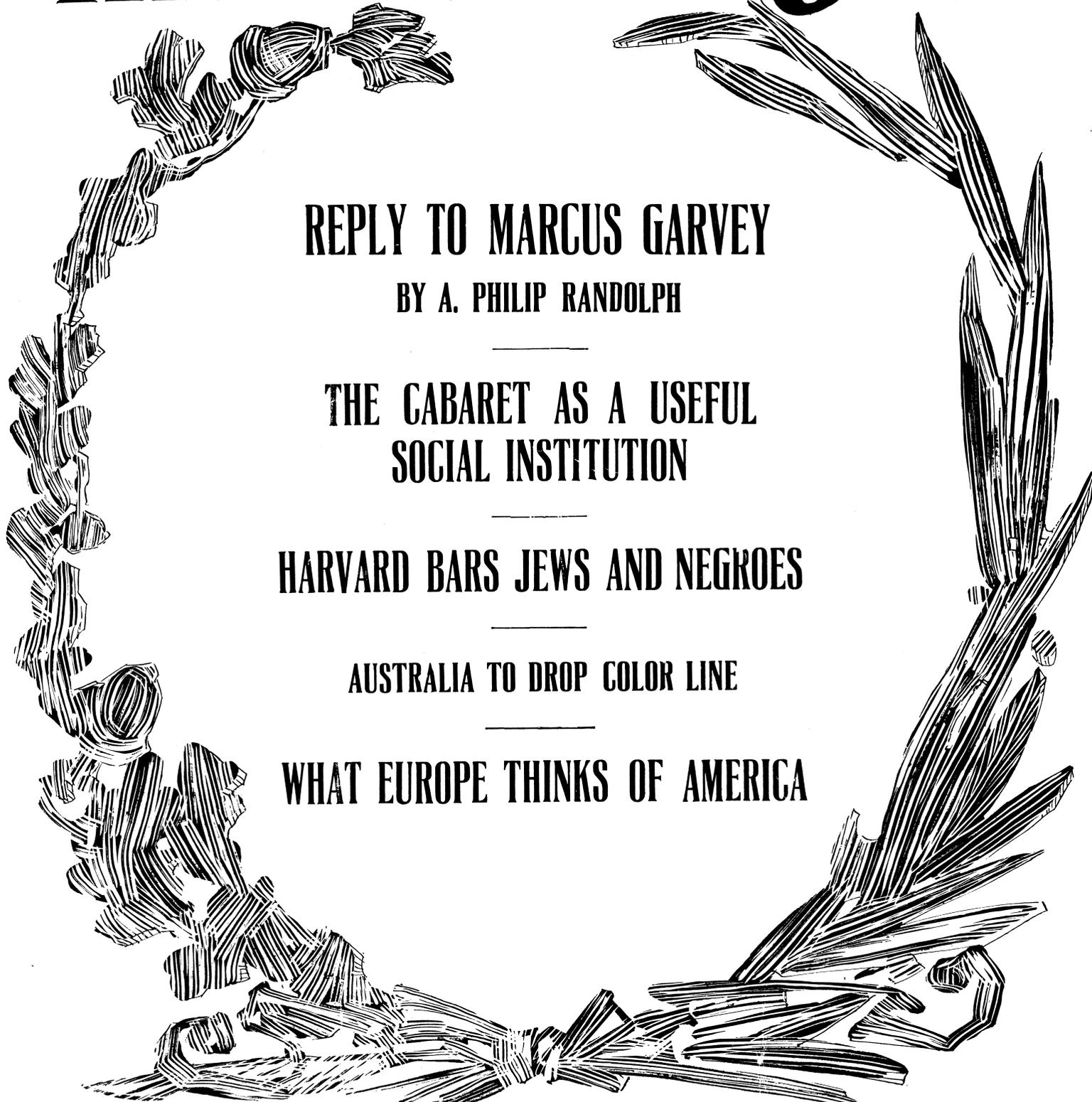


The Messenger



REPLY TO MARCUS GARVEY

BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

**THE CABARET AS A USEFUL
SOCIAL INSTITUTION**

HARVARD BARS JEWS AND NEGROES

AUSTRALIA TO DROP COLOR LINE

WHAT EUROPE THINKS OF AMERICA

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The SEPT. MESSENGER

WILL BE RED-HOT

Leading Articles

on

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Quacks and Fakers

Black and White in Kluxdom

Economic and Social Conditions
in the West Indies

By J. A. ROGERS

Book Reviews

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Editorials

AUSTRALIA TO GIVE UP COLOR LINE

FOR many years Australia has been what the Ku Klux Klan and Marcus Garvey agree America should be—a white man's country. Greedy white capital and selfish, short-sighted white labor joined hands in keeping the country free from color contamination! Capital and labor had one thing at least in common—the preservation of white supremacy—not substantial white supremacy, but absolute, alabaster-autocracy.

Despite these "hifaluting" intentions on the part of both, neither one was willing to pay many "nickels under the foot" to maintain a white man's country. Certainly capital was not. Labor unions in Australia are and have been powerful. Even a labor government came into power. It began to challenge capital at every hand. At the last election, however, capital raised every issue imaginable, especially the religious issue, and before labor knew anything, it was dethroned and capital again entrenched in political power. Labor continued its demands. Labor talked blandly of a white man's country. Capital grew silent on white supremacy. Something was in the background. A new odor was in the air. An unheard song was about to be sung in Australia.

