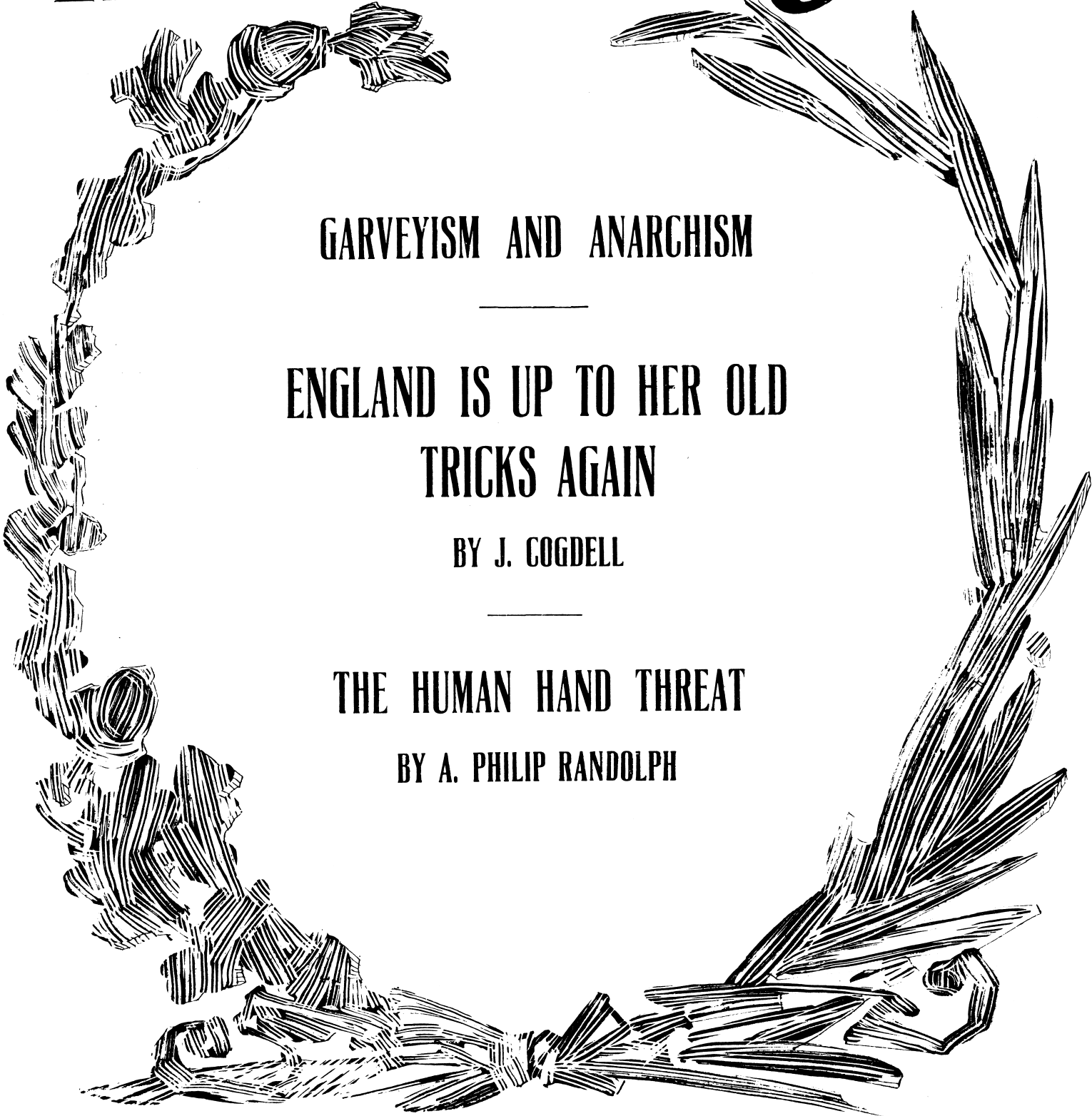


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The Messenger



GARVEYISM AND ANARCHISM

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TRICKS AGAIN

BY J. COGDELL

THE HUMAN HAND THREAT

BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

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NEW YORK

Editorials

NEGROES AND ITALIANS TABOOED

THE march of race prejudice proceeds apace. At one time signs read "No Negroes Wanted"; then too they used to read "No Irishmen Need Apply"; again they were seen "No Negroes or Jews Wanted." In the *Pittsburgh Press* for Saturday, Sept. 16, one of the big coal companies for Pittsburgh carried the following little pithy, clear ad:

"COAL MINERS WANTED—highest wages in Pennsylvania State; non-union mine. No NEGROES OR ITALIANS WANTED. Steady work, good houses. Write E, 57, Press Office."

Our contemporary, the *Pittsburgh American*, makes a rather pointed comment, as follows: "It will be noted that this is a non-union mine, and hence the objection cannot be made that the white union men will not work with you. It is emphasized that it is not unions here which are keeping colored men out of employment, but the employer."

We should add, also, that the employers are not keeping colored men only out, but white Italians. It is what the civilized Americans call keeping clear of "dirty dagoes and nasty niggers." And by the way, large numbers of Italians have been lynched in America.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, co-Editor of the *MESSENGER*, has been nominated for Secretary of State in New York on the American Labor Party's ticket. The American Labor Party represents a co-operative political effort on the part of the Socialists and the progressive trade and labor unions. It is no small factor in New York. The Socialist Party alone polls about 150,000 votes in New York City. Combined with the labor groups it will probably poll between a quarter of a million and a half million votes this year. Its ticket includes some of the most distinguished men, not only in New York, but in the world. Among these may be mentioned Charles Steinmetz, consulting engineer of the General Electric Company of Schenectady, N. Y., popularly known as the "Electrical Wizard". The candidate for Governor is Edward F. Cassidy. He is an Irishman and an active Union man in the Typographical Union of New York. He has a record of 30 years' service in the trade union activities.

No close student will claim that labor has fully emancipated itself from race prejudice. No such person would claim that American white people, as a whole, anywhere, have been so emancipated. But when one considers the small number of Negroes in the Labor Party of New York, and the willingness of that party to select a Negro of character and ability for the high office of Secretary of State, without a

dissenting voice, it portends something good; it shows that labor, with all its faults, is way ahead of the old parties in the matter of justice to the Negro.

THE NICKLE UNDER THE DUTCHMAN'S FOOT

LAST month we wrote about the "nickle under the Frenchman's foot." We referred to the French law, subtly worded, which wiped out the Negro musician from France after October 1, this year. The following despatch shows that the German musicians received about the same treatment when they attempted to go into Amsterdam. Not many people would claim that the French held race or color prejudice against Negroes. Certainly this claim could not be brought against the Germans on the part of the Dutch. The issue with the French was, that the Negro musicians were getting the jobs and there were not enough jobs to go around. The problem with the Dutch was that German musicians were being employed in Amsterdam while Dutch musicians were unemployed. As a result the following incident tells what happened:

GERMAN JAZZ OUSTED

Dutch Musicians Loudly Protest Importation of German Bands to Amsterdam Amusement Houses

AMSTERDAM, Sept. 30.—Amsterdam has just had a curious experience with local and German musicians. Owing to the low rate of exchange some of the managers of musical entertainments engaged a few German bands for their places. The local musicians were aroused by this situation and organized a demonstration of protest.

A long procession composed of string bands employed in cafes, tea rooms, and theatres, marched through the principal streets in the heart of the city, displaying banners and boards with inscriptions like: "Down With British Jazz Bands From Germany!" "Down With Tyrolean Bands From Berlin and the Alps!" "Dutch bandsmen pay taxes while German musicians do not."

A deputation went to the town hall and submitted their grievances to the Burgomaster. Later the demonstrators went to a large cafe on the principal square where a German band was playing. They protested loudly and asked the public not to enter the establishment. The manager promised to cancel the arrangement with the foreign musicians.

It is said that music has power to soothe the savage beast. The contrary is also true: music has power to arouse the savage beast. It makes no difference what may be the color of the skin, human nature is uniform. Like causes produce like effects, as well in the social as in the physical world. The Dutchman will fight a German over his job just as quickly and as vigorously as a Frenchman will fight a Negro.

EPISCOPALIANS ASSAIL KU KLUX

THE House of Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Convention, meeting in Portland, Oregon, Sept. 14, received a resolution denouncing the Ku Klux Klan. The resolution was drawn by the Rev. John

D. Wing, delegate from Georgia, home of the Ku Klux. Another resolution against lynch-law was submitted by the Rev. C. B. Wilmer, also of Atlanta, Ga.

"The House of Bishops is asked to concur solemnly 'to condemn all secret so-called "patriotic societies" whose masked and unknown membership capitalize bigotry and hate, foster racial and religious prejudice and encourage acts of lawlessness and mob violence' and further to declare that 'any men or set of men who seek to set man against man, citizen against citizen, neighbor against neighbor, race against race or creed against creed are the enemies of society and disloyal to the fundamental ideals of America, no matter in how strident tones their claims to ultra-patriotism may be voiced.'

"The Wing resolution declares such societies, 'while proclaiming their loyalty to the United States, in reality have pursued a course tending toward the overthrow of the very foundation of ordered society.'

"It declares 'such an organization is morally responsible for crimes committed in its name and by men wearing its mask, whether they are members or not, because the very nature of the organization opens the way for any lawless element to operate with little fear of arrest or punishment.'"

