

THE NEGRO IN "THE LAND OF THE FREE"

CHATTEL slavery, officially abolished by a victorious North which fought the Civil War to destroy its ruinous competition to Northern industry, based on wage slavery, continues to exist in the South.

Negro working farmers and tenant farmers who go into unavoidable debt to their employers or landlords are held on the land until they work out the debt, which, under the system of cheating by landlords, they rarely ever do. In the meantime, their condition forces them deeper into the debt of the land-

are permitted to inflict heavy fines for the most trivial offenses, and the sheriffs to lease the convicts to planters.

Throughout the Black Belt Negroes suffer for arrests and impositions for petty offenses to an extent which makes their lives miserable.

And bolstering up the legal terrorism of the capitalist courts is the terrorism of the mob! Both are based upon the determination of the white ruling class to subject the Negro to the most brutal and intensive exploitation.

Chief among the forms of illegal white

The following day the *Memphis Press* carried a story from the scene of the lynching: "KILL NEGRO BY INCHES

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"Not once did the slayer beg for mercy despite the fact that he suffered one of the most horrible deaths imaginable."

The economic factor is always close to the surface in these lynchings. In this particular story the capitalist press itself unwittingly exposed the basis of Southern white ruling class terrorism against the Negro in its reference to the presence of Arkansas planters directing the torture.

Figures belie the arguments of the white planters that most lynchings occur because of attacks on women. Among 2,522 Negro workers lynched between 1889 and 1918, 900 were charged with murder, 477 with rape, 237 with attacks upon women, 210 with crimes against property, and 560 with miscellaneous crimes, ranging from talking back to a white man to resisting an officer. Between 1889 and 1925 there are 90 instances of lynching of women.

Another method of terrorizing Negroes is by wholesale massacres. Since the World War, however, this method has lost its popularity as it was discovered that the most carefully planned and well-intentioned massacre would develop into a race riot on account of the queer notions of armed resistance acquired by Negroes since the war. For instance, there were awkward affairs at Tulsa, Okla., Washington, D. C., Elaine, Ark., Charleston, S. C. Knoxville, Tenn., Longview, Tex., Rosemond, Fla., where the returned Negro soldiers gave a good account of themselves.

Savage whippings used to be one of the systems of chattel slavery. Chattel slavery has been abolished by the Emancipation Proclamation. But in the South Negroes continue to be whipped by the white planters. In Louisiana alone, in a period of 11 years, 683 Negroes were whipped, maimed or murdered.

The Negro in the South is denied even the delusion harbored by the white workers that he has a voice in the government. As Scott Nearing puts it in his "Black America", his emancipation was "only a paper liberation", the white ruling class "owns economically and dominates politically" the Negro masses of the South.

"Theoretically and legally, the Negroes were freed from slavery.

"Practically and economically, the Negroes were still under the necessity of making a living on land owned by Southern white men.

"Negroes obtained no new economic status as a result of the Emancipation Proclamation . . . Reconstruction left them land workers and house servants, serfs in fact, if not in law."

Grandfather clauses and other devices keep

them disfranchised. When these fail, the rope and faggot are resorted to.

There are about 9,000,000 Negroes in the sixteen southern and eastern states of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas and the District of Columbia. In at least two of these states they constitute an actual majority of the population. Yet not one holds state or county office or occupies a seat in the legislature and, except in a few small towns and villages inhabited almost wholly by Negroes, there is not to be found a colored mayor or member of the municipal council, justice of the peace or even a policeman. Nor are Negroes permitted to sit on juries—not even in the trial of Negroes. Trial by a jury of one's peers is another delusion denied the Negro under capitalism. They are not allowed to serve in the militia and are, of course, barred from registration and election boards.

Negro school have more pupils per teacher, more double sessions, fewer teachers and these badly paid, some as low as \$15 a month, fewer and smaller playgrounds, and wholly inadequate provision for health and comfort. In some counties there are no schooling provisions for Negroes. Frequently, the planters, suffering from a labor shortage and objecting to Negro children being in the schools instead of laboring in their fields, band together and burn Negro schools. Negro schools are mostly housed in shacks and abandoned churches, ill-heated and unhealthy.

In education they are grossly discriminated against. While Negroes compose over 30 per cent of the population of the South, eight Southern States in the past ten years spent

same ratio applies to other states. Perhaps the following figures give a better idea. \$270,547,343 on new school buildings for children (little over two-thirds of the total) and \$29,547,723 for



SLAVING IN THE "LAND OF COTTON"

lord and employer, who may sell or transfer his claim against the Negro worker or share cropper—which really amounts to selling the Negro worker.

Debt slavery is one of various means by which the brutal exploitation of the Negro masses of the South is legalized.

The Southern Negro knows all there is to know about the capitalist courts. With reason he distrusts them. The guiding principle in the capitalist courts, South and North, is the maintenance of the domination of the white ruling class. In the South this domination is based upon the utter subjugation and exploitation of the Negroes, who constitute the bulk of farm laborers and unskilled workers. The rule in the Southern courts is that when a white man assaults a Negro he is not punished. When a white man kills a Negro he is usually freed without extended legal proceedings. When a Negro kills a white man, whether or not in self-defense, he must die. Negro witnesses count for nothing except where testifying against members of their own race.

