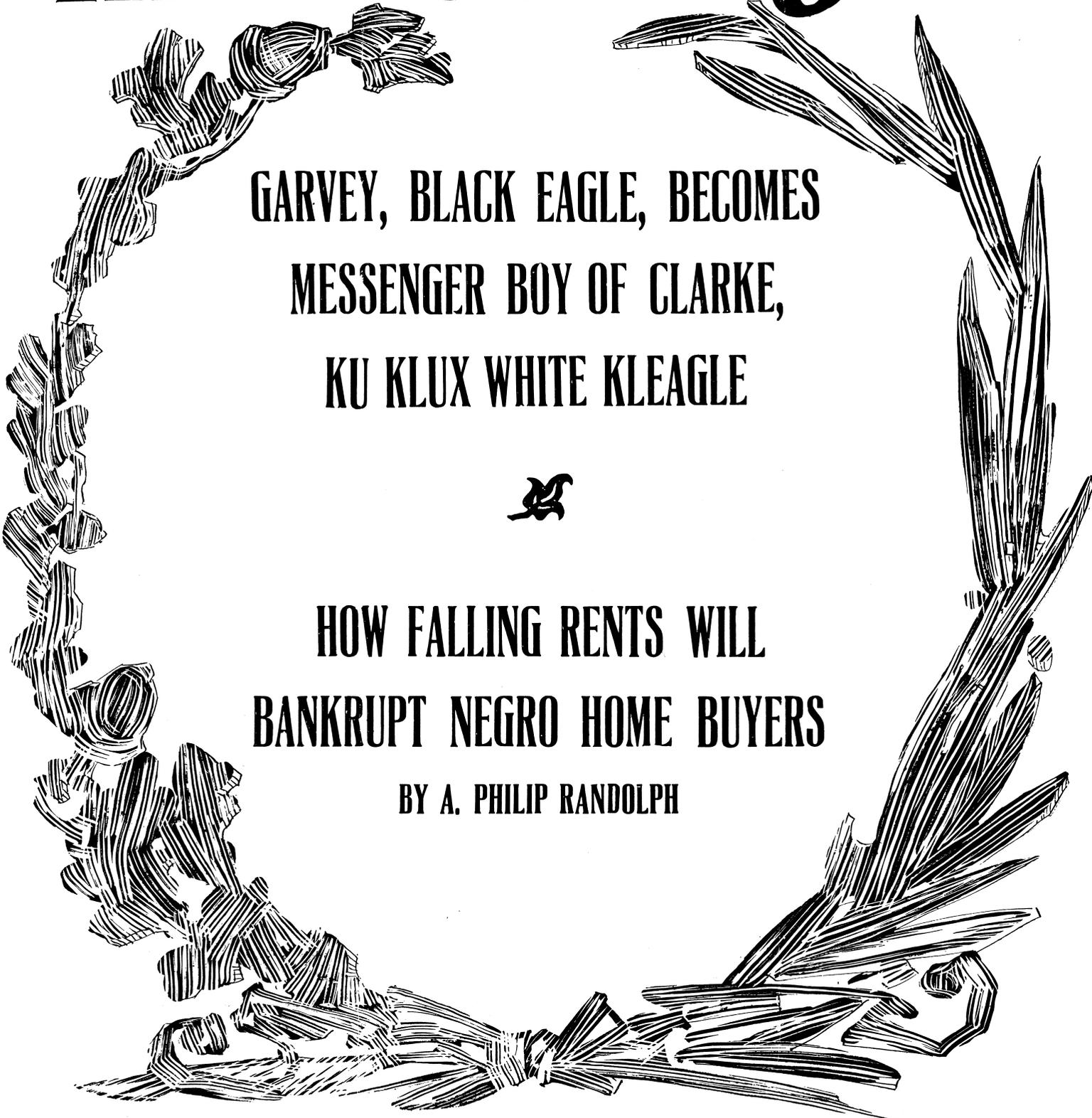


# The Messenger



**GARVEY, BLACK EAGLE, BECOMES  
MESSENGER BOY OF CLARKE,  
KU KLUX WHITE KLEAGLE**



**HOW FALLING RENTS WILL  
BANKRUPT NEGRO HOME BUYERS**

**BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH**

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# The AUGUST MESSENGER

will be brimful of interesting matter

Reply to Marcus Garvey

By

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

The Cabaret As a Social  
Institution

Robert W. Bagnall,

Director of Branches for the N.A.A.C.P., and member of the National Executive Committee of the Friends of Negro Freedom will deliver one of the four addresses on Marcus Garvey in August, at the beautiful Shuffle Inn Musical Parlors, N. E. Corner 131st Street and Seventh Avenue, New York.

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# Editorials

## MARCUS GARVEY!

### The Black Imperial Wizard Becomes Messenger Boy of the White Ku Klux Kleagle

A FEW days ago Marcus Garvey speaking at New Orleans, said:

"This is a white man's country. He found it, he conquered it, and we can't blame him if he wants to keep it. I am not vexed with the white man of the South for Jim Crowing me because I am black.

"I never built any street cars or railroads. The white man built them for his own convenience. And if I don't want to ride where he's willing to let me ride then I'd better walk."

These are the words of that self-styled, courageous, so-called "new Negro" leader who is going to free Africa of the white man's menace.

This fool talk, too, emanates from a blustering West Indian demagogue who preys upon the ignorant, unsuspecting poor West Indian working men and women who believe Garvey is some sort of Moses.

We are well acquainted with many splendid, courageous, intelligent West Indian men and women—West Indians who would suffer their right hand to be cut off before they would yield up such a servile statement.

The public men—ministers, editors and lecturers have been all too lenient with this sinister, loose talk of Garvey. Some have feared the loss of trade with his following. Others have shuddered lest they should be attacked in his paper. Still others have said: "*His members and followers are chiefly West Indians and foreigners; there are not but a handful of American Negroes among them. Why should we worry?*"

The author was probably the first to urge opposition to Garvey's preposterous schemes. His associates, thought them too absurd not to be readily seen through. But the author recalled the philosophical principle *that nothing is too absurd to be believed if only one side is presented and its opposition excluded—whether the exclusion be by force or neglect.*

We urge all ministers, editors and lecturers who have the interests of the race at heart to gird up their courage, put on new force, and proceed with might and main to drive the menace of Garveyism out of this country.

The August MESSENGER will carry a painstaking, sharp and cryptic article from the pen of the editors of the MESSENGER, exposing all of Garvey's schemes—from his row-boatless steamship line to his voteless election to the Presidency of a non-existent nation. The issue is joined, and we shall spare no pains to inform the American, West Indian, African, South American and Canal Zone Negroes of the emptiness

of all this Garvey flapdoodle, bombast and lying about impossible and conscienceless schemes calculated not to redeem but to enslave Africa and the Negro everywhere.

*Here's notice that the MESSENGER is firing the opening gun in a campaign to drive Garvey and Garveyism in all its sinister viciousness from the American soil.*

## MR. LANSING EXPLAINS HAITI

FORMER Secretary of State Lansing in his letter to

Senator McCormick explains intervention in Haiti and American rule of this little nation. He calls attention to the decades of disorder in Haiti, and asserts that the bulk of the population "had been downtrodden by dictators." It was for the purpose of enabling the Haitian people to enjoy "prosperity and an economic and industrial development to which every people of an American nation are entitled" that the native government was strangled. Besides, "there was good reason for believing" that the Germans were intent on taking over Haiti in 1913-1914.

But American intervention took place in 1915, one year after the Germans were involved in the world war. Any aggression that Germany may have had in mind was out of the question when American forces overthrew the Haitian Republic.

It is true that dictators have dominated in many of these Latin-American nations, but this has been a chronic feature of their political history for at least 100 years. The American press used to refer to the upheavals in these countries as "teapot revolutions."—Down to the twentieth century there was no hint that American police power should intervene in any of these nations for the purpose of emancipating the "downtrodden."

This holy mission of American power never dawned upon its advocates until our imperial capitalists and financiers had considerable finance and capital available for export to these countries. Then they took an interest in the "downtrodden." So great has their interest in Haiti become that they have wiped out the native power and ranged the whole population in protest against the alien masters.

That this brutal aggression against Haiti was something that Wilson and Lansing did not care to expose to publicity is evident from the fact that the job was pulled off behind a barrier of censorship. Although we heard plenty about the "German menace" in the years following the assault upon Haiti, there was nothing said about German designs upon this little nation. It appears that this is an afterthought of Lansing. At any rate we are certain that had the old German imperialism grabbed Haiti it could not have exceeded the brutal regime which American "democracy" has established in behalf of the "downtrodden."

### NEW NEGRO JOURNALISM

**T**HERE is a new Negro journalism in the making.

There are at least a half dozen or more young Negroes who are doing a high type of work in this line. Some are writing regularly in weekly papers; others are writing articles occasionally.

Special mention should be made of Arthur King, Eric Waldron, William H. Ferris, and J. A. Rogers, all of whom write occasionally, some of them regularly.

Thomas Kirksey of Boston is a deep thinker and a good writer. Ernest Rice McKinney of the *Pittsburg American* shows a grasp of the international situation, a knowledge of world politics. He has an interesting style. Hon. J. H. Ryan, editor and publisher of *Ryan's Weekly*, Tacoma, Washington, is probably the most experienced man among them. He is the Farmer-Labor assemblyman from that state.