These resolutions are important from two points of view. First, as coming from Georgia, and secondly, as coming from the Church. Both have been bulwarks of compromise and winking at evils. As a rule, one propagated and the other condoned.

The Church has recently been maneuvering to the front line of democracy. The Inter-Church World Movement made a great report on the Steel Strike. The National Welfare Catholic Council has placed itself squarely on the side of labor. The Federal Council of Churches is making an intelligent and sympathetic effort to study and fight race prejudice. The Methodist Federation has been doing the same thing. In short, as Lester Ward would say, the Church is representing utility produced from error. Certainly the institution is rising in civilized decency when two ministers from Georgia,—white Protestant ministers—will rise in open convention and condemn the invisible government of their state.

ATTORNEY GENERAL DAUGHERTY AND THE KU KLUX

ATTORNEY General Daugherty has at last recognized that the Ku Klux Klan is in existence. He not only recognizes it as existing, but he recognizes it as a menace. In a letter to Governor Olcott of Oregon, he says in part: "Please accept my hearty commendation of the splendid spirit manifested in your fearless proclamation and prosecution. . . . I think you and your systems are rendering a signal service to the public, as well as to your own state in endeavoring to stamp out a distinct menace to decent government."

We think the Attorney General has made a distinct advance in recognizing this group of midnight assassins, crooks and criminals, usurpers of constituted authority, (and as Cicero would say, "Oh, what shall I call them?")—as a menace to decent government.

A NEW INTERNATIONAL

THERE is a new international organized in Europe. It calls itself the "Green International." It is an international of peasants. Its objects is to organize the farmers of Europe and enter the peasants

into politics. Its symbol is a four-leaf clover. The central office is at Prague, the capital of Czecho-Slovakia. It is called the International Agrarian Bureau. The Chairman and International Secretary are both Czechs. The Chairman is a prominent leader of the Czecho-Slovak Peasant Party. Dr. Swihela is his name.

The Green International is not Socialist. Its fundamental principles are, first, to break up great estates all over Europe; second, no socialization of this land but its use in small peasant holdings based on the theory of private ownership.

No doubt this attitude toward the land grows partly out of the experience of the Soviet Government of Russia, that small scale capitalism was essential yet awhile in order to supply the necessary stimulus to industry.

WHO IS THE PAINTER?

MR. CHARLES CAIN, writing in the Boston *Chronicle*, observes how Negro papers readily heralded the thoughtless lies about the oppressed natives of other lands, the ignorant Negro, the bloody Turk, the uncivilized man-eating Filipino, the dirty Hindu, the backward Egyptian. Each race, shut up in its own land, is shouting to itself about its troubles and expecting the world to listen, while, in each country the European or American exploiter is playing one race against another, one sect against another, maintaining his rule and "preserving order." When there is a massacre by natives the white man tells the world about it. When there is a massacre of natives by whites, do you see, in the papers of London, Paris, New York, headlines such as these: "Yankee Marines Murder Helpless Haytians;" "Tommyes Slaughter Egyptian Civilians?" You do not. You see "Marines Restore Order in Hayti;" "British End Riots; Arrest Agitators." And the churches pray for Civilization and Christianity, colored churches as well as white. And no doubt the Egyptians and the Syrians, if they ever hear of the American race riots at all, say to one another:

"Those American niggers must be a troublesome lot. Wonder how long it will take the United States to civilize 'em."

Mr. Cain has delicious satire and wit. His illustration reminds us of the little boy who asked his mother concerning a picture in which the man was killing a bear. The boy said, "Mama, why is it that the picture always shows the man killing the bear, but never the bear eating the man?" To which the mother replied, "Well son, you see, the man paints the picture."

It makes a great difference who paints the picture.

ANTI-LYNCHING CRUSADERS

LEADING colored women in every state in the Union have formed a temporary organization for the purpose of raising a fund to suppress lynching. Their object is to get 1,000,000 women to give a dollar. Mrs. Mary B. Talbert of Buffalo, N. Y., has been elected director of the National campaign, with headquarters at 521 Michigan Avenue, that city. Mrs. James Weldon Johnson of New York is the publicity

director. It calls upon all people, without regard to race or color to assist in wiping out this menace of lynching. The Crusaders call attention to 83 women who have been lynched in the last 30 years. The organizers say: "The practical object of the movement is to raise \$1,000,000, given by a million women through sacrifice and self-denial, to serve as a fund to be used in stamping out lynching and for the defense of the Negro in his fundamental rights as an American citizen." A movement to destroy lynching directed by intelligent and honest people is worthy of general support of all people who believe in justice and democracy. The foregoing is such a movement.

SIKI

THE most significant phase of the Siki-Carpentier bout was the pronounced spirit of sportsmanship and fairplay displayed by the French spectators. When an effort was made to cater to the American color line by declaring the man knocked out the winner of the bout, the French fight fans threatened to mob the cheating referee. They forced the judges to reverse the decision. The remainder of the comment which we would like to make on the bout is done so splendidly by David Karsner, a daily column contributor to the *New York Call*, that we quote it in full. Mr. Karsner is an American white man. He knows the North and the South. He is a scholar and a most exceptional writer. He comments on the Siki-Carpentier fight as follows:

Siki, the Senegalese Negro, is the idol of Parisian boulevards and French women are straining themselves to do him honor and wreath his neck with garlands since his victory in the prize ring over Georges Carpentier, the white dandy who was misled early in his life by someone who told him he knew how to fight.

In a cable dispatch from Paris the other day Siki was quoted as saying that he would give 50,000 francs if someone could change his color in order that he might get a match with Jack Dempsey. He fears Dempsey will draw the color line. Siki is mistaken. Money spans all color lines and absolves most differences of opinion. Moreover, he should bear in mind that much of the admiration that is now his is given him because of his color, not in spite of it.

A French cabaret dancer has offered to share her earnings with Siki if he will high-step with her on the polished boards, and the restaurants where he sips champagne are crowded with white women eager to touch his hand and pat his ebony cheek. As he emerged from one cafe he was pelted with flowers torn from the bosoms of his feminine admirers. Siki's white wife, a blue-eyed blonde Hollander, has, of course, been plunged into the midst of the spotlight with her notorious husband, and doubtless she thinks more highly of him now than before he floored Carpentier. The garlands and the glances shot at him should be sufficient to convince her that she has a prize, not to mention a perambulating bank.

It seems to me that all this is tied up in a peculiar chemical reaction so far as the adulation of the French women for Siki is concerned. You say that is in France! That French women "of that type" are just like that! Well, maybe, but when Jack Johnson knocked out Jim Jeffries on July 4, 1910, the result was the same. For many years Jack conducted a cabaret in Chicago's White Light district, and his white women patrons vied with his fair wife for Jack's golden smiles. It is curious. There is something unhappy in the thought. Race-conscious Negroes dislike the thought as much as race-conscious whites. But that doesn't remove the inferences.

THE HUMAN HAND THREAT

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

ON Tuesday afternoon, about 2.30 o'clock, September 5, while sitting in my office, I received a package marked "from a friend." This anonymous sender forthwith aroused my suspicions. Immediately I began opening it, I noticed a whitish powder falling out of it. This confirmed my suspicions of there being some foul play intended. Hence, before I had taken all of the brown paper off the box, I telephoned the 38th Precinct Police Station on 135th Street, informed the detectives of the nature of the package, and, post-haste, they came over to my office, regarded the parcel cautiously, and then placed it in water to prevent an explosion in the event that its contents were explosive material.

To the utter amazement and horror of everyone, upon opening the package a human hand was found. In the box also was this letter:

"Listen Randolph—

"We have been watching your writings in all your papers for quite a while but we want you to understand before we act. If you are not in favor with your own race movement you can't be with ours. There is no space in our race for you and your creed. What do you mean by giving us a nigger? Do you know that our organization is made up of all whites?

"We have sent you a sample of our good work, so watch your step or else you. . . Now let me see your name in your nigger improvement association as a member, paid up too, in about one week from now. Don't worry about lynching in South. If you were here you wouldn't talk about it. Now be careful how you publish this letter in your magazine or we may have to send your hand to some one else.

"Don't think we can't get you and your crowd. Although you are in New York City it is just as easy as if you were in Georgia. If you can't unite with your own race we will find out what's the matter with you all. Don't be selfish. Give your friends a tip.

K. K. K.

All of us immediately set ourselves the task of suggesting some probable theory which would explain such an extraordinary incident. The theories, naturally, were numerous and varied, no one evidencing fright, but a dignified caution.

Of the many theories advanced, the one that seemed to be the most generally accepted, the most logical and real was that one which assigned the dastardly devilry to the K. K. K.—the signer of the letter.

Their reasons given were: (1) the bitter hatred of the Klan for the position of THE MESSENGER and its editors on "social equality," economic and political. This position had been, time and again, buttressed up by the most exhaustive writing and platform propaganda from coast to coast. For quite some years the MESSENGER editors have been directing a systematic and vigorous campaign through the large white unions against the Klan.

Doubtless, Knights of the Invisible Empire have reported of this work to the Imperial Wizard. In the Socialist and Labor Movement, I have striven, at

all times, to establish beyond the question of a doubt, the value and necessity of working class political, economic and social solidarity. Naturally, this would evoke the fire of this group of criminal, cut-throat, midnight riders, who vegetate in the shadows of murder and incendiarism. And to the utter amazement and surprise of this stone-age fraternity, the MESSENGER'S work has found a marvelous reception, being recognized, as it is, by an increasingly growing body of unionists and white intellectuals. This, of course, riles these inglorious keepers of the virtues of white womanhood and the sacred principles (?) of Americansim. For it is proclaimed from the imperial throne of the imperial city, Atlanta, that it is "a violation of American ideals and of the fetish of white supremacy, for contact between the Negro and white people to be permitted or, for that matter, even advocated."