Union labor had grown too strong. Prime Minister Barwell, Premier of South Australia, had devised a plan to break the grip of organized labor in his country. And what could this be? Simply this—he proposed a scheme to bring in yellow or black labor bound to a three years' contract.

In other words, white capital of Australia would rather have Negro labor or Chinese and Japanese labor—*cheap*, than to have white labor—*high*. These rich gentlemen say in so many words—"We would rather have more money in our pockets and more black skins or brown skins in our eyes, than to have less money in our pockets and only white skins to gratify our view."

Of course these black and yellow men will be exploited, but probably no worse than at the places from which they will be imported. Both white and colored men are chiefly laborers. Their interests are common, but white men being ignorant and short-sighted, usually do not recognize that their aims and ideals should be one. They are blinded by race prejudice. In the southern part of the United States, they cry, "Down with the 'nigger.'" On the Pacific coast white labor cries, "Down with the Jap." In France they wink at the exploitation of "coolies" from Indo-China. In the northern and eastern sections of America most labor unions set up all sorts of subterfuges to keep Negroes out.

As a result Negroes everywhere sit as it were on the fence—straddling—asking white capital and white labor—"Gentlemen, what do you offer?" And the

simon pure truth is that the Negro gains his place in industry as the football of white capital and white labor. A demand is made by white labor for higher wages, shorter hours, so forth. White capital refuses. Labor strikes. White capital brings in Negro labor to take the places of the white strikers. Without the strike, forced by demands upon capital by union labor, capital would not call in the Negro workers and white union labor on the whole would refuse them admission.

In very truth, both white capital and white labor combine to keep Negroes out of industry. Capital is partly indifferent, partly desirous of avoiding the protests of white labor, and partly influenced by race prejudice to which both groups are unfortunately heirs. White labor is, on the whole, trying to limit the supply of labor in order to keep wages high. It reasons: "Limit the supply and increase the demand!" Union white men fought and fight vigorously the entrance of women and children (white women and white children, too) into industry. Their cries about child labor and protection of women are smoke screens generally, destined to limit their labor competitors. Labor like capital is utilitarian, egoistic, selfish. It is well that we understand this philosophy.

Australia should teach white labor a lesson, not only there, but everywhere. Until myopic organized white labor looks beyond its practical, proverbial nose, the workers of color will justly ask: "What care I how fair she be, if she be not fair to me?"

TIME TO GO

WHEN a Negro leader leagues with Negro lynchers as did Marcus Garvey in his alliance with the Ku Klux Klan, then it is time for all decent, self-respecting Negroes to league together for the purpose of driving out that Negro. It is a far cry from blatantly and bombastically blowing about how he, Marcus Garvey, was going to drive out all white men to abjectly surrendering all Negroes' rights and agreeing to have them leave not only the United States but any other countries the Ku Klux Klan may suggest.

Moreover, it is about the first recorded case of a foreigner coming to a country and entering into a compact to deport the citizens of that country.

The clock has struck. As Cato of old ended his speeches, "Carthage must be destroyed!" so the new Negroes must resolve each day: "Garveyism must be destroyed!" Marcus Garvey has become the worst type of *me-too-boss* and *hat-in-hand* good "nigger" the race has ever been bedeviled by. A menace to sound, democratic racial relations, a race baiter and a race traitor, Garvey must go. The sooner the better.

Garvey has succeeded in producing black nights and dark days for credulous Negroes everywhere.

OUR contemporary, the Dawn, says:

The difference between the North and the South, according to Mencken, is that in the North they put bars on the jail windows to keep the prisoners from getting out at the public, and in the South to keep the public from getting in at the prisoners.

It is unfortunate that the bars are so useless in the South. The public simply gets the keys from the jailer in most places—that is, where Negroes are concerned.

LABOR AND IMPERIALISM

THE Farmer-Labor Party's platform demands among other things the

"withdrawal from imperialistic enterprises upon which we already have embarked (including the dictatorship we exercise in varying degrees over the Philippines, Hawaii, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Porto Rica, Cuba, Samoa and Guam."

Labor is learning that capital will produce its goods in the undeveloped countries where labor is cheap, and then import the finished product back into the country. This means that labor in the exploiting country must compete against labor in the exploited country. As a result the lowest standard of living in the weaker countries gets to be the one which workers in the United States must assume.

LABOR AND MEDICINE

THE Sacramento *Tribune* states that the California State Federation of Labor has indorsed the Initiative Measure No. 16, the Chiropractic bill, in the coming elections, Nov. 7th.

It gives labor's reasons as follows:

Labor's stand on this question of public health is a protest against the present hide-bound monopoly of the healing art as sought by the American Medical Association, one of the most firmly established of all the monopolies of this trust-ridden nation. Without the physician's certificate we can't be born into this world, these days. We can't go to school without a certificate of vaccination. Daily children are being sent home from school with order—not requests, that tonsils or adenoids or teeth be removed. Let one of the youngsters get the whooping cough, as all youngsters do and will, and the physician tacks a notice on the door that makes the family prisoners. Physicians want to make it impossible to marry without a certificate and we can't die and be buried without the physician's certificate that we're dead.