Under the Convict Lease System, the courts

ruling class terrorism is lynching. Between 1866 and 1878, 3,500 persons, most of them Negroes, were killed in the South. No attempt was even made to arrest their murderers. Since 1885 there have been 4,250 lynchings. Of these 3,205 were of Negroes.

Lynchings are always "well attended". Women and children help make up the mobs. Frequently they are given the benefits of the press agent. For instance, the *Memphis News Scimitar* (January 1921) carried the headline: "Lowry Lynchers Announce Program: Negro to Pay Mob's Penalty for Crime".

The *Memphis Press* on the same day exulted "may lynch three to six Negroes this evening". Its leading story was captioned "Lowry Nears Tree on Which It Is Planned to Hang Him—Taken Through Memphis Today." The story related that "while five of their members detoured around Memphis in a closed automobile with Lowry, Negro murderer, who is to be lynched at Modena, Ark., to-night, other alleged members of the mob who took him from officers at Sardis, Miss., early this morning, came to Memphis and dined at the Hotel Peabody today".



AVERAGE ANNUAL PER CHILD OF

- Alabama
- Arkansas
- Florida
- Georgia
- Louisiana
- Mississippi
- North Carolina
- South Carolina
- Tennessee
- Texas
- Virginia

Negro children must suffer from the effects of bad roads, through no fault of their own, and no school for although arrangements are made for them, the arrangement is made for the white children.

In 1910, ten million Negro children were in school and 29,727 teachers and principals, lacking proper training, were paid.

Negroes are overlooked in health service. This is true but tragically true of the Negroes who are barred from white hospitals and public hospitals. In 1910, 10 fairly well equipped hospitals and about 90 other poor plants, inadequate for the support. Negro physician from public hospitals and internes.

Negroes are barred from the best health service except when "nigger gal" They are also barred from the best signs "Niggers and" They are denied the u-



FATHER AND SON—TEXTILE WORKERS

"THE LAND OF THE FREE" - - - By Cyril Briggs

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and forced to confine themselves to the putrid pleasures of the slums, the pool rooms, etc.

It is not surprising to find the Negro death rate abnormally high. It is 62.5 per cent higher than the white death date. In some urban centers, south and north, it is as much as 90 per cent higher. Negro babies die two



A TYPICAL NEGRO VILLAGE IN THE SOUTH

AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE PER CHILD OF SCHOOL AGE

	for whites	for Negroes
Alabama	26.57	3.81
Arkansas	13.36	6.48
Florida	42.01	7.33
Georgia	25.84	5.78
Louisiana	33.73	5.48
Mississippi	25.95	5.62
North Carolina	25.31	7.52
South Carolina	27.88	2.74
Tennessee	21.02	11.88
Texas	31.77	20.24
Virginia	40.27	10.47

thirds faster than white babies under the unhealthy conditions forced upon the Negro in segregated districts where they are, to an even greater extent than the white workers, the prey of the landlords. In the South thousands of Negro workers are forced to live in one room shanties, without ventilation or privacy, built of logs or of wood, usually unpainted, squalid in the extreme, lacking the simplest necessities.

Negro settlements in the South are confined to swampy, isolated districts. Very often the red light districts, white and colored, touch upon the Negro residential districts.

The great majority of Negroes in the South are hired farm workers and tenant farmers. As tenant farmers and share croppers they are at the mercy of the white landlords. He short changes the tenant. He buys from him at his own price, later selling at a huge profit. This system renders it impossible for tenants to make a living and they are forced to go into debt to their landlords. These debts must be paid by the tenant before he can leave the property of his landlord. If he tries to escape the power of the state pursues him and returns him to his owner. In most cases they are severely punished for having run away.

Southern wages are notoriously low for the white workers, but even lower for the Negro workers. Negro woman in domestic labor are paid as low as \$1.50 and board a week. Men in domestic service get around \$5.00. In the oyster and shrimp canning communities along the Gulf Coast reported wages of Negro women and children range from \$1.00 to \$12.50 a week, without board.

Child labor is prevalent throughout the (Continued on page 183)



FATHER AND SON—TEXTILE WORKERS

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Defense for Seamen

By **GEORGE MINK**
(Secretary Marine Workers League)

THE marine worker is not only one of the most exploited workers but he is also one of the most persecuted. And why? Because the seamen while at sea are subjected to maritime law which empowers the shipowners' agent, the captain, to be the sole judge and jury. The marine worker has no redress for his grievances and should he act contrary to the wishes of the "master" he is thrown in irons, on bread and water. Should a seaman while under "articles" (contract) incur the displeasure of the captain he is "logged" (reducing of wages; two days for every day off, four days pay for refusing duty, etc.) For instance, on the S. S. Leviathan on each round trip which takes her 17 days we find that \$1000 is sliced off seamen's wages. On arrival at port the captain's word is sufficient to imprison any one whom he charges before the federal authorities.