If the editorial column of the *Pittsburg American* is written by W. P. Young, he, too, deserves special mention. One of the best editorials of the month appeared in a May issue of that paper. It reads as follows:

#### SLAVERY IN MISSISSIPPI

There have recently come to our notice two reports concerning the condition of the Negro tenant farmer in the South. Senator Watson, of Georgia, speaking in the Senate said:

"As to the Negro tenant of the South, he is working for himself; when he rents the land it is his for that year, and if he fails to make enough to pay himself good wages it is no fault of the landlord."

Beulah Amidon Ratliff writing in the "Nation"—from personal experiences and as an eye witness—presents a different story. The standing of the "Nation" and our general knowledge concerning conditions in the South force us to accept "Mississippi: Heart of Dixie" as a reliable report of the tenant farming situation in this benighted region. The Negro in rural Mississippi, as well as in other states of the South, is a slave. He, his wife and children are subjected to a form of slavery worse than that which existed before emancipation. Here in the land of the free and the home of the brave, Negro farmers are robbed, whipped and murdered by the men with whom they do business. Only because they are black and ignorant, and because a rotten economic system is allowed to exist that keeps a few men rich and powerful while the many remain illiterate and impotent.

This exploitation of Negroes by planters of the South, is just one phase of the whole inhuman and ravenous capitalist regime. The black peons are brothers, in the spirit, to all the underlings who toil everywhere throughout the world. It is time that we recognized this. It is time that white workers recognized it. The cause of the workers of the world is one cause, no matter by what color of skin or in what nationality it expresses itself. The plantation slaves of Mississippi and Georgia, the steel workers of Pennsylvania, the miners of West Virginia, black workers on the Rand and natives of the Congo, may salute each other as victims smarting under the same lash.

Of course the plight of the American Negro is especially desperate because of his color and previous condition of servitude. Things seem to be a little worse in Mississippi than elsewhere. Her churches send missionaries into China and India and support them with the stolen earnings of her peons. Her white children are in school while their fathers are squeezing the best bit of energy from Negro children. Her white women are charming and lovely but their sons and husbands violate and debauch Negro women and girls.

Such things shall not always be. Some day in the coming years this enslaved black giant will come to self consciousness, burst his chains and his white captor will stand before him trembling. At the heart of the universe

is a heart of justice. The earth must gain its balance. For every drop of Negro blood unjustly spilled, for every lash of the whip, for every violation of black womanhood, for every fear and every thwarted ambition, Christian, Civilized, America must pay, and pay to the utmost.

We congratulate this growing group of Negro journalists. They will, ere long, make Negro press opinion worth while, not only from the circulation, but from the cogent presentation and the able interpretation.

### THE FAILURE OF GENOA

**A**S we predicted, Genoa failed. And thence, the old-world school politicians proceeded to the Hague. But the Hague will succeed no more than Genoa. Both are cards played by astute political gamblers, not the work of far-visioned statesmen. Only the Russian Delegation kept the conference from dying before it did. They were bold, daring, resourceful and practical as well as idealistic. They were pragmatists of the first water without losing their grip upon the deeper and more abiding issues of humanity. There, their every utterance breathed the fact that they were not only the spokesman of the Russian people, but the voice of a new mankind in the making. It was chiefly this aspect of the Russian presence that so sorely grieved, vexed and perplexed the hidebound imperialists. Of course, the wily Welshman managed adroitly to contain himself, but the French, never. They boiled and fumed, raved and fulminated. But the Russians were unmoved. They knew their grounds, and they stood firm. They countered, with a mastery that even elicited the grudging admiration of their enemies, every blow directed against them. Lloyd George, for once found himself worsted. His tricks and schemes were penetrated, exposed and rejected immediately they were presented to the Russians. So that when he found himself at an impasse, unable to convince either foe, friend or neutral of the virtue of Genoa, he decided to adjourn to meet again at the Hague.

The only value Genoa has been is that it again served to enable the Russians to confirm to the world the utter hypocrisy and bankruptcy of the capitalist system. It was called to solve the problem of peace, but there is no peace. It was called to rehabilitate the life of Europe, but Europe's life-blood is still ebbing away. As one writer dramatically said, 'Europe is dying!' Nor is America well. She remained away, fearing contamination, ignorant of the fact that the germs of the European economic collapse can not be limited to one continent or country, but travels far and wide, seeking to undermine every capitalist organism debilitated by the shock of the Great War. Thus whether the United States remain away from the European sick patient or not, she will ere long feel the chilling, palsied hand of economic chaos, political disorder and social despair. It is inevitable. Unless the Russian leadership is heeded and accepted, that is a leadership of social as against private propertied interests, the world will land in unspeakable ruin or bloody revolution, which may be followed by a period comparable only to the "dark ages." Obviously our capitalist economy has failed and failed miserably. It is not contended that the social mechanics of Rus-

sia is the last word in social theory. This is not so. It is not possible for it to be so. The capitalist powers have seen to it that it could not be so but the world must admit that Russia is the only country where human and not property values are the objectives of social effort. Thus Soviet Russia is the logical moral and spiritual leader of the world, and especially the disinherited, oppressed and exploited workers. Thus, though Genoa failed, all is not hopeless so long as the Russian Revolution lives. This is the single ray of hope on the world's horizon.

By a trial and error method, she is building up a great and unique social system. It may not conform in toto to the original social design but the social perspective still persists. This is the only hope of the world. Even the dyed-in-the-wool imperialists admit that the European states must adopt a more social vision. Call it what you will, the substance is the thing. Genoa nor the Hague can achieve this end. It requires a new social, economic and political orientation, an orientation trending toward the goal to which Russia is pointing, although the pendulum is now swinging away from the original point of extreme economic, political and social iconoclasm.

#### THE PINCHOT-BEVERIDGE VICTORIES

THE politically progressive people have been wrought up over the recent primary victories of former Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana and Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania. All sorts of interpretations have emanated from these two political incidents. We are told that it is the reaction to the Harding Administration, that it is a revolt of the liberals and progressives. Labor papers claim credit for overthrowing the New Machine of Indiana and the Sproul Machine of Pennsylvania. They say it is a revolt of the miners and steel workers of those respective states. The Negroes, who on the whole were absolutely with the most reactionary Republican machines of both states, allege that they were the decisive factor in these elections. They charge that New of Indiana and Alter of Pennsylvania would not promise support of the Dyer anti-lynching bill, so they knifed them.

We are perfectly willing for all groups to get what pleasure they can out of their early jubilation. We fear it will not last long. There is certainly no question of political liberalism settled by these nominations. Both men pledged support to the Harding Administration—the most boss-controlled, reactionary, imperialistic, unenlightened administration this country has ever had.

Besides every Philadelphia daily paper supported Pinchot. Why? Because he is progressive, liberal, radical? Not hardly. The big banks, corporations, trusts, manufacturers, railroad, steel and mine interests are opposed to the political corruption which annually wastes millions of dollars by way of Harrisburg. They have to pay it and they have to collect it from the people to help pay their taxes.

It is true that one group of business men supported the Alter-Sproul corrupt Republican machine. These were the building and road contractors who were in league with the politicians. The two had mutual in-

terests in dividing the graft. The politicians let the contracts to these building contractors, while these contractors let the politicians get commission on the contracts awarded them. The point to keep in mind is that these contractors are small businesses in comparison with the banks, railroads, mine, manufacturing and steel interests. The latter group are suffering from inefficiency and political corruption.

A similar situation obtains in New York. Here a strong political machine has been built up by Tammany Hall, the Democratic machine. It reeks with corruption—a corruption which emanates from the State highway, road, canal and building contractors' graft giving to politicians who award the contracts. The other financial and industrial interests are subjected to higher taxation from this waste. Nor can they benefit by such corruption. As a consequence, practically all the daily newspapers in New York (except the Hearst papers which vacillate from time to time) regularly oppose Tammany Hall. And why should not they act this way? They are substantially the press of the banks, railroads, manufacturers and brokers of New York, just as the same interests own the press of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania.

But put down on your reminder: *No man supported by the reactionary Philadelphia press in toto is either a liberal or a genuine progressive.* They know their man—you bet they do!

#### A NEW NEWBERRY CASE

THIS properly characterizes the Pinchot fund in Pennsylvania. According to his own sworn statement the Pinchot family spent for his nomination for governor of Pennsylvania an eighth of a million dollars. Of this amount Gifford Pinchot, the nominee, spent \$93,000 and his wife \$29,500. This does not include thousands of dollars in addition made by other interests from the state.

The average individual says: "If this much is spent for nomination, how much will be spent for election?" The answer, however, is that in Pennsylvania nominations on the Republican ticket is equivalent to election, just as nomination on the Democratic ticket in Mississippi is equivalent to election.

But how can these progressives who once grew indignant and waxed hot over the use of big money to buy nominations and elections—how can they face their hosts who marched with them to Armageddon in 1912 and in company with great Teddy battled for the Lord?