That the Klan outfit would be interested in terrifying me from continuing to carry on my work, is obvious from the foregoing.

But why would the Klan send a "human hand"? comes the query. This is why: It is well-nigh a part of the traditions and the folk-lore of Negro life in the South, that Negroes are easily frightened by anything which suggests the "dead." The proverbial "haunted house" plays its part in the fire-side tale among Negroes. Everybody in the neighborhood can point out the "haunted house." Stories are current, too, of ghosts lurking around the graveyards, chasing passers-by. This is a vestige of primitive superstition. All races pass through this stage as is shown by the anthropologists. It arises from an effort to explain the behavior of natural phenomena. In the absence of the scientific knowledge which will enable people to understand causes of swoons, dreams, storms, earthquakes, floods, famines, droughts, etc., they have assigned as the cause some super-natural agency. The white South knew of this frailty of the old slave Negro. To the old white slave masters, all that was necessary to frighten the Negro field-hands almost out of their senses, was to throw a white sheet over their heads and prowl around the slave shacks in the night. The Negro slaves thought that the white sheeted forms were really ghosts. Hence, they fled wildly through the fields, a picture of consternation and despair, or else they knelt down on their knees and prayed fervently to God to protect them from the devil, making effusive promises not to commit any more sins, to obey and follow him ever after, circumspectly.

This method of torturing the Negroes was employed quite generally along with the cow-hide, to break the spirit of the most intractable, independent and militant Negro slaves; and, in accordance with the law of habit, it remains long after the conditions have passed that called it forth, and acts with a punctilious accuracy without the conscious attention of the agent.

This then explains why the "human hand" was sent from New Orleans, to the writer, a Negro, living in New York City. It does not occur to the Old South that there is a "New Negro"; that the "Uncle Toms" are passing, if, indeed, they have not already passed away. The South can't understand how Negroes can

grow up, feeling themselves the equal of any white man, advocating political, economic and social equality. Their treasured type of a Negro is the so-called "good nigger," *the banjo dorky*, *the me-to-bass, hat-in-hand, good-mornin'-inassa species*. But this kind is dead or dying. In fact, it does not vegetate in the North, while only a few old, straggling, decrepit, moribund remnants survive in the South. Education, radical propaganda such as THE MESSENGER spreads, is the most deadly antidote to this vicious and virulent relic of the past. To the South, to kill off this last symbol of Southern slave bourbonism is the "most unkindest cut of all." Hence, to save this passing show of human iniquity, the Klan has sought to select and defend as the model of Negro leadership, Marcus Garvey, the leader of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, who, during the month of June, held an interview with Acting Ku Klux Wizard Edward Young Clarke, and immediately thereafter through his paper, the Negro World, proclaimed to all of the fifteen million Negroes of the United States of America that they should cease fighting the Ku Klux Klan—the attitude which brought a thunderbolt of fury down upon his head. The attack was led by the writer, his associate, Chandler Owen, and Messrs. William Pickens and Robert W. Bagnall of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Hard upon the heels of this attack, which was sponsored by the writer, the human hand was sent. Obviously the conclusion is that the Klan had come to the rescue of its Negro leader, Marcus Garvey, as is indicated in the letter of warning.

Still the work against treacherous, unscrupulous, disloyal Negro leaders as well as against the Klan will go on unabated. With redoubled efforts, I shall mobilize all of my energies in order to destroy black and white Ku Kluxism in America.

As an evidence of this resolve, the Sunday following the receiving of the hand, I assailed Marcus Garvey and the K. K. K. more violently than ever before, and it was hailed by the largest audience yet assembled which applauded more vociferously than ever before.

Thus the slogan under which this crusade began—Marcus Garvey Must Go!—will be reenforced with "and the Ku Klux Klan, too."

GARVEYISM AND ANARCHISM

MARCUS GARVEY and his organizations are thoroughly anarchistic. Garvey criticises everybody else, but when one attempts to criticise him and his organization, he and they attempt by violent methods to suppress free speech. We grant to everybody the right of free speech. This grant carries with it the right to speak freely, even when wrong, providing there is no advocacy of violence. We wish to cite a few definite cases of anarchy on the part of Marcus Garvey and his followers. In 1920 they rushed into a tent where the Rev. A. Clayton Powell was conducting a revival meeting on 138th Street, New York. Dr. Charles S. Morris was the speaker of the evening. It was necessary to provide police protection to stop Garvey's maniacs from committing personal violence to Dr. Morris. Shortly after this incident, another one of Garvey's branches in Baltimore attempted bodi-

ly injury on the Hon. W. Ashby Hawkins, one of the most distinguished colored attorneys of America. The New York Garveyites have broken up dozens of street meetings where speakers criticised the self-styled "Negro Moses." In 1920 Garvey's followers went into the Rush Memorial Church one Sunday and broke up a meeting of Cyril Briggs. They went into the basement and turned out the lights. Just about a week ago the Garvey division in Philadelphia went into the Salem Baptist Church at 12th Street below Bainbridge and broke up the meeting at which Attorney J. Austin Norris, a colored lawyer from Yale University, and Mr. J. W. H. Eason, were speaking. Accurate newspaper accounts from eye-witnesses state that "Daring leaders of the Garvey Movement pressed forward and surrounded the pulpit upon which Norris, Eason, and a group of people who favored the meeting were sitting. The police sergeant in charge of the detail of the officers present for the purpose of preventing bloodshed, urged upon Norris and Eason to adjourn the meeting until another time. The speakers declined to do this, so the small detail of policemen cleared the church and locked the doors, leaving both Eason and Norris on the inside.

"Prior to the opening of the meeting, people passing either up or down 12th Street were halted and questioned as to whether or not they were going into the church. Persons resenting this impudence were either insulted or knocked down. This led to numerous fights within a square of the church.

"A most noble feature of Wednesday night's skirmishes, both in and out of the church, was the appearance with the Garveyites OF TWO COLORED MEN SPEAKING BROKEN ENGLISH, clad in the uniform of the United States Navy with an embroidered "C" on their arms, indicating that they were cooks in the Navy. These two men were among the most offensive of those assuming a belligerent attitude."

About a year ago, when Mr. Noah D. Thompson, a distinguished colored man from Los Angeles, California, employed in the editorial department of the Los Angeles Daily Express, was a delegate to Garvey's convention in New York. When Noah Thompson made his report of the convention to Garvey's Los Angeles division (that report being unfavorable to Garvey) the members of the division had been so incited by Garvey that it took a large number of Los Angeles policemen to save Noah Thompson from bodily injury.

Again, about two weeks ago, when Dr. LeRoy Bundy made his report to the Cleveland, Ohio, division, someone asked about the funds of the organization, and a veritable riot in the division took place, led (according to the Pittsburgh American) by Dr. Bundy, who is Garvey's newly elected American "leader."

There are numerous instances of such anarchistic action which we might cite, but one more will suffice. On the 6th of August, this year, The Friends of Negro Freedom, of New York, began a series of meetings to expose Garvey's schemes and methods. Hundreds of Garveyites came into the meetings with the avowed intention of breaking them up. Three fac-

tors, however, prevented this: (1) the diligent service of the New York police; (2) the bulldog determination of the leaders in the fight, namely, Chandler Owen, A. Philip Randolph, William Pickens, and Robert W. Bagnall; and (3) the dogged insistence of the great mass of decent, respectable people, American and West Indian, that police protection or no police protection, they were not going to allow any one to disturb those meetings, and if they did, a price of pretty rough treatment would be the penalty.

Now we charge that Marcus Garvey has a *willfully, deliberately criminal organization*. To illustrate: Article 5, Section 3, "COURT RECEPTION AT HOME" of the Constitution of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, contains the following clause:

"NO ONE SHALL BE RECEIVED BY THE POTENATE AND HIS CONSORT WHO HAS BEEN CONVICTED OF CRIME OR FELONY, EXCEPT SUCH CRIME OR FELONY WAS COMMITTED IN THE INTEREST OF THE UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION AND THE AFRICAN COMMUNITIES LEAGUE."

We charge that this is a wilful incitement to crime. It places Garvey's organization exactly on par with the Ku Klux Klan following Reconstruction. And just as the Ku Klux Klan was broken up and dissolved, Garvey's Universal Improvement Association should also be dissolved. We are bringing this fact to the attention of the Federal Government, and the Attorneys for the Friends of Negro Freedom are instructed to take steps immediately to bring about the dissolution of the organization, the arrest and prosecution of any American Negroes guilty of conspiracy in the incitement to crime, and the deportation of any foreign Negroes guilty of any overt anarchistic acts.

At the same time we call upon the American Negro citizens, as well as the white, along with their churches, fraternal societies and civic organizations, to go after this Garvey organization with hammer and tongs, until the last vestige of it is rooted from American soil.

The Friends of Negro Freedom expect to hold meetings and to criticise Garvey in every important city of the United States. We criticise the President of these United States when we get ready. He is known as the first citizen of the land. It ought to be clear to every one then, that we are going to criticise a pompous little Negro mountebank, who admits that he is not a citizen and does not advise alien Negroes in the United States to become citizens.