Daily the press is flooding the country with so-called Health Hints, conspicuously displayed by most of the leading dailies, giving advice which in 75 per cent of the cases ends with the admonition, "consult a physician."

The Advertisers' Protective Bureau, Inc., of the Kansas City Advertising Club, affiliated with the National Vigilance Committee of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the world, has just issued a report of the recent smallpox scare in Kansas City, proving that the hue and cry was started by the County Medical Association, which was finding business dull and sought to boost it along. The physicians of Kansas City, according to the report cleaned up a half million dollars. The report shows how it cost the merchants of Kansas City several millions of dollars. Such is the power of the Medical Trust to rob the public and costly is the disaster of misplaced confidence.

Next comes Chiropractic, a science of healing which is daily becoming more popular with sufferers. Its popularity proves its ability to get the sick well. It is making

serious inroads into the old-time methods of treating the afflicted. The Medical Board is alarmed. In the last election, out of a total of 790,000 votes cast, a Chiropractic measure was defeated by only 12,000 votes. Again the measure is on the ballot. It seeks to establish a Chiropractic Board of Examiners, self-sustaining, similar to boards which have been established in 22 states, which will control Chiropractic and take it out from under the sway of the physicians, its bitterest enemies.

For nearly a score of years, Chiropractors have been demanding recognition of the right of the sick to seek the man or the method they think might get them well. The Medical Trust has taken the attitude, "Get well our way or else go die." The demand of Chiropractors for recognition seems not unreasonable. It is a protest against Medical monopoly which is finding a response of hearty endorsement of Union Labor. And with Labor's backing in the coming election the Chiropractic Initiative No. 16, seems certain of overwhelming victory.

RELIGIOUS REACTION

A FEW weeks ago the Rev. Dr. John Roach Straton, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, West 57th Street, New York, attacked several of the leading theological thinkers in his characteristic demagogic style. Anyone who thinks for himself, according to Rev. Straton, is a dangerous infidel! He would have the following men resign from their places in the educational field:

The Rev. Dr. Henry Clay Vedder, Professor of Church History, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.

The Rev. Dr. Spencer Byron Meeser, Professor of Systematic Theology, Crozer Seminary.

The Rev. Dr. Frank G. Lewis, librarian of Crozer Seminary.

The Rev. Dr. W. H. P. Faunce, President of Brown University, Providence, R. I.

The Rev. Dr. William Frederick Bade, Professor of Semitic Languages, Pacific Baptist Theological Seminary, Berkeley, Cal.

The Rev. Dr. Gerard Birney Smith, professor of Christian Theology, Chicago University.

Dr. Shaller Mathews, Dean of the Divinity School, Chicago University.

Dr. Straton also included in his list of Baptist infidels two eminent theologians now dead. These were Dr. Walter Rauschenbusch, who taught for many years in Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, N. Y., and Dr. William Newton Clarke, who for many years was a professor in Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.

Dr. Straton read long quotations from the writings of each of these theologians to show that they, in his mind, are or were infidels.

METROPOLITAN LIFE'S HOUSING PLANS

THE Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has announced its plans to start building 50 houses in New York designed to house 1,950 families. These will supply homes for 10,000 people. Aside from the return upon this investment as real estate the Metropolitan will reap returns upon the investment as an insurer. Why? Well good housing means longer life. Longer life means more premiums from policy holders. Here's where the interests of the buyer and the seller of insurance are common: both want long life for the insured.

AMERICA'S HAITIAN POLICY

THE King Amendment to the Naval Appropriation Bill, if adopted, would have terminated the duty of the marine corps to serve in Haiti and Santo Domingo, as the year ended. Senator Borah of Idaho threw a bombshell in making this statement:

"When you examine the record of robberies and murders in great cities, the lynchings and burnings in this country, and compare them with lawlessness in Haiti, you will find little excuse for our going to Haiti."

Yea, verily. If the United States needs to send its armies and navies to Haiti to preserve order, pray tell us why it does not use the army in Georgia, Mississippi and Texas to stop the burning of Negroes at the stake. The Haitians are accused of cannibalism—of eating human beings raw. But in the language of the cynic—which is worse—to eat a man without cooking him or to cook a man without eating him?

A HAITIAN COMMISSION

SENATOR Mc Cormick of Illinois has suggested a Negro Commission to visit and report upon Haitian conditions. So far so good. But the Senator from Illinois does not stop here: he wants to select the personnel of the commission, suggesting as he does, that Major Robert Russa Moton of Tuskegee head it.

We object to the composition of the commission as suggested by Senator Mc Cormick. We fear the report might be written in Washington by Mr. Hughes, Secretary of Navy Denby, or General Russell, and Moton merely requested to sign it. Such a commission would hardly have the confidence of the colored or the fair-minded white people. We suggest a better method of selecting the Haitian Negro Commission. Send a committee of five selected as follows:

One member to be selected by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, one by the Friends of Negro Freedom, one by the National Urban League, ~~one by the A. M. E. Bishop's Council,~~ and one by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History of which Dr. Carter G. Woodson is director. Such a commission would be free, untrammelled, independent—would elicit the confidence of all intelligent and fair-minded people.

