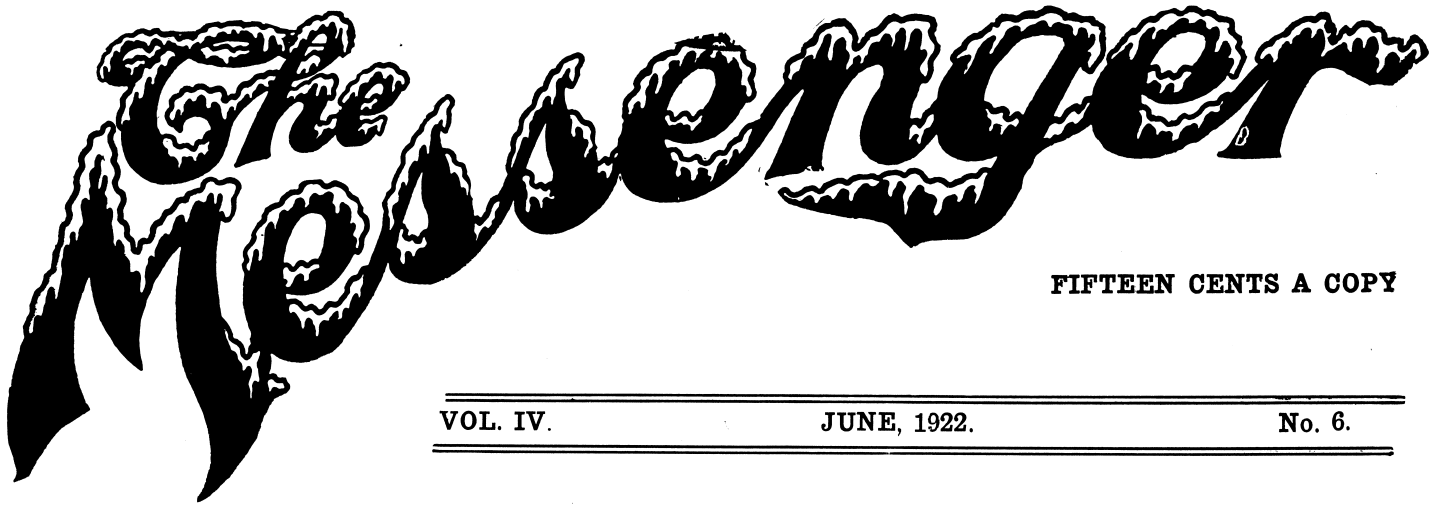




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VOL. IV.

JUNE, 1922.

No. 6.



Mistakes of Kelly Miller

A Reply to Kelly Miller on
Segregation in Education

By CHANDLER OWEN



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on the
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The Next
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Editorials

LIGHT BREAKING THROUGH!

LIGHT is breaking through the thick windows of Dixie. A part of Miss Manila Owens' message is encouraging. She was delegate from Los Angeles, to the National Convention of the Young Women's Christian Association recently held at Hot Springs, Arkansas. To quote Miss Owens: "*The convention has really been a revelation from the Southerners' point of view. We have found undreamed of co-operation between the races and there is absolutely no segregation—not even on the street cars to and from the auditorium.*"

To use a homely expression, this is "*hot stuff*" from Hot Springs, Arkansas—Arkansas where a few years ago occurred the Helena, Elaine, and Hoop Spur race riots! No segregation during the Y. W. C. A. Convention—not even on street cars! This is going pretty far. You bet it is, for if the people can ride together during a Y. W. C. A. convention, without regard to race or color, they can ride together after the convention is over.

The chief need, after all is to leave the people alone. Normally they are friendly, fraternal in their relations. Knowing this, those who profit from race prejudice constantly fan the fires of an artificial feeling by glaring newspaper headlines, lying moving pictures like the Birth of the Nation, bedevilled plays like the Klansman, segregation in places of amusement, Jim-Crow cars and other diabolical devices.

Despite all these untoward obstacles, the light is breaking through. A new South is in the making. This incident is but a beginning of what is to be.

MARCUS GARVEY

NEW YORK CITY, May 12.—A severe rebuke was given to Marcus Garvey, the leading spirit in the "Back to Africa Movement," by Justice Panken in the Seventh District Court last Tuesday when it was brought out that the \$600,000 invested in the Black Star Line by thousands of small investors among colored people was practically wiped out.

Garvey was defendant in three actions, the most important being the case brought against him by F. Edward Orr in which decision has been reserved. Orr charges fraud against the "Provisional President of Africa" and claims he is liable to arrest. The other actions were brought by James D. Brooks, one of the high salaried officers of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, for wages and a loan.

When on the stand, Garvey who admitted he was not a citizen said the Black Star Line represented an investment of \$600,000, which was all gone. He told the court the "Yarmouth" cost \$145,000 and lost \$300,000 on the first trip, while the "Maceo," was purchased for \$65,000 and on her maiden voyage for the colored organization, met with a loss of

\$76,000. The "Shadyside," the old ferryboat, was also mentioned but the price paid for it was not stated. The mythical shop, "Phyllis Wheatley," named after the Negro poetess, was never seen. Advertisements were carried of the passage to Liberia on this steamship.

Orr asserts he attended one of the meetings in Liberty Hall and heard Garvey tell the audience how he would double, within 52 days, the money they invested in the first steamship line run by colored people. Orr put in \$105 and has not even received a dividend. Garvey vehemently denied the accusation that he would guarantee any such thing as the return of the money in two months.

Brooks Under Indictment

Brooks, who is now under indictment for misappropriating funds of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, was a former officer of that organization at \$6,000 a year. He sued for \$7,000 wages, and a verdict for that amount was granted in his favor, while the loan of \$1,000 Justice Panken decided against him, as no proof was shown he had given the money. Brooks claimed it was deducted from his salary.

Brooks asserts the officers of the association, which had a membership of 4,500,000 people, were permitted to draw whatever money they desired for expenses.

At the finish of the trial Justice Panken, in addressing his remarks to Garvey, said: "It seems to me that you have been preying upon the gullibility of your own people, having kept no proper accounts of the money received for investment, being an organization of high finance in which the officers received outrageously high salaries and were permitted to have exorbitant expense accounts for pleasure jaunts throughout the country. I advise these 'dupes' who have contributed to these organizations to go into court and ask for the appointment of a receiver. You should have taken this \$600,000 and built a hospital for colored people in this city instead of purchasing a few old boats. There is a form of paronia which manifests itself in believing oneself to be a great man." — The (Baltimore) "Afro-American."

What has happened here is not so bad from the point of view of Marcus Garvey as it is from the damage done to the confidence of colored people. The editors of the MESSENGER warned Garvey and the people that what has happened would surely come to pass.

A. Philip Randolph, one of the MESSENGER editors, in a special article pointed out that *of all businesses* the shipping was not only one of the hardest to run, but was least prospective at this time of world bankruptcy when goods are not and were not being carried even by seaworthy vessels.

The confidence of the Negroes in legitimate Negro enterprises has been destroyed by some financial crash ever since Emancipation. The Freedmen's Bank failed shortly after the Negroes were freed from slavery. For a quarter of a century Negroes lost confidence in Negroes. Then came the organization of the True Reformers, and later the Metropolitan Mercantile and Realty Company. Mismanagement and dishonesty together drove both of these to the wall, wasting Negroes' funds and wrecking their confidence for a generation more. 1919 saw the rise of the wildest sort of schemes for redeeming Africa and establishing a Black Star Line to compete with the White Star Line. Verily it was a black star! This line was destined to lead to a dark light for all those misguided souls who were full of enthusiasm and feeling but empty of thought and information.

This course, however, is not peculiar to Negroes. All peoples pass through the period of air castle finance. Within the last few years can be recalled the Charles Ponzi bubble of Boston. Just a few months ago saw another financial adventurer in young Bischoff of Chicago who wasted six million dollars of white peoples' money in schemes no sounder than Garvey's. The African Redemption Fund will go the way of the Black Star Line investment. When will Negroes begin to think before handing out their hard earnings? Goodness knows they have had enough experience if they can learn anything from that evidence.

AMERICA'S INDIA

HAITI is America's India. Like India, Haiti is revolting. Like Great Britain, the United States of America, recently made safe for democracy, is becoming more ruthless, more callous and indifferent to the rights of the Haitians. As sentimental cries for mercy against the brutal heel of British imperialism in India are of no avail; so will the piteous appeals against America's lynching of Haiti and Santo Domingo fail to move our powerful financial oligarchs, bent upon gorging their bellies to the full on the riches of the defenseless, little, black republic. Sentiment, homilies on justice and morality have no weight in a world of imperialism. Only profits count. No other reason can be assigned for Great Britain in Egypt, Japan in Corea and Siberia or America in Haiti.