We hold no prejudice against Marcus Garvey because he is a foreigner, specifically, a West Indian from Jamaica. As Ingersoll used to say: "I like black friends better than I do white enemies"—so we like decent West Indians, citizens or non-citizens, better than unprincipled and unscrupulous American Negroes. To illustrate: We would not give a snap of our finger for an American Negro like Dr. LeRoy N. Bundy (of East St. Louis riot fame and Marcus Garvey shame) as against Mr. J. A. Rogers, a scholarly and principled citizen from the West Indies.

It happens that the large bulk of the Garvey fol-

lowers are foreigners. It is largely a nationalistic organization. It is chiefly a British West Indian association. As a consequence, it means that in proceeding against it, we are fighting West Indians and we are fighting foreigners. This, however, is merely a coincidence. If they were American Negroes we would fight them the same way; and to the extent as Negroes in Garvey's organization, they will be fought just as bitterly and proceeded against just as vigorously as the foreign Negroes. We are primarily fighting certain ideas and methods. Whoever, therefore, happens to be the instruments of the ideas and methods we are fighting, will be fought as an enemy. To some extent we will be misunderstood. We will be

misunderstood by some of our foreign friends. Some will become lukewarm, others cold, and some will oppose us. The great goal, however, will be kept steadily before us. We will leave them to the sober second thought of the future. We will not let up a hair's breadth, nor mollify our procedure an iota. The issues involved rise above personal friendship. We have cast our lot with principle. Marcus Garvey must go. His influence in the life of the people must be extirpated. The assistance which they have given him must be cut off. The crooks who have stolen the peoples' money must be imprisoned, if possible. And those to whom the law is amenable must get out.

We hope our position is clear.

Economics and Politics

THE NEXT EMANCIPATION

By JAMES ONEAL

Some Recent History

In Birmingham, Alabama, on October 26, 1921, President Harding delivered an address on the race question. He said that "this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference." Thus speaks the representative of the Republican party sixty years after its first triumph.

This party has been gradually casting aside its Negro traditions to obtain a standing in the Southern States. Over the prostrate body of the Negro the Republican party hopes to obtain Republican Senators and Congressmen in the Southern States. The flow of Northern capital into the Southern States is binding the North and the South into a common solidarity.

The "Manufacturers' Record" of Baltimore, in March 1922, gave some figures of capitalist development in the South. The value of taxable property has increased, from 1910 to 1920, from over \$13,000,000,000 to more than \$29,000,000,000, a gain of 122.9 per cent! The South now has about 23 per cent of the manufacturing establishments of the country, with a capital of nearly \$7,000,000,000. and employing 2,000,000 people.

The capital invested in Southern factories is nearly three times the sum invested in manufacturing in the whole country in 1880, and lacking only 3 per cent of the sum invested in the North in 1900. The capital invested in cotton factories in the South is four times that invested in all the cotton mills of the country since 1880. The South is also consuming 59 per cent of its cotton in its own mills. It is also producing 57 per cent of the oil of the United States.

The old agricultural South is becoming an image of the factory North. The same financial interests that have large holdings in New England cotton mills also

have investments in Southern cotton mills. With the rise of a factory and manufacturing system in the South the capitalists of that section are also demanding tariff duties. The South for generations had been wedded to "free trade."

As the Southern masters invest their money in industry and share profits with Northern capitalists the capitalists of both sections reach a better understanding. They are also coming to contract a political alliance through the Republican party by a common agreement to exclude the Negro from elections.

The Democrats have a "lily white" party in the South and the Republicans want a "lily white" party in the South. Early in 1921 Chairman Hays, of the Republican National Committee, appointed a committee to consider the best means of establishing the party in the South. In the State campaign in Virginia in 1921 the Republicans agreed to make the party a "white man's party" in that State. It was a bargain struck with the Democratic party to keep the Negro out of elections. This was reported to be satisfactory to the Republican national leaders at Washington.

A dispatch to the New York *Evening Post* from Richmond said that in exchange for the loss of the Negroes, "the Republicans in Virginia have gained the support of many men of influence and wealth." Among these are railroad Presidents, bankers, capitalists and business men. The political agreement follows the common interests which Northern and Southern capitalists have in Southern industries, banks and railroads. The agreement frees the ruling class of Virginia from dependence upon one political machine.

Lessons to Be Drawn

The call of Southern capitalism across the old sec-

tional chasm is heard by its Republican ally. The Republican party is responding to the cry. *The last pretense of difference between both old political parties in national politics is being wiped out.* Capitalism is national, not sectional. The capitalist parties are becoming national in scope. Both parties are agreed on "white supremacy," the supremacy of capitalism in excluding the Negro from the suffrage in the South.

The Negro Republican leaders who have led masses of Negro workers to their betrayal are themselves being kicked in the face for their treachery. The class interests of Northern and Southern capital are healing the old sores of the ruling classes and bringing about unity between the two. Facing the Negro worker are two parties of the capitalist class.

Quoting the language of President Harding, we may say that it is not a question of "recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference" between the two parties. *There is no difference. They are as alike as two peas. They are the political enemies of the white workers as well as of the Negro workers.* They are the parties of railroad magnates, bankers, capitalists and labor skimmers in general. As the capitalists of the two sections are uniting, so the workers of both colors should unite in their own interests. Unite in the labor unions and in the Socialist party.

In the North the Negro workers have a vote. In the South they have a vote in theory, but not in fact. While they have a vote in the North they should use it in the interest of white and Negro workers. The white workers must be educated to cast their votes also in the interest of white and Negro workers.

In the South it is necessary to work through the labor unions. Where Negroes are members of unions they should permit no national convention to go by without bringing up the question of the common interests of white and Negro labor. They should urge the white Socialists in the South to use all their influence to break down the color prejudice. The white workers must take the lead in this, as it is almost impossible for the Negro worker to do it in the South.

In 1919 the American Federation of Labor voted to admit the Negro unions. It was in that year that a white union organizer died in defense of a Negro organizer of unions at Bogalusa, La. That was a good beginning of solidarity between white and Negro workers. The 1919 decision should never be forgotten. Negro workers should insist upon continuous action by the Federation and its affiliated unions in admitting our Negro brothers to the unions. Year after year this should be pressed. This is the first big step in bringing white and Negro workers together in the South. Their common interests will in time wipe out the color prejudice and raise a barrier to the inhuman lynchings that curse America today.

Labor and Industry

Human labor power is the source of all values produced. The labor power of a Negro worker embodied in a bar of steel, a car of coal or the basement of a building is just as essential as the labor power of a white worker. The color line is not seen in the

bar of steel, the car of coal or the basement. Vegetables from a Negro's garden are purchased and eaten by white people. *No color line is drawn in the products of the garden or the farm.*

Human labor is human labor, whether it is the labor of the Negro or the white, the American or the German, the Italian or the Englishman. To labor one must get the consent of others. We have seen that the factories, mines, shops, railroads and industries in general are owned by the capitalist class. This class has become great in wealth and power. It can give or withhold employment at will.

For example: No capitalist owner of industry is required by law to admit you to the machinery for producing wealth. It is his. The law recognizes it as his. When business becomes bad the capitalist owners can close hundreds of thousands of plants. That means that millions of workers are shut out of the industries. No matter what your needs are you cannot enter the plants.

Here is the curse of modern society, the fact that a small class of powerful owners have the power to shut out the great class of wage workers. Industry and natural resources are the basis of civilization. This basis is the property of capitalist owners. We are dependents upon the will of this owning class. White and Negro workers are both dependent upon that class.

It is too long a story to tell you how the mills, factories, mines, railroads, oil fields and so on came into the possession of this class. Some were stolen. Others rest on bribery of law-making bodies. Others were obtained by clever manipulation of the law. Many of the great fortunes had their origin in the slavery of whites or blacks. Many had their origin in big land frauds.

But however obtained, the present masters of industry have surrounded their holdings with laws, court decisions, police power and government in general. Behind the enormous industries of the country are these laws. Which means that the ownership of the great industries by a class is lawful. If this ownership is lawful it means that men in State Legislatures and in Congress made the laws that make this ownership lawful.

Now, how could they place men in these bodies to make these laws to legalize their great powers of ownership? Only one way to do that, and this is by the owners owning a political party that represents their interests. To own the great industries they must also own powerful political parties. These parties nominate candidates pledged to support the control of industry by a class of capitalist owners.

But here the owners are weak. If they depended on their own votes they could not elect a single man. They are very few compared with the great mass of working class voters. They must get the white and Negro voters to vote for the capitalist candidates or their ownership is at an end.

How is it done? It is laughable, when you think of it. The masters of labor own two parties. You see, they figure that you are bound to get tired of any party that represents them. That is natural. They would get tired of any party that represented you. Knowing this, they maintain two great political parties.

The trick is done! The Democrats were in power. They led us into war after winning an election on the promise that we would not go to war. By 1920 millions of voters were ready to throw out the Democrats. They did throw them out. But the voters did not vote themselves in. They voted the other party of the capitalist owners in and conditions have been as bad, or even worse, than before.

Now that conditions do not improve under Harding, the voters are beginning to swing back to the Democrats. The Democrats will have candidates ready for you to vote for. They will be safe for capitalist interests, just as the Republicans have been. They will expect you to vote the "outs" in and the "ins" out, but they will expect *you* to stay out!

No matter which one of these parties is supported by the workers, both remain faithful to the interests of the great owners of industry. We have already seen how the Republican party has sacrificed the Negro in the North while it was pretending to protect him in the South. We have seen how the Republican party is now trying to get a standing in the South by following the Democrats in excluding the Negro from elections. We already know that the Democrats are a party with the old traditions of slavery clustering about it.