#### NEGRO BUSINESS OF A DIFFERENT KIND

PROBABLY the reader is wondering what kind of business this is. Negroes have had such bitter experience with Negro businesses that they are becoming increasingly more critical, daily, and justly so. The masses can not afford to lose their little savings in the highly questionable schemes of some slippery, oily tongued Negro business charlatan. It is not enough to cry that it's a race enterprise! All quacks exploit sentiments that are dear to the people. The people seldom have the time or the intelligence to ex-

amine into the nebulous projects of these lying tricksters that swarm the cities, seeking the credulous, the unsuspecting—the easy-marks, as the saying goes. The Negro public has been easy pickings for these crafty, conscienceless business sharks too long. They have been almost persuaded to believe that they can place no trust in members of their own race to deal fairly by them. This is a most unfortunate state of mind for the masses of Negroes to assume toward those who essay roles of leadership in any field. *However we are glad to know that there are some Negroes doing business whose standing and conduct are a living refutation of the charge that all Negro business men are crooks.* We note, with especial pride, the move on the part of Brown and Stevens, Bankers, of Philadelphia to reimburse the holders of stock in the Dunbar Theater enterprise in Philadelphia. We wish to commend this institution for this honorable and honest

attitude. Surely this type of business ethics will meet and merit the confidence and support of the Negro public. Of course, there are others who fall within the category of worthy, honorable business men. In New York, Mr. Tabb, the restaurateur, is a fine and splendid example of a clean, modern Negro entrepreneur. So are the Hart 5, 10, 25 cent institution, the Nail and Parker and Pomona Bakery firms and the C. J. Walker Manufacturing Co. Of course, there are other Negro concerns too numerous to mention that don't engage in the despicable and dishonorable practice of defrauding the public.. *We want to see the honest Negro business man increase and succeed and the shoe-string schemers driven out of the field. There must be no more True Reformers debacles, Mercantile Realty fiascos, and Black Star Line disgraces. Negro business has no stronger claim for existence except upon a basis of efficiency and honesty.*

# Economics and Politics

## THE NEXT EMANCIPATION

By JAMES ONEAL

(Continued from last issue)

### The Basis of Servitude

Having established the fact that, whether the master is white or black makes no difference to the workers, let us go a little farther. How does the Negro worker earn his living? By selling his labor power. The white worker gets his living the same way. No difference at all.

Now, then, to whom do they sell this labor power? To each other? Of course not. One wage worker does not purchase the labor power of another wage worker, not even if one is a Negro and the other is white. Not if both are Negroes or both are whites. Whether white or black, the worker must sell this labor power to a capitalist, the owner of a factory, a mine, machinery, buildings, etc.

However we look at this question we find that the wage worker has the same interests with all other wage workers, whether black or white. The Negro worker wants as good a price as he can get for his labor power. So does the white worker. The Negro worker wants all the power he can obtain through organization to get good wages and shorter hours. So does the white worker.

Again we see that the interests of both are the same. Both do not always see it this way, but we do not always see or understand what is the truth. If we did there would be no poverty, no race prejudice, no robbery of labor. There would be no need of writing this pamphlet if the truth was evident to all workers of all colors.

Let us get back to that labor power which Negro

and white workers both sell in order to live. Not being able to sell it to each other, they sell it to somebody else. The buyer is a capitalist owner of mills, factories, mines or plants, as the case may be. His plants and machinery are of no use to him unless he can purchase labor power. The labor power you sell him is used to transform raw materials into the finished product. Other wage workers sell labor power to other capitalists in extracting the raw materials from the earth. Still other workers sell labor power to other capitalists to transport the raw materials to the plant where you transform them into the finished product.

*Without this labor power which Negro and white workers sell, all industrial society would be paralyzed.* The owners of the raw materials, the transportation agencies and the plants of production might die, but industry would go on just the same. If wage workers all died the whole system would come to a standstill. You are essential; the owners are not.

Now, a worker might sell his labor power for generations, if he lived that long, and he would never become rich. But a capitalist can buy labor power for a few years and become comfortably wealthy. The reason for this is that the wage workers add extra values to the raw materials, and when the finished product is sold the capitalist owner gets the extra values. The wage worker reproduces his own value, wages. He receives these wages in payment of his labor power. But, in addition to reproducing his own wages, he produces something more, and this something more is taken by the capitalist owner. By taking it from hundreds or thousands of workers employed by him he is able to become wealthy.

For this reason the wage worker, Negro and white alike, is bound to be the slave of the masters of industry so long as the masters can buy power. They will be able to buy your labor power as long as they own the raw materials, the transportation agencies and the plants of production. The OWNERSHIP of these things makes them the masters of all wage workers. *This is the fundamental basis of all servitude of the wage workers of this and other modern nations.* So long as they are compelled to sell their labor power to a small owning class they are dependents, whether they are white or black. And dependents are not free men.

Consider the enormous advantage the capitalist owner has over the workers in industry. You MUST sell your labor power in order to live. The capitalist owners MUST buy labor power in order to run their plants, but they do not have to buy ALL that is offered for sale. You cannot hold your labor power off the market very long. It is a part of you. It consists of your brains, bones, muscles, blood, tissues and bodily strength. *When you sell it, you go with the sale!*

In short, you are forced to sell yourself day by day, week by week, and month by month, to those who control employment. You must sell in order to eat, in order that your families may eat. This is your weakness as well as the master's strength. Knowing your wants from day to day, he is inclined to give the jobs to those who will work for the smallest wages.

What applies to the Negro worker applies to the white worker. It is the basis of the servitude of both. It should also be the basis for the solidarity of the Negro and the white worker.

### What's to Be Done?

Booker T. Washington gave an answer to this question. It was his opinion that all Negro workers should learn a trade, save their money, and go into business. In other words, they should try to become capitalists. Suppose the Negro worker did become a capitalist now and then. Would that help the mass of Negro workers? Not at all.

Because we have capitalists with white skins does not mean that the white workers are happy, or contented, or emancipated. It means that some whites are in a position to skin many other whites. A Negro worker becoming a capitalist would mean a Negro skinning many other Negroes. To take a few of those who are skinned and make skinners out of them settles no question whatever. The skinning of millions of Negroes would go on just as it now goes on in the case of the white workers.

If Mr. Washington really had a solution of the problem of the Negro it is not likely that he would have been supported by such notorious white skinners as John D. Rockefeller and the late Andrew Carnegie. Mr. Washington accepted the point of view of white skinners, and they in turned helped him to spread his ideas. Washington tended to accept discrimination against the workers as a CLASS. In his "Up From Slavery" (p. 84) he wrote that he would have been better satisfied with the South if the "possession of a certain amount of education or property, or both,"

had been made "a test for the exercise of the franchise, and a way provided by which this test should be made to apply honestly and squarely to both the white and black races."

A man with those ideas may be sincere, but there is no hope for any class, white or black, that accepts disfranchisement without protest. Already there are thousands of Negro and white workers who are deprived of the ballot in the South by tests similar to those advocated by Booker T. Washington.

On the other hand, mere voting for the Republican or the Democratic parties will not bring emancipation to the Negro workers. If such voting would bring emancipation the white workers would have been emancipated long ago. But they still sell labor power to the owners of industry, just as the Negro does. We shall have more to say about voting later on.

The idea of trying to become a capitalist and thus escaping from the robbery and subjection that is the lot of Negro workers is like the advice in the days of slavery. A few could escape and reach the Northern states and Canada, and thus be relieved of the tyranny of white slave owners. But the whole Negro population of slaves in the South could not escape slavery in this way. The mass of them were doomed to be slaves until all were emancipated.

The same is true today. *The mass of Negro wage workers are doomed to be wage workers all their lives until all Negro wage workers are free.* Nay, more. They cannot escape from the servitude of wage labor until the white wage workers also escape. Both must escape together or neither will escape. The white wage workers cannot abolish wage slavery without abolishing it for the Negro workers. The latter cannot abolish it without abolishing it from the white workers. As neither the white nor the Negro workers alone can abolish it by themselves, we again reach the conclusion that both have the same common interests. *Both must act in common for the same common interests.*

(To be continued)

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## Falling Rents Bankrupt Negro Home Buyers

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

**I**T is time for rents to fall. The peak of the upward trend of rents has about been reached, and in obedience to the demands of economic physics, they will rebound—downward. Despite this inevitable reaction, however, landlords, drunk with the wine of war-time swollen rents, resort to every conceivable subterfuge in order, not only to hold rents at the present high water mark, but to raise them still higher. In fact, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that rents have gone up one-half of 1 per cent. This is like the last hectic flush of a dying man just before death. We don't mean to imply however that Mr. Rent will be no more. Far from it! He is very robust still, and from all appearances, will "carry on" for quite some time yet, until the social system founded upon the principle of the ownership of private property for profits, collapses.

But here we are dealing not so much with the question of his being, as with the state of his being. But, yesterday, Mr. Rent was flourishing like a green-hay tree; today signs are multiplying of imminent decline.

It is interesting to note that the fall of rent follows leaden footedly behind all other commodities. It proceeds similarly during the upward movement of prices. This behavior of rent is assignable to the fact that land and house values are more constant, less subject, or readily susceptible to the operation of the law of supply and demand. This is largely due to the fact that housing can not be so quickly reproduced as other commodities. Building houses in order to increase the supply involves a matter of considerable time. Not so with shoes or parasols. Further the change in the demand for housing is generally unusually slow since the shifts of, and increased birth-rate, in population are too slight to influence the demand for housing materially during the normal periods of price shiftings. In short, the average socially necessary labor power which enters into the production of housing or the measure of its value and generally its price, fluctuates far less rapidly than it does in other goods, since it is demanded much less often. For instance, a house built today may be occupied 20 years or more hence. It is not consumed immediately, but gradually. Hence it is replaced gradually through repairing or completely only after long periods of time, thus only requiring periodically the use of materials and labor that might vary from the original materials and labor costs, thereby giving a basis for a shift in rental values.

Today, we find the rental situation being changed from three angles. Old, delapidated houses are being replaced, or repaired, and new ones are being built. The greatest change in the housing situation is being wrought from the angle of new building. A building boom is on. It is nation-wide, increasing the supply of housing everywhere. It has been materially stimulated by the various rent laws enacted in different states, favoring new buildings. This is especially true of New York City where the tax exemption law ex-

tends over a period of ten years with houses built within a specified period of time; such a period being fixed with a view to stimulating a building boom.