We are by no means unmindful of the splendid investigation already made by James Weldon Johnson for the N. A. A. C. P. and his report on Haiti which appeared in the *Nation*. That report was thorough, intelligent and statesmanlike. A group of non-time-wasting, honest legislators, seeking truth on the little black republic, would accept this report and map out the program suggested therein.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

HARVARD University is following the trend of American race prejudice in excluding or limiting Jewish and Negro students. A professor from Oberlin College, a few years ago, informed the writer that Oberlin and several other American colleges had entered upon a "gentlemanless agreement" to limit the

number of Negroes who might enter each year. Nothing was then said about the Jews.

Fortunately, however, crimes and evils, first visited upon one people, eventually spread to others. It is like disease: the Negro has it today, the white man tomorrow. It knows no race or color line. We have no prejudice against the Jews, but we are glad to see them being excluded along with the Negro. Hitting the Jew is helping the Negro. Why? Negroes have large numbers and small money: Jews have small numbers and large money. Together, the two have large numbers and large money. Not only that—the Jews control the powerful media for the dissemination of opinion,—namely, the press, the screen and the stage. The Negro has benefited before from fights made in interest of Jews.

To illustrate:—the Civil Rights Law of New York was passed primarily for the protection of Jews. The law is known as the "Levy Civil Rights Bill" bearing the name of its author, Judge Levy, a Jew. Nevertheless, Negroes enjoy all the advantages which it affords.

President Lowell of Harvard presents some rather flimsy logic in arguing the University's policy with respect to Negroes. He says "We owe to our Negro students the best possible education, but we do not owe to them inclusion in a social system with white people, whether mutually agreeable or not." This is part of Dr. Lowell's defense for excluding Negro students from the dining room and the dormitories. Let us analyze this logic, if it may be dignified by that term. In the dining room, attending three times a day, Negroes and whites would be thrown together not more than one hour and a half a day, assuming that the meal hour is thirty minutes. In the dormitories, students would pass each other in the halls, occasionally meeting at wash rooms. In the class rooms, however, white and colored students are thrown together from three to six hours a day.. Nor are there any walls between them as will be found with respect to their private rooms in the dormitories. It is obvious, then, that the same logic by which Negroes are excluded from the dining room and dormitories would with equal propriety, exclude them from the class room.. Surely, if men cannot sit in the same room at tables, then they cannot sit in the same room at desks.

Verily, this is what is portended, not only at Harvard, but at all of the American universities. Harvard is simply leading the way. Limitation usually precedes complete exclusion. It is simply a modified approach—it is a sugar-coated prelude to the vicious consummation to which Harvard, in precipitate haste, is tending. In doing so, she should make no pretence, but openly admit that she is surrendering her traditional principles, her honor and her once revered integrity.

U. S. SUPREME COURT DECLARES CHILD LABOR LAW UNCONSTITUTIONAL

No Dissenting Opinion—Amendment Only Remedy

WITHOUT one dissenting voice the Supreme Court of the United States has held the second child labor law to be unconstitutional. The old fetich of states' right was conjured up to protect the conscienceless mill owners in their heartless exploitation of American childhood. In the decision, Chief Justice

Taft announces that the power of states to govern the industrial conditions of the people cannot and must not be infringed under the pretext of taxation, any more than by police power by the federal government. So much for the Republican party's Chief Justice! Chief Justice Taney could not have served the South with greater loyalty. By the very same process of dispensing justice, federal laws against lynching may be declared unconstitutional. Efforts will be made to amend the constitution in order to protect the lives of children from industrial lynchers. But what hope will there be of the Negroes ever getting an amendment to the Constitution? None. The people must understand that the Constitution is sacred. It is much more sacred than the lives of children and Negroes, because it protects property interests. *A great epic could be written of the United States Supreme Court as the supreme obstacle to justice..*

WHAT EUROPE THINKS OF AMERICA

EDWARD G. LOWRY, writing in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, says:

"Americans are being pictured daily throughout Europe as a nation of gun-toting bootleggers, jazz-mad idlers, money-laden spendthrifts, immoral divorcees and blood-thirsty lynchers" and that "so little is known and becoming known of the primary motives actuating America and Americans as to shock and embarrass those persons having contact with the average European estimate of this republic."

The case is recited of one of the leading European news-distributing agencies which has issued instructions to its American manager to cable full reports of all lynchings in this country. This instance, says the correspondent, gives a fair idea of what Europe considers "news from America."

The correspondent goes on to protest against the above estimate. He makes no logical argument but simply proceeds: "*The benighted European is getting only a meager, vague, faint and distorted reflection of life among us as reflected to him by his newspapers.*" But is it a distorted view? A high official of the U. S. government says Uncle Sam is the greatest bootlegger in the world; the government sets the pace. We who are not blind know the petty bootlegger has been honey-

combing the nation till the bar-rooms reopened so boldly the bootleggers were all but put out of business. As a nation of gun toters and arch criminals, both in the extent and intensity of crimes, one needs merely to refer to Fosdick's Police Records for Europe and America. He will find cities like Chicago having more homicides in one year than in the whole United Kingdom of Great Britain—England, Scotland and Wales—for ten years. Europe sees us at Monte Carlo, Juneau, Carlsbad and Paris in full swing as spendthrifts, immoral divorcees, jazz-mad idlers. And no one would attempt to deny that we take front rank as lynchers, bloodthirsty indeed, frequently burning Negroes at stake, tolerating a tar and feather fraternity—the vicious Ku Klux Klan—whose very expressed purpose is race-baiting, arousing religious bigotry, the perpetuation of unspeakable crimes.