But white workers have been fooled by these two parties of capitalism as the Negro workers have. It has been a matter of the "ins" coming out and the "outs" going in in every national election.



Look Out! England Is Up To Her Old Tricks Again!

A NEW war is being subtly promulgated. Now it is not Imperial Germany, or Socialist Russia, but the Heathenish Turk who is the immediate object of that versatile hate-lust of the English speaking world. Though, in reality, it is of course not merely Turkey but the whole East which is the vital issue at stake. England is no diplomatic bungler like America. She shrewdly constructs her program then proceeds to carry it out with systematic manoeuvrings. Her remarkable diplomatic astuteness, which enables her to be called "the Nation of Statesmen," is the logical development of a people so limited in area, of weak geographical position, and so victimized in early times by repeated foreign invasions. As in the biological world a sense of weakness very readily becomes the generator of strength. England naturally disposed to be forever on the defensive has with instinctive wisdom adopted the offensive—an offensive inimitably disguised in the choicest modern morals, to be sure! As Bernard Shaw says, England is never at a loss for an effectual moral reason; when she wants a thing she waits patiently until there comes into her mind, no one knows how, a burning conviction that it is her moral and religious duty to conquer those who have got what she wants; she flies into arms in defense of Christianity, conquers, and takes the market desired as her reward from heaven (Man of Destiny)—Certainly England displays the semblance of impeccable integrity—which indeed she observes in her manners and the necessary trifles, and which covers an astounding depth of unscrupulous cunning. This faithlessness does not distinguish her from other countries, but her cleverer use of it does. Prevailing morals, customs, aspirations, follies, are as a bamboo twig to be twisted at her will into what design suits her momentary purposes. This superior diplomacy and in-

herent aggressiveness demand the watchful eye of all those who would sense future events.

The problem most occupying England to-day is the same which has occupied her for a century. Under the capitalistic regime Britain and the East are like the two unbalanced ends of a scale: one must be down to keep the other up. And Turkey's greatest significance lies in her position at the European door of the East. Turkey itself has long ceased to be an aggressive menace to Europe but other European nations, working through Turkey, could easily thwart British aspirations in the East. Glance at England's record for the last three quarters of a century on this particular point.

In the war of the Crimea (1854) England aided Turkey against Russia to keep the latter from pushing her way through Turkey and threatening English supremacy in the East. In the Russo-Japanese war (1904) England covertly aided Japan against Russia for the same reason. In the Balkan war (1912) England aided the Balkan states against Turkey for the purpose of dividing the power concentrated there into several hands, pawns, which could be played one against the other for the better accommodation of British diplomacy; the Balkan war filched from Turkey all her remaining European soil except a small strip of land surrounding Constantinople. The resulting entanglements of this had considerable influence in bringing about the Great War in 1914. Germany's Berlin to Bagdad Railway, facilitating the landing of German troops in Persia and Afghanistan, imperiled India, that most priceless jewel in the British crown. We know how successfully England managed the late war and in the Peace Treaty how completely she and the Allies divested Germany of all her colonial possessions, African as well as Eastern, at the same time

partitioning Turkey under the disguise of mandates. This would seem enough, but no, an Empire that stands on the legs of subjugated nations demands constant patching and propping. India, who had lain so long quiescent, allowing herself to be spoiled through the gentleness of her spirit, had meanwhile awakened to the necessity of ridding herself of the ruthless, insatiable hands of color-despising Englishmen.

This time things were vastly more complicated. Hitherto England had played in India that old and reliable trick of "let your enemies vanquish one another while you look on and give advice." Hindus and mohammedans had divided and spent their strength upon one the other while their shrew English manipulator stood by in the role of shocked and aggrieved benefactor of both—and filled her pockets during the engagement. But at the last National All Indian Congress Hindu and Mohammedan united in support of Ghandi. The British Empire trembled at the thrust. Mohammedan had finally penetrated Britain's cunning; Hindu had learned that the Mohammedan was his fellow sufferer and no longer his enemy. Times had changed. It is up to England to weave a crafty web to help herself this time.

A solid Indian front faces her, girted on one side by a China on friendly terms with Democratic Russia, and on the other by Afghanistan and Persia equally friendly to the New Russia. The Spirit of Freedom is seeping into Asia from several directions. England's two problems, how to keep the East subjugated, and how to stem the tide of Bolshevism in the West, has become a more or less related and vastly complicated one. Turkey, violated at the hands of "Democracy-Inspired" Allies, is more than likely to tend in the only direction from which she can hope for permanent relief. The adroit England formulates a plain something as follows: The often imagined war of West and East should become a reality before the East or Soviet Russia accumulate any more strength. A great moral cry could be raised in its behalf and Capitalism and the East saved for another age of exploited misery. It is, in fact, the only plan that can save Capitalism or the British Empire and England knows it and knows she can rely upon the United States for the help she needs. Though it will take time for it to emerge into its full maturity on account of the jealousy among the Capitalists themselves, now being manifested over the oil fields of the Near East. The anti-Japanese commotion over here was the same idea attempted in a different manner. Lately, Greece has been set against Turk and if that fails, she will try again some other way. But no matter how it comes England depends upon a war of color. Already a righteous cry has gone up: "The Moslems are threatening Europe! Christianity is in danger!!" Both are utterly preposterous, of course. But America, the Professional Savior of the World, has not allowed it to go unheeded. The American Press has already the New War tonic. England is well aware that America must be included in any future war of consequence for more than one reason—and, incidentally, the United States is financially interested in British prosperity, as well as in keeping the world "Safe for Democracy." Fortunately for England, race preju-

dice is rampant in this Free America that brags of being the melting pot of the world.

A war of color (outside of all the useless inhumanity of it) is not a thing to walk into blindly; a sufficiently roused Africa and East could with little difficulty exterminate this presumptuous Occident which had so long fattened in derision upon their sweat and blood. This, if no other, should be argument enough for preserving the friendship of the Colored Races of the world. On the other hand such a war, if won, would be utterly profitless, even disastrous, to the White Workers who would have to prepare it and fight it. Resulting in greater competition in machine labor, mass cheapening of wages, and plenty of enslaved Africans and Orientals to bring into Europe and America to quell strikes and revolutions. The same reliable tactics mentioned before, altered for the case in hand, would be used: Force the West to subdue the East, then bring the East to subdue the West. It will be Capitalism's gigantic effort to save itself. The White and Colored Workers of the World must unite in preventing this approaching atrocity.

That the slogan "Save Christianity from the Heathens" is rather out of date, some three hundred years, and that in reality there had long ceased to be any such among us to save, speaking both scientifically and spiritually; and that even if there were it is a subtle metaphysical question whether the Turks, who for the moment represent the target, are heathens or not since Allah is the same Jehovah that fathered Christ, will deter the Slogan-Maker an iota, or curb the Slogan-victim. One phrase or another, it's all the same to the Sloganers, so fascinated are they to have at last hit upon an idea of some sort with which to occupy themselves. Besides, is not religious intolerance already stirring in Our America which was settled to defeat precisely that very thing! The Ku Klux is out to get all non-protestants, radicals, foreigners, black christians, and who not—anything challenging their gluttony, will welcome with open arms such a glorious revival of religious fanaticism. They, of course, have no objection to where fighting is done so long as dissensions to their advantage engross the minds of men to the exclusion of intelligent thought. A little thing like religious transference from Jew and Catholic to Turk could never faze a real 100 per cent. American! It will never occur to them that there is sufficient reason for the statement that 'the Turk is the only gentleman left in Europe,' they have never heard it even; and it would be useless to advise them to read Pierre Loti on the Moslems to see how much this cultured European found to admire among these pious people. But there are thousands in the country who have ceased to be slogan-victims and by it. All Radical, Liberal and Pacifist publications who are anxious to hear the truth and willing to profit should unite now in pricking this growing war bubble. Now is the time to act before it becomes a federal crime to discuss the matter freely. Nothing equals prediction and foreknowledge for effectual psychological disarmament. Comprehensive criticism is the only reliable implement of prevention we possess. We should use it unsparingly.

J. COGDELL, a Subscriber.

Education and Literature

THE WEST INDIES

THEIR POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION

By. J. A. ROGERS

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

No Jim-Crow Laws

There are, of course, no jim-crow laws, written or unwritten in the West Indies, except in Bermuda, where because of the objections of American tourists, persons of Negro blood are barred from the hotels and segregated in the churches, schools and theatres. One may generally go to any public place in the West Indies. It takes money, however, and the blacks of the West Indies, unlike those of the Northern United States, are wretchedly poor. Thus they are automatically barred.

Black men of wealth and education, unlike in the United States, are generally accepted in the outer, and sometimes even the inner circles, of white society. Some of them hold high governmental and even high private positions, but these are the rare exceptions. The whites usually have the plum of the positions and next the colored, of whom the merchant and legislative classes are chiefly composed. There is good cause to believe that were the masses of the blacks more aspiring, the lines would be more sharply drawn as in the United States where color friction increases as the Negroes advance. In 1905, competitive Civil Service was abolished in Jamaica, and appointments left to a selection committee. The popular reason for this change was that it was done to keep out the blacks, too many of whom were winning high positions.

