tunes dedicated to the "sun-kissed" laborer.

The oceans of cotton fields, bedecked here and there

with cabins, are the daily scenes of our "sun-kissed" folks. The White House of the master with its barns, out-houses and commissariat, is the nearest thing to a village that some of these toilers have ever known. Many instances of people attaining the age of seventy-five, without ever riding on a train or visiting a town, can be shown.

One oasis in the desert can be found in the little "sun-kissed" town of Mound Bayou. Situated in the heart of the Delta, it stands as a monument of inspiration and hope for the Negro youth of that "weary land."

The "sun-kissed" Mayor will invite you into his court; the "sun-kissed" banker will discuss finance with you; the "sun-kissed" postmaster, ticket agent, telephone operator, merchant, and druggist will all welcome you, and the "sun-kissed" marshal will march you off to the "sun-kissed" caboose if you do not wish to receive the welcome!

The chief product of the State is cotton. It grows up to the doorstep. The "sun-kissed" folks are trained against diversification in farming. An amusing incident is always seen in this fertile country when one beholds carloads of corn from Ohio and Iowa standing at the station. Then a wagon drawn by two husky mules draws near and fills up, then stops at the store for a "side" of meat and finally wends its way homeward. In spots, potatoes, peas, tomatoes and alfalfa are grown, but all are limited. All worship cotton and buy food out of the store instead of raising it.

In the Delta region, six of the seven coaches attached to the regular trains are used by "sun-kissed" folks. One for whites. That has been the ratio of white and black. But to-day, the situation is changing. Mississippi no longer has a larger "sun-kissed" population. In two decades the percentage has decreased from 58.2 per cent to 48.8 per cent. Other races catered to this race and even forgot some of their jealously guarded Jim-Crow laws. In many drug stores all races drank at the same soda fount! But in the Prairie region, such an act would be considered an unpardonable sin.

The social and religious life is inseparable in Mississippi. The church is the social center. Poor housing conditions often prevent much home social life. Families of ten live in two rooms. Such congestion barely leaves space for anything else than eating and sleeping and many will wonder how that is done. Many ignorant preachers are found there as well as in New Jersey and North Carolina, and many of the services degenerate into vaudeville before they are over.

The church is the great show-place for clothes and

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## A PLATFORM FOR BLACK AND WHITE

By WILLIAM PICKENS

HERE in the United States, in one corner of our little planet, live the children of many races—of practically all races. Two of these races are here in large and imposing numbers. There are more than ninety million people of what we call the White Race, and more than twelve millions of variously mixed blood and known as Colored. It would seem to be but a commonplace statement of common sense that these two major groups should aim to be mutually as kind and helpful and in all things as happy as is possible in this little corner of the great universe of worlds.



MR. PICKENS

We are only a small group of small beings in a small world, when we look out upon the vast spaces and the eternities of God. Our own sun which gives us light and life, makes us dwindle into insignificance by comparison, and even this sun is a small thing beside those vaster, further suns. We do not see a star, not even the nearest star; we see only the light which started from the star perhaps hundreds of years before we were born and which is just now reaching the end of its inconceivably swift journey. An aviator flying at the rate of two hundred miles an hour could circle the earth, our little home, in about five days. But there is a mighty star in the heavens which is so vast a world, that if an aviator traveled at the same rate of speed around it, he must fly, not five days, but five million years. And there is no reason to suppose that this world, which is within the measure of man's mind, is the biggest of the worlds. Yet in our heavens it looks like a point of light—so far removed are we from the greater works of God.

If these big worlds had consciousness, we should seem to them inconceivably small. And our envies and strifes; our hates and wars; our very small differences, and our petty, heart-burning differentiations, would seem—O *how* ridiculous! Then what can God think? For God is vaster than all these worlds and more conscious than all their combined consciousness. What, then, does He think of our follies, our egotisms and our deeds?

The selfish purpose which seems so important and so vital to us, seems less important when measured against the great creation. To live and let live—to be happy with other creatures on this little atom of ours, seems reasonable. Human history is but a moment in the big procession: pride of the past is foolish; prejudice in the present is vain; and selfish purpose for the future is futile. We are bound to one destiny here. All that is good and helpful, is good and helpful to all. All that is bad and hurtful, is bad and hurtful to all. Two individuals living in the same house must share happiness and misery; two races in the same territory must share good and evil. Good and evil are not fixed quantities or limited things to be striven for and appropriated individually; they are born of relations, of our relations to one another and to the world about us. In other words one of us does not have to lose happiness when another gains it, but we all gain it or lose it together. This faith and this philosophy are the inspiration to the noblest human endeavor.

I speak now from the standpoint of the ninety millions. Why should the colored people, the twelve millions, be free? Not merely for their own sakes. The failure to see the interest of all in the interest of each is a fundamental mistake and the cause of much blundering. The welfare of colored Americans cannot be separate from the common lot. They must be free for the sake of all, themselves included. There is more freedom if they are free. We do not give them anything; we do not share with them what we have, in a way to diminish our possession; we simply add their freedom to the sum of freedom, and we are all freer. When a man makes another man intelligent, he does not diminish his own intelligence, but fortifies and justifies it. Abraham Lincoln said: "When we give freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free." He might have added also: *We increase the freedom of the free.* When the Negro was a slave in America, it is perfectly clear that the poor white man was not fully free; and if less clear, it is not less true that the rich white man was not free.—Our conceptions of both altruism and selfishness need revision. In this little world we cannot live either absolutely for or against others. We ourselves are always included. That is the tragedy of ill-will and hate and crime. Every year we lynch many black men—and a few white men. The lynching of the whites is absolutely consequential upon the lynching of the blacks. If the colored men were not lynched, the white men certainly would not be lynched. To cheapen the lives of any group of men, cheapens the lives of all men. This is a law of human psychology, of human nature; and it will not be repealed by our wishes, nor will it be merciful to our blindness.