Senator Borah of Idaho spoke discerningly when he said, at a meeting in Carnegie Hall, held under the auspices of the Haiti-Santo Domingo Society, in protest against the continued occupation of the island republics by the United States that: "Troops hold the republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo for the benefit of American corporations." But this was not all. Senator Borah made a very significant observation on the element of politics in the question—an observation which ought to disillusion our naive and credulous Negro leaders, who act upon the erroneous assumption that by voting for a Republican against a Democrat in one district, and a Democrat against a Republican in another, as the case may be, they will improve the domestic and foreign condition of Negroes. This is what he had to say: "There is no politics in this" referring to the Haitian-Santo Dominican question. "*The Democrats went in and the Republicans are staying in.*" What for, you ask? To establish and to maintain law and order, to christianize and educate the black sav-

ages? No, not at all. Haiti is not more savage than Texas; Santo Domingo has no less law and order than Georgia. Neither of these *so-called backward* countries lynch or burns human beings! Maintaining law and order is the smoke screen, the hypocritical moral pretext behind which Haitian and Santo Dominicans are murdered by American Marines for the benefit of the banking and sugar interests in the United States. According to Mr. Borah, a Mr. Davis, head of an American corporation, described the republics as having "virgin soil, with timber virtually untouched, labor cheap and abundant, and the whole country open to exploitation!" Here you have it in a nutshell! Rich soil, cheap labor, and a whole country open to exploitation! What better, franker and more unvarnished a reason do you want for the carrying of the higher Kultur of American plutocracy to the sinful blacks.

Besides, bringing up Haiti and Santo Domingo *until they are of age*, or rather *until their pockets are picked*, is no little alluring to our money kings. Witness this fine piece of high financing "A man here in New York," according to the Senator, received \$25,000 for putting across a loan of \$2,000,000 which the United States forced upon Santo Domingo. Think, dear reader, of loans of any amount being forced upon a nation which is alleged to be virtually bankrupt. Hence the interests of the National City Bank in civilizing the black Caribbean recalcitrants

It ought to be clear to any one from the foregoing that the United States is in the little black republic to stay. But lest there be "doubting Thomases," we shall submit the Administration's views which reflect the views of Wall Street, the actual seat of our government. Says Mr. Hughes to a delegation, including representatives of twenty-four eminent lawyers whose report condemned the American occupation of Haiti: "It is a pleasure to meet you personally and to give you this opportunity to make your statements with regard to the relations of the United States to Haiti. I cannot, however, permit my silence to be misinterpreted.

"I must say that I regard the statements that have been made as most inadequate and one-sided. I am fully conscious of international obligations. This situation with which we are confronted is an existing situation which calls for a careful study and a very wise examination and decision as to policy. You need not suppose that this study has not been made. You need not suppose that all the matters that are involved have not been considered.

"Quite the contrary is the case. I am not only advised intimately and directly with regard to conditions in Haiti but I also have had the benefit of the reports and informal communications from the committee of Senators who have recently visited Haiti and who, regardless of party affiliations, have concurred in the statements which they have made regarding conditions in Haiti. As I have said, it is a condition of fact which has to be very carefully considered."

Do you get the point? *It is a condition of fact.* All this talk about justice to Haiti and Santo Domingo, of self-determination to smaller nationalities, of American Marine brutalities, is all sheer moon-shine, tommyrot, poppy-cock. Mr. Hughes, himself, says so.

Again former Secretary of State Lansing has made

the belated statement that we went into Haiti *a year after the outbreak of the war to keep the Germans from going in at the beginning of the war!* Isn't that fine logic and from a former high American official, too! Truly American legislators and administrators are the political court-jesters of the world. No wonder the European diplomats chuckle up their sleeves when they see the American diplomatic "Rubes" coming!

But what can be done to loosen the criminal grip of American imperialists from the throats of Haiti and Santo Domingo? The most effective remedy of all is the arousing of labor. Convince the American workers that their standard of living is endangered by the cheap labor of these oppressed peoples which American capitalists are exploiting for profits. Of course, even this will not halt the march of American imperialism. But it will cause an amelioration in the policy of occupation. The only hope of the little black as well as little white republics is the complete ending of world imperialism. This can only be done by the workers capturing political power. When the government is no longer in the grip of the banking interests, it will no longer serve as the collecting agency of the investment bankers of America. Then our India, our Corea, our Ireland will be free.

RAMPAGES OF KU KLUX KLAN ON PACIFIC COAST

"BY virtue of the authority in me vested by the constitution of the State of Oregon to see that the laws are faithfully executed and enforced, I hereby call upon all law enforcing arms of the government, including judges of the courts, sheriffs of the counties and any other law enforcing officers whatsoever to guard carefully against any infraction of the law, to insist that unlawfully disguised men be kept from the streets, and to prevent further outrages and maraudings, such as have occurred in some of our own communities and in the state of California. I particularly cite section 2046, Oregon laws, as a statute to be strictly enforced.

Bigotry Held Resented

"The time has come to determine whether our state government shall maintain its orderly way, controlled by the voice of all of the people, or whether it shall be turned over to some secret clique or clan, to be made the tool of invisible forces, working in the dark toward aims unknown to others than themselves. The true spirit of Americanism resents bigotry, abhors secret machinations and terrorism and demands that those who speak for and in her cause speak openly, with their faces to the sun.

"I call upon all loyal citizens of the state to give support to the proper law-enforcing arms of the government in this movement against masked riders or cloaked and disguised figures who unlawfully skulk about on secret missions for unknown ends.

"If masked men are permitted to roam promiscuously at large it will not be long before our wives and daughters will know no safety, our homes will no longer be our castles, and the streets will be scenes of disgraceful riot. Those practices must cease if there is law in our land and true Americanism is to prevail."

The foregoing statement is a part of the proclamation recently issued by the governor of Oregon. It was a throw down of the gauntlet in the fight

over the nomination between Governor Ben W. Olcott and Charles E. Hall, the aspirant for the place of governor. Governor Olcott ran on an anti-Ku Klux Klan platform, while Charles E. Hall ran against him on a pro-Ku Klux Klan platform. Think of it! A candidate for governor on the Republican ticket running upon a pro-Ku Klux Klan platform!

Nor is this all. The Ku Klux Klan advocate came very near winning the election. Governor Olcott polled 42,962 votes. Charles E. Hall, the Ku Kluxer, polled 42,479. This means that the Ku Klux Klan came within 483 votes of carrying the state.

Warning! Unless Negroes and all those who are opposed to the Ku Klux Klan work persistently, vigorously and intelligently, the Ku Klux Klan will overcome the legally constituted authority in the state of Oregon! A shift of only 242 votes would have done the work *this time!*

FACT VS. FICTION

SOME of the Negro editors seem to be wandering away from reality on the Ku Klux Klan. They are living in a world of "*ought to be*," not in the world of "*as it is*." They tell the Negro to depend upon the authorities to protect their lives and property against such lawless elements as the Klan. That ought to be possible. It is a disgrace that it has to be questioned. But no sane, courageous thinker would contend that Negroes can afford to rely upon the police and authorities when the evidence reveals the police and authorities are largely members of the Ku Klux Klan. To do so would be equivalent to permitting a criminal to select his own judge and jury and try himself.

What are some of the facts? Constable Mosher, high official in Los Angeles, was shot by the City Marshall while the constable had on a Ku Klux mask and was engaged in a lawless escapade.

The Bakersfield *Californian*, issue of May 6th, rests before me. Among the many members of the Ku Klux Klan in Bakersfield and Taft are the following:

Officialdom in the Klan

Bakersfield—Charles H. Stone, chief of police; F. W. Bunnell, justice of peace, sixth township; C. F. Baughman, police judge; R. R. Lucas, county sealer of weights and measures; J. E. Yancey, deputy sheriff; Thomas S. Laird, deputy sheriff; Silas E. Davis, deputy sheriff; Robert Lee Sheehan, superintendent of court house; Charles Britt, deputy at court house; John Gully, policeman; J. D. Campbell, fire department; J. B. Keith, fire department; William H. Murray, fire department; Fred Reed, fire department.

Taft—Stanley Abel, chairman of board of supervisors; George M. Cook, justice of peace; A. C. Parsons, Taft postmaster; Haskel M. Green, city trustee; J. M. Higgins, city trustee; Herbert V. Hearle, city trustee; Henry C. McClain, city trustee; W. E. McFadden, city treasurer; C. Z. Irvine, city clerk; R. M. Padrick, assistant chief fire department.

Look at this list and study it over and over. Chief of police, police justice, judge, sheriffs, three of them, superintendent of court house, deputy of court house, policeman, fire department members (who no doubt will see that the fires set to Negro houses will not be put out)—*all members of the Klan in Bakersfield, California!*

In Taft, California, the same thing. Chairman of the Board of Supervisors, justice of the peace, the postmaster, four city trustees, the city treasurer, city clerk, assistant chief of fire department—all members of the Ku Klux Klan!

I note that District Attorney Woolwine of Los Angeles expressed surprise at the prominence of the Klan's members in the list his agents seized. The United States Senate discovered prominent authorities on the lists in its possession. That is one of the chief reasons why the Senate Committee suddenly dropped the investigation.

The *New Age* of Los Angeles says: "Like all other law-abiding citizens, the Negroes of Los Angeles expect and are depending upon the authorities to protect the lives and the property of the community against the lawless element whether of Klan or other criminals." Very well; but what does the *New Age* ex-

pect when the authorities are the Klan? Who is going to protect us from the Ku Klux authorities?

We must not confuse the facts. We cannot afford to shut our eyes. To attempt to rely upon a set of authorities, proved beyond the shadow of doubt to be the ringleaders in the criminal band by which we are being persecuted, is like the African ostrich which sticks its head in the sand and believes there is no storm because he cannot see it. Nevertheless the storm comes and sometimes separates the bulk of its body from life and its head.