Black men and women experience great difficulty in getting those private positions that are regarded as respectable. The colored get the preference, precisely as in the United States. Negro business men give the preference to mulatto girls. Black clerks are employed in rare instances. They are rigidly excluded from the larger business establishments. Most of the clubs are formed on the basis of color. Cricket is a popular game, but even here black men are usually barred from the exclusive cricket clubs.

Marriage Relations

It is in the marriage relation, however, that the color line or lines are most evident. Unlike the American girl of the same color, the West Indian light-colored girl will generally shun marriage with a black man. She is as emphatic on this as a Southerner in the U. S. would be to a marriage with her. These girls will mate generally only with men of their own com-

plexion, or with white men, preferably the latter. The relation between the colored males and the black women is usually one of concubinage precisely as in the case of white men and Negro women in the United States. Colored persons who marry blacks, unless wealthy, are usually ostracized by the colored and the whites.

There are no laws against intermarriage. A black man and a white woman may appear in the streets or at any public place, and unlike in the United States, attract not the least attention. Some of the leading black lawyers and doctors have studied in England, and have brought back white wives with them. Some foreign whites have black wives. A former white mayor of Kingston, the principal West Indian city, had a black wife. Marriages between the mulattoes and near whites are frequent. Unions of colored with the whites are not infrequent. In short with money and social position one may marry any color one pleases and be received anywhere. The manner in which the whites are willing to compromise with the colored in the West Indies in order to hold their place does seem to prove that the race question is almost solely an economic one.

Blacks Gaining Over Whites and Colored

In spite of their superior position, however, both the white and the colored are steadily giving way to the blacks, and the whites to the colored. The 1911 census of Jamaica showed 15,605 whites; the 1921, 14,476 a decrease of 1,129. The colored in 1911 were 163,201. In 1921, 157,223, a decrease of 5,978. On the other hand the blacks had 630,181 and 660,420 in 1911 and 1921, respectively, a gain of 30,239. The blacks in Jamaica have been steadily gaining since 1791. In 1834 the whites numbered 30,000, twice as many as at present.

The same is true of Barbadoes, the stronghold of the whites. The 1891 census of Barbadoes gives 15,613 whites; the 1911, gives 12,603, a decrease of 3,013. This decline of the whites holds true of all the other islands. The blacks will in all probability absorb the white and colored in time, even as in Cuba and the United States the whites will perhaps absorb the blacks. Jamaica seems an ideal place for black colonization. If the assertion is true that black men will get their rights only in those places where they

dominate, then the full-blooded Jamaican black ought to be the first of the oppressed to get his rights.

Economic

Industrial depression and poverty is the normal state of the British West Indies. Bryan Edwards, writing as far back as the 18th century, described it as "a progressive degeneracy."

Three causes may be given for this: It is the policy of the British government to discourage manufacturing in its colored colonies. The raw material must be sent to the British Isles to provide work for the people there, and then shipped back at a high duty; second, the nature of the education, and third, the strangle hold the English banks had on the islands until within recent years. Two other minor causes are the almost annual destruction of certain crops by hurricanes; and praedial larceny.

Excepting a few of the Bahama islets all of the West India islands and British Guiana are of unbelievable fertility. The farmer, as the saying goes, has but to tickle the soil and it laughs with a harvest. He has not a twentieth part of the trouble of the American farmer. The planting of corn, for instance, is a simple process. The bush is cut down and burnt. Women then go over the ground and with a single stroke of the hoe make holes at regular intervals. Boys follow with baskets of corn, throw in four grains, and kick the soil over them with their feet. A few weeks later the weeds are removed. There is no more trouble until the harvest. A similar process is followed with many other crops, as bananas and peas. Another thing greatly in favor of the West Indian is that most of the valuable crops are perennial. Bananas, cocoa-nuts, cocoa, cotton, kola nut, coffee, sugar-cane, pimento, pineapples and many other products, once planted, will thrive generation after generation with little care. Again there are dozens of fruits as mangoes, avocado pears, guavas, apples of a dozen diverse kinds, guineps, papaws, cherimoyas, naseberries, and plums, as well as such edibles as jack-fruit, bread-fruit, and varieties of nuts growing in a wild or almost wild state, all in the most lavish profusion. From April to September, mangoes are a veritable plague in many of the islands. They fall from the trees in heaps to breed great swarms of flies; man, bird, and beast being tired of them long before the season ends. And in spite of all this large quantities of jam are imported from England. Fruit that would bring a fortune to the American canners goes to absolute waste. There are no jam factories worthy of the name. Mr. Gladstone once suggested the establishment of such factories but beyond making a pun about "making Jamaica into a successful jam-maker," he did nothing more about it.

Again, hogs thrive on these fruits. Yet ham, bacon and salt pork in vast quantities are imported. With an abundance of grass and some of the finest pastures in the world, cattle are easily reared. Sheep and goats can also be reared with little trouble. Yet vast quantities of pickled beef, and condensed milk are imported. Almost all of the butter comes from abroad. The seas teem with fish, yet thousands of tons of salted cod-fish and herring are brought in

annually. The islands could produce all their flour (banana flour) rice, cornmeal, corn, white potatoes and peas they need. Yet the peasant relies to a considerable extent on the imported variety of these articles for his daily food. In a case of war with the United States the islands would be hard pressed for food. Most of the food used in the Bahamas and Barbados come from America.

Although timber is abundant, lumber is imported. Raw sugar is exported and then imported in a refined state. The only manufactures of any importance are cigars, cigarettes, certain essential oils, dyewood extracts, biscuit-making, and hat-making, the last by hand.

Why is all this so, when the British islands, like Cuba and Porto Rico, could grow most of their own food? Simply, as was said, because of the policy of the British government to discourage manufacture in the colored colonies. Again, the tariff is framed for two reasons, first to make revenue for the islands. As was said, most of the taxation is indirect and comes from a high ad valorem duty—even as high as 16 2-3 per cent—and second, to give preference to British products, many of which such as bricks, bridges, carts, locomotives and machinery are duty free.

More than half of the revenue of Jamaica comes from the ad valorem. With the exception of Trinidad the imports of all the islands considerably exceed the exports.

Why?

The explanation will be found in what was pointed out at the beginning of these articles namely that the earliest Europeans came to exploit and not to settle, and that that policy has remained unchanged. In a country where the bulk of the population wears little and inexpensive clothing, go barefooted the year round, and live in small dwellings, shacks, and mud-huts, exploitation through food is the only hope of the trader. The peasant must be made to pay and to pay high for his daily salt-fish, herrings and cornmeal. In return he gets little for his agricultural products. The government, it seems, deliberately discourages the preservation of the surplus food stuffs,—which are highly perishable—at the time they are in season, in order to bleed the peasantry through high import duties on food. This policy, of course, makes the revenue sure, as one must eat. Sir David Barbour who headed a royal commission to the West Indies some years ago, declared that the Jamaican tariff was "the most brutal in existence and worse than that of Egypt."

One explanation of the necessity for the high tariff is the enormous salaries paid to officials, who are nearly always English. For instance the governor of Barbados gets \$12,500 a year; the Governor of the State of New York gets \$10,000. Yet place Barbados in the middle of New York State, and one would have to travel nearly a whole day on a fast train to reach it. New York has 10,000,000 population. Barbados 170,000. The same with Trinidad, whose Governor gets \$25,000. The Governor of Jamaica gets \$35,000 in salary and allowances. The President of the United States gets \$75,000. Yet Jamaica is smaller than Connecticut and has a half a million less population. Secretary of State Hughes gets \$12,000 a

year; the Colonial Secretary of Jamaica get \$10,000; the Chief Justice of the United States gets \$15,000; that of Jamaica gets \$10,000. And so on with a host of other officials. Then there is the enormous pension list, and the honorariums that are sometimes voted.

Merchants and others of the exploiting class in power also make huge profits from the foodstuffs, and

it is, of course, to their interest to see that the old order holds—that imports shall exceed exports, that the islands shall continue to be unable to feed themselves. In 1920-21, the imports of Jamaica were \$51,568,410; the exports \$35,730,050. The island had to pay \$16,000,000 to the outside world for the privilege of existence.

The Friends of Negro Freedom

MARCUS GARVEY MUST GO!

THE campaign inaugurated by the Friends of Negro Freedom against Marcus Garvey and his organization is now in full swing. It has dealt this unmitigated prevaricator a body blow.

During the entire month of August, when it was hot and rainy, more than two thousand people came out at 3 o'clock every Sunday afternoon and listened to scholarly addresses upon the emptiness of Garvey's claims, the impossibilities of his schemes, the insincerity of the man, the unreliability of his word, the littleness of his accomplishments, the mischief and menace of his attempted deal with the race's worst enemy—the Ku Klux Klan of America. The first address was delivered by William Pickens, former dean of Morgan College, Baltimore, Maryland, and now Field Secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. His subject was "*What To Do When Negro Leaders League With Negro Lynchers.*"

The second address was delivered by A. Philip Randolph, co-editor of THE MESSENGER magazine and candidate for Secretary of State in New York on the Socialist and Labor Party tickets, the highest nomination which a Negro has ever received on a regular political party's ticket in the greatest state in the United States and the richest in the world. His subject was: "*The Only Way to Redeem Africa.*"

The third address was delivered by Chandler Owen, co-editor of THE MESSENGER magazine and Executive Secretary of the Friends of Negro Freedom. His subject was: "*A Program for Negroes Everywhere,*" including an answer to the question: "*Should Marcus Garvey Be Deported?*"

Pickens proved conclusively that Garvey entered into a deal to sell out the rights of the Negro to the most vicious anti-Negro organization in the history of the world—the Ku Klux Klan.