Why should the Negro be educated? For the same reason. There will be more intelligence if the Negro is intelligent. If an intelligent man has an intelligent neighbor, each is more intelligent because the other is intelligent. How quickly our own grammar suffers deterioration when we live for a few weeks in ungrammatical circumstances. Wherever colored and white live in large numbers together, we find both groups on the same general intellectual plane. Every state to-day that has a large illiterate colored population, has a more illiterate white population than have the states where the colored people are intelligent. Colored people's intelligence is a part of the common defense; colored people's ignorance a part of the common peril. Unselfishness is but a relative term: we are unselfish in proportion as we display a wiser selfishness—in proportion as we comprehend the relations of ourself to other selves.—From this viewpoint of the common good, we should have as good schools and as much education for our colored children as for our white children. It certainly should take as many dollars to fit a black child to live for the best interests of a white child as it takes to fit a white child to live for the best interests of a black child.

Why should the colored population be physically well-off? For the selfsame reason. The laws of disease and health, the conditions of life and death, are no respecters of persons or of races. The disease germ knows no color line. Sometimes the color line is con-



founded in our minds with certain other natural or artificial lines: with the economic line, the sanitation line, the pure food line, or the housing line. And because disease germs love weakness more than strength, we may force a certain color on the side of weakness where the germ flourishes and then imagine, unless we think twice, that the germ has adopted our color line. Disease is the common enemy of all mankind; and the better the health of the twelve millions, the better the general health will be. Not for their own sakes alone, but also for the sake of the civilization of which they are a part, the colored population should have houses with sanitary plumbing, streets with sewers and lights, and regular visits by the garbage wagon.

And with the same philosophy we might go right on through the whole list of human good and human evil. The more people share in the good, the greater is the good. The more people share in the evil, the greater is the evil.

Why, for example, should our colored people be morally good? Why should the colored woman and the colored home be respected and protected? For their own sake, of course, but not alone for their sake. All women, all homes and all moral institutions will share whatever we measure out to these. Nobody knows better than the enlightened white woman of America, that she is essentially one with the colored woman of her community. In the last analysis there is a *standard for women*, and the consideration of every class of women enters into the determination of that standard. Motherhood, childhood and home are not racial; they are human. We cannot limit their interests to racial or to artificial lines. Race is but a date in history, while these human institutions antedate history. An attempt at two moral standards results in one moral condition.—That is why colored womanhood has all the sacredness of any womanhood, and that is why colored women should have all the protection deemed best for their sex. And the operation of this moral law is too obvious to need further illustration.

And why should colored people vote in the commonwealth? For their own benefit? Not exclusively. But if colored people vote, there is more democracy and truer democracy. No other man loses his vote because the Negro gains his own—and the body politic is also a gainer. When the colored man is denied the right to vote, there is a contradiction, an anomaly, which threatens the security of the right of any man to vote. For men must quibble and be mentally dishonest in their efforts to justify the exclusion of the Negro. That weakens their own case. They say: It is not necessary that black men should vote—which means, even to their own intellects and whether they will it or not, that it is not necessary that white men or any men should vote. They say: Voting is not a natural right but a privilege to be granted or withheld—and they fail to show by whom it is to be granted or from whom it is to be withheld, and they thereby undermine their own title to the privilege.—When we cheapen the liberty of any man, we cheapen the liberty of all men, even our own.

It is as much for the sake of the preservation of the ideal of democracy among us, as for any charitable reasons, that we want or should want all our neighbors to share in it. It is but a reasonable regard for

the laws of the land when we treat the most unworthy criminal according to due process of law, not for his sake and not because he deserves it, but that the law might be preserved and respected for the good of all of us who live now and for the good of those who will live in the great future. The criminal who has outraged law and annihilated law in so far as he was able, may not of his own worth deserve the protection of the law. But we know that if we destroy law in his case, it is really destroyed in all cases. In such case it ceases to be law and becomes caprice or favoritism, and is thenceforth as likely to entrap the innocent as the guilty. It is the same with the high ideal of democracy: it cannot live if it does not live for all of us. If it be outraged, even those who outrage it lose respect for it and lose faith in it. They make it a mockery for others and it immediately becomes a mockery for them.

Then there is the great undoubted limitation of human nature: that no man is fit to have absolute power over another man. That means that no race or group is fit to have absolute power over another race or group—for races are but men. The majority should never have unchecked power over the minority. The contention that one man shall not have absolute control over another man, is not merely for the good of the one who is the object of that control, but also for the good of the one who exercises that control. Irresponsible power will warp the soul and ruin the character of any man. Inordinate power and unjust advantage undermine and break down the ideals of a race. These ideals deserve consideration. This is not altogether altruism; it is self-interest of the most enlightened kind. The same reasoning which attacked the enslavement of the Negro, attacks his disfranchisement. Slavery degrades master and slave. Disfranchisement degrades oppressor and oppressed. Those who think they have well-founded "convictions" that the Negro should be disfranchised, must remember that their spiritual and political progenitors thought they had well-founded convictions that the Negro should be enslaved.

Does this mean that the ballot should not be protected? It does not. The freeman's ballot is the highest expression of his freedom and should have every reasonable safeguard. But, mark you, the very first concern for its protection should be to guard its purity, its impartiality, its honesty and its reality; to see that it does not degrade into a mere trick for advantage, a mere tool of oppression, a mere cloak for the tyranny of the strong. Certain restrictions might not be unreasonable: such as education enough to read a ballot, *bona fide* residence and an interest in the material property of the community, and freedom from crime and other forms of insanity. But no restrictions at all would be better than restrictions that are dishonest or meant to be unjustly administered. Let the qualification be simple or severe, but if it be not impartially exacted or if the law be so administered as to entrap a certain group or party or race, the ballot ceases to be an expression of freedom and becomes a mere device of tyranny.