Klan baiting is not wanted. There is no need for Negroes to become hysterical. They do want that cold resolution, however, that invincible determination to protect their lives and property at any cost. No childish credulity is excusable in the face of the well established evidence from past experience; some of it, too, only yesterday.

Economics and Politics

THE NEXT EMANCIPATION

By JAMES ONEAL

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

TO live a happy, free life, with abundance assured to all; to have education and leisure; to be free of the curse of debt; to know that our children's future is assured; to be comfortably housed; to have work in pleasant surroundings; to enjoy ample incomes with a few hours of useful labor each day; to live in peace with our fellows; to know that men are no longer beasts to torture and lynch the weak; to breathe the free air with human beings enjoying all these rights, is the task of the next emancipation.

The Negro was a slave and now is "free." The white worker was a slave and now is "free." How do we know? We should know from history. The Negro was torn from his home in Africa and sold to white masters in America. What the masters did they said was law. It was law, for they and their lawyers made the law. Their officials enforced the law. So for nearly 250 years the Negro and his children were the bondsmen of white slave owners.

But the white workman was also a slave for about 200 years in America. Thousands were brought to America as contract slaves. Thousands were political offenders sold for terms of service to American planters. Thousands were kidnapped in British ports, brought to America and sold. White workers born in the colonies were sold for terms of service for minor breaches of the law.

The Negro's servitude was known as chattel slavery. The white worker's servitude was known as "inden-

tured service." In the American colonies laws for Negro slaves often applied to these white slaves. In the law codes both had the same lowly status. Both Negro and White could be parted from their families. Neither could marry without the consent of the master. Both could be whipped by the master. Both received the cast-off clothing of the masters. Both were crowded to suffocation in the ship bringing them to American ports. Thousands of Negroes and whites died in this traffic across the Atlantic, died of overcrowding, starvation and disease.

The white workers who were not "indentured servants" were wage workers. Yet their wages were generally fixed by law. For petty offenses they were sold into indentured service. Their terms could be increased for disobedience, for striking a brutal master, for trying to run away, or for some other reason. So that a man bound to serve three years or five years might serve ten years or twenty years or thirty years.

The laws to catch runaways applied to whites as well as Negroes. This was even put into the Constitution of the United States. Read Article IV, Section 3. It remains where the "fathers" of the government put it. It reads: "No person held to SERVICE or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such SERVICE or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such SERVICE or labor may be due."

The word "service" was inserted in this clause to include white "indentured servants" who escaped from their masters. The word "labor" applies to the Negro. The word "persons" included both. Therefore, whites as well as Negroes were regarded and treated as slaves. The only difference was that the "indentured servant" was not a slave for life.

We get one important lesson from these facts. *The Negro question is not exclusively a color question.* The white masters enslaved men and women of their own color as well as Negroes. What the masters wanted and what the masters got was cheap labor. It was a LABOR problem with them. It is a LABOR problem with you, as we shall see.

Perhaps some readers may doubt this. But consider this fact. There were Negroes who came to own Negroes. *In this case where was the color line?* There was none, no more than there was a color line in the whites owning whites. The Negro master wanted what the white master wanted—cheap labor. He did what millions of white masters do in all modern countries—rob the men, women and children of their own race and color.

The Fundamental Fact

If we would understand the Negro question we must realize the fundamental fact that it is at bottom a LABOR question. Nor is it a matter of religion. Religious men have enslaved religious men. Infidels have enslaved infidels. Why? Again comes the answer, because they wanted cheap labor. The Puritan, Quaker, Catholic and Episcopal Church of England were established in the colonies. The Puritans held whites in bondage in New England. Even in Pennsylvania for a time William Penn's agents gathered "indentured servants" from Europe. The Episcopal Church ruled in Virginia, where whites and Negroes were enslaved. The Catholic Church in Maryland had its Catholic slave owners. In all these colonies masters owned men and women of their own religious faith.

Neither religion nor color drew a line between mastery and slavery. It was a LABOR question with the masters of both colors and all religions.

Nor was it a matter of "good" men or of "bad" men. Many masters were brutal and some were kind. But both types owned slaves or "indentured servants." Color made no difference to them. Neither did religion. They were interested in having cheap LABOR that would keep them in ease and comfort. This they obtained from both whites and Negroes.

This fundamental fact not only underlies the Negro question, but the whole labor question of our time. It affects the white worker, the Negro worker, the Mexican, the German, the French and all other nationalities.

If we consider these nationalities for a moment we will find the same fundamental question of LABOR involved. Rockefeller is an American capitalist. He is interested in important mines in Colorado. Some years ago a strike occurred in these mines. Some terrible massacres of men, women and children followed by hired gunmen.

The Rockefeller agents did not attack Greeks, or Poles, or Negroes. Nor did they refrain from attacking American miners. All were attacked alike. The

Rockefeller interests wanted cheap LABOR. They did not care whether Greek, Polish, Negro or white American workers supplied this labor power.

The masters do not draw the color line, or the religious line, or any lines of nationality. The masters of labor in all ages have acted the same way. The real division of humanity is between mastery and slavery. Color, religion and nationality are mere incidents. Masters will use the color line, or religious differences, or differences of nationality, to divide workers. They will stir these prejudices for this purpose. But masters themselves do not divide along these lines when they face the toilers in a struggle.

The capitalist master is a capitalist master, whether his skin is black or white. The wage worker is a wage worker, whether his skin is black or white. If the black worker works for a white master he does not improve his lot by working for a black master. The white worker is not a free man because a white capitalist employs him. He is robbed just the same as the Negro worker is.

The great facts for both white and Negro workers to understand is that as wage workers they have common interests. WAGE LABOR unites them in the same class. Both sell their labor power for wages. Both must sell it to capitalist owners of mills, factories and mines. Masters want to purchase it at a low price, and workers want to sell it at a high price.

Another truth to remember is that the white worker has no interests bound up with the white capitalists. Because their color is the same is no proof that their interests are the same. Likewise, the black worker has no interests bound up with the black banker or capitalist. Their color is the same, but the way in which each gets his living makes all the difference in the world.

(To be continued)

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Education and Literature

MISTAKES OF KELLY MILLER

REPLY TO KELLY MILLER ON SEGREGATION IN EDUCATION

By CHANDLER OWEN

Most prominent Negro leaders are like Daniel Webster: *Whenever they make a mistake, they make a colossal one.* Four significant illustrations of this may be seen in the "Atlanta Compromise Speech" of Booker T. Washington; the *"Close Ranks—Let Us Forget Our Grievances"*; editorial of W. E. B. Du Bois; the recent article of Kelly Miller in the *Chicago Defender* of February the 11th, which by suggestion, intimation and implication, presented a labored argument for racial segregation in the schools of the North and West; and Major Robert Russa Moton's address to the Negro Soldiers in France, entitled: *"Be Modest and Unassuming When You Get Back Home."*

One writer has aptly said: "To teach the alphabet is to inaugurate a revolution: to build a school bouse is to construct a fort." Algernon Lee, director of the Rand School of New York, maintains: *"The only bomb which oppressors fear is the bomb of education. The only arsenal which the oppressors dread is an educational institution."* These sufficient and tersely stated truisms eloquently express the unique importance of the school system as a medium of education. *"Knowledge is power,"* hence the school system is a medium for the dissemination of power. Whoever, therefore, places Negro children or Negro youths at a disadvantage in getting education is sabotaging their opportunities for attaining social power. It is for this reason that we are entering into a controversy with a man whom we have regarded as reasonably honest, much above the average in intelligence, and one of the most influential educational leaders among the Negroes.

Having known Professor Miller as we have, for many years, we are inclined to believe the opinion given out, was influenced tremendously by outside forces. In as much, however, as truth is indifferent to the author, the soundness or unsoundness of Prof. Miller's opinion will not be modified by the sincerity or insincerity with which they are expressed. *Two times two equals four*—would be true, whether the person expressing the fact was a statesman, a scholar or a scoundrel. It is then upon the actual merits of the argument that we shall examine and lay bare Prof. Miller's contention for racial segregation in the Northern and Western Schools.

We shall answer Professor Miller's argument in the more logical order. The first part of his article is rather irrelevant and immaterial and might be disposed of by saying: "The World War created a demand for labor in the North and West. Negroes came to the cities of those sections for work—some 500,000

or more of them. Whereas most Negroes in the South live in the rural districts, most Negroes of the North live in the cities. Living in the cities they will have to be educated in the cities. They are not now largely segregated in the North. In some places they are segregated." And to quote from Prof. Miller here: "Does Segregation Help Us?"—"The question naturally arises as to how far separate educational facilities will be deemed advisable for the Negroes in Northern cities as their numbers tend to increase.

"This is already a mooted question in such cities as Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Cincinnati and Chicago. In Washington, Baltimore, St. Louis and Kansas City, where separate Colored schools are maintained, there is a much larger enrollment of Colored pupils in the higher levels of instruction than in Philadelphia, New York and Boston, where the schools are mixed. The separate systems seem to invoke a keener incentive and zest.

"Will separate schools bring out the higher aspirations of the Negro and lead to the unfolding of his powers and possibilities? is the question countered by the query: Will not scholastic separation on racial lines vitiate the spirit of democracy and lower the standards of the less favored race? This controversy will doubtless engender great heat of feeling and animosity on part of both races."—"It Probably Does?"—"The final outcome should be determined in the light of the best good to the Negro as well as that of the community. The purpose of the schools is to produce good and useful citizens. This objective should transcend all theoretical questions of manner or method. And yet the great democratic ideal must be kept constantly in mind."