Randolph showed that Garvey's method for redeeming Africa was unsound and impossible, that Garvey had no desire to redeem Africa, but only to collect money from hard working Negroes under the pretense that he could or would free Africa from white domination.

Robert W. Bagnall proved that Garvey was mad; that, in line with the suggestion of Judge Jacob Panken before whom Garvey's civil suit for fraud was tried, Garvey was a paranoiac.

Chandler Owen presented a practical program for the Negro and proved that Garvey could and should be deported.

Since the different addresses will appear in successive issues of the MESSENGER no excerpts are quoted from them here.

At the first meeting a few Garvey fanatics attempted interruptions, but the crowd quickly closed them down. At the second meeting every man who interrupted was put out immediately by the police. At the third meeting no one interrupted. One man asked a question at the fourth meeting and the police put him out before the crowd, impatient and angry, might handle him roughly. The crowd realized that the disturbers were trying to becloud the issue because they could not refute the arguments.

In short the sane, honest and conscientious people of New York are through with Garvey.

No national line was evident in this fight, either. Practically all the decent and intelligent West Indians in New York fought with us against the black Ku Klux ally.

In the next issue an article will appear on the "Collapse of the Garvey Convention," so we shall pass over this question by saying the convention was a farce with about 150 delegates, not 150,000 as Garvey published in the "*Negro World.*" It was the laughing stock of the white people and an humiliation to all self-respecting colored people.

The anti-Garvey campaign of the Friends of Negro Freedom has left on the lips of every sensible Negro in New York the slogan, and in his mind the determination, that "Marcus Garvey Must Go!"

THE NOVEMBER

MESSENGER

WILL BEGIN A SERIES OF ARTICLES ON

LOVE, MARRIAGE AND
DIVORCE

By Chandler Owen

DON'T MISS THEM!

BOOK REVIEWS

THE BOOK OF AMERICAN NEGRO POETRY, Chosen and edited with an essay on The Negro's Creative Genius, by James Weldon Johnson. (Harcourt, Brace and Company.

The chief worth of Mr. Johnson's Book of American Negro Poetry lies in his essay on the Negro's Creative Genius. This is both illuminating and masterful. It is primarily defensive because of the tendency of the great "I Ams" to subtract credit from us the minute our even smutty tunes are popularized with different words. Thus we find the author laboriously proving that we are the originators of jazz, the blues, and other such syncopation and accompanying dances that have the populace in their grip today. We are proud of this painstaking presentation however, for although we are ashamed of some of the themes ourselves, still the tunes are great and when the credit is handed out free of charge we want our share.

But of more potential importance is the narrative of Phillis Wheatley. The author quite feasibly suggests she was first to hail General Washington as "First in peace." This shows careful research. He also remarks:

"Phillis Wheatley has never been given her rightful place in American literature. By some sort of conspiracy she is kept out of most of the books, especially the textbooks on literature used in the schools. Of course, she is not a great American poet—and in her day there were no great American poets—but she is an important American poet. Her importance, if for no other reason, rests on the fact that, save one, she is the first in order of time of all the women poets of America. And she is among the first of all American poets to issue a volume."

And substantial proof follows the assertion.

Foreign poets come in for a generous appraisal. They were of Latin countries where prejudice was less strong, hence they were not forced to be intencely racial. Many were real National poets, such as has been the hopeless dream of some American Negroes. For that reason Mr. Johnson thinks the greatest poets of the race have come from the Latins and will continue to do so for many years.

In looking forward the author strikes a new note.

"The Negro in the United States has achieved or been placed in a certain artistic niche. When he is thought of artistically, it is as a happy-go-lucky, singing, shuffling, banjo-picking being or as a more or less pathetic figure. The picture of him is in a log cabin amid fields of cotton or along the levees. Negro dialect is naturally and by long association the exact instrument for voicing this phase of Negro life; and by that very exactness it is an instrument with two full stops, humor and pathos. So even when he confines himself to purely racial themes, the Aframerican poet realizes that there are phases of Negro life in the United States which cannot be treated in the dialect either adequately or artistically. Take, for example, the phases rising out of life in Harlem, that most wonderful Negro city in the world. I do not deny that a Negro in a log cabin is more picturesque than a Negro in a Harlem flat, but the Negro in the Harlem flat is here, and he is but part of a group growing everywhere in the country, a group whose ideals are becoming increasingly more vital than of the traditionally artistic group even if its members are less picturesque.

"What the colored poet in the United States needs to do is something like what Synge did for the Irish; he needs to find a form that will express the racial spirit by symbols from within rather than by symbols from without, such as the mere mutilation of English spelling and pronunciation. He needs a form that is freer and larger than dialect, but which will still hold the racial flavor; a form expressing the imaginary, the idioms, the peculiar turns of thought, and the distinctive humor and pathos, too, of the Negro, but which will also be capable of voicing the deepest and highest emotions and aspirations, and allow of the widest range of subjects and the widest scope of treatment. . . .

"In stating the need for Aframerican poets in the United States to work out a new and distinctive form of expression I do not wish to be understood to hold any theory that they should limit themselves to Negro poetry, to racial themes; the sooner they are able to write American poetry spontaneously, the better. Nevertheless, I believe that the richest contribution the Negro poet can make to American literature of the future will be the fusion into it of his own individual artistic gifts."

("Aframerican" is a word of the author's own make. We are not asked to adopt it.)

The book is well edited by a distinguished poet and scholar and should be found in every poet-lover's library.

FLOYD J. CALVIN.

Who's Who

TOM WATSON

TOM WATSON is gone. We have shed tears over it,—tears of ecstasy. But ecstasy emanates from two emotions—extreme joy or extreme sorrow. We leave it to the faithful reader to judge from which emotion we shed them.

Tom Watson was more than the typical Southern demagogue. He combined learning with the worst spirit of the South. His religious bigotry led him to

persecute the Catholics. His race prejudice made him a wicked misrepresenter of the Negroes and the Jews. His desire for office induced him to seize upon every form of sensation which might bring him personal supporters.

Some people thought Tom Watson was a liberal. Even the radicals were at times deceived by his utterances. The only comment necessary here is to point out that those who still hold to the ideals of chattel slavery cannot be considered as radicals or liberals.

Verily they are far removed from the modern conservative. David Karsner in the New York *Call* makes a very happy comment on Watson in saying:

The Georgia "crackers" seem to have celebrated the funeral of their departed idol, Tom Watson, in true cavalierly style. On the day that Tom Watson was lowered into the earth a mob at Wrightsville, Ga., lynched the ninth Negro in sixty days. It seems to me the act was a fitting tribute to the memory of Watson.

Well, let us give Tom Watson a decent burial. Let us roll over his grave a cluster of Negro shacks as a monument to his service.

We would add that Georgia cannot get a worse Senator than Watson. It will not be difficult to get a better one. Her only complaint against Watson should be that he lived too long. May the old Devil go in peace and sin no more!

Open Forum

Editors, THE MESSENGER,

Enclosed is check for \$1.50 for sub. to begin with last December.

I have had one or two copies of the MESSENGER— and know it well by reputation. I heard Mr. Owen speak at a public meeting in Pasadena, and I look forward to reading and passing on the magazine regularly.

Pasadena, Cal.

ALICE PARK.

Editors, THE MESSENGER,

Just a note to tell you again of the pleasure and interest occasioned by your visit to this city and your personal visit with me, my family and friends. I trust that you will not fail to look me up should you visit Seattle again, and this invitation is likewise extended to any of your co-workers.

By the way, my eldest girl is an ardent stamp collector and I take some interest in the subject from its bearing on history, geography, and typography, so I want to pass on to you an interesting note I read in the April 1st issue of Mekeel's Stamp News. It occurs in an article by Fred J. Melville of London, England, entitled "British Central Africa and Nyasaland Protectora." Melville quotes Sir Harry Johnson on the functions of the Post Office of Exchange, especially with regard to the native runners or postmen.

"These men travel at the rate of 25 miles a day, and are wonderfully faithful and careful in the delivery of their precious charges. Cases have been known where postal carriers have been drowned in the crossing of flooded rivers by their obstinacy in not parting from their mail bags, and where they have fought bravely and successfully against odds in an attack by highway robbers. The Negro of Central Africa has genuine respect for the written word. Of course, the time will come when, attendant on the growth of civilization, native postmen will probably commit robberies of registered letters, as is occasionally done by their European colleagues"—but at the present time our mails are perfectly safe in their hands."

This is quite a boost for civilization.

Seattle, Wash.

WALKER C. SMITH.

Editors, THE MESSENGER,

My good friend Mrs. Lewis brought me a copy of your magazine, the first I had ever seen, and after reading it all through I wish to say that I am delighted with it.

You will see on page 140-142 something of what I think of the splendid work your race is doing along educational lines.

Fisk University is my pet University and I always spend at least one month there, and I think their professors are as capable as any I have found in the white colleges. I would make special mention of Prof. Talley, whom I consider the equal if not the superior to any teacher of Chemistry that I have met anywhere. I think I am qualified to speak for I have been in touch with many of the leading Universities in this country. The earnestness, the enthusiasm with which the colored boys and girls go about their work has always been a great joy and comfort to me and has been such a splendid vindication for all the Abolitionists claimed for the black race.

I am sending you a copy of my book, which Mrs. Lewis tells me you have already read, but I want you to possess a copy of your own. My theory is that only by education can we ever break down race prejudice.