In the United States there is another consideration for the ninety millions: that it would remove much cause and temptation to strife and make for peace if the twelve millions were allowed the exercise of their

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MR. LEWIS

## THEATRE

*A Review of Recent Offerings at the Lafayette*

By THEOPHILUS LEWIS

I am not a seventh son of a seventh son, hence not a prophet by descent; nor have I ever received the accolade of second sight from an authentic Louisiana witch doctor; my favorite clairvoyant is away spending her vacation in the country, and I have misplaced the left hind foot of a graveyard rabbit I usually carry; ergo, at the moment of this writing I am unable to prognosticate whether or no "The Sheik of Harlem," the Lafayette Theater attraction for the week of August 6th, will find a place among the Broadway productions of the coming Autumn. If it doesn't, Broadway will miss something.

"The Sheik of Harlem" isn't the best thing that ever came down the line, of course; but it is by long odds the best thing that has passed this given point since "Liza." According to the program, the music is by Donal Heywood, while the credit for the book, lyrics and staging goes to Irvin C. Miller. Well, this Mr. Miller has produced a smooth, clean piece of work (I mean clean in the sense of being good craftsmanship, not good morals), and he has done it as if by magic. His achievement reminds me of a sleight-of-hand artist who puts borrowed handkerchiefs in a newspaper cornucopia and pulls out white bunnies and lollypops.

Mr. Miller's main theme, what the placards call the "plot," is the story of the constancy of a sap to the girl of his dreams, who in turn is just wild about a he-man, disguised in sissy clothes, yclept "The Sheik." Shopworn goods to say the least. In addition to that, the cast suffers with a plethora of funny men whose antics are wholly unrelated to the principal business of the show. In spite of this heavy handicap Mr. Miller succeeds in presenting capital entertainment that at times threatens to rise to the rank of light opera or the calibre of Shaw's "Arms and the Man." As I observed above, the author's accomplishment reminds me of something produced by sorcery. The raw material that went into the making of the show was tawdry stuff indeed, but the finished product is something to dazzle the eye.

As a matter of fact I have no idea how Mr. Miller did the trick. If I knew, of course, I would not be an obscure reviewer, but a competitor of Mr. Miller's, drawing down important money producing shows. But since every bona fide reviewer is supposed to have a pat explanation of the why and wherefore of the merits of a show, here's mine: That "The Sheik of Harlem" is such a tasty morsel is partly due to Mr. Heywood's quaintly romantic music, partly due to the competent acting of the principals of the cast, but chiefly due to Mr. Miller's frequent departures from his central theme. It is while on these excursions from the main story, taking the last point first, that the audience sees the frothy side of Harlem life mirrored with absolute fidelity while the community's foibles, vanities and vices are sprayed with an acid bath of mordant humor that stings and soothes at the same time. When the lash of irony bites a little too deep for a laugh to efface the pain, as it occasionally does, the stronger palliative of Mr. Heywood's wistful tunes is applied until the hurt is healed.

The high spots of the show, in my opinion, were the singing of Miss Hattie King Reavis and, a step lower, the drollery of Mr. Miller himself. The day I saw the show Miss Reavis drew down more applause than any other member of the cast, and I think she deserved it. She has a sweet, rich voice, and she sings with assurance and ease but with no fancy flourishes. And she does not step out of character and court encores; at least I have never seen her do so. Her voice is one of the principal supports of "The Sheik of Harlem," and the little acting her part calls for she does well.

As for Mr. Miller, he is just as good as he was in "Liza," if not better. In his poker playing skit he gives an unusual twist to an old, old theme and produces a blues chaser of purest ray serene. His whimsical "Let's Waltz" is a sweet gumdrop. And he revealed a method of copping a flapper guaranteed never to fail except when it runs up against a gat, which it did.

Among the supernumerary funny men, Will Cooke stands out as the most amusing Zany in the show.

The chorus is as sweet a collection of baby vamps as I've clapped my eyes on in many a moon, at least two or three.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

### Men Like Gods

By H. G. WELLS

*Published by The MacMillan Co., New York City.*

This is one of the posthumous works of the late Mr. Wells. Ostensibly it is a work of fiction, but it is really a very splendid piece of political journalism. It is the story of a London editor's adventures in Utopialand—a millenium "utterly utter" to Lady Stella and others of her barnacled Earthlings. Briefly, Mr. Wells paints a highly idealistic picture of Society as he would like to some day see it. It is a Society gloriously shorn of the omnipresent shadows of the Four Horsemen. Such a society as already conceived of in "The Salvaging of Civilization" by this Napoleon of social and political reforms.

To indulge in a bit of personal digression, one of the favorite questions I delighted in asking Santie Sabalala, that mammoth literary fake, when he very properly cavorted around Harlem, in the heyday of his literary popularity, was what he thought of H. G. Wells.

Sabalala, if you will recall, was the "author" of "In Kaffir Kraals," a series of jungle sketches which appeared in "Adventure Magazine" the winter of 1921. I derived a great deal of pleasure out of the stock phrases and stock answers to questions which this pseudo quill pusher was voluptuously supplied.

"Well, Sabalala, what do you think of Wells today?" Like clock-work it always was, "As I told you before, Wells is a bad, a very bad imitation of Leo Tolstoy."

For once he was right. Wells is re-expounding with all the enthusiasms of a clatrapist the political theories fathered by the great Russian.

I have not the least shadow of a doubt that "Men Like Gods" will appeal to readers of this magazine particularly. In spite of the fact I am not an intellectual; that I am unable to comprehend or interpret the great psychic forces determining the future of Society; that I am contemptuous of politics, economics, sociology, anthropology and all the other grandiloquent ologies with which my socialist and neo-socialist *compatriots* are liberally supplied, I honestly and seriously endeavored to find the really beautiful "escapes" if any, in the book. Of beauty there is none; of art, of life, of imaginative power—less.