Already the effects of this boom are apparant. In great contrast with the situation a year ago, signs of rooms and even apartments to let may be seen everywhere. No longer do we find greeting us at the entrance of the real estate offices the sign "no vacancies." With this change in the supply of empty apartments and rooms will come also a corresponding change in the temperament of landlords. During the war, and up to a very short while ago, when tenants were competing for apartments; when empty apartments were as scarce as the proverbial hen's teeth, landlords were unbearably arrogant and snotty. But now, and, especially, in the very near future when the landlords will be competing for tenants, they will change their dispositions and become decidedly more courteous, because then they will be trying both to keep the tenants they have and attract new ones to their empty apartments. Then it will be the tenants' turn to be intolerant and abusive to the landlords.

Thanks to the operation of the inexorable laws of economics, this period is at hand. The real estate bubble is punctured. The bottom is falling out of the real estate market, and it is destined to swamp those who, with small means, attempted to buy homes at war-inflated prices which ranged five and six hundred per cent above their normal values. Especially among Negroes will this be true. In most of the large cities, Negro doctors, lawyers, teachers, business men, and professionals of all types whose incomes were good during the war, the reign of high prices, will lose their homes. Why? comes the query. The reason is this. They purchased homes, depending largely upon the income from roomers to meet the enormous mortgages they are carrying. But contrary to their reckoning, the income of the roomers has fallen, and the roomers are, consequently, unable to pay war-time prices for rooms with peace-time wages. The average roomer has either had his wages reduced, or lost his job entirely. And if the roomers can't pay, those who rent to the roomers can't pay. The result is the house is returned to its former owners. The owner then has both the initial and subsequent payments on the house plus the house, while the Negro ambitious house buyer has neither the house or the money he paid on the house. Such is the debacle in which Negro home-buyers find themselves. The owners knew that this would be the case. That is why they allowed the Negro prospective buyer to pay such little money down on the house in order to be recognized as buying it. The poor, well-meaning, but misguided, ignorant, credulous dupes were played upon by the designing and unscrupulous Negro and white real estate sharks. Of course, it must be said in extenuation of the case of the Negro real estate agents that they were and are ignorant of real estate economics and consequently had no idea that Negroes would lose their homes.

Still we know from their conscienceless greed for raising rent on Negro tenants that they would have sold their real estate gold bricks to Negroes even if they had known that the Negro buyers would ultimately lose both the house and their money. Why? Because the real estate agent, white or black, is only concerned about getting a commission on the sale of property. He is not concerned about the purchaser's keeping it. We only caustically comment upon the Negro real estate speculator because, different from the whites, most of them tried to pose as leaders, arrogating to themselves some superior wisdom. As a result of their abysmal ignorance, dishonesty and avarice, thousands of Negroes all over the country have emptied the savings of a lifetime into the coffers of grasping white real estate profiteers. Some of them will never recover from this blow.

What applies to the home buyers also applies to those who were inveigled in to buying whole apartment houses, expecting to make fortunes out of Negro tenants through rent profiteering. It must be said also in this connection that the Negroes are not losing their homes and apartment houses because they are Negroes, but because they, like the whites, with small incomes, are the victims of this extraordinary period of industrial and financial depression.

An economist might have indicated this situation to the Negroes, but unfortunately economists are not the leaders of Negroes or poor whites. Only the MESSENGER stresses the economic aspects of the problem.

While we sympathize with the bankrupt Negro home buyer, we welcome this period of rent deflation as a boon to the wide masses of Negro workers.

## Education and Literature

### MISTAKES OF KELLY MILLER

REPLY TO KELLY MILLER ON SEGREGATION IN EDUCATION

By CHANDLER OWEN

(Continued from last issue)

Professor Miller asserts: "For the most part the colored youth who pushed their way through Northern institutions of learning have been from the South with fresh incentive of the masses upon them."

This argument is rather specious. It is simply an unsupported assertion. A few observations, however, are in point. First, there are more Negroes in the South,—four fifths of the entire population, which would naturally make the greater number of Negroes in the Northern schools from the South. Second, the wealthiest Negroes, on the whole, are in the South, and are able to send their children to the fine Northern universities. This is an *economic factor*—not a *psychic factor* of "eagerness for knowledge or zest to learn."

In discussing residential segregation Prof. Miller says: "The largest Negro cities in the world are found in the North. New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington and Chicago contain each a sufficient number of Negroes to engage the highest human powers and faculties to answer the needs of a large number of human beings."

In all of the Northern cities the Negro is concentrated in segregated areas and districts. This residential segregation creates a demand for leadership and self direction. . . . "The racial needs of this large mass must be supplied by their own leadership, almost as if they constituted a separate community."

The real reason for Kelly Miller's article on Segregation in Northern Schools appears to crop out—a chance for selfish leadership. Out of this argument most of the segregation demands have secured their

feeble support. To illustrate: All thru Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Colorado, California and Washington, I heard talk of segregated schools. As a rule some Negro school teacher who would like to be a principal or some such high official was lending aid and comfort. The usual argument is: *Negro schools will supply jobs to Negro teachers.*" I submit that the school system exists for the benefit of the children, *not to supply a few jobs to the teachers.* Moreover, it always suggests a lowering of standards when a man gets outside the ranks of having to meet the highest standard. Segregation in schools is too great a price for Negro children to pay in order to supply a few Negro teachers with jobs. Not only that—the sound and proper fight for Negro teachers to make is to battle for entrance into all schools. In New York, Dr. William H. Bulkley, a Negro, is principal of an *all white school.* Besides, most Negro teachers in New York instruct in schools which are largely or wholly white. And this is as it should be.

Again, the claim that residential segregation necessitates an entirely segregated leadership in business, amusement, education, church and politics is decidedly unsupportable. I believe this cry of Negroes, for *patronage by Negroes in business,* has definitely injured the business man. He has relied too much upon color and race pride for support, while he slackened in business principles. And just as James Weldon Johnson says, "A Negro is first a human being, and somewhere along the line later in the consideration, a colored man." He goes to a store to buy goods; he cannot consume color. As a result when he is overcharged by a Negro, he goes to a white

dealer. The Negro patron is acting on the principle of getting the greatest amount of goods for the least money. This is a sound principle of any buyer. A Jew comes into the Negro community and opens a grocery store; the Italian establishes a shoe shop; the Greek a restaurant; the German a confectionery; the Japanese a fruit stand. No one of them says anything about, "Patronize race or color." It is the last thing in their minds. They consider three principles only, namely, getting a location which is convenient to the people, producing and getting goods that the people want, and keeping them on hand till such time as the people want them. In technical economics, we call these place utilities, form utilities and time utilities."

I wish here to expose the general ridiculousness of the Negro's agitation about "*patronizing race and color.*" The leading business people in America are the Jews. There are only four and a half million—about one-third of the population of the Negroes. If they limited their clientele to their race, they would be very little business men in America. But they don't. A Jewish restaurateur will have restaurants in the Jewish, Italian, German, Irish, American and Negro sections of New York. With intelligent foresight he will cater to their respective diets, just as any sensible caterer would. But the world of eaters is his market.

I noticed a similar thing in Oakland, California. You hear much agitation against the Chinese and Japanese. They are the yellow peril. Nevertheless, the Chinese in this city have leases on the important corners and places for meat markets. They keep fine meats. They are on the job ready to serve customers. As a result, you will see their markets jammed with white people buying meats from the hated yellow men. They have what the whites who eat meat want, and the white people who eat meat have what the yellow Chinese who sell meat want; that is, the money. Hence there is nothing more natural than that an exchange should take place.

So this cry about having Negroes only supply the demands of Negro segregated communities is, to say the least, undesirable. It will eventually close all avenues of art to Negro youths and grown-ups. Ere long the theatres will say: "No Negroes admitted; go to your own show houses." The fool law of the South Carolina legislature which would prohibit white actors displaying on screens in theatres attended by Negroes will secure able support even from Kelly Miller. There will be more than facetious corroboration in the reply: "Let the Negro actors alone perform for Negroes and let white actors perform for whites."

Kelly Miller's argument for segregation in education has already been accepted by the whites in musical instruction for Negroes. It has been held by them that Negroes should sing jubilee songs, spirituals, Negro melodies and rag time, exclusively. In short, *Negro music*. Now a white singer or instrumentalist will include in his repertoire German, Russian, Italian, Austrian, English, French, American and Negro music. With them music is recognized as a universal language and accepted as such. But with a Negro, segregation must be the rule; universality ceases to be the law.

To have only Negro leadership in education will not stand close analysis. Civilization is a composite product to which all peoples have contributed their quota. To apply Prof. Miller's rule would eliminate white text books from Negro schools.

I believe I am reasonably reserved in saying the following argument of Prof. Miller smacks of demagoguery. Follow closely, gentle reader: "Negro schools in the South have so far, been planted and supported on the basis of the Northern philanthropy. This philanthropy has concerned itself largely with Negroes in the Southern states who have been suppressed below the level of educational opportunity and advantage. It has not contemplated that Negroes in considerable numbers would avail themselves of the best educational facilities afforded by colleges and universities of the North. "Will Our Schools Live?"