While ashore most seamen are friendless and have no definite abode. Here is where the dirty work comes in. The sailor is robbed of his pitiful, hard-earned wages by money changers, seamen's church institutes and missions on the various water fronts. On the New York water front the ship owners have erected a "club" of fourteen stories which is to accommodate the marine workers. They employ their own private uniformed thugs, and the clubs of these thugs are used indiscriminately on seamen's heads.

On July 29th two seamen, McDonald and Barshaw were brutally clubbed by the thugs of this famous ship owners' institute. While entering the institute to go to their lodging these men were turned over to the civil authorities on a series of charges ranging from disorderly conduct to resisting arrest. In this case the I.L.D. defended the seamen and had them released. In another case the I.L.D. defended one of the organizers of the Marine Workers League who was framed-up by the Standard Oil Co. when he boarded one of their ships for organizing purposes. While there have been many working class organizations with defense branches and funds nevertheless none have offered seamen any aid and counsel when they were badly in need of it. The I.L.D. in 1928 secured the release of two seamen imprisoned in Portland, Maine, on framed-up charges dur-

ing the seamen's strike in 1921. These seamen were never defended by the International Seamen's Union which retains a "shyster" lawyer who has made thousands of dollars on seamen.

The Marine Workers' League which laid the basis for a marine workers industrial union at its recent Atlantic Coast Conference, which was held at 28 South St., Aug. 17th, is definitely decided that labor defense branches be formed on all ports and on every ship afloat.

NEGRO IN "LAND OF FREE"

(Continued from page 179)

South, white and Negro children, but especially the latter, being subject to intensive exploitation in the fields and factories. Many Negro children of tender age are to be found sweating and slaving in the fields. Of one group of 322 studied (Maryland) 8.1 per cent were under 8 years; 20.2 per cent were from 8 to 10; 23.9 per cent from 10 to 12! 46.9 were over 12 years.

Where labor is organized it is under the leadership of the American Federation of Labor which pursues in the South even a more cowardly and reactionary policy of discrimination towards Negro workers than it does in the North. Until the invasion of the South by the left wing National Textile Workers Union there was no effort to organize the Negroes and no voice raised among organized labor in their behalf. Negroes work in many of the skilled trades in the South are, as a rule, organized in Jim Crow locals of the American Federation of Labor.



Photo Int'l.
ARRESTING HARRY EISMAN

Tammany Attacks Workers Children

The police of New York, the brutal, labor-hating cops of Tammany Hall, call Harry Eisman, fifteen years old, "incorrigible."

And this lad, bright and fearless, devoted to the working class, will be taken from his family for six months and placed in a "home."

He has been sentenced to a half year term in the Home of Jewish Guardians at Hawthorne, N. Y.

His crime—taking part in a demonstration declaring that Boy Scouts are being trained for imperialist war by the master class.

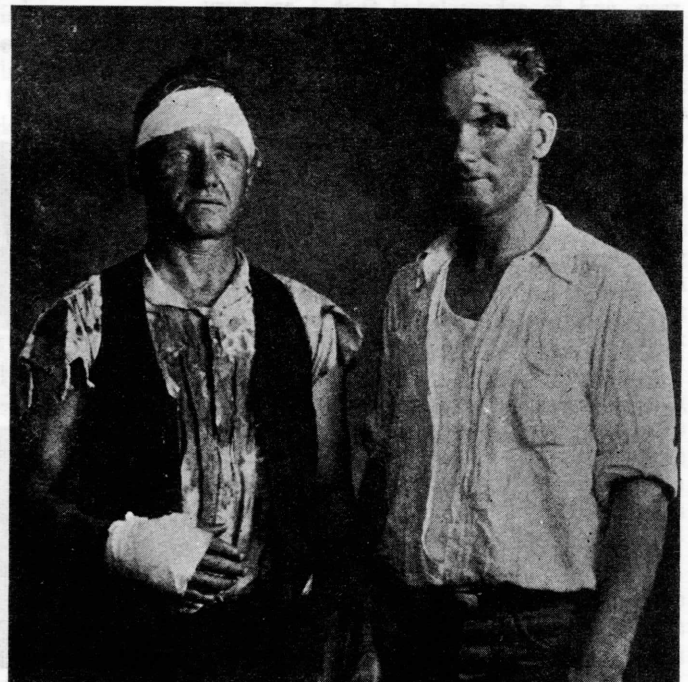
Harry was one of the group of Young Pioneers who marched to Pier 53, when the Boy Scout delegation was leaving for England, to the annual "jamboree" of that organization.

"The bosses train you for war!" Harry shouted. "They want you to beat down the working class! Join the Pioneers and defend the working class!" he cried out.

Mounted policemen rode down on the crowd of Pioneers and Harry defended himself. He was charged with "beating a horse." When sentenced the magistrate burst into a torrent of abuse against the Pioneers and praised the Boy Scouts."

Harry defended his position. "The Boy Scouts are the tools of the militarists and are helping to prepare the next bosses' war."

"Six months in the home" the angered magistrate shouted. The International Labor Defense is appealing the case.



SEAMEN BEATEN UP BY THUGS IN SHIPOWNERS' INSTITUTE