Indeed, it is the kind of novel Veblen or Einstein could write with ease. It bristles with statistics.

ERIC D. WALROND.

### The Messenger

Trouncing tyrants and traitors,  
Hampering henchmen and haters,  
Erecting enlightenment's empire.

MESSENGER of merit and manliness,  
Emancipating the enslaved;  
Symbol of sane salvation;  
Scorning slavish surrender;  
Emblazoning economic enlightenment;  
Nemesis of a nasty nation;  
Grinding the great and the grovelling;  
Exacting eternal equality;  
Rearing the ramparts of reason.

—WALTER EVERETTE HAWKINS.

### READ

"The District of Columbia: A Paradise of Paradoxes"

by

PROF. NEVAL H. THOMAS

in the October MESSENGER

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to the extreme Left Wing. One of our race "organizations" that helped the Mathematician of Howard to launch the much-heralded Sanhedrin (and from whose influence Brother Kelly has recently rebelled), was "captured" by the Communists at the recent political convention at Chicago. It is now an integral part of the Federated (Russian) Farmer-Labor Party (though it claims to be non-political!). Strangely enough the press service of the F. F. L. P. credits the Negro organization with 5,000 members. Just add three ciphers, folks, that's all—and the trick is done.

Abram L. Harris in *Current History*, June, 1923: "The African Blood Brotherhood affiliated with the Workers' Party of America, and under the leadership of Cyril Briggs, is alleged to be the official Communist organization among Negroes."

Cyril V. Briggs in the *Crusader Service*, July 2, 1923: "The African Blood Brotherhood is not affiliated with the Workers' Party of America, or with any other political party, for that matter, and is not the official Communist organization among Negroes."

The *International*, Official Communist Party Organ of South Africa, Johannesburg, S. A., July 13, 1923: "The organization of Negro Communists, known as the African Blood Brotherhood, will supply the leaders of the Negro emancipation."

Query: Are there two African Blood Brotherhoods in our midst? When will the sand dunes give up their secret?

The *Negro World*, bulletin of the Imperial Blizzard, with disquieting rudeness questions the genuineness of the degree proudly boasted by the most eminent street-corner-orator-salesman of Harlem. It seems that some low fellow wrote to the University of Copenhagen and got the dope. What a shameless way to serve our Department of Education Lecturer, associate of Broun and Mencken! Then, Brother Marcus asks for the return of his dress suit. Can you beat it?

The Berlin *Vorwärts* of August 16th makes charges, substantiated by pretty good evidence, that the German Communists and Fascisti have formed an alliance, the former by direction of the Muscovite phraseocracy. The German Fascisti is the counterpart of our Ku Klux Klan. One wonders whether the Negro Communists will get orders to work with the notorious Midnight Marauders. The Red Klan, the White Klan and the Black Klan! That'll be some gang, eh? Ah! but one forgets! The K. K. K. frowns on foreigners; especially when they are impecunious.

Ousted Gotham Alderman: "Vengeance is mine!"

"Be Modest and Unassuming" is living up to his own advice. No one seems to know where the Wandering Major is located.

A delegation of hat-in-hand Negroes of the Washington snobbocracy were in Harding's funeral procession. Can you imagine this? After the insult of Birmingham and the disgrace of Tuskegee, they rush to show their loyalty and patriotism! Yes, the father of the All Race Controversy was there!

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two chief problems of America—the Negro and organized labor. Most men, white and black, are working men. They are struggling for food, clothing, fuel and shelter; which means they are struggling for the means of life—the things upon which life depends. They do not fight because they hate each other, but they hate each other because they are constantly fighting each other. In the struggle to live each man

usually decides his life is more important to him than anybody else's. And where there is not enough work to go around, there will be a fight to secure the limited goods. It is a widely accepted opinion that there is some special, instinctive race hatred, peculiarly high between Negroes and Irish and Negroes and Southern whites. The explanation is to be found in labor competition. The labor being skilled, Negroes did not clash with the Jews who were in the men's and women's clothing, cap making, fur and jewelry industry. They did not compete with the German in watch making, coat making, machinist and engineering. Negroes did, however, engage in subway digging, longshoring, street cleaning, hauling and elevator running—the unskilled lines of work largely done by the Irish, also, and by unskilled white Southerners—unskilled chiefly because of the low degree of education given in Dixie.

To-day we have Hampton Institute and Tuskegee, both of which are representative of about 200 institutions in the United States where Negroes are trained to be skilled mechanics in all lines, and also taught scientific agriculture. The white capitalists have well endowed the two above named institutions. Seldom does a rich person die in the United States without leaving a goodly sum to one or both. There was, there is, vision in these gifts. The white capitalists are training Negro mechanics to hold in check the whites in the skilled lines, just as the unskilled Negro has done tremendous work in breaking strikes, and often so threatening that white men dared not call strikes.

We have far-reaching contacts with white organized labor. We have spoken before their central bodies from New York to Seattle and Los Angeles. Many unions are open to Negroes—some freely. The needle trades seldom show race lines in the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Fur Workers, Cap Makers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers. We find in some sections Negroes in the bricklayers', plasterers', carpenters', and painters' unions. We shall not be satisfied, however, till Negroes are in all.

There is an objection, a criticism and complaint which all the unions—radical, progressive and conservative must share alike—the absence of Negroes in administrative capacities. The labor unions of America collect millions of dollars in dues and pay millions of dollars in salaries. So far as we know, however (and we have investigated it thoroughly, inquiring from Mr. Gompers and other labor leaders) there is no full time decently paid Negro organizer or official in the American labor movement! The labor unions very nearly approximate the South in taxation of Negroes without representation—for that is all that dues paying without holding administrative positions means. This is not creditable or defensible by the American labor unions. Negro girls in the International Ladies' Garment Workers (overwhelmingly Socialistic and radical), the Negro men in the United Mine Workers, the steel, packing, longshoremen's, plasterers' and bricklayers', and the building trades unions in general, are too large in number, too variegated in ability and pay too much money in dues not to have representation among the officers, organizers, and business agents.