It will be interesting to note the effect of this tendency upon the fate of the Negroes' higher institutions of learning supported in the South on a philanthropic basis. Philanthropists are, naturally enough, disposed to place help where they deem it is the most needed. There is no particular need to help the Negro in the North, where he has only to stretch forth his hand and partake of the tree of knowledge which flourishes all about him. It is also natural that philanthropy will be inclined to foster institutions which encourage graduates to *live and work among the masses in the South where the need is greatest*. Negro students of Harvard, Yale or Chicago do not make the same philanthropic appeal as those in Atlanta, Fisk and Tuskegee.

"There is also a reserved feeling that it might be well to encourage separate Negro institutions, in order to keep too large a number of Negroes from entering white universities. This feeling will doubtless inure greatly to the benefit of the Negro schools in the South. It must be determined whether the Northern universities are apt to impart to Negro students the social impulse and racial aspiration requisite to the best service to the Race.

"White Schools Bad for Us."

"These institutions are not adapted to the Negro's peculiar circumstances and conditions. They are founded and fostered to meet the needs, aspirations and ambitions of the most favored white youth. The Negro must grasp the general aims and ideals and interpret and apply them to the situation and circumstances of his own race."

Just prior to this argument Prof. Miller remarks: "Northern institutions are filled with white Southern youths, because they find there at present better educational facilities than the South provides." This is quite natural, desirable and proper that youths who are able should go to the best schools. No one, however, will argue that because so many young Southern whites are attending Columbia, Harvard and Yale, the Universities of Virginia, North Carolina or Georgia are in danger of closing. The most natural thing, it seems to me, is that the Southern universities will raise their standards in order to attract and hold their own youths.

Prof. Miller also contradicts himself. First, he complains that Negroes will not attend Northern schools for the higher levels of instruction, and then he fears

*the Southern schools for Negroes will close because too many Negroes avail themselves of the opportunities for Northern education in the mixed schools*

The doctor is terrible confused as he continues. He argues that philanthropists did not anticipate the Negroes would attend Northern schools in any considerable numbers; that philanthropists will not assist the Southern schools if the Negroes come too largely into the North. The answer to this is twofold: First, there is no likelihood that more than a negligible fraction of Southern Negroes can attend the Northern universities. Second, if separate schools for Negroes were opened in the North, philanthropists would then have to divide their support between Southern and Northern schools, whereas, at present they can concentrate on the South. This means that part of what the South now gets would be diverted to the North.

Another point seems to escape Dr. Miller. Separate schools, supported by philanthropy are not the ideal in education.

They are undesirable substitutes for the democratic mixed school necessitated by American race prejudice. We may well hope for the day when Fisk, Howard, Union and Atlanta will be unnecessary. And if that result comes thru exceptional use of the mixed universities by Negroes, it will certainly be "a consummation devoutly to be wished."

Kelly Miller surely tells the truth in saying: "Negro students of Harvard, Yale or Chicago do not make the same philanthropic appeal as those in Atlanta, Fiske and Tuskegee." Of course they don't. There are not as many of them. Those there are more likely able to support themselves. And most important white philanthropists are more interested in Negroes getting what Atlanta, Fiske and Tuskegee give Negroes than in what Harvard, Yale and Chicago give them.

Kelly Miller continues: "There is also a reserved feeling that it might be well to encourage separate Negro institutions, in order to keep too large a number of Negroes from entering white universities. ". . . These institutions (white or mixed) are not adapted to the Negro's peculiar circumstances and conditions."

This paragraph might well have been written by Thomas Dixon, John Sharp Williams or Cole Blease! I am almost persuaded to believe it is an interpolation of the Ku Klux Klan. Certainly the author of the reply to "Leopard Spots" could not have written it!

It is decidedly inane argument. For instance, Negroes are not allowed to attend Southern white schools, but this has not inured to the benefit of the Negro schools. On the contrary, it has injured the Negro schools in every way.

Kelly Miller may call his latest pro-segregation argument diplomacy. He no doubt considers it a bid for racial peace, but peace with serfdom is too great a price. The lamb and lion can always lie down together, but the lamb will be in the lion's belly. This following the line of least resistance is frequently in civilization the line also of least assistance.

Moreover, the trend of the times is toward coeducation—co-education of sexes, or races, of colors, or nationalities, of creeds, yes, even of classes. These cleavages in education hark to the past, and modern democratic society is abolishing all such distinctions.

A few questions I would ask: Would Prof. Miller close the doors of Columbia, Harvard and Chicago to Negro youths? If segregation is desirable for schools, then why not for railroads, street cars, hotels and theatres? Recreation, public accomodation and amusement run very close together! They overlap, intertwine and intersect at every hand.

I submit that segregation builds caste, intensifies racial prejudice by fostering the idea of a mental difference peculiar to race, results in giving Negroes inferior conditions which are sure eventually to produce an inferior race.

If northern universities are adapted to the needs of the most favored white youths (which I do not admit to be true) then let the most favored Negro youths get what the most favored whites are getting.

In conclusion, I believe this latest segregation in education argument of Prof. Miller has done his fast waning reputation considerable harm. It has accelerated his declining prestige both in principle and in logical presentation.

## Who's Who

### ROBERT S. ABBOTT

The owner of the *Chicago Defender* is Robert S. Abbott. By hard work and persistent effort he has achieved success in the most difficult line of business—the newspaper. Within the last fifteen years he has built up a paper which goes weekly into a quarter of a million homes. It has a circulation of a million. Besides it looks like a real newspaper with its twenty pages, headlines in colors, fine union shop printing, and varieties of styles from different writers.

These, however, are business, technical, mechanical and literary observations. They are important, essential, indispensable. Nevertheless, our interest in Mr.

Abbott is not so much with the little every day occurrences in his life, nor yet in the business, technical, mechanical and literary phases of the *Chicago Defender*. Our interest is larger—more comprehensive. It grows out of the big principles and policies which he espouses. We do not believe we are of the same political, religious or fraternal faith. There are none of these ties which bind. Very likely we differ on each of these. On some things we are in complete harmony. Chief among which is Robert Abbott's belief in and advocacy of social equality. With him it is a burning passion. He applies the principle to every field, recognizing that you cannot support a

Jim-Crow school and at the same time oppose a Jim-Crow railroad or street car.

To get a grasp of what we are stating, let us observe the little planks in the *Defender* platform as shown in the *Defender* issue of April 22, 1922. They are not concentrated in one point but distributed at the bottom of paragraphs throughout the paper.

Some of them follow:

1. *"The abolition of discrimination against the American dollar when in the hands of the black man. Make the dollar worth one hundred cents for everybody."*

By this Mr. Abbott means that a colored man with money should be able to purchase anything which anybody else can, for the same amount, whether it be securing an orchestra seat in a theatre, a dinner in a hotel dining room, or a room in the hotel.

2. *A uniform marriage law North as well as South without restrictions on account of race or color.*

This is an essential demand. An illegitimate child cannot inherit the property of its father. So long as laws make intermarriage of the races illegal, Negro children will not only be deprived of property, but women will be abused by white men. Men of all races will take advantage of sex associations with the females indiscriminately, particularly when they may get the pleasures without having to bear the burden of caring for their rightful wives and children. If Negro children in the South could inherit the property of their fathers, they would have about one half the wealth in the South! Not many Negro publishers of newspapers will even discuss a law requiring intermarriage of races.

3. *"Race men who have the brains and ability should study and master every known principle and theory of the scientific world and professions."*

Just so—whether it be physics, chemistry and geology or medicine, law and journalism. All are tools which may be used for the benefit of the race or against its progress, according to the intelligence and ability of the user of the tool.

4. *"White men and black men must learn to work and live together in harmony. It is done in Europe and South America—why not here?"*

This is a sound principle for racial cooperation. White persons cannot work with Negroes in factory, field and mine, and then maintain that they cannot sit side by side in restaurant, theatre, and public conveyance. They must work together and live together. Besides, if it is done in Europe and South America, it proves the American practice is not necessarily instinctive, innate or natural, but on the contrary, highly artificial, supremely unnatural, abnormal.

5. *See to it that the minister of your church is a college trained man, or that he has an equivalent worthwhile training and education.*

In other words, raise the standard of intelligence among the Negro ministry. Insist upon an educated church leadership.

6. *One waiting room for all railway passengers. If there must be segregation, one waiting room for men and one for women.*

Mr. Abbott's choice of the one waiting room is unanswerable. There is more method in his madness than appears on its face. If all passengers can sit together in a waiting room while waiting for the train

to come, they can sit together on the cars while waiting for the train to arrive where they are going.

There may, however, be excuse for separation of sexes at times. Health, morals and general refinement may require it. But then let all races of the female sex be together, and likewise all races of the male sex.

7. *White and black must serve together in both army and navy, without separation or discrimination.*

Correct. While the army and navy exist, let them be run as democratically as possible. Both are naturally centers of caste. The soldiers are the slaves of the officers; the non-commissioned officers are slaves of the commissioned, and so on down the line. But let all the soldiers, all non-commissioned officers, all commissioned officers of both races, serve together.

The *Defender's* platform for America, placed in a box at the head of its editorial column demands:

1. *The Opening Up of All Trades and Trade unions to Blacks as well as Whites.*

2. *The appointment of a Member of the Race to the President's Cabinet.*

The first of these two planks is very material. It calls for Negroes getting into the trades, having a chance to work; then getting into the unions so that Negroes may not only get work, but work under the best conditions possible—at the highest wages and the shortest number of hours.