Make no mistake—Europe is alert to our self-assumed superiority. The only thing worth while of which we have more than Europe is money. Beyond that our best minds and so-called respectable citizens are celebrated in Europe for fat pocket-books, bad manners and empty heads. This bad reputation cannot be *lied* down; it must be *lived* down.

A NEWS despatch for June 16th, in the *New York Call*, reads:

FIVE 'QUAKES SHAKE COAST

EL CENTRO, Cal., June 16.—Five distinct earthquake shocks with continuous tremors occurred in the Imperial valley within a period of two minutes just before 1 p. m. today. No damage is reported.

We have seen accounts of Pacific Coast shocks now and then throughout the year. Forewarned is forearmed. The people of California should protect themselves with special earthquake insurance, and in any other way reasonably possible. "The American mind," some European has said, "never considers a contingent danger." It is time, however, that we freed ourselves from that child psychology. Intelligence implies foresight, vision, wisdom, precaution, preparation against danger.

Education and Literature

THE TORCH

MIRIAM ALLEN DEFORD

I am the torch!

Through African jungles I lighted his feet,
While the hot night air on his black face beat,
And the red moon shone on the Gold Coast bay,
Where the sinister slaver at anchor lay.

I am the torch!

I lighted his cabin the whole night long,
Where cheated his serfdom with homesick song,
And I flickered above as he painfully learned
Forbidden lore where my dim light burned.

I am the torch!

Full many a time have I blushed to light
The shameful faggots at dead of night,
Where he writhed and screamed in his agony,
And the beastlike men looked on in glee.

I am the torch!

I have stood as symbol of labor awake,
And now I burn clear for his freedom's sake.
He shall take me up in his strong black hand,
And I will lead to his Promised Land.

I am the torch!

The Cabaret — A Useful Social Institution

By CHANDLER OWEN

EVERYBODY seeks happiness. It is the end of life. All organic life is seeking to satisfy wants. Human beings are trying to gratify their desires. They are yearning for food—physical, mental, esthetic food—but ever and anon *food!*

Deprived of food for a sufficient length of time, the most highly cultured and refined gentleman imaginable would shed the thin veneer of civilization and revert to savagery to supply his needs. From birth to death man is goaded by hunger.

"It is the most basic, elemental and primitive of all appetites. There are many varieties of hunger. The rude earthworm seeking sustenance from the rich warm earth; the eager book worm delving deep into musty tomes for more knowledge; the potato in a dark cellar sprouting toward an almost imperceptible ray of light; the preacher casting a longing look in the direction of a pretty chorus girl or the mounting greenbacks and silver in the collection basket; the musician delicately fingering his instrument in search of an elusive chord; the small boy whose mouth waters in front of the candy shop; the politician with his itching palm; and we with our hopes and our needs, have hunger as the driving force of our lives."

The struggle for joy goads us on. The desire to reap profits has resulted in the capitalization of mediums which afford fun, recreation and amusement—in short, the economic good, joy. The hunger for wealth has met the craving for pleasure by the establishment of churches, schools, theatres, billiard and pool rooms, farms, baseball leagues, football squads, movies, opera houses, barrooms, speedways, race tracks, restaurants, dance halls and cabarets. All are seeking to satisfy different types of our wants.

It happens that the two strongest wants or appetites are those of food and sex—the alimentary and reproductive. This is quite natural. Both were rooted in necessity, the very old, primal needs. The alimentary preserved and perpetuated the individual; the reproductive preserved and perpetuated the race. The first is primary, the second derivative. It was not possible to have a race unless the individual was preserved, so nature made the desire for food strongest.

The tremendous pressure of the reproductive appetite, however, can be seen in the universality of dancing and the popularity of the institutions which specialize in it, such as theatres and cabarets.

The cabaret has been demoralized to some extent, resulting in undue prejudice against it. In many respects, however, it is one of the most democratic institutions in America. It is breaking down the color line. It is destroying the psychology of caste. It is disseminating joy to the most humble and the most high. It is the dynamic agent of social equality.

We have frequently been to Chicago since the awful race riots of 1919. Dozens of people, white and colored, were killed in them. Race relations were terribly strained on their account. The church threw up the sponge. The school collapsed in solving the conditions. Charity halted. Philanthropists shirked.

Politicians, with their ears to the ground for votes, temporized, shrunk from duty. Negro leaders cringed, compromised, crouched and slinked away.

The cabaret alone stuck to its post. You could go into the cabarets on State Street, Indiana Avenue, Thirty-fifth Street and find hundreds of white men and colored men, white women and colored women seated at tables, talking and drinking, enjoying the music, dancing when they cared to.