It yet remains for organized labor to show it is in practice fairer and more enlightened on the race question than organized capital!

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finery. A buxom maid with turban of loud yellow and orange, scarf of sforzanda red and imperial purple, dress of wild Irish green, rich maroon and romantic blue, trimmed in ultra-violet and infra-red is just from Paris, and as Mencken uses the phrase, "all the vibrations from the impalpable to the unendurable" are felt.

The problem of Education is still in the acute stage. The church schools have been the salvation of those who were saved from the clutches of illiteracy and superstition. There is not an A-1 High School in the state, publicly supported. A knowledge of the educational status, so far as the "sun-kissed" folks are concerned, was given to the world recently by one of the state's leading citizens.

The private schools are entirely too dogmatic. Jealousy shows its green fangs and poisons much of the good that might be done. Teachers from the North can never assimilate with the teachers of the South in their common work, and thus a constant stream of teachers going and coming, pours into and out of Mississippi, as in the other Southern states.

"Half done is good enough" seems to be an inherited motto with them. A young lady from New York upon her arrival at one of the schools was shown to her room. It happened to have been on the top floor of a four-story building and was without ceiling or plaster. "Why," she exclaimed in amazement, "this room is not finished!"

She received the calm reply: "Very few of them are, Miss."

However, in spite of all these handicaps and adverse conditions, we have our share of "sun-kissed" eminent men from this state. A glance at the list will bring forth: Hiram Revels and B. K. Bruce, the only two "sun-kissed" senators to grace the Chamber in Washington. John R. Lynch, who represented the state in the National Legislature; S. D. Redmond, an eminent lawyer, doctor and business man. In Washington, D. C., to-day P. W. Howard, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, hails from the Magnolia State. A Civil Service Commissioner in New York City and an Assemblyman from New Jersey also proclaim the Magnolia State as the place where they first saw day.

In conclusion allow me to say to the sympathizers of Mississippi that these are the observations of three years spent as a teacher, field representative and research worker in the state.

Of course there are fine homes, automobiles, intelligent people, wealth, aristocratic churches and cultured society in the state among the "sun-kissed" folks as well as in Philadelphia and New York. A friend from the state is visiting my wife in New York at this writing and by her dress, carriage and culture, I cannot distinguish her from any other New Yorker.

The historical spots are dear to the "sun-kissed" folks in the state. They know Grant at Vicksburg and Corinth better than you or I. The famous resorts along the Gulf coast are familiar to many outsiders because of the leavening effect upon all races residing in that section.

My prophetic powers will not permit me to fathom the racial problem and the attitude of the white man towards it. Yet, I have found white men there as fine as white men I know in New York and Illinois; but

that is not the great mass who are "goose-stepping" in the old familiar way. Sometimes the Klan terrorizes and sometimes it soothes "sun-kissed" folks. At a Klan meeting in the Delta, some "sun-kissed" folks were so foolish as to endorse the movement.

Perhaps the day will come when I can picture Mississippi, the home of the sun-kissed folks, in a different way—yet it is not so different after all. I sit on my stoop on Seventh Avenue and gaze at the "sun-kissed" folks strolling up and down and think that surely Mississippi is here in New York, in Harlem, yes, right on Seventh Avenue.

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liberty and their free ballot. This would preserve and dignify the proportionate weight and importance of the ninety millions. For under the most impartial administration, twelve could not outvote ninety. Only in a few localities could groups of the minority preponderate, but the colored people have shown no disposition that should justify a fear that they would monopolize even local power. There would always be the restraining fact of the national power of the ninety millions. And there would be peace, much needed peace, for the simple price of being fair to a minority without any risk of the loss of real power on the part of the majority. It is now as if eight or ten men should prefer eternal social warfare with one man rather than to let him cast his just vote and simply outvote him; while if they chose to be fair, they could have the favorable opinion of mankind, the justification of their own consciences, internal peace, and a secure tenure of power.

The American Negro has shown little disposition to try to secure his fundamental rights by violence, but he is always less patient to-day than he was ten years ago, and being simply human he is ultimately capable of any human expression. Many times in history contemporaries have discounted what to later generations seemed so plain and so inevitable.

But why should this people, of all peoples, have to plead for such primary justice? A people who have had a longer average residence in America than any other group save the American Indian; a people who voted in five or more states when the constitution of the United States was adopted; a people whom we have never discounted or doubted in the day of crisis and danger, and whose outstanding characteristic, whether they were slave or free, has been loyalty. Individuals may ignore the facts but history cannot delete the record that they dared and shared all the greatest perils of the Indivisible Union—from Bunker Hill through Valley Forge to Yorktown—on Lake Erie, under "the rocket's red glare" at Baltimore, and in New Orleans—from Fort Wagner through Fort Pillow to Appomattox—from Santiago de Cuba through the Philippine guerrillas to the capture of Aguinaldo—and from the munitions factories of 1917 on through the Argonne and Chateau Thierry to the last and most dangerous position of the whole war before the mighty fortress of Metz.—Why should a people so trusted and so credited, plead for what is given to foreigners and the children of foreigners, to rebels and the children of rebels, and even to the children of traitors?