At the outset let me say, I do not regard democracy or non-segregation as ends in themselves. Their value is to be determined by what they produce. In other words, they are means to certain ends. The end is the greatest good to society. As the Professor says: "The final outcome should be determined in the light of the best good to the Negro as well as that of the community." Here we are on solid ground, for I contend and shall prove that what is best for the Negro is best for the community. To illustrate: One community has a group of illiterate, ignorant, criminal Negroes; another has a group of well read, intelligent, law abiding Negroes. The intelligent and law respecting group of Negroes are not only better for themselves but better for the community because they are not constantly thrown upon society, thru crime and disease, in jails, reformatories and hospitals. Likewise the ignorant and criminal group are worse

for themselves and the community. It is logical and proper then to ask: Does segregation in the school system help us? If it does, it ought to be adopted; if it does not, it must be injurious, and should therefore be rejected.

That segregation in the schools is already a mooted question in Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Cincinnati and Chicago argues nothing—pro or con. That in Washington, Baltimore, St. Louis and Kansas City where separate colored schools are maintained the enrollment of colored pupils in higher levels of instruction is alleged to be larger than in Philadelphia, New York and Boston where the schools are mixed—argues nothing either.

The natural question of the social student is: Why is the attendance greater? And is segregation the cause or merely a coincidence? It happens that I had just completed a visit through the Sumner High School of St. Louis an hour before this article of Prof. Miller fell into my hands. I had heard much of the celebrated Sumner High School. I yearned to see it. Yet as I approached the door my eyes first fell upon a room of children who looked like kindergarten pupils—as they were. A large part of the school was occupied by such pupils. This no doubt explains in a measure this larger Negro attendance or enrollment in schools of higher instruction where segregation prevails! It is a case of a lower standard! The pupils were not high school students at all. There appeared to be about as much kindergarten attendance as high school. Upon inquiry I also learned that two and one half million dollars had been appropriated by the city of St. Louis to erect two more white high schools, but not a cent for Negro high schools! On the contrary, the basements, halls, laundries and gymnasiums were being fitted up with desks in the Sumner High School. There was crowding, on the one hand, and a congeries of pupils from the kindergarten to the high school, on the other. The school which had been equipped for 600, had 1300 pupils in it. The school which had been built for high school students had kindergarten pupils in it.

Professor Miller says "The separate systems seem to invoke a keener incentive and zest." Here the doctor fails to distinguish the apparent from the real. He confuses the lack of equipment with *increased interest and incentive!* He erroneously classes congestion as zest to learn.

There is much to be said for this fallacy, nor is it surprising that Miller tripped on it. Especially elusive is it unless one is most painstaking and acute in his analysis. Where schools are segregated, Negroes generally have limited equipment. They are constantly encroaching upon their too inadequate space, a fact which presents to the superficial thinker the appearance of large attendance. But the attendance is only relatively large! It is large because the school equipment is small! Not so where the schools are mixed. Whenever new high schools are built they are built for all pupils, black and white. And most important—to build for the whites it is necessary to build for the colored! This fact prevents the kind of congestion which occurs in the segregated school cities because white citizens are more alert and aggressive than Negroes in demanding education for their

children; so we get the full advantage for Negro children out of the interest and concern of white parents for their own children.

Herein lies the great argument *for* mixed and *against* segregated schools. Unless Negro and white children use the same schools, here is what will always happen in most details: Negro children will have schools not so well equipped as the whites; the school terms for Negroes will, as a rule, be shorter than the terms for whites; the whites will have better teachers because the white teachers will be more highly paid, which means opportunity to secure more and better education; the recreation centers for Negroes will be little dumps, swamps, narrow lots or dark congested rooms, whereas the white children will be provided with beautiful parks, spacious indoor gymnasiums, large light airy play rooms, desirable playgrounds. The Negro playgrounds will be low and wet; the whites will be high and dry. When all children sit in the same class rooms, what is taught one must be taught the other; the equipment of the white child must be the equipment of the Negro child, too; if a white child has a competent teacher, the Negro child has a competent teacher also. Besides, both black and white children will be taught by both black and white teachers—all of which makes for real educational equality.

A word too should be said concerning the high schools of Washington, D. C., Baltimore and Kansas City. However well equipped they may be, they are inferior to the white high schools of those respective cities. All that can be said of the Dunbar and Sumner High Schools of Washington and St. Louis, respectively, is that they are *pretty good Negro high schools!*

A great sociologist once said: "The opponents of a sound doctrine generally supply the strongest arguments for support of the doctrine they oppose." It would seem that Prof. Miller has fallen into this trap. Note the following quotation in substantiation of my claim. Prof. Miller writes: "In the South the Negroes are found mainly in the rural districts, where school facilities are meager and inadequate, and even in the larger cities of this section the provisions for 'colored schools' fall woefully short of the up-to-date standards of a well ordered system."

The cause of this condition ought to be apparent to Dr. Miller. The Southern schools for colored people are low in standards and inadequate in equipment because they are segregated; just as the Northern separate schools for Negroes are inferior to similar schools for white children. (Of course, I don't overlook the fact that the South spends too small a sum for the education of both white and colored children. Nevertheless, it sees that the scales are constantly tipped in favor of white children. For instance, the South spends, for the essential item of teachers' salaries, \$2.89 per capita per annum *for colored children*, and \$10.32 for white children. Too little for whites—but more than three times as much as for the colored children!)

Prof. Miller proceeds with a most novel argument in saying: "The colored children of the North have not seemed over-eager to avail themselves of the advantages provided for them. They have not felt the necessity of thorough educational equipment for the life tasks that lay within their reach." I never heard

that any children, anywhere, at anytime, did seem over-eager to avail themselves of educational advantages. The fundamental law of education is that there is no natural demand for education on the part of children. They would rather play than study. The principle tersely stated is: "Those who have least education need most; and those who have most need least. Yet those who have most want most, and those who have least want least. *The law of supply and demand does not govern education.* It is out of consideration of this fact that all students of pedagogy recognize that in order for a system of education to be efficient—

it must be compulsory... It must be enforced education thru the state, parents or guardians—but preferably the state which removes the personal relationship of parents and guardians.

Immediately following the above statement Prof. Miller claims that Southern children have shown themselves more eager to get knowledge than the Northern children. He gives no facts, statistical or general in support of this allegation, and since it is very material to his argument, the failure to present such proofs is suggestive that the author has none.

(To be completed in next issue)

Through the Northwest and up the Pacific Coast

By CHANDLER OWEN

East Side Mothers Meeting

My last address in Los Angeles was under the auspices of the East Side Mothers' Club—on the Truth About Harding's Negro Policy. Approximately 1500 people attended, it being my biggest meeting of the entire trip. The ninth speech in Los Angeles and 1500 people out! This was no mean tribute. 1500 people too, who were most representative!. *It's enough to make the fossilized New York Age—a stone age sheet—rankle with the green eye!*

A shudder of surprise flashed thru the audience when I began by criticising the cold reception I had received in that city. *Such an ingrate, they must have thought.* A round of merriment went up when I explained the weather had been as cold as that I left in New York, *but they made up in warmth of hearts what was dissipated by the chilly weather.* (It was the coldest winter they ever had on the Pacific Coast.)

The East Side Mothers are doing splendid social work in looking after needy but worthy girls.

Two days later, March 9th, I left for San Francisco. A good sized party of white and colored persons were at the station to bid me good-bye. Mrs. Lena Morrow Lewis introduced me to Dr. David Starr Jordan, President Emeritus of Leland Stanford Junior University. We had planned for a pleasant chat, but found our trains were different, leaving ten minutes apart—one going to Oakland and the other to San Francisco.

San Francisco and Oakland

The worst storm I had seen since I left New York greeted me in Oakland. It was not only rainy, but cold. It started about 5 o'clock and continued through the night. About 40 people braved the storm and came out just the same. One young colored man, an aviator, told me he had flown ninety miles in an airplane to hear me, *"so please say something."* I spoke for about 20 minutes anyhow. Sunday morning Mr. E. B. Gray, real estate broker who had been instrumental in getting me to come there, motored over to Berkley and carried me thru the grounds of the University of California. Then we went to

15th St. A. M. E. Church. The minister who had met me, spied us. He asked me to say a word to his congregation. Sunday afternoon I spoke in San Francisco, at the Rank and File Hall, under the auspices of the Socialist Party. Of this address the *Oakland World* (white) said in part: *"Chandler Owen impresses San Francisco as great orator. He is one of those who can be termed truthfully a great orator. He explains things clearly, simply. He is a master of English diction. He is a veritable storehouse of information, and when the subject matter of his address calls for emotional expression he rises to eloquent lights."*

The same night I spoke in the leading colored church of San Francisco. Numbers of Oakland people attended. Persons in the audience had come fifty miles to hear me. Mr. E. B. Gray, in introducing me, said to the audience: "I have promised myself not to bring any one else here till I am certain he has a new message. We've had different men, but the same story so far. Mr. J. B. Bass of the Los Angeles *Eagle* has assured me that Chandler Owen has a brand new, burning, practical message."