It is commonly said that these are the ordinary people who don't amount to anything. Not so, though. The people who will have finally to stop this race prejudice are the so-called common people, white and black. When their passions can no longer be fired by lying newspapers, screens and demagogues, the hope of the race baiter is gone forever. The wealthy classes seldom take active part in mobs. They fear danger. Casualties may be visited upon them. They are the so-called respectable citizens who sit in the ice-cooled and steam-heated offices and write editorials, scenarios, lectures, books—they produce opinions which create in turn the desires by which the "common" people are "egged" on.

It is to be regretted that certain Negro leaders can be found all too frequently combining with "Committees of Fourteen" in New York, and other places, entering into "gentlemanless" agreements to secure the adoption of segregation in the cabarets. It hurts such gentlemen to see white and colored people dance and drink together. We have no more sympathy with these me-too-boss, hat-in-hand Negro leaders than we have with the smug white hypocrits who inveigle these ignorant and myopic Negroes into such bargains.

Peace between the so-called lower classes of both races is desirable. It is the basic solution of the race problem.

The cabaret, like a house, is good or bad according to the use to which it is put. If a still is found in a house, or if it is discovered that prostitution is being carried on, authorities may destroy the still, sometimes abolish prostitution, but they do not burn down the house. So with the cabaret. Unless down right indecency exists therein, there can be no honest, supportable objection to it. The cabaret is an institution. It is doing in many cities what the church, school and family have failed to do. It is destroying the hydra-headed monster of race-prejudice—surely, "a consummation devoutly to be wished!"

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Economics and Politics

WAGES REDUCTIONS

WAGE cuts go merrily on. In every industry, the workers find both their jobs and wages being deflated. But the cost of living has not fallen anywhere near the drop of wages. According to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, it costs 70 per cent more to live in New York City today than it did in 1914. The Bureau's figures show that the cost of living has gone down 22½ per cent since the peak of prices in June, 1920. At the peak of prices in 1920, it cost 119 per cent more to live than it did in 1914. The food costs have dropped more rapidly than any other item in the family budget, showing a 10 per cent decline since December, more than twice as much as any other. The drop in clothing has been only 5 per cent, furniture 4 per cent, and fuel less than 1 per cent. Rents have gone up—about one-half of 1 per cent. But what about wages? Listen to the facts about the unskilled workers in the building trades. Says the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, "in 1914 the average annual earnings of unskilled workers in New York were \$479. Yet it took \$1,301 in 1914 for a worker to maintain himself and family in health and decency, according to the standards set by the United States Department of Labor—\$800 more than the building trades laborers actually got that year. Last year the unskilled workers got about \$1,264. But the cost of living had risen in the meantime to \$2,316, or \$1,052 more than a laborer's earnings. In other words, the earnings of the unskilled men are \$229.70 further below the living wage level now than in 1914. The unskilled workers' earnings in 1914 were \$337 below the earnings of the skilled mechanic. Now they are \$495 below. What is true of New York is also true of the wage and price relations throughout the country.

The unskilled, though the least able to bear it, is the hardest hit. Moreover, the unskilled worker is always the first to be fired and the first to have his wages slashed. Why? Because he is the least organized, consequently, he is least prepared and able to resist wage reductions.

But during panics, the employers don't stop with the unskilled. They attack the skilled artisans as well. They attack the unskilled first for two reasons. First, because they are the weakest. Second, because a victory over the lowest paid workers gives them some color of justification for reducing the more highly paid skilled workers. No group of skilled workers will escape the wage axe, despite the fact, too, that some groups are 100 per cent organized. Their chief weakness lies in the fact that the skilled are cut off and isolated from their unskilled brothers, which enables the bosses to attack and conquer one group at a time. This is why the employers artfully cultivate a sort of grade-working-class prejudice be-

tween the skilled and unskilled groups. At present, the drive is being made against the so-called worker-aristocrat—chief among which are the railroad workers, including the maintenance-of-way-men and the "Big Four."

The Railroad Labor Board has just ordered a cut in rail shopmen's wages, involving some 400,000 men, and the end is not yet. They are practically sure of receiving further reductions. B. M. Jewell, head of the railroad department of the American Federation of Labor charged, before the Labor Board that, "*at least 22 roads had eliminated time-and-a-half for overtime and are also letting out shop work. It must be understood in this connection that letting out shop work is a subtle way of locking the shop men out and rehiring them at a lower wage!* But not only have wages and hours been challenged, but the entire basic philosophy of the existing relations between labor and capital as it is represented by the above named board.

Before the Railway Labor Board, Mr. Jewell had this very illuminating observation to make:

"We have come here to challenge the justice of the wage rates of all productive labor, to challenge the very principle upon which the railroads propose that rates of pay be adjusted. We propose to show how the entire purpose for which industry is operated can and must be changed."

He says further:

"The so-called law of supply and demand will never afford a living wage in a system organized according to modern business principles."

Certainly not! The law of supply and demand will not enable the workers to obtain a living wage. It is a weapon in the hands of the employers which is wielded against the workers. Further along, his comments are so interesting that we quote them at length. Workers are beginning to learn that man does not live by bread alone; but that literature and art as well must be provided for. observes Mr. Jewell:

Industry Must Stand as Whole

"Surely the whole industry of the country must pay its way if the country is not to go bankrupt. But to argue that each separate industry, run without co-ordination to the whole, must pay its way is as contrary to the facts as to argue that a given railroad siding or spur track must pay its way independently.