On a platform of justice and equality the two larger

racial groups in this country, and all the minor groups, can afford to take their stand. Men speak volubly of maintaining racial superiority or hegemony, as if indeed it were wiser to pursue racial policy than to pursue human justice. Nothing in human history indicates that a race or a nation or an individual needs fear to do justice or that justice was ever poor policy for a people. But history is full of lessons that teach the folly of abandoning those wise policies and sound principles that were born of the collective experience of man. Some reason thus: We have to maintain a certain race stock; to maintain that stock we must segregate; and when justice is inconsistent with segregation, we must do injustice. But we cannot prove the soundness of this chain of reasoning. Even the first proposition is a mere assertion. For how do we know that it is the final, the best, the last and the greatest thing to maintain any of the race stocks as we know them to-day? All the races, as we know them, are but the resultants of former unions, combinations and crosses. If former unions have produced something so excellent, how do we know that further union may not produce something more excellent still? But one thing we do know: that we of the present generation can combine our talents without uniting our blood. If we make civilization our common contribution, we will all have more civilization. God has endowed the human race with more than He gave to any one geographical race. Our talents vary; our power may vary. The man of five talents has five talents and the fruits of five talents; the man of two talents has two talents and the fruits of two talents. But if these two men ever get wise and make a common cause, they will both enjoy the fruits of *seven talents*. The white American and the black American can have more civilization through co-operation than either one could have if the other is excluded, whatever their respective talents may be. Segregation in public and industrial activities and life implies and breeds contempt and makes injustice inevitable. The private right of any citizen in a free country to exclude other private persons from his private domain, will always be maintained; but racial segregation in public and industrial estates is indefensible, politically and economically.

We do not need to argue for justice and humanity from considerations of God and religion. Science and human nature offer sufficient grounds for just living in this world. But there does seem to be a Super-human Will to retribution and reward. Babylon and Nineveh rested on the backs of discounted slaves, and fell. The Caesars thrust weaker peoples into the arena with the beast and lighted their chariot courses with human torches—and no longer is the grandeur that *was* Rome. The powerful individuals and the powerful classes of the nineteenth century had a contempt and a fatal disregard for masses of men. The great will of the human race as a whole seems to be a will to justice and is doubtless co-operative with the Will of God.

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They haven't got the speed of the hard stepping fillies of "Liza," but they're plenty peppy enough for the requirements of "The Sheik." And every one is a sightly jane. The plainest cutie in the bunch is worth strutting down the Avenue with—if your wife is away in the mountains.

Conspicuous among "The Sheik's" virtues of omission are the lack of the usual stale production number and a complete absence of the burlesque show flavor that spoils so many Lafayette attractions.

Something else easy to look at was the sweet mamma who sang, "It don't pay to love a northern man." I'm from the South.

My visit to the Lafayette during the second week on Miss Abbie Mitchell's sojourn there as the headline attraction of a vaudeville bill resulted in a double-barreled surprise; rather in a surprise and a disappointment. To find a good vaudeville program at the Lafayette instead of the punk vaudeville it has usually been my luck to find there was a pleasant surprise. On the other hand, the nature, not to say the quality, of Miss Mitchell's act was a keen disappointment to me.

I went to the theatre expecting Miss Mitchell's performance to be a singing act throughout. Instead Miss Mitchell sang one song and a snatch of another, then launched out in a one-act playlet. Due to my congenital thickness, I suppose, I mistook the opening lines of the playlet for some business leading up to the next song. I continued under that impression as the dialogue proceeded apace, and when the climax came I had not the slightest idea what it was all about, except that a daughter and a doctor were involved somehow. Judging from the applause she received, Miss Mitchell's performance was the premier act of the evening. Whether it was or no I am not in a position to pass an opinion, owing to the reason stated above.

But this I do know. Miss Mitchell's voice has lost none of its charms and sweetness. She is still one of our foremost divas.

"Raisin' Cain," the Lafayette attraction for the earlier part of July, was ancient and seedy stuff that just managed to get a decision over a blue evening. In the second act Buck and Bubbles contributed a merry half hour to the evening's doings that prevented the show from being a perfect fizzle. The rest was chaff, and I hear the wind has already blown it away.

## RUTHLESSVILLE

By THOMAS MILLARD HENRY

Their floors are cribs of ants and bugs—  
I mean the folks of Ruthlessville—  
Beneath each bed are liquor jugs;  
Narcotic dirt their corners fill.  
I mean the folks of Ruthlessville.

Their cupboards smell of musty foods,  
Their wealth leans to a wanton use,  
They swell their breasts with heartless moods  
And leave the coils of virtue loose.  
I mean the folks of Ruthlessville.

They squint an eye at aims sublime,  
In blowing bubbles they have push.  
A trifle grinds away their time;  
They breathe an artificial wish;  
I mean the folks of Ruthlessville.

Their mode of life is like the bears'—  
Blind to the energy of truth.  
Their thumbs are down on him who cares;  
They hurt him like an aching tooth.  
I mean the folks of Ruthlessville.

**Live, hustling agents wanted. Liberal commission given. Write the Messenger office, 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City.**



Only the Solidarity of Black and White Labor can determine whether the great exodus will be a promise or a menace.



Let the workers through school, forum and press educate, agitate, and organize for a New Day.

(Continued from page 814)

radeship in peace and affliction, so that I was immediately on bail. We had to resort to legal action. Mr. Samuel M. Masabalala was still in jail; we fought both cases and we won. Thus we can sum up that the year 1920 began with struggles for economic emancipation but ended in sorrow, imprisonment and deaths.

We were not disappointed in the least when the midnight bells heralded the dawn of the new year 1921. Were the struggles for economic emancipation that ended in sorrow, in imprisonment and in deaths to bar us from our onward march? Were widows, orphans of the victims of the Port Elizabeth tragedy, and the maimed ones to be denied maintenance by the workers? No! We were planning for a vigorous propaganda. And since then we cry out: "Onward, Onward!"