March 13th I went to Sacramento. I was met by the Rev. Fred Hughes of St. Andrew's A. M. E. Church. At 7:30 P. M. it rained so hard I felt sure I would get a night off. Not so, however. Rev. Hughes sent his little girl to look in the church about quarter to eight. She came back, reporting that the church was full of colored and white people. They came early—ahead of the rain. Here was one of the most appreciative meetings in my travels. The audience of about 250 people was above the average in intelligence. Many high school girls and boys were out. *There were 45 subscriptions taken!* The collection was chiefly quarters and half dollars. The people wanted to entertain me but I was compelled to take the midnight train in order to reach Seattle Wednesday evening, March 15th.

Here was the most beautiful route of my entire trip. It was the Shasta Route *via* the Southern Pacific. The weather was warm, the sun bright, the sky clear. The moon was full. The high mountains were covered with the whitest snow which sparkled

like diamonds flashing from the mountains when quivers of sunlight would smite the crystal flakes. The train was compelled to travel slowly. It was winding around mountains, shooting thru tunnels, crossing streams, changing its physical surroundings every few minutes. About 6 P. M. of March 14, we got off—while the train waited—at Ashland, Oregon. We went to the hotel and had a good chicken dinner. No discrimination was even intimated. When we returned to the train, a group of white fellows suggested a game of whist which we played till bed time. Next morning we were nearing Portland, when I arose. I did not have time to stop here more than an hour, inasmuch as I was the speaker of the evening before the Central Labor Council of Seattle.

Here Rev. J. Logan Craw met me. I stopped at his home. He and Mrs. Craw treated me finely. They spared no pains in making it pleasant for me. He is pastor of the First A. M. E. Church of Seattle. He accompanied me to the Labor Temple where I spoke to the Central Council. Let us take a partial account from the Seattle Union Record (white daily) of March 16th. Large headlines announced: "*Noted Colored Editor Flays Shams and Cant of National Prejudice.*" Then the article continues: "Chandler Owen, famed colored orator and editor of the *Messenger*, addressed the Central Labor Council Wednesday evening.

"Owen, who is on a nationwide tour, was *accorded one of the most enthusiastic demonstrations that has ever been given any speaker* appearing before the council. Many visitors outside the council ranks availed themselves of the opportunity to hear Owen, an open session being declared for this purpose."

I spoke three times at the A. M. E. Church, March 17th, and at both services Sunday the 19th. Rev. Craw says these were the largest and greatest meetings they ever had. The forum innovation where people were permitted to ask questions delighted the audience. The U. N. I. A. was out in a body. The Black Cross Nurses that night had a front seat, inasmuch as I was discussing: "New Problems in Medicine."

Mr. J. F. Norris, last Negro member of the Tennessee Legislature, introduced me at my first colored meeting in Seattle. He told me many interesting experiences of Reconstruction.

The next two days found me in Tacoma, the Central Labor Council of Tacoma having voted to have me address them at the Labor Temple. Of this first meeting, the *Union Record* reports in part:

"Union Record Tacoma Bureau

"Tacoma, March 21.—Chandler Owen, colored orator and editor of the *Messenger*, a national magazine published in New York City, entertained and instructed an audience that filled the main hall in the Labor Temple last night. Owen proved to be a thorough student and radical in the true sense of the word."

The second day in Tacoma I addressed a colored audience at the Pythian Temple. It was a wide awake group of colored people with a few whites. Hon. J. A. Ryan, colored assemblyman elected on the Farmer-Labor ticket, was chairman. After the meeting a banquet was held for me at the Hotel Young,

which the Seattle Enterprise describes as "the most elaborate banquet ever given by colored business men in Tacoma." Hon. J. A. Ryan was toastmaster. Mr. Jesse Brooks a colored motor policeman, contributed much to the success and enjoyment of my stay.

Two days later I was in Spokane. I spoke under the auspices of the N. A. A. C. P. I stopped at the beautiful home of Mr. F. A. Stokes and was kept busy by the Rev. T. F. Jones. On Sunday something novel happened. I spoke at the A. M. E. Church in the morning, and Sunday night every church in the city turned out to hear me. They closed up; the ministers sat in the pulpit with me; their congregations formed the audience. It was a fine spirit of cooperation which I have no where else seen.

My last night in Spokane, thru the intercession of James A. Duncan, Secretary of the Seattle Central Labor Council, I addressed the Spokane Central Labor Council. Rev. Jones, Mr. Stokes and quite a group of colored men went down to hear me. It was one of the most enthusiastic receptions I ever saw.

The Twin Cities

A few days later found me in St. Paul and Minneapolis. Through Mr. Arthur McWatt I met Mr. George Stewart, exalted ruler of the Elks, who in turn introduced me to Rev. H. L. P. Jones, pastor of the St. James A. M. E. Church of St. Paul. A few days later April 4th, I spoke to a monster crowd which filled every nook and corner of this most powerful church in the Northwest. The next day I addressed the Central Labor Council of Minneapolis. I was so well-received that before I left the city the secretary and organizers like Lynn Thompson and Dan Stephens had me address the Union of Carpenters and Joiners, the Carmen's Union, the Painters Union and the House Wives Union.

I also addressed a splendid colored audience at the St. Peters A. M. E. Church in Minneapolis.

CLEVELAND, OHIO

MY last stop before reaching New York was in Cleveland, Ohio. Here I addressed the North Church Forum at 72nd Street and St. Clair Avenue. Its pastor is the Rev. David Reese Williams, brother of Albert Rys Williams, well known author. The audience here was chiefly white, but interspersed with a splendid attendance of chiefly thinking Negroes, like Charles W. Chesnutt, the novelist, his wife and daughter. The Negro question has been discussed here twice this year by Dr. Du Bois and myself.

A few days later I was the guest at an enjoyable dinner, along with an intellectual repast, when Mr. Chesnutt had me to dinner with his family, Mrs. Mattie Hunter, Hon. Harry Davis, the colored Assemblyman from Ohio and his wife, Mr. Will Greer and wife, and a few more choice friends. Mr. Chesnutt has a rare collection of books; he is versed upon other questions and is a splendid conversationalist. Mr. Davis is unlike the average Negro political representative. He is alert to the new political science problems and thinks quickly upon different economic, legal and social questions. He, Assemblyman Ryan of

Washington, and Assemblyman Roberts of California, were educated and cultured representatives.

I addressed the National Socialist Convention which was also meeting in Cleveland. It endorsed the Dyer Bill and called for equality for Negroes.

A few days later I addressed the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. The ovation received here was tremendous. It lasted for several minutes. I was the only Negro speaker, the only Negro in the house, but easily received one of the best receptions of any of the speakers appearing here. This convention was addressed by Gov. Davis of Ohio, Mayor Kohler of Cleveland, Senator Pomerene of Ohio, Samuel Gompers, Abraham Cahan, C. E.

Ruthenberg, Newton D. Baker, Ex-Secretary of War, Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee and other prominent speakers.

Sunday evening, May 7th, an excellent meeting was arranged for me at the Caterers' Club at which time I presented the program of the Friends of Negro Freedom. The forum method was adopted, questions being asked thick and fast. The audience was one of the most intellectual to be assembled in Cleveland. This club is a tribute to the men who organized and maintain it. It is exquisitely kept, centrally located, and run in a manner befitting a gentlemen's intellectual and social club.

(To be continued)

THE LABOR WORLD

WORKERS HELD FOR TREASON

SEVEN hundred and fifty miners and union officials are on trial in West Virginia for treason, conspiracy, murder and other charges growing out of the attempted march through Logan County into Mingo, last September. At Charlestown, where John Brown, the great abolitionist who struck out against chattel slavery, was tried for treason, white and black miners today are being tried for treason because they cried out against wage slavery. As John Brown's raid was put down by the armed forces of the slave state, so the demonstrations of the miners against a cruel and heartless system of wage slavery are put down by the police power of the capitalist state plus the hired gunmen of the coal operators. In West Virginia, the coal operators are the state. They own it. Their will is the law. Louis the XVI, the former Czar of Russia or the Kaiser of Germany never reigned or ruled more completely or tyrannically. Nor was slavery in the South more savagely maintained than is the dominion of the coal kings of West Virginia over the miners—white and black. And our Federal Government is silent. Why? The reason is obvious. The Federal like the State Government is an instrument of class oppression. It is wielded by the dominant class against the working class. This will ever be so, just so long as society is divided into propertied and propertyless classes. Thus the logical goal of the coal miners is to work to enlighten the workers generally of the nature and object of the State, to inform them of the futility of expecting relief from a State owned and controlled by their bosses. Fight on to organize. If you were not on the correct course, you would not be murdered, jailed and deported by those who uphold law and order and protect the interests of the dear public. Who are they?

Let Congressman Browne of Wisconsin tell the story. According to the A. F. of L. News Letter, he asked in congress recently what big interests back of the coal operators were powerful enough to defy the government. Then he answered his own question as follows:

The railroads and the United States Steel Corporation own over 75 per cent of the coal mines in the United States, both anthracite and bituminous, and

completely control the output of coal. What large financial institutions own the stock in these railroads and, therefore, own these coal mines and coal railroads? I answer again, they are owned by the following institutions:

J. P. Morgan Company.
First National Bank of New York.
Equitable Trust Company.
Guarantee Trust Company.
Equitable Life Assurance Association of the United States.
Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York.
American Surety Company.
Mechanical and Metals National Bank.
National City Bank.
National Surety Company.
New York Trust Company.
Chase National Bank.
United States Steel Corporation.