"Out of the annual yield of any industry, these things are being paid: cost (including supplies, depreciation, extensions, taxation, etc.), wages and profits. Two of these, we say, ought to be constant costs (reduced to an economical figure) and wages at a level which will allow full human life, inclusive of art, literature, music, recreation and sociability such as are enjoyed by the well-to-do. "This leaves profits as the sole variable factor and frankly contemplates a situation in which temporarily they may have to cease. Until that situation has been accepted

the conflict between capital and labor will continue.

"Real wages have continued around the level of a bare subsistence through the prosperity and the depressions of the last generation. If production is enormously increased or costs largely cut down, labor will obtain no satisfying proportion of the benefit. If on the other hand, production is curtailed by the operatives of the commercial system, business will naturally attempt to beat down wages in order to retain profits.

How Rich Get Theirs

"If an industry can afford only a starvation wage it stands self-condemned. But our study has convinced us that taken as a whole industry can pay a living wage, and we are going to outline for the board the basis of this conclusion. But aside from statistical matter which we will offer, our own eyes viewing the blatant expenditures of the rich and well-to-do during the worst periods of depression and unemployment, tell us that interest and profits go on."

The whole industry, according to Jewell, should combine to pay a living wage. True. But labor must also organize the whole industry in order to exact that wage. As the workers are presently organized in the railway industry, they are virtually helpless. However, it is, indeed, encouraging to see that some of the labor leaders are gradually awakening to the fact that mere wage increases to off-set an increased cost of living can aid the workers but little. The goal is not only more wages but industrial control. Without workers' control of industry, they can hope for but little more than a bare subsistence wage. And during periods of industrial depression, they can expect to face not only low wages, but no wages. Still, the captains of industry cut their luscious dividend watermelons. Mr. Jewell sheds some light on this aspect of the question. Says he:

"Dividends are guaranteed during periods of depression out of the large surplus profits which are stored during the immensely prosperous years.

"For instance, the profit making part of the railroad industry, including steel corporations, equipment and other supply companies, piled up surpluses during the years 1916 and 1920 as follows:

Surplus Not for Workers

Steel	\$825,958,160
Coal and coke	139,075,444
Equipment	139,791,071
Other Supply	182,732,372

Total\$1,287,607,047

"These enormous funds are guaranteeing profit payment while the concerns operate to a very small proportion of capacity—in some instances less than 30 per cent. We wonder why the surplus above all costs, wages and normal profits should guarantee profits any more than steady employment at a living wage during times like the present. In fact, careful analysis of the situation leads us to believe that such guarantee of steady earning power to the wage earner, even at the expense of immediate profits, would go far toward eliminating these recurrent periods of depression.

"Yet, although much pity is voiced for the suffering and starved due to unemployment, no voice is raised to suggest that the swollen profits of the past five years be paid back into the industry to save the employees from the terrors of such a period.

"This establishes our general point of view toward the present and all future wage cases. We feel that mere adjustment of wage rates to minute variation in the cost of living would be a purely statistical problem for the board's force, requiring no hearing or elaborate preparation on either side.

"If the board should interpret its function to be merely to determine the level of wage rates established in the outside labor market, it would thereby become a mere

gauge and so defeat the purpose for which it was established."

Such is the method by which the skilled workers are attacked. This situation will ever confront the railway workers just so long as they hold aloof from other workers on the grounds of trades and race lines. Certain parts of Mr. Jewell's comments are quite discerning. The last paragraph, however, shows him to be inexcusably naive and credulous. He thinks the Labor Board was organized to help the workers. Far from the Labor Board being organized to benefit the railway employees, it was framed primarily in the interest of the railroad magnates. Sometimes, of course, it decides in favor of the railway employees. This is done when it can not do otherwise; for instance during the war. Labor then had power. Jobs then were competing for workers; not workers for jobs. But now the situation is different. Workers are competing for jobs, and the employers are defying the decisions of the governmental administration agencies. Witness the Pennsylvania railway system which has defied and violated decisions of the Railroad Labor Board time and again. The Government is powerless to enforce its decisions against the mighty rail barons. It is powerless when the interests of the workers are concerned; but all-powerful when the interests of capitalists are at stake. This, of course, is not a mystery to the scientific economist. He knows that governments are weapons of class oppression. Governments only grant concessions to the exploited toilers when they are capable of taking them without the aid of the government. The Government merely steps in and appears to be helping the workers against the bosses in order to pose as the friend of labor, a form of deception which unfortunately takes in the ignorant and guillible worker. When workers learn that they are their only reliable friend, panics will not stampede them and their wages will not be deflated.

AUSTRALIAN WORKERS

REBUKE RAND TERROR

Express in Resolutions Horror at Murder of South African Strikers

(Federated Press)

Sydney, N. S. Wales.—Expressing the wishes of the trade unionists of Australia, the trades and labor councils have carried motions expressing their horror at the shooting down of the South African workers on the Rand. Sympathy is extended to the South African unionists in their courageous fight against the armed forces of the employers and the Smuts government.