These important events occurred in different parts of South Africa, but the I. C. U. had extended and introduced the modern science of the labor movement amongst the masses of the African workers. Another important conference was convened in 1921 at Port Elizabeth, where the two unions, one led by Mr. Masabalala, and the I. C. U. were amalgamated into one. At this conference Mr. Masabalala was elected Organizer-in-Chief of the I. C. U., the writer still functioning as General Secretary of this great labor

organization which has now a membership of over 20,000. At last we are officially recognized by the Union Government.

The work is not ended, the field is vast and great. The battle is on. The masses must be educated to realize that the industrial weapon is the only effective one. We are steadily marching on day by day. Branches are being opened in all the industrial and agricultural centers, but the great mines of the Transvaal are still unorganized. We shall have to penetrate to these mines. We shall continue to agitate until the last black worker of Africa has been admitted into the solid bond of unity. Then the millions of the African proletariat shall produce no more for a few shillings per day, but they shall have a strong voice in the management of all industries.

Will the enlightened American Negro now realize how his brother and comrade is forced to labor in this "the land of his fathers"? "To me," to quote that great educator, Booker T. Washington, "the history of the African natives in the Dark Continent seems like the story of a great adventure, in which for my own part, I am glad to have had a share." Come to the rescue. "come over into Macedonia and help" the toiling masses of your African brethren and comrades who are now suffering from the iron heel of capitalism.



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## OPEN FORUM

## Florida

Cowardice and cruelty must be inherent in the natures of Floridians. I had not been in Bradentown a day, before a lean, long-legged, red-eyed cracker, called me a "pink-faced, blue-bellied, Yankee, son-of-a-sea-sucker!" When I came after him, he swung a baseball bat at me, and ran. That night a mob attacked me, and I barely escaped with my life.

The next night I saw a vast crowd of masked men go to the town jail, and take out a colored man. They strung him to a tree, riddled him full of bullets, and cut his fingers off for souvenirs.

The day following that about a dozen white boys jumped on a small colored boy and knocked one of his eyes out. Suddenly a train drew up, and several "law and order" bums hurl out three dead "Niggers." (These workers had led a mutiny of a railroad gang.) Colored women and children stand spellbound and horror-stricken at the sight. They are ordered to bury the dead "niggers" at once, or meet with the same fate.

I was a boy when I lived in Bradentown, Fla., and was beaten with a whip at school, so badly that my back, arms and wrists were drenched with blood. I had hardly recovered from that when a fellow whom I had treated very kindly and who claimed to be my friend, pumped thirteen shots into me with a shotgun, "For the sake of amusement" he claimed.

I do not wonder that the K. K. K. (Krazy Krummy Kranks) flourishes in such a hole.

Washington, D. C.  
July 16, 1923.

EDWARD JAMES IRVINE.

July 27, 1923.

DEAR MR. RANDOLPH:

I have read your educational number with keen interest. The work you are all doing on THE MESSENGER is most encouraging. Every good wish for its further success.

Sincerely yours,

DEVERE ALLEN.

## LABOR DAY GREETINGS

to our

### Negro Brothers and Sisters



*The Joint Board*

*of the*

*Cloak, Skirt and Reefer Makers'  
Unions*

Fraternally yours,

LOUIS LANGER, *Secretary.*

Plainfield, N. J., July 21, 1923.

THE MESSENGER,  
2305 Seventh Ave.,  
New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. RANDOLPH:

THE MESSENGER has my compliments for the splendid work for which it stands. I particularly enjoyed the New Negro Woman's number.

There is, however, one error which I would like to correct. In the article by Elizabeth Jones on the "Negro Woman in the nursing professions," the writer stated that Miss Mae Clendenin was the first Negro nurse on the Henry Street Settlement Visiting Nurse Staff. Miss Elizabeth W. Tyler of Freedman's Hospital was the first Negro nurse appointed to the visiting nurse service on January 6, 1906. The second, Miss Edith M. Carter, also of Freedman, was appointed in May, 1906. The third, Mrs. Emma C. Wilson in 1907; Miss M. C. Hankins was the fourth to receive appointment and Miss Mae Clendenin was the fifth.

Very sincerely yours,

(Miss) ALICE BROWN.

Warren, Ohio.

July 30, 1923.

THE MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO.,  
New York City.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Yours for continued success and financial prosperity, as your magazine deserves the highest and most commendable praise and support.

Very truly yours,

THORNWELL A. CALDWELL.

Chicago, Illinois,

August 6, 1923.

MESSENGER MAGAZINE:

Allow me to congratulate you for your scientific criticism of Dubois. What you wrote in regard to the latter was very true. In the July issue of the *Crisis* he says the Farmer-Labor and the Socialist Parties ignore Negroes. Dubois is showing that he is not well informed politically. A Negro out in the State of Washington was elected on the Farmer-Labor ticket in 1920. In the same year at their convention they went on record against lynching and segregation. The Socialist Party in 1918 passed a resolution in favor of Africa for the Africans and condemned lynching and segregation. In the same year they nominated two colored men for the New York legislature and one for Congress. In 1922 they nominated A. Philip Randolph, one of the editors of THE MESSENGER for Secretary of State; the latter ran 30,000 votes ahead of his ticket.

Dubois must be asleep or he ignores facts. Four months ago I sent him a clipping, cut from the *Colored Harvest*, a Catholic publication, published in Baltimore, on Brazil. He replied, telling me he would use it. Two weeks later I sent him a clipping from a Brazilian paper showing a photo of a Negro aviator who is a teacher in that course. So far he has ignored them. Dubois is a faker and hypocrite, pure and simple.

FRANK ST. CLAIRE.

Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIRS:

Allow me to commend your efforts in editing and publishing such a wonderful magazine as the one you are giving to the international reading public. To me it seems that "every day, in every way" THE MESSENGER is "getting better and better." The literary articles, as well as the editorials, are full of inspiration and teeming with information. May THE MESSENGER "live" long that it may "satisfy" the souls of men who hunger for truth.