As an illustration of how the various coal companies doing business before the public in their own names, but in reality are controlled by one of the large aggregations of capital mentioned, take the United States Coal and Coke Company.

All of the stock of this company, amounting to \$2,000,000 is owned by the Illinois Steel company (capital stock \$18,650,600), which is owned by the Federal Steel Co. of New Jersey (capitalization \$46,434,300 common and \$53,260,900 preferred). All of the capital stock of the Federal steel corporation is owned by the United States Steel Corporation.

In the same way the United States Steel Corporation owns the Pocahontas Coal and Coke Company, and going further we find that J. P. Morgan Company and the financial institution just named hold a majority of stock in the United States Steel Corporation.

A group of twenty-five men control eighty-two per cent of the country's steam transportation system, operating 211,280 miles of railroad. These twenty-five men divide between them 193 directorships apiece. These twenty-five men sit together on the board of directors of ninety-nine class one railroads. The names of these twenty-five men are as follows:

Robert S. Lovett, William Rockefeller, H. W. De

Forest, A. H. Smith, G. F. Baker, H. S. Vanderbilt, Samuel Rea, L. P. Loree, A. J. County, A. W. Krech, F. N. Davis, Fairfax Harrison, W. W. Atterbury, J. E. Reynolds, Charles Steele, Howard Elliott, M. H. Smith, Charles Hayden, A. H. Harris, Julius Kruttschnitt, Charles E. Ingersoll, E. T. Stotesbury, E. V. R. Thayer, T. De Witt Cuyler, H. Walters.

It should be noted that the first eight men referred to all belong to the inner banking circle, centering around the house of Morgan and the National City Bank of New York.

Enuf sed! They are the state!

THE GENERAL STRIKE AND LAWLESSNESS

DUBLIN, April 24.—“The movement for enforcing a suppression of the terrorism which has been raging in Ireland for weeks was materially aided by the general protest strike today of the Labor party and the trade unions it represents.

“For 15 hours, Southern Ireland scarcely turned a wheel. One hundred thousand workers participated in the strike here, completely tying up every kind of activity.

“Huge mass meetings were held throughout this city where speakers protested against militarism and threatened to stop the munitions industry by a walk-out, if necessary, to bring the gunmen to their senses.”

Such is the way by which labor in Ireland proposes to stamp out lawlessness, and restore peace, law and order. Not a bad weapon this! When properly and courageously wielded, it is the Nemesis of the ruling class. Even a threat sends pandemonium through the ranks of the silk-gloved fraternity. A mere threat of a strike by the British Labor Council of Action forced the British Government to abandon its project of sending aid to Poland when she was trying to overthrow the workers' republic, Soviet Russia. If, at the time it was fairly certain that the war cloud would burst over Europe in July, 1914, the workers of Germany, France, Great Britain, Austria-Hungary and Russia had had sufficient international solidarity to call a general strike, there would have been no Great War. Of course, there is that “if” which never downs. The fact is the workers talked about the general strike, passed resolutions in their congresses against war, pledging themselves to a general strike in the event of war, but that was all. However, their failure then is no proof that it can not or will not be employed by labor. Labor moves slowly but surely. Witness Soviet Russia, a workers' government actually functioning in the interest of labor. Also witness the general strike in Germany which put down the Kapp revolution. Strange things are happening today.

It is not impossible either for the Negro workers to stage a *general strike demonstration* against the lawlessness, murder and crime of the Ku Klux Klan, and the burnings and lynchings of Negroes in the South, North and West.

This, of course, is based upon the assumption that Negroes join the unions, or organize themselves where they are denied entrance into the unions. A general strike could not have been called in Ireland, if the Irish workers had not been organized.

A general strike against lynching and the Ku Klux Klan by Negro workers would dramatize the issue of

a Federal law against lynching as nothing else possibly could. It would awaken the entire world to the Negro problem. The workers in all of the European, South and Central American countries would seize the opportunity to condemn American democracy. It would be effective not so much for what it did but chiefly for what it portended.

WORLDWIDE LABOR BOYCOTT OF JAPAN ASKED BY BRITISH

Six Million English Workers Sponsor Appeal to Save Working Men and Women of Siberia From Japanese Murder, Pillage and Rapine—

London, April 24.—The boycott of “all things Japanese” by international labor is strongly urged by the National Hands-Off Russia Committee to fight the Japanese in Siberia.

The appeal to international labor is signed by representatives of the 6,000,000 British workers organized in the Trades Union Congress and the Labor party.

Bravo! for British labor. Let American workers follow suit.

THEIR MASTER'S VOICE

The following interesting comment was made recently by the North-West Side *Bulletin*, on the support given by the daily newspapers to the demands of downtown property interests for a subway in Chicago:

During the year 1921 the loop department stores paid to the daily newspapers of Chicago the enormous total of \$5,940,978.47 for advertising. This does not include a million more spent in the foreign language papers and other means of advertising.

Of this total the various department stores have the following amounts paid in advertising to their credit:

Marshall Field & Co.	\$952,308.22
Rothschild's	833,166.10
Mandell Bros.	845,956.09
The Fair	820,971.16
Carson, P. S. & Co.	752,587.96
Boston Store	719,064.59
Hillman's	340,384.34
Leiter Stores	318,355.72
Stevens Bros.	308,085.29

Total\$5,940,978.47

The newspapers receiving this money are the *Daily News*, the *American*, the *Journal*, the *Post*, the *Tribune* and the *Herald Examiner*.

Is it any wonder that the daily newspapers plug for the interest of the loop and State street in particular?

This is the most powerful argument we can present for a labor press. What holds true with respect to the press, is also true of the school, church and stage. Labor must have its own voice if its cause is to be honestly, courageously and accurately presented.

RAILWAY CLERKS FOR RUSSIAN RECOGNITION

Convention Also Adopts Resolution for Amalgamation of Unions, But Balks on Taking Negroes Into Union

(Federated Press)

The race question was injected into the convention when a motion to eliminate the word white from the qualifications for membership in the brotherhood was lost for want of a second. Pandemonium broke when a delegate from New York made the motion. Delegates from the southern states vied with each other as to who could shout "No" the loudest. A second delegate from New York declared that in his city colored freight handlers outnumbered the whites four to one and that the convention should face the situation squarely.

Failure of the motion means the organization will continue to accept Negroes in sections where race prejudice is not pronounced in spite of the white clause in the constitution, and in the south will ignore him or encourage his organization into unions affiliated directly with the A. F. of L.

How foolish! How stupid Some of the American workers seem to be utterly incapable of learning anything from experience. Witness, if you will, a group of workers so blind and ignorant as to close the doors of their unions to workers on account of color, when they know that these very workers will be used as scabs to break down the union workers' standard of living! It is doubly strange too that a union which is liberal and radical enough to adopt resolutions favoring the recognition of Soviet Russia and the amalgamation of unions of different branches of work, should take such a reactionary, backward, narrow and unprogressive stand on unionizing the Negro workers. We must commend the New York delegate who introduced the motion to take Negroes into the unions. Necessity will ere long force the white workers of the South to join hands with their colored brothers. Meanwhile, Negroes should organize their own unions and fight both the hostile labor unions and the hostile employers.

LABOR GOVERNMENT IN NEW SOUTH WALES IS DEFEATED

Injection of Fake Religious Issue by Workers' Foes Carries Election

By W. Francis Ahern

(Federated Press)

Sydney, N. S. Wales.—As a result of general elections throughout New South Wales March 25, the Labor government has been defeated. The defeat came as a great surprise to members of the Labor government and the workers.

Labor's defeat was due in the main to the launching of a campaign of sectarianism by the political parties opposed to Labor. Big Business was determined to defeat the Labor government at all costs, and at the eleventh hour turned the issue into a religious fight between Protestants and Catholics.

Because of their tolerance for all religious liberties, the Labor government and candidates in the field were accused of being in league with the church, and that the latter was planning to secure control of the legislature of the state. Malignant lies and poisonous

literature were distributed, declaring that the hand of Rome was behind the Labor party.

If it isn't race, it is religion or nationality which divides and defends the aims of labor. So ignorant are the workers of the meaning of unity!

Big business can be relied upon never to be asleep as to a vulnerable spot in the armor of labor. It plays upon religion, race and nationality; which ever wins, it uses. We have no sympathy with the so-called Australian labor governments, for they are white workers' governments only. They even discriminate against persons of color landing in the country. Such a race prejudice-ridden government can not nor ought to stand. It is a living violation of the spirit of organized labor. It is not a whit better than the avowed anti-labor government which replaced it. Such working class hypocrisy should meet the unmeasured and severe condemnation of the class-conscious workers in Europe and America.

WHERE LABOR IS CHEAP

Messrs. Cammel, Laird and Co., the big shipbuilding people, are starting steel-smelting works in India. Their "United Steel Corporation of India, Limited," will register with a nominal capital of £20,000,000, and "India, it is believed, will be able to produce the cheapest steel in the world." You, Henry, can sit at home learning to live on the equivalent of a handful of rice a day, and devote your mind to the beauties of the capitalist organization of industry. There isn't any "capital" to set you to work again, you may remember.—*London Herald*.

The foregoing excerpt is highly indicative of the universality of the methods of capitalists. The object being always to get cheap labor, to make huge profits, they resort to every device calculated to achieve that end. To this end they shift industry from place to place, wherever labor is cheapest. Some times, of course, it is necessary to attract labor from one section to another. For instance the exodus of Negroes from the South into the North during the war. Now the textile unions of the North and East complain against the shifting of work South where Negro labor is cheap. The workers' only hope is to organize labor everywhere and of all colors.