With sincere appreciation of the splendid work you are doing for your own race as well as to educate the whites, I am,

AMY D. WINSHIP.

Editors, THE MESSENGER,

Enclosed may be of some account, since it was a synopsis of my report of the lecture given by Mr. Owen. I've listened to many able speakers, but never one with such a flow of original, sensible humor. Not one sentence but did not convey some worth while thought. Irving Cobb has a reputation as a humorist, but is unable to hold a candle to Chandler Owen, though he speaks to large gatherings, who are duped into paying a dollar to hear the lion roar, which is the most humorous part of the lecture. Mr. Cobb makes the statement from the platform himself and the crowd agrees with that fact, with added applause. Owing to the fact that Mr. Owen is a brunette in-

stead of a blonde he cannot afford to hire the Auditorium or charge a dollar for admission. He must waste his energy for smaller return, though his cause is more worthy and unselfish than Irving Cobb's. Americanism was Mr. Owen's subject and what he told us that WAS NOT in accord with Americanism would fill a book. Following a few stray thoughts from the discourse. "How can I hear what you say when what you are is ringing in my ears." "In times of war most of the leadership was from the rear. Roosevelt in his charge up San Juan Hill made it from behind a troop of colored soldiers." It was the Negroes who charged. "The only way you can get hold of the wealth of the world is to stay in the office and work on the fellow outside who is working." "What is the difference in cannibalism, cooking a man without eating him or eating him without cooking?" Socialism is a philosophy of intelligence. American people do not grasp it more readily because they are a class of low intelligence. Useless for me to review the lecture further, but I do not think I overlooked much of it and sent the report into the *Record*, our evening paper that gives space to everything I write. Recently we have had an interesting discussion: "What Is A Gentleman?" I was quite elated when a woman recited an incident that occurred on the car when tired and heavily laden she boarded, to be courteously offered a seat by a colored man while those of her own color ignored her. I had to add my bit that I enclose. I am a white woman taught to respect all people for what they are, but of course there was a wee bit of feeling I guess until I commenced to get in touch and study the race of colored people. Then I had my eyes opened to many things. I've been in correspondence with both colored men and women for this purpose. I've met a few and so far find everything commendable. I met Mary Ovington; had two letters from her and seek every opportunity to learn and my opinions are heeded in this town, though we do not pose as any one of reputation. We are contemplating a coast to coast hike very soon now, so may drop in. With best wishes always for the paper and its cause, we remain

MYRA R. COLLINS.

Pasadena, Cal.

Editors, THE MESSENGER,

C—is for courage, tried and true,
H—is for heart, sincere and pure,
A—is action of word and deed,
N—is for Negro, his race and creed
D—meaning duties he performs each day,
L—stands for Labor he defends on his way,
E—is enthusiasm, that fills your soul
R—is for Equal Rights—his object and goal.

O—stands for order that he keeps,
W—is the weight of the words that he speaks,
E—means Education he wants free and fair,
N—stands for New Negro beyond compare.

FLOYD CRAW.

Seattle, Wash.

GARY RAISES STEEL WAGES 20 PER CENT

By GEORGE SOULE

ONE of the most significant recent events in the industrial world is the increase of twenty per cent in the wages of common labor in the steel industry, which was first announced by the United States Steel Corporation and was taken up by the independents. All sides have been speculating as to the causes and meaning of this advance.

The first thing that can be said definitely is that it was not prompted by any generosity towards the workers. The new rates amount only to \$3.60 a day for ten hours of work. They are only 80 per cent above the rock bottom wages paid in 1915 and thus the purchasing power of the new wages is hardly greater than of the wages paid before the war, since the cost of living, according to the United States Department of Labor, has gone up almost as much. In 1920 the Steel Corporation paid common labor 153 per cent above the 1915 rate, when the cost of living was only about 120 per cent above 1915. The purchasing power of the new wages, therefore, is not so great as that of the wages paid during the recent boom and the advance seems large only because of the terrific reductions which preceded it.

The main reason for the increase is no difficult to guess. Business in general is on the up-grade and steel production is booming. For weeks employment agencies have been advertising for men to go into the steel mills. The companies could not get the men they needed at the low rates of pay offered and consequently had to raise the bids.

Another reason is the fact that the demand for steel, coupled with the new tariff provisions, will enable the mills to raise their prices and the preliminary increase of wages will give them an excuse which they may offer to their customers for such profiteering. As a matter of fact, owing to the small proportion of labor cost in steel manufacture, a raise in wages, followed by an equal percentage of increased prices, materially enlarges the profits of the steel manufacturers.

Another possible reason for the steel increase is the settlement of the coal strike without any reduction in wages. As long as union miners are to be paid the highest wages they ever received non-union mines could not get away with any wage reduction. But many of these non-union mines raised their wage rates to the union scale as a result of the miners' victory, while wages in the non-union steel industry were kept down, it would be easy for the most unintelligent workman to see the advantages of labor organization in forcing an increase. The Steel Corporation therefore decided to take the bull by the horns and make a "voluntary" increase in wages in both their mines and their mills before they were forced to do so by organization of the workers themselves.

The effects of the increase will be favorable to the labor situation all along the line. The Steel Corporation employs hundreds of thousands of people and it is generally acknowledged that business conditions can be foretold by watching the steel industry. The business world is therefore convinced by this action

that prosperity is near at hand, that they are facing a labor shortage and that the trend of wages, instead of being downward as during the past two years has now definitely turned up. This state of mind will assist the railroad shopmen, who are striking partly against an ill-advised wage reduction; it will help the textile strikers in New England and labor in general.

STEEL

WE have just received a pamphlet entitled: "UNITED STATES STEEL, A CORPORATION WITH A SOUL". The sub-title follows: "United States Steel is a remarkable organization; nothing like it exists or ever existed. It is in a class by itself." We'll say it is in a class by itself. We once heard John Haynes Holmes describe the difference between a person and a corporation. He said: "*A person has a mortal body and an immortal soul; while a corporation has an immortal body and no soul at all.*" But a new discovery has been made! We see that it is part of a speech by the Hon. Will R. Wood of Indiana. It seems that the Hon. Will R. Wood would will for the United States Steel Corporation to have a soul. If it has a soul, we agree with him that nothing like it exists or ever existed. We notice that he spells steel with two "Es" but he could with equal propriety have written United States Steal. If our memory serves us well, there is still some steel in Indiana, the state from which Mr. Will R. Wood hails; and no doubt this corporation to which he refers has too much soul to steal the steel of his state. We agree with the Honorable Congressman. It is a remarkable organization—A Corporation with a Soul—a s-o-l-e of steel whose iron heel crushes the ideals and the hopes of hundreds of thousands of men who work for it day after day. Some corporation and some Congressman!

THE NEGRO IN THE UNIONS

THE *Advance*, official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, makes a short pithy comment upon Negroes in the Unions. This organization is one of the greatest unions in the world. It raised \$2,000,000 in a six-month strike in 1920. It maintains one of the finest educational systems of any union. Its officers are sympathetic and intelligent. They keep abreast of the Negro problem. The Editor, therefore, goes on to say the following:

Why is it that we read of Negro scabs in almost every big strike? Are the Negroes too stupid to understand unionism?

No. The Negroes in many parts of the United States have not been given a fair chance to understand unionism. The white workers don't want them in the unions. That is particularly true in the South where the white workers will not be seen in a union hall with a black worker. But in the North the Negroes are gradually being taught the value of class solidarity. If all the unions would treat their colored brothers as fairly as the Amalgamated treats its Negro members, the employers would not be able to use race prejudice to split the workers in time of strike.

Comment is unnecessary. We think the editor strikes it in a nutshell.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUG. 24, 1912.

Of the MESSENGER, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1922.

State of New York.

County of New York.

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

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

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.) Messenger Publishing Co., Inc., 2305 7th Avenue, New York; A. Philip Randolph, 148 West 142nd Street, New York; Chandler Owen, 103 West 141st Street, New York; Robert Godet, 32 West 136th Street, New York; Victor R. Daly, 261 West 134th Street, New York.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) A. Philip Randolph 148 West 142nd Street, New York; Chandler Owen, 103 West 141st Street, New York; Robert Godet, 32 West 136th Street, New York; Victor R. Daly, 261 West 134th Street, New York.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

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

CHANDLER OWEN, Editor.

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

(My commission expires March 30, 1923.)

KENNETH DUNCAN.

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OUR "OLD USED TO BE"



TIME was when the MESSENGER was not only "by long odds the most able of all the Negro publications," but was also the **artistic pride** of discriminating libraries and drawing rooms. But the "industrial debacle" caught us in 1920. We were hard hit, yet our friends helped us weather the storm. We are going to put on a new suit now, and "dress up", as of the stirring days when Czar Burleson wouldn't allow us in the mails.

Our cover will again be done in attractive colors. Master printers will stretch their imagination on delicate finishing touches.

The cartoons are coming back. The drawing which appeared in July, 1919, had the enviable distinction of being placed on a fly-leaf in the second volume of the ponderous Lusk Report on radicalism in 1920. None other than the MESSENGER'S artist was even noticed among Negroes.

Two copies of the MESSENGER go monthly to the U. S. Library of Congress, another to the New York Public Library at 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue, another to the Harvard University Library, another to the Princeton University Library, and still another to the French Library of War, Paris.

Our writers are "whetting their pens" and preparing to live up to their reputation of being **"50 years ahead of the times."**

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