While the second demand has its defects, such as the type of Negro who could get a cabinet appointment—it is a great advance over the stone age New York Age and Editor "A Fred" to ask for "Moore." Mr. "Afraid to ask for Moore" has been willing for thirty years to get a Recorder of Deeds, Collector of *Eternal* Revenue, Registrar of the Treasury, and ministers to Haiti and Liberia. It never occurred to him that more might be had for the demanding, the asking, the fighting.

We submit that Robert S. Abbott has gone ahead of most Negro publishers and editors not only in building up incomparably the largest paper—but in the advanced demands he is making in interest of the Negro. Nor is it a small thing to have the largest publication among Negroes one of the most radical.

The big, one hundred thousand dollar press of the *Chicago Defender*, directed by its modest, unassuming, yet courageous editor, bids fair to be a most influential institution among Negroes. The press was never more important than to-day. It is therefore extremely fortunate that so powerful an organ as the *Chicago Defender* should be in the hands of a social equality advocate, a man of vision and character like Robert S. Abbott.

Subscribe to  
**THE MESSENGER**  
**\$1.50 Per Year**

# Negro, Labor and Radical Movments from Coast to Coast

## *Friends of Negro Freedom*

My eyes were open every where for "live wire" men and women to organize Friends of Negro Freedom Councils. I secured such persons everywhere but San Francisco. The work is proceeding well already in Los Angeles, while Chicago bids fair to be a great field.

## *The Messenger*

Thousands of new readers and subscribers to the *Messenger* in every city were secured. Several good new agents, white and colored, as well as subscription solicitors, were gotten.

## *Organized Labor*

As can be seen thru the narrative, I attempted everywhere to reach the labor movement with the Negro's case. In Minneapolis, after I had finished addressing the Central Labor Council, it unanimously endorsed the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill and opposed the Birth of the Nation which the promoters were trying to get on the screens of that city.

## *The Klu Klux Klan*

In the northern part of California the Klu Klux Klan was operating almost like in Texas and in Oklahoma. It was also organized in Oakland, Frisco, Portland and Seattle. The Klan held a big theatre meeting in Seattle, I was informed.

## *Race Problems*

The Japanese problem was brewing. I have never in my life seen a more intense anti-race campaign carried on. At the corner of Huntington and Lomitas Drive, Los Angeles, a sign is displayed which reads: "Japs, don't let the sun set on you here; this is Rose Hill. Keep moving." Sounds like Texas, doesn't it?

I noticed, however, that the Japs seemed to pay no attention to the signs, that they went everywhere, and no one ever touched them! There is bound eventually, though, for a clash to come. When it does, I fear the Japs will teach a few lessons more bitter than those the Negroes taught in the Chicago and Washington Riots!

In San Francisco, Oakland and Seattle the anti-Japanese mania was quite as intense and extensive as in Los Angeles. The un-American-American Legion, as William Pickens styles it, had made a mountain out of the Japanese ministers' statement concerning some inconsequential affair.

In Oakland the Chinese had leased and were controlling practically all the central meat markets. They could be seen behind the counters only, while the white people were their customers. Here was an economic question. The Chinese had good meats at conveniently reached places. It was what the white patrons wanted. The white people had good money which could be attracted for the meats. They had what the Chinese wanted. Nothing was so natural as that an exchange should take place.

## *The White Press*

I have already spoken of the Negro press. What about the white? From Denver, Colorado, on back to Chicago, the white press reported and announced my meetings. In Los Angeles, the *Express* carried my photo with an excellent article. This was thru the influence of Noah D. Thompson, who even got the reactionary Los Angeles *Times* to announce all my important meetings. The Los Angeles (daily) *Record* carried more than a column interview by one of its best white correspondents. One of its accounts reads in part:

"No Negro visiting Los Angeles in years, perhaps ever, has caused as much intellectual stir among whites and blacks as Chandler Owen, brilliant editor of 'The Messenger.'"

"Arriving here a few days ago he has been kept in a continuous whirl of conferences, committee meetings, dinner engagements with notables, non-notables and impassioned public speeches that would have dried up the good humor and killed the mental resiliency of a less vigorous soul. Owen seems to thrive on it, to exult in the fact that in all this furore of activity he is able to draw not only his race but humanity at large a little farther along the path of progress."

"He speaks Tuesday night at St. Paul's Baptist Church, Twenty-first and Naomi Streets, and no man who enjoys contact with a fundamental thinker and persuasive orator should fail to hear him discuss 'The Truth About Harding's Negro Policy,' etc., etc."

These were reports in capitalist papers. The labor press everywhere was decidedly fair in reporting my meetings. The Seattle *Union Record*, and the Minnesota *Daily Star* were the great labor dailies which gave fairly full reports to my meetings in their respective sections.

I think the Negroes read everything these days. If a line was uttered about me in the most remote corner of any paper, it seems that some Negro would see it and tell me about it. Not only about me, but about any Negro. If it is good, they want it heralded and passed on; if bad, they want it refuted.

## *Garvey, the N. A. A. C. P., and Dr. Bundy*

Wherever I met a Negro audience inquiries came about these three. What about Garvey's movement? Is it sound? Do I approve it? If not of all, what part? Will it last? Is Garvey sincere? Did the Black Star Line fail thru incompetency or dishonesty?

What of the N. A. A. C. P.? Is it on the right track? What harm has the U. N. I. A. done it? What about this Dyer Bill? Is it a political trick for the congressional election? Will it pass the Senate? If passed, is it constitutional? If constitutional, will it be enforced or remain a dead letter?

What about the ability and sincerity of Du Bois, Jas. W. Johnson, William Pickens? (I had to tell them also of Robert Bagnall and Walter White).

Later I prepared a lecture on "Various Schools of Thought Among Negroes—Proposed Solutions of the Negro Problem." In it I gave a painstaking, frank, honest answer to the different questions,—one which

was appreciated by the N. A. A. C. P. and the U. N. I. A. groups, respectively.

Another question I met was: What became of Dr. Leroy Bundy's Case? Was he acquitted? Or what disposition was made of it? "We have never heard anything about it since he came thru here." The only answer I could give was that my information was equally fragmentary.

#### *The Serpent of Segregation*

Everywhere this serpent of segregation is creeping. It is confined to no special habitat. In Los Angeles and Seattle, St. Paul and Indianapolis, it is difficult for a Negro to get a meal in a first class white restaurant. Theatres in all places are segregating. No refusal of seats is made, but thru a sort of pre-meditated coincidence, all Negroes are together when they get to their seats. *Since theatres are owned largely by a few syndicates, a rule working so uniformly and on such a large scale, must emanate from the proprietors.*

Throughout Illinois, Indiana, Colorado, California, Oregon, Washington and Minnesota, I heard echoes of segregation in the school system. Usually some Negro who wanted to be a principal in the school was sponsoring the idea. Then, too, the thought that a few Negro teachers would get jobs had ensuared many well meaning, innocent and honest people.

Rules were being made and ordinances were being passed against inter-racial dancing and cabaret attendance. There was no natural racial antipathy. The natural thing was for the people to be fraternal and kindly. This would never do; hence the necessity for artificial measures to segregate people who naturally would intermingle.

#### *Medicine*

From Chicago on to the West, the obsolescent citadel of *regular medicine* is receiving powerful blows. Chiropractors, Osteopaths, Tildenites, Christian Scientists—all the non-drug, anti-vaccination groups—were very active. Moreover, their adherents were growing by leaps and bounds.

#### *Radical Movements*

Radical movements had received a blow from the general industrial depression. The I. W. W. were hard hit. The Workers' Party was not strong, and was active only in a few cities, and at that on no large scale. One prominent communist told me, the communists were underground simply because it was romantic. He said he could excuse them if there were some reason for it, but there was none. They were not doing anything unlawful; they were not making bombs, nor counterfeiting money—they were simply underground.

The Socialists, too, were suffering from the unemployment, wave, the internal dissention, the former persecution.

The labor movement had been shaken up too by the *Open Shop Drive*. Its spirit was low-flagging. It was fairly active in Seattle. It was more alive in Minneapolis than any where else I visited.

The American Legion, the Department of Justice, the American Defense Society—all had ceased to persecute the radicals so far as I could observe. The

Department of Justice was frequently represented at my meetings, but made no gesture at interruption anywhere.

#### *Pullman Porters*

A new type of Negro is found on the pullman cars. He takes pleasure in having a respectable Negro passenger. No hesitancy is discernible in according a Negro passenger every courtesy.

Once when I gave one a dollar, he handed it back in my lap, saying: "*I never take a tip from a colored woman nor a colored man who is doing as much good for my race as you. I've heard you speak and you are a man after my heart. I am running on the road, but I have my home, a bank account, my children in school. You are making it better for them.*"

This fine spirit was no surprise to one who would study the Los Angeles types of porter. They owned homes, generally,—beautiful homes. I learned that they had fair bank accounts. Their children were educated and accomplished. Their wives were charming and refined.

Now and then an old Uncle Tom porter was run across, but not often. He was the exception.

#### *Myself—My Health*

As a rule a long trip was always a nightmare to me. I knew my throat would go bad! My voice would break down. Not so any more since I understand new problems of medicine. My health is a second nature question. I spoke 91 times in 104 days. My throat gave trouble twice—once when I got wet in the Oakland storm, and again when I got wet in Seattle. I stopped eating for a day and I was ready for an auditorium lecture the third day.