EXPLODE FALSE PLEA OF TEXTILE BOSSES Strikers Find That Argument to Reduce Wages Is Mere Bluff

The Labor Bureau found, for instance, that the Consolidated Textile Corporation, of which F. K. Rupprecht is president and which is the largest single factor in the cotton industry, owns seventeen mills in Rhode Island and Massachusetts and at least ten mills in the south. Its distributing agent is the firm of Converse and Company which has exclusive control of nineteen other southern mills besides those directly owned by the Consolidated.

The profits of the Amoskeag mills of Manchester, N. H., which are said to be the largest mills in the United States, for the years 1917 to 1921 inclusive, increased twenty-nine per cent over the profits made in the previous five years and ninety per cent over

the profits made between 1907 and 1911 inclusive. In 1921 the profit per dollar per sale was 5.5 cents. But in 1921 the wages of the mill operatives were cut 22½ per cent. The average weekly wage of the Amoskeag worker at the time of the strike, according to Mr. Struthers was \$14.65 for a 48-hour week. Many of the less skilled workers were being paid between ten and eleven dollars a week.

Warning! The Textile workers should take note of the fact that their boss, the Consolidated Textile Corporation is also the boss of thousands of white and black workers in the South. It owns 10 mills in the South so the Labor Bureau found. Besides, the Converse Company the distributing agent of the Con-

solidated Textile Corporation, controls 19 other mills in the South. See what is happening! The New England Textile operators are fast shifting their industry to the South where labor is unorganized and is consequently cheap. With this strategy they will ultimately destroy the Textile workers unions. This is deflation of the workers' wages and unions with a vengeance! It is a cue to the unions to adopt similar tactics. Go into the South and organize the field. Beware of race prejudice. To succumb to its deadly virus is to fail. To leave the Negroes out of the organization is to leave out the club with which the bosses will break your heads; for Negro workers will very gladly take a stand against you and justly so. This is no time for any white men's unions.

The Friends of Negro Freedom

MINUTES OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE FRIENDS OF NEGRO FREEDOM

New York, N. Y., May 16, 1922.

THE National Executive Committee met at its spring session May 16, 1922, in New York City. The meeting was called to order at 3:30 o'clock. A. Philip Randolph was elected as Chairman.

Chandler Owen, who had just returned from an organizing tour for the Friends of Negro Freedom, reported on the work with recommendations and suggestions. Fourteen new councils have been organized and it was decided to bring the number up to thirty within the next two months. The executive secretaries, A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, were instructed to see that organization is effected and perfected in New York, Philadelphia, Newark, Brooklyn, Los Angeles, Boston, Jersey City, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, Denver, San Francisco, Oakland, Tacoma, Seattle, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Cleveland, Baltimore, Washington, and Harrisburg. It was also decided to include the southern cities of Norfolk, Portsmouth, Newport News, Richmond, Va., and Louisville, Ky., in the organizing list.

An immediate program was decided upon.

1. In view of the losses suffered by the Negroes in Tulsa, Oklahoma, during the riot last year, which losses were not indemnified because their insurance policies exempted the companies from liability in case of destruction from riots, the committee gave close attention to this problem. It ordered the secretaries, through the official organ, the general press, and the local councils of the organization to urge and advise Negroes to take out insurance upon their homes which expressly gives indemnity in the case of losses because of riot. The question of other economic losses was considered; for instance, from earthquakes. It was decided to investigate the Pacific coast conditions to find out what disposition was made of losses due to the San Francisco fire resulting from the earthquake. If indemnities were not paid, it would no doubt be well for Negroes to secure insurance against losses from earthquakes in sections where they are most likely to occur.

The infrequency of both these catastrophes will make insurance costs negligible.

2. Industry and its relations to Negroes was considered from two points of view:

(a) Negroes kept out of industries and trades by the owners, operators and employers.

(b) Negroes kept out of the trades or the unions by the labor unions.

With respect to the owners, operators and employers the committee discussed the theatre, the railroads, athletics, the clothing and printing trades.

(1) The Theatre:

The committee decided to approach the Loew, Keith and other theatre interests with respect to getting more Negro actors upon the stage. It remarked that the actors' unions hardly opposed their presence on the stage as evidenced by the Drama League's fight for Charles Gilpin a year ago. The patrons do not oppose Negroes as actors in the theatre as shown by the reception the Negro actors usually get wherever they appear. The problem must therefore rest with the employers—the theatre syndicates, owners, operators and managers.

(2) The Railroads:

The committee was instructed to open immediate negotiations with the railroad operators for the putting on the trains Negro engineers, conductors and switchmen. It is to inquire if there is objection to this, and if so, what that objection is.

(3) Athletics:

Baseball and boxing were specifically considered. Robert Bagnall gave very helpful counsel on the boxing methods of evasion. Sometimes it is the boxers trying to dodge a dangerous Negro opponent, and again it is the State Boxing Commission. The former cannot be overcome except by public opinion. The latter can be met, however, by bringing political pressure. The boxing commission is the creature of the Governor, as a rule, so Negroes can hold out the vote threat.

In baseball it was decided to present the economic argument. Negroes are great devotees of sports. Where contests are mixed, Negro "fans" or the sport lovers attend the games and pay big box receipts. The

same is true of the theatre, the prize fight, the Negro jockey in a horse race. Moreover, white prize fighters box with Negro trainers. The big league white baseball players contest with Negroes in "after-season" games.

The committee was instructed to get in touch with the officials of the National and American Baseball Leagues, respectively.

LABOR AND THE NEGRO

I. The Theatre:

The Executive Secretaries are instructed to confer with the Actors' Equity Union, to ascertain whether Negroes are admitted, to secure information as to the number of Negroes in the union, and if none are in it, what conditions are keeping Negroes out.

2. The Railroads:

The Railroad Brotherhoods are generally known to exclude Negroes. This may be mere hearsay upon which the Friends of Negro Freedom cannot predicate a program. The Committee therefore decided to write the officials of the Big Four Railroad Brotherhoods as to their policy toward the Negro.

3. Clothing and Printing Unions:

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is the big union which largely controls the making of most of the men's clothing in the United States, while the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union controls the making of women's clothing. Both of them are fair; they admit Negroes and all other races. A small part of the industry is not controlled by them, and this sometimes discriminates against Negroes.

The Printing Trades are largely white men's organizations. Negroes are frequently discriminated against. Their shops cannot get the union label.

As a means of meeting this situation, the Friends of Negro Freedom will work upon having its Labor Union Committee devise plans for issuing its own union label in any trade where Negroes are willfully denied entrance. It will also stop the use of Negroes as the football of capital and labor.

The Organization will not allow Negroes to be called in as strikebreakers, only to be thrown out when the strike is settled. If the union in questions admits Negroes, the Friends of Negro Freedom will use its influence to stop Negroes from acting as strikebreakers. If Negroes are denied entrance to the unions, the Labor Union Committee is instructed to organize the Negroes separately and make flawless contracts with the employers whereby the Negro workers cannot be discharged. In short, the settlement of such a strike must be a settlement with the Negro union workers.

III. The Executive Secretaries were instructed to appear before labor councils and unions and present the Negro problem to organized labor.

IV. No council is to enter into the co-operative business until it confers with the National office. A minimum of 500 members should participate in a co-operative.

V. All the councils are to be instructed to secure places of meeting and speakers for their winter forums, the ideal thing being for the forums in each city to begin not later than October first and continue

till the last of May. About eight dates should be filled. The National Office will co-operate in securing speakers for any council.

VI. The Tenants League Committee is urged to begin active work in the congested centers, usually the large cities like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Baltimore, Detroit, Cleveland. It is to fight for (1) reduction of rents; (2) better service; (3) education of the tenant in the care of property; (4) the performance of its own duties by the municipal authorities.

VII. A new treasurer was elected to fill a vacancy. David I. Martin, Director Martin-Smith Music School in New York, was unanimously elected.

VIII. It was decided to present the united front in some measures, but never to fuse, merge and lose the identity of the Friends of Negro Freedom.

IX. All councils are shortly to be issued charters, emblems are to be used, and buttons given to each member as part of his equipment.

X. In order that the work may become more widespread the executive committee requested the Secretaries to prepare a simple article and publish in the MESSENGER on "*How to Organize a Council of the Friends of Negro Freedom.*"

Also a pamphlet was ordered to be prepared explaining simply, clearly and in detail the work of each committee and of each division in a council.

XI. The Executive Committee instructed each member to report at the next session a plan for work in the South. This work is assigned to Southern members, viz., Grace Campbell from Texas, Robert Bagnall from Virginia, A. Philip Randolph from Florida, and Chandler Owen from North Carolina.

The Committee was admonished that this program must be framed with great care, free from impractical proposals. Otherwise the confidence of the Southern Negroes in our judgment would be destroyed. Hence men and women were appointed who thoroughly understood the Negro's condition in the South.

CLUE FOUND TO SAVE SACCO AND VANZETTI

Hope for Doomed Men if Funds for Next Two Months Are Raised

Definite evidence establishing the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti, Italian union men convicted of murder in Dedham, Mass., last July, will be presented to the public within a short time, according to Selma Maximon, field secretary of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee of Boston.