Hoping you much success in your efforts, I am

Yours very truly,

CHAS. T. GONILLION.

(Continued from page 809)

fulfilled and that the next year may see the most cordial relations established and maintained between employer and employee, so that next Labor Day may come with a cloudless industrial sky.

# Labor Day Greetings

from the

## International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

### "Bursting Bonds"

*The New Book by*

**WILLIAM PICKENS**

- 1 What happens when American WHITE MEETS American BLACK in Europe?
- 2 How fares a black boy in YALE UNIVERSITY, where there is a bigger percentage of Southerners and more race prejudice than at Harvard University?
- 3 What experiences has a black man riding in a Pullman Car in ARKANSAS?
- 4 What is the meaning of LIFE IN TEXAS?
- 5 How does a black child grow up in a state like South Carolina or Arkansas?
- 6 How does a penniless colored child get an education, beginning in the land of SEGREGATED SCHOOLS?
- 7 When Texas whites want to commit simple economic robbery against a Negro man, how do they inject the "white woman" question?
- 8 What is the chief weakness, or handicap, of the "Missionary Schools" established for the Negro by Northerners in the South?
- 9 What does a combination of self-respect and courage entail for the Black American?
- 10 What is the plain experience, north, east, south and west, of BEING AN AMERICAN NEGRO?

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### Greetings to Our Colored Brothers



### Butcher Union of New York and Vicinity

(Local No. 174)

OFFICE:

243-247 East 84th Street

Room 12

# The Friends of Negro Freedom

## The Economic Ballot

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

PEOPLE seldom think of but one kind of voting. Once a year they go to the polls and vote either for or against some body or thing—usually *against*. With their political ballot cast they dismiss the subject of voting from their minds and promptly drop back into the old routine of things, hoping vainly that their political action may bring them some relief from the many ills with which they suffer.

The main evils from which people suffer the year around are: The high cost of living, high rents, congestion, inadequate school facilities, high taxes, exorbitant gas and electric light bills, and unemployment. In addition, Negroes suffer disfranchisement in some sections, discrimination and segregation.

To do away with these evils by political action is a long process and a very costly process. It may take a decade or a generation to get the will of the majority of people carried out. Many people get disgusted and refuse to use their political ballot at all. Many hundreds of thousands are disfranchised every year by various legal tricks. In regard to the political ballot there seems to be a feeling of "What's the use."

That there is another force they can use to get immediate relief from many of the evils that beset them, they do not seem to realize at all. They think only of voting *once* a year when, in reality, they can vote *every day* in the year. They can also be sure that their vote will be counted and respected. This vote, this daily ballot, is an economic one—the dollar bill. The cash register is the ballot box.

Whether they live in Birmingham, Alabama, or Binghamton, New York; whether they are black, white, green or gray, they can use the economic ballot *every day* with very telling effect. The economic ballot is not a cure-all, but it is a cure-most.

While it is true that the money people receive for the sale of their laboring power must be spent for the necessities of life, they alone can determine with *whom* to spend it. If a merchant's prices are too high and his customers refuse to buy, he must lower his prices here and now if he is to continue being a merchant. If a merchant in a Negro district is careless and indifferent in his treatment of his customers,

they have only to withdraw their economic support and the merchant changes his manner, or changes his status. There is no use complaining when such power resides in your hands every day in the year. People do use the economic ballot, individually but not collectively, blindly not intelligently.

This is the age of collective action, however, not individual action. Big business has learned that the only way it can exist today is through the collective use of its economic power. Because it uses this collective economic power intelligently, it controls the political government. When the masses of people learn the lesson as Big Business has learned it, they will have found the key to the solution of many of their problems.

With intelligent use of the economic ballot, the wide masses of people can eliminate the middlemen by collectively buying their food and clothing from wholesalers; eliminate the landlords by collectively purchasing their dwellings; eliminate low wages by collectively bargaining with the employers for their laboring power; they can even eliminate most of the capitalists by organizing their economic ballots and establishing banks, insurance companies, grain elevators, factories, theatres, dance halls, summer resorts, farms, sawmills, drug stores, newspapers, etc. Indeed, there is very little people *cannot* do by the intelligent collective use of the economic ballot.

The money spent by the Negroes of the United States probably averages a dollar a day per capita. Here are ten million economic ballots, the intelligent use of which can do much to eliminate discrimination and segregation. Note how quickly white Alabama forgot the "No Contact Between Races" dogma when there was \$1,250,000 in fat salaries at stake in the Tuskegee Hospital.

It is to teach the Negroes how to intelligently use these economic ballots that the Friends of Negro Freedom was formed. Councils are urged to energetically carry this idea of the collective use of the economic ballot to the Negroes of their respective communities. Only in this way can the race be emancipated.

Have You a Council of the Friends of Negro Freedom in Your Town?

*For information write to the National Office*

## The FRIENDS of NEGRO FREEDOM

2305 SEVENTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

# Hands Across the Sea

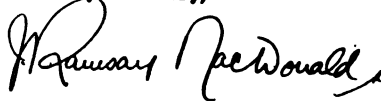
A letter from the working-class leader of Great Britain to the MESSENGER.

July 26th, 1923.

Dear Mr. Randolph,

I send you my warmest greetings and best wishes for the success of your efforts to eradicate from the minds of certain sections of people that one race is more worthy than another. I hope the time will come when there will be no consciousness of colour left and when we will all be united in the sense of a common humanity.

Yours very sincerely,



A. Philip Randolph, Esq.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald is the leader of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, Parliamentary leader of the Labor Opposition in the House of Commons, one of the world's foremost working-class leaders, and probably the next Prime Minister of England.

**F**OR over six years the MESSENGER has been hailed by the thinkers of the world as the foremost organ of opinion edited by Negroes.

In every corner of the world the MESSENGER is talked about and quoted.

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