#### *Last Word*

All in all the trip was encouraging. It was good to find a growing percentage of Negroes everywhere which demands an uncompromising program. *Two years ago I could not have gotten a hearing!* Chandler Owen, a radical, would have settled the thing! Now they are satisfied. They had confused "radical" with "erratic." But when I explained that a radical was one who went to the root of things, who was a fundamental, basic philosopher,—they felt a great relief. Socrates was a radical. Jesus Christ was the radical of his day. Lovejoy, Garrison, Phillips, Sumner, even Lincoln, were the radicals of the 40's, 50's and 60's. They were trying to uproot the slave institution. They were destroying that iniquitous system. I explained it was alright for people of great wealth and education to try to save, to conserve their possessions. They were justly conservatives. But when one has chiefly poverty and ignorance with their consequent and accompanying evils, he wants to root them up and get rid of them. He must replace poverty with wealth, ignorance with intelligence.

The trip just completed covered over *eight thousand miles*. It is a distance greater than if I had gone to Europe and returned. It consumed three and one half months. The slogan of the business interests—"See America First!"—has more than mere commercial merit. It is a great, vast, rich, interesting country to see. I am wiser and happier for the experience.

# The Friends of Negro Freedom

## HOW TO ORGANIZE A COUNCIL OF THE FRIENDS OF NEGRO FREEDOM

YOU want to organize a council of the Friends of Negro Freedom. How shall you begin? What must you do?

Get together at least seven people who are interested in joining. This is the minimum number which may form a local council. Call a meeting at your home, your school building, your lodge hall, your church. Select a committee of five or three on Ways and Means. Instruct this committee, through its chairman or secretary, to write to the National Office for paraphernalia and equipment for your starting work. Write to

THE FRIENDS OF NEGRO FREEDOM,  
2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City

Your paraphernalia will be sent by return mail. So soon as it comes the committee should study it, in order to be prepared to give instructions to others. A public meeting should then be called. It might be done by general notices in the newspapers, the churches or lodge meetings. Sometimes twenty-five, one hundred or more persons may be invited by a mailing list.

Make a special effort to get in the plain people, avoiding persons tarnished by shady business practices, corrupt political juggling or general society snobs. *The Friends of Negro Freedom is a mass movement for the public welfare—not a parlor social. . . .*

What must you do when the meeting is called? Elect a temporary chairman for the meeting. Proceed with permanent organization. Elect (1) an executive committee of seven; (2) a chairman and vice chairman of the executive committee; (3) an executive secretary and a financial secretary of the Local Council; (4) a treasurer; (5) a forum committee of five; (6) a Labor Union Committee of five; (7) a Tenants League Committee of five; (8) a Boycott Committee of five; (9) a Co-operative Committee of five; (10) a Publicity Committee of five; (11) an Entertainment and Athletic Committee of five; (12) a Membership Committee of five; (13) an Auditing Committee, (14) a Business Committee of five.

Where numbers are small (as at the beginning they are likely to be) some of the committees will be interlocking, that is, they will have some of the same persons on two or more committees. A special effort should be made, however, to work everybody, to keep as many different persons doing something, as possible. We suggest that as new members come in, some of the old members who are on two committees be released, and their places filled by new ones who are competent.

Guard at all times against blustering fanatics, hot-heads and demagogues. They will reflect discredit upon the organization.

### Dues and Fees

Every member must pay One Dollar initiation fee and fifteen cents per month dues. Of the One Dollar initiation fee, fifty cents is to be sent to the National

Office. Of the 15 cents monthly dues, five cents goes to the National Office. Such monies should be sent the first of each month.

The Committees elected should be urged to give special attention to the study of their particular work; literature will be in hand for such distribution.

Each member will be supplied with a Constitution, booklet on the "Friends of Negro Freedom at Work," a button and a membership card.

So soon as the treasury is large enough, a bank account should be opened, the treasurer and the secretary bonded, and checks drawn only upon the joint signature of the treasurer and secretary.

### Charter

When this is done, the executive committee of the local council should make application for a charter.

### The Local Council's Executive Committee

The Executive Committee carries on the business of the organization.

It should arrange for the regular weekly meetings of the council. The best provision is to have a forum meeting every week, as a rule, on Sundays. (This, however, can best be determined by those on the field.)

A regular membership meeting should be held once a month. Set a specific date for this meeting, such as the first Monday in each month, or some such day. Then every body can look forward to it and reserve the date.

Any matter not covered by other committees will also be the work of the executive committee.

The handling of dues-stamps, collection of fees and other monies will fall to this committee.

This committee shall select its own secretary, who shall keep the records of the executive committee meetings. These meetings shall be at such times as the committee desires.

### The Executive Secretary of the Local Council

The executive secretary of the local council shall make out the membership cards, record dues paid, hold the dues-stamps, keep the minutes and the books.

The assistant secretary shall help the secretary in the performance of the above mentioned duties.

### The Treasurer

The treasurer shall hold and bank all moneys and make report to the membership meetings of the financial state of the organization.

### The Forum Committee

The Forum Committee shall organize a Friends of Negro Freedom Forum. These forums should be held weekly. All shades of opinion should be given expression before the forum. Members and non-members should be admitted to attend. The committee shall elect a chairman for each meeting in advance, in order that perfect smoothness may prevail.

During the summer speakers should be secured for about three months. The forums should start the first of September or October and run till the middle of May. It is best to give a vacation in the summer. Little cards should be printed announcing the speakers' names and their subjects. These cards should be distributed around, put in barber-shops, lodge

rooms, churches, schools, restaurants and public places.

White and colored speakers should be secured. Professors from Universities, City officials and experts, congressmen, ministers, lawyers, doctors, social workers, editors, political leaders, men and women of various shades of thought—all should be invited to the forum to speak.

#### The Forum at Work

A time should be set and punctuality insisted upon. The forum should last only two hours. The speaker should be informed that he is expected to speak from 45 minutes to one hour. When the address is completed, from five to ten minutes should be devoted to taking up a collection. Twenty minutes should be devoted to asking questions. Then twenty minutes of discussion from the floor. The floor speakers should be allowed three or five minutes. The Chairman must be positive in limiting these speakers to their exact time. During this time the speakers rests; takes cognizance of what the audience is saying, and prepares to reply to their remarks. The remaining ten or fifteen minutes are given to the speaker for rebuttal, explanation and reply.

If there are any notices, they may be read then, and the meeting promptly dismissed.

The forum will train Negroes to express themselves, to speak to the point, and to develop delivery. (It is harder to speak 3 or 5 minutes than to speak an hour.) Perfect courtesy to the speaker should be observed, as well as to floor members, but this does not mean that one *may not differ vigorously with anybody*. Refrain from petty personalities. Learn discipline. Study up on a subject. Ask searching questions. Make the Forum the center of interest and light throughout your community.

#### Getting Speakers

To illustrate: Get a Republican, a Democrat, a Socialist, a Farmer-Labor representative of distinction, to address the forum around election time. This is the subject of immediate interest then.

During the year have a prohibitionist, an anti-prohibitionist, a birth control and anti-birth control speaker, a chiropractor, osteopath, Tildenite, homeopath, regular physician, a co-operation expert, a single taxer, an N. A. A. C. P. man, a Garveyite, a Friends of Negro Freedom advocate, a Christian Scientist, a Tuskegee idea man, Negro legislators, woman's club speakers, and anybody you want.

#### The Labor Union Committee

This should be called the Labor Committee. Its work consists in getting Negroes into industries, getting them into the unions, protecting their interests in the industry and protecting their interests in the unions.

It is necessary to get Negroes into industry in order for them to have work and wages. It is necessary to get them into unions in order that Negroes may get the best wages, shortest hours and best conditions under which to work.

A great deal of poise and sanity will be required in this committee. Its work consists in opening larger economic opportunities to Negroes. Wherever it finds an industry which does not employ Negroes, it should inquire of the owners and managers—why?

A request should be made for the employment of Negroes.

Where the committee discovers Negroes in the industries it should ascertain whether they are unionized. If not, the committee should inquire whether the white workers in the same industry are organized. If they are, the officials should be asked whether Negroes are admitted. If Negroes are admitted, the Negroes in the industry should be urged to join the union—provided always that they are admitted on terms of absolute equality. After the Negroes get into the unions, follow them up to see that the unions give what is due them.

#### What to Do If the Unions Do Not Admit Negroes

This question would naturally be asked by any reasonable man. It is logical and in point. If the unions will not admit Negroes upon absolute equality terms, then organize the Negroes separately and exact justice both from the white workers and the white employers. *Taking the jobs of the white workers is absolutely justified wherever Negroes are denied entrance to the unions.*

#### What to Do If the Employers Do Not Hire Negroes in Their Industries

There are two approaches to this problem, one attractive, the other coercive.

In certain lines like baseball, racing, boxing, the Negroes are lovers of the sports. Their attendance swells the gate receipts. But their attendance is greater where Negroes are in the game. The same is true of white devotees of sports. They too attend in larger numbers because their interest is higher when the contest assumes a racial slant. This argument will receive attraction when presented to the baseball team owners, the race track promoters, the boxing controllers. It is the attractive approach—the one of showing how the owners can make more money.

Sometimes coercion will be necessary. Negroes can *boycott capital's business and scab on labor's jobs.*

Conductor is recognized as a white man's job. Engineer is a white man's job. Grand Opera is a white man's profession. At least, this is the psychology of the American mind. You don't see Negroes in such jobs, so everybody gets to believe a Negro cannot qualify.