That these workers are innocent, no fair-minded person who has followed the case, will deny. Ample evidence has been presented to establish that they are the victims of a frame-up. With the capitalists' courts, however, proof is no proof when the life of a militant worker is at stake. We workers, black and white, Jew and Gentile, native and foreign, should stand behind these men. Send them dollars to help bear the expense. They must not die!

Open Forum

PROSPECTUS OF GEORGIA

A FEW months ago I journeyed extensively through the far South, studying and analyzing the economic, educational, and political conditions that existed particularly in the State of Georgia.

Georgia is a region of vast resources. The peculiar topography and salubrious climatic conditions are adapted to a variety of farm products. Savannah has become one of the world's renowned cotton markets because of the industry and thrift of the Georgian Negro. It is indeed an appealing scene, to walk along the quays and hear the dusky deck hands chanting their quaint melodies as they load the hulls of the sea-going ships.

Some of the wealthiest Negroes in the world are the cotton kings of Georgia. On slight knolls overlooking their extensive plantations the pillarded houses of these black lords, repose among towering trees. For more than two centuries the people have concentrated their productive energies upon the raising of cotton, but in 1921 the terrible bollweevil plague swept over vast areas and devastated the country. Expert chemists and producers sought to counteract this fiery tongued invasion, but the multiplicity of the weevil only continued; and the black tenants groaned in terror as they saw the results of their endeavor swept away. The crispness of the Southern atmosphere heralded the approach of winter. It was a pathetic picture to see the dusky toilers of the rural districts anxiously fighting against an iron-hearted fate. I left the cotton belt in the late fall, but returned in mid-winter. During this later visit I found the fields in the clutches of a brumal blast, extremely severe for that State. Lack of fuel and the failure of crops had precipitated undue suffering.

But, after all, was the plague a blessing or a curse? Prior to this time the Georgian farmer had looked to other sections for the various commodities needed for his personal existence. Cotton had been his agricultural fort. Would these farmers divide the production of crops and produce other needed grains which previously they had secured in exchange?

The cities of the South recall to mind the ancient walled cities of China; within the metropolitan limits there are educational facilities and comparative political and physical protection—but beyond the walls, in the outer darkness of the rural districts, unspeakable conditions obtain. Rural Georgia is gripped with a plague far worse than the bollweevil. Ignorance and lynching, the skeletal wolves of the South, stalk about unbridled. Education is a farce. Many of the rural schools open after the cotton-picking season and Christmas holidays are over, only to close in March, so as to permit the return of the pupils to the fields for the spring crops. This planting, chopping season lasts until August, when they have one month's rest before the cotton-picking period begins. Some students go to school during this month.

Behold the Paradox. Atlanta has more colored colleges than any city in the world. She is the Athens of the South. Yet with six great institutions in this one metropolis we have this criticism. A great mistake has been made in not spreading these colleges over all the State. Wealth, culture, and learning mark the Atlanta Negro, while the rural Negro gropes in utter night.

Georgia's political life is like the moral life of ancient Babylon—rotten to the core. The Law is a White Man's Law. Courts are however universal; for every white man is a petit court. The Negro's vote is nil, when he dares to cast it.

There are two organizations in Georgia that are the heinous instrumentalities wielded mercilessly to curb all political aspirations of the Negro; the White Caps and the Ku Klux Klan. To the Northerner these organizations are semi-mythical, but to the Southern Negro they are an old terror. The White Caps compel Negroes to remain on peonage farms or in the employment of whites. These unfortunates are forced to sign contracts which they do not comprehend and then under the law they are forced to keep them. The Klan rides through the night with fiery crosses and intimidates the black inhabitants, firing cottages and firing into the dwellings of peaceable citizens.

I, myself, beheld the lynching of Ross in Newman, Georgia. I shall never forget the ghastliness and atrocity of that scene. Five-hundred poor whites severed his body in the public square, while thousands of so-called honorable citizens, looked on with interest. Surely this is worse than any Negro in his most bloodthirsty moments. Even the impressionable minds of babes were held up to behold the devilish picture. Selah.

When Georgia places as much energy and time on educational and religious uplift as she does on lynching and peonage, her name will not be the joke of the civilized nations.

—By Negro Student.

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A CALL TO JUSTICE

By the American Civil Liberties Union of Philadelphia

POSITIVE PROOF THAT NEF AND DOREE ADVISED AGAINST RESISTANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT OR THE WAR

As stated above, the government failed at the trial to produce a single word spoken or written by Nef, Doree, Walsh or Fletcher that would indicate the slightest disposition to oppose any part of the government's war policy.

But further: abundant proof exists that Nef and Doree consistently advised their men *not* to do anything of the sort. For instance, in May, 1917, Nef wrote to E. J. Lever, of Baltimore, an organizer for his union, notifying him to take cognizance of the requirements of the Draft Act, and to explain its provisions to all members of the Baltimore branch of the union, and that they should all be instructed to comply with these provisions. Lever himself was in the army in France at the time of the trial, and the carbon copy of Nef's letter to him disappeared—along with other documents which tended to disprove the government's contentions—during the time that the office files of the Philadelphia union were seized and held by the government. Since his return from France, Lever has made affidavit that he received from Nef a letter to the above effect. Numerous local members of Nef's union have made affidavit that Nef gave them similar advice orally.

In May, 1917, Doree received two letters, one from the "People's Council" of Philadelphia, and one from the late Chas. Schenk, then Secretary of the Philadelphia Local of the Socialist Party. Each letter asked if Doree would consent to speak at proposed anti-draft meetings. Doree swears that the correspondence dealing with these requests was in his files when they were seized by the government, but later when search was made they could not be found. Doree replied to both letters with a refusal. His affidavit states:

"In effect, I stated my position on war and compulsory military service. I made it clear that as much as I hated war, war was now a fact and could not be treated in an abstract theoretic method. . . . I contended that it was not now a question of whether or not we should have war, but a question of how this war could be ended; that world peace would come only upon two principal conditions, one side would have to win a decisive victory, or, the weight of war become so intolerable that it could no longer be carried on. To secure the end of the war by either means, *it was better that the United States had also entered.* [Italics ours.] If men must go to war, it was a matter of little importance who went. I wound up by saying that conscription in this war was necessary if it was to be successfully prosecuted as I did not think this was a popular war, but stated jocularly that I was used to being in unpopular movements and possibly could stand it."

That Doree advised and urged the members of his union to comply with the draft law and other war-time legislation is proved by affidavits from many of

them. At the trial he testified: "*I advised all of my organizers to register. My organizers are now in the army.*"

THE VERDICT IN THE CASE OF THESE MEN WAS UNJUST

We have quoted above Captain Alexander Sidney Laniers' opinion. Captain Lanier had the best possible opportunity to study all the evidence; and he states that he is utterly repelled by the principles and tactics of the I. W. W., which makes all the more important his belief that these men were unjustly convicted. The mere fact that the jury decided the case of 98 men on four counts in 25 minutes shows that they could not possibly have given any real consideration to the reams of testimony about the individual defendants. Against some of the defendants there was admittedly evidence that they had spoken or written in opposition to the war-policy of the government—whether they had *conspired* to do so or not. Against these four men from Philadelphia there was no such evidence; there was evidence that two of them had counseled submission to the very laws which they were charged with conspiring to oppose. It is evident that the jury simply lumped all the defendants together, without even an effort to consider the evidence in the case of each man separately.

LITERATURE OF THE I. W. W. ALLEGED TO BE SEDITIOUS

It is admitted that the I. W. W. as an organization had always opposed war in general, and particularly nationalistic wars. Many other organizations and individuals in the country had done the same; and before the war no one questioned the legality of such a position. It is also admitted that at the national convention of the I. W. W. in 1916—long before the United States entered the war—a resolution was passed by the United Mine Workers of America and by many unions connected with the A. F. of L. The I. W. W. made no attempt to start a general strike in any industry after this country entered the war. The report of the United States Secretary of Labor for 1917 contains a study of labor disputes handled by the Department of Labor between the declaration of war (April 6) and October 25, 1917. Out of 521 disputes (281 strikes, 212 controversies, and 28 lockouts) handled by the Department during this period, *only three were in any way connected with the I. W. W.* (These three were all in the West). The remaining 518 labor troubles all concerned either unorganized workers, or "conservative" unions mostly affiliated with the "patriotic" A. F. of L.

A circular letter asking opinions on the possibility of a general Marine Transport strike was received by Nef from a western branch of the Marine Transport Workers' Union. Nef replied in a letter which was in the hands of the government during the trial, discouraging the suggestion and declaiming against it as suicidal for the organization.

(To be continued)



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SCOTT NEARING

SCOTT NEARING is without doubt the best known white professor in the United States. He was formerly Professor of Economics in the University of Pennsylvania. He was too outspoken on the Philadelphia traction interests, so he was forced to resign. By temperament and devotion to justice he cannot keep silent when wrong lifts its serpent head. His late book, the **American Empire**, gives more truth about the Negro, the treatment of Haiti and American Negro slavery, than you would find during years in most Negro publications.

Nevertheless or therefore he is a subscriber and reader of the MESSENGER. He writes:

"The work which the MESSENGER is doing is vital. Your people constitute one-tenth of the population of the United States. If progress is to be made in the great Southland, it must be made by and through the colored people. Enclosed find \$5.00. With it goes my heartfelt wishes for success in your work."

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