This idea of efficiency is erroneous. All that is required to be train conductor is the physical power to clip a ticket and a good memory. Most pullman porters have this. They often do all the work of the conductor except the receiving of his monthly paycheck. The Negro is not allowed to hold the train engineer's job. The Negro fireman, however, runs the train for the white engineer, a considerable part of the time, in the Southern states. The street car conductor simply takes and issues transfers, makes change, watches passengers getting on and off, rings the bell and collects fares. There is nothing about it which any Negro of average intelligence or less cannot do. The street car motorman starts and stops the car on a permanent track. Negroes make splendid chauffeurs. They motor through congested cities. It is more difficult to drive an automobile than to run a street car.

Some slight justification for the non-admission of Negroes to grand opera may be found in their inefficiency. They are only inefficient, however, because

they have been denied an opportunity. They have been dealt with on the principle that *they should not go into the water until they have learned to swim*. They are potentially the equal of white artists. A goodly handful even now are ready to begin opera work. Some of them are better than some of the whites in the grand opera.

With respect to the average vaudeville sketch in a Keith or Loew house, only about ten per cent have any striking merit. We submit that hundreds of Negro acts can be presented right now superior to most of those appearing in these circuits. The American theater-goer is intellectually subnormal. He does not demand much. Charlie Chaplin, Eddie Foy, Al Jolson, Eva Tanguay, Belle Baker are his idols. Bert Williams was more resourceful than Charles Chaplin or Eddie Foy, George Walker surpassed Al Jolson, Aida Walker was quite as wild and individualistic as Eva Tanguay, and Mamie Smith is as loud and pandemonium producing as Belle Baker. These actors are not our idols, but they serve for the comparison. They illustrate the point of Negro efficiency in this particular line.

Now who keeps Negro artists and actors off the stage? Is it the white actors? We think not, judg-

ing from the vigor, courage and quickness with which they rushed to the rescue of Charles Gilpin when a threat was made to exclude him from the Drama League dinner.

Is it the theater patrons? Hardly. We see Negro acts put on occasionally and the white patrons receive them cordially, just like anybody else.

Is it the theater owners? We think so. It must rest with the white actors, patrons or the owners. We have seen that it is not the actors or the patrons, so it must be the fault of the theater syndicates that Negroes are given such limited opportunity on the stage.

The Labor Union Committee must be alert to all problems involving Negro wage-earners. Their eyes must be kept upon capitol and labor, constantly asking: "*Gentlemen, what do you offer?*" Skill and tact must be used in approaching these problems.

We do not propose to deal with all phases here. This is simply an illustration of how to study a problem, how to analyse it, how to differentiate the factors and single out the controlling cause.

This is easily one of the most important committees of the Friends of Negro Freedom.

## Open Forum

(Concluded from last issue)

### BEFORE THE TRIAL, VARIOUS AGENCIES OF THE GOVERNMENT ILLEGALLY INTERFERED WITH THE DEFENSE

The following facts are vouched for in an affidavit by E. F. Doree, treasurer of the General Defense Committee, showing that the preparation of the defense was seriously hampered by actions performed by various agencies of the government before the trial.

Their offices were raided and all their records seized, on search warrants which the United States Circuit Court of Appeals stated were defective. For months all their records were in the hands of the government; and during that time, *various documents which would have strongly tended to disprove the government's accusations disappeared, and could not be found when search was made for them later*. Mention has been made before of several such documents.

A General Defense Committee was organized in Chicago after the raids and arrests all over the country to prepare the defense of all the accused I. W. W. men. This Defense Committee undertook to raise money for the defense, to secure counsel and witnesses, etc. At no time has the government claimed that anything done by this Committee was illegal. Under our law the lowest criminal is supposed to have the right to defend himself to the best of his power; and this is all the Committee was trying to do.

Yet the government, or its representatives, illegally impeded this Defense Committee and succeeded in nearly wrecking its work. The direct result of this

was the defense offered at the trial was far less strong than it otherwise could and would have been. The following are important instances of such interference:

1. The Defense Committee published periodicals and pamphlets to give publicity to the case. They were denied second-class rates. They were then mailed at third-class rates. The Post Office accepted them, with postage paid, but confiscated most of them. Only a few copies of some issues that were mailed were ever delivered. At no time did the Post Office Department state that anything in these papers was un-mailable. They simply took them and threw them away, without notice or explanation.

2. On December 17, 1917, an army of city police and United States deputy marshals suddenly raided the headquarters of the Defense Committee in Chicago, on a search warrant admittedly void. Immediately all work was stopped completely. The printing was interrupted; no mail could be taken in or sent out. The Committee was thus put out as well as with donors to the fund. For twelve days the police camped on the premises. No pretense was made, even, that the Committee was doing anything illegal. On the twelfth day the police were compelled by a court order to vacate the premises. But before they did so they carted off, in a ten-ton truck, vast quantities of literature, circulars, envelopes, contribution lists, and even blank paper.

3. About February 1, 1918, the Post Office Department, without notice to the General Defense Committee, suddenly held up all outgoing mail from the Committee's headquarters. The Committee learned

of the fact first through receiving complaints from various correspondents that no word had been received from the Committee in reply to communications. About February 10 the *Chicago Tribune* carried a news article stating that about 300 bags of mail sent out by the I. W. W. were being held at the Chicago Post Office. A few days later an unknown person, signing himself "P. O. Employee," placed under the door of the Committee's headquarters a note to the same effect, enclosing what purported to be a copy of an official notice to certain P. O. employees directing them to hold up mail from the General Defense Committee and various of its officers personally.

This wanton denial of mail service cost the defense many thousands of dollars, the use of many witnesses and the loss of much valuable information.

4. When it became apparent that the Defense Committee's mail was not being delivered, the Committee began to use various express companies. In the latter part of February, 1918, the American Express Co. returned to the Committee's office a truck-load of defense material which they had previously accepted for delivery. The packages were marked "*Refused by order of the United States Government.*" The Committee was never able to learn what agency of the government was responsible for this refusal of service by the Express Co. But the Committee was unable to get further service from the Express Co. until nearly the end of the Chicago trial.

**Summary**—All of these tyrannical and illegal interferences with the work of the Defense Committee meant:

1. That large quantities of money destined for the defense never reached them, or reached them long afterwards, when it was too late to help in the trial.

2. That the defense was crippled in its effort to give publicity to its side of the case, while the daily papers were filled with inflammatory material against the defendants, so that the case was settled in advance of the trial in the minds of most of the people of the country. Thus was created that "*public hysteria and popular demand*" for the conviction of these men, to which Captain Lanier alludes as the only reason for the verdict.

3. That the Defense Committee lost touch with many witnesses who would have been useful to the defense, and kept in touch with others only with the greatest difficulty and at ruinous expense (largely by telegrams), which, in view of the limited funds at the Committee's disposal, meant a serious limitation of its work.

It should be remembered that at best the work of the defense was a troublesome job. The defendants were gathered in from the most widely separated parts of the country. It was also extremely difficult to get either attorneys or witnesses to appear for the defense. To all this was added the deliberate crippling of the work of the General Defense Committee by agents of the Government. But for this, the defense offered at the trial would have been much stronger than it was.

## TAMPICO WHARF MEN RUN THEIR OWN JOBS

### Union Buys Equipment and Contracts for Freight Handling of Mexican Port

By Fred W. Leighton

(Federated Press)

Tampico, Mexico (by mail).—On May Day the Gremio Unido Abijadores (stevedores' and longshoremen's union) comenced work on a contract with the Mexican National Railways and the federated government to handle all the freight landed on the fiscal wharves of Tampico.

For the first time in the history of this hemisphere a producers' co-operative, owning its own machinery, and conducting its own business—has obtained control of the wharves of a large ocean port. The union has purchased the equipment used by the private firm which formerly did this work.

The magnitude of the undertaking may be estimated from the fact that five large steam cranes, four gas-line tractors with forty-six trailers, 200 wheel-barrows, a railroad switch engine, machine repair shop, garage, etc., are among the items of equipment turned over to the union; and from the fact that last summer the office here of the U. S. shipping board stated that on the North American continent Tampico was second only to the port of New York in tonnage handled and number of vessels clearing port.

And this in backward and unprogressive Mexico! We always understood that this God-forsaken country needed the benignant and demoncratic guardianship of Texas and Georgia where human life, liberty and property are held in sacred esteem. It never occurred to us, to say the least, that the plain, everyday longshoremen were so far advanced ahead of the American workers.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

Floyd Calvin, a member of the MESSENGER staff, is now traveling through the South in the interest of the Friends of Negro Freedom and the MESSENGER. He will interview various persons of prominence and survey the general social and economic conditions of the Negro.

During Convention Time Call on

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# How Marcus Garvey Betrayed the Negroes to a Georgia Negro Hater

Garvey Joins the Ku Klux Klan — Foreign Negro Would Help Klan Deport Negro, Jewish and Catholic Citizens

Garvey Runs with Negro Hare and Chases with Ku Klux Hound!

Garvey in South Becomes Ardent Jim-Crow Advocate and Supporter of the Ku Klux Negro Lynchers

*Tota in plain words which burn in letters that blister!*



By

**A. Philip Randolph**

and

**Chandler Owen**

At 3 o'clock Sunday Afternoons,  
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#### GARVEY'S STATEMENT AT NEW ORLEANS

"This is a white man's country. He found it, he conquered it, and we can't blame him if he wants to keep it. I am not vexed with the white man of the South for Jim-Crowing me, because I am black.

"I never built any street cars or railroads. The white man built them for his own convenience. And if I don't want to ride where he's willing to let me ride then I'd better walk."

## We Know Marcus Garvey Was a Tool and a Traitor WAS HE ALSO THE WHITE MAN'S SPY?