The Australian workers have plenty of tears to shed for the white workers who were shot down by the Smuts South African government, but are silent on the Dutch and British white workers keeping the black natives out of the unions and then shooting them down because they were taken in large numbers into the mines. If the white South African unionists are so blind with race prejudice as to be unable to distinguish class from race lines, they can depend upon it that General Smuts will not fail to exploit the opportunity of race division, by appearing to favor the natives.

We know that Smuts does not love the natives.

Nor do the unions. Hence when the white workers turn their backs upon the black workers, the latter have no other choice except to turn theirs upon the white workers. The colonial blacks are in the position where they are compelled to play the South African government against the white unions, throwing

their power to the higher bidder. This will go on and ought to go on until the white workers learn the lesson of true labor solidarity, for so long as the natives are concerned there is no difference between a race prejudiced-ridden Smuts government and a race prejudice-ridden white union.

A. P. R.

The Friends of Negro Freedom

The Tenants' League Committee

Just as most Negroes live off wages, most of them have to pay rent. In short, most Negroes are tenants. The Tenants League Committee has five functions:

1. To lower rents paid by Negroes.
2. To exact proper service from the landlords.
3. To secure proper service from the municipality.
2. To educate the tenant.
5. To secure the enactment of ameliorative legislation.

1. Tenants Leagues should be organized particularly in the large cities. They should be known as the Friends of Negro Freedom Tenants League. The economic minds should be put to work on this committee. *Landlords and real estate agents may be members of the Friends of Negro Freedom, but not of the Tenants League Committee.* Absurd and foolish demands should not be made. The assessed valuation of property should be gotten from the city records. What is commonly known as a reasonable rental should be determined in consideration of cost of maintenance, mortgages, repairs, etc. The rental determined, the landlords should be approached for the presentation of such demands. Some times a compromise will be reached; sometimes (not always) you will get all your demands; again they will be rejected. Then the Tenants League will plan rent strikes which are both expensive and annoying to the landlords.

2. Proper service from landlords must be exacted. To illustrate: In houses occupied by Negroes telephones are operated till 10 o'clock at night, sometimes to 12 o'clock. Elevator service is cut off, as a rule at 12 o'clock. Lighting of halls is generally inadequate. The entrances are dark haunts where criminals are invited to lurk. Heating is inadequate. Awnings are neglected.

The rents paid by Negroes are very high. The include these services, but being a race "*docile and aisily lynched,*" as Dooley puts it, landlords, Negro and white, lynch Negroes economically.

The lawyers for the Tenants Leagues can get action in most cases of this kind in the courts. Some landlords will accede to the request without fight.

3. To secure proper service from the municipality has more than casual significance. If Fifth Avenue, New York, or the main business section of any large city, were not cleaned any more often than the Negro districts, they would be just as filthy and poorly kept. As sociologists we understand that street cleaning is a municipal function. The Friends of Negro Freedom

Tenants League must see that the city provides efficient street cleaning, adequate lighting, and proper policing. It must defeat absolutely the tendency everywhere to make the Negro settlements a red light district, a gambling den and dive center, a bar room retreat.

4. Negro Tenants must be educated. Many new migrants who have come from the rural districts to the city need instruction in the care of property. They will take off the cap on the radiator, fill the room with steam, ruin the wall paper, destroy the plaster. They will turn on faucets, permitting them to run over. Raising their esthetic and property preservation tastes is rightly a part of the work of the tenants league.

5. To secure the enactment of ameliorative legislation is another function of this committee. Rent laws such as we have in New York, while inadequate, are nevertheless beneficial to the tenant. That is why the laws are fought by the landlords.

The Co-operative Committee

The National Convention directed the Executive Secretaries to prepare a special pamphlet on "co-operation." The term as used here does not mean co-operation in the usual sense. It refers to that democratic method of production and consumption which has swept over Europe and is now beginning to take a firm hold upon the American people.

The pamphlet prepared on "co-operation" deals concretely and specifically with the Negroes' conditions in (1) the southern rural districts, (2) the southern cities, (3) the northern cities. It shows them how to inaugurate the movement, the advantages to be derived therefrom, the caution to be adopted, its application to the food, fuel, clothing and housing problems of the Negro.

Another function of this committee is to report upon fake co-operatives posing as genuine.

The co-operative committee will be supplied with this special pamphlet, as well as all the members.

The Publicity Committee

The business of the publicity committee is to give publicity to the organization. It should see that all F. N. F. meetings are announced in the local press. When a matter has significance beyond the local it should be sent to those publications which have a national circulation. A report of the forum speeches should be made—not all that is said, but the substance of the speaker's address. Sometimes the speech may be of such importance that a verbatim report is desirable. Then let the committee use its judgment. Occasionally a pen picture may be drawn of the working of the organization. This will en-

courage the workers, stimulate interest and increase the membership.

The Entertainment Committee

The entertainment committee's function is to supply entertainment. The object of life is happiness—the gratification of desire. Education is simply a means to that end—the means of helping us to secure objects which satisfy our wants.

This committee is to supply music for all forums—vocal and instrumental. In this way the F. N. F. Forum will be a center for education and recreation. The Ford Hall Forum of Boston, one of the best in the United States, nearly always has a musical number or two.

This committee should work up occasional or regular entertainments—a dance, a pageant, a show, a whist tournament. These affairs will bring the people together in a social way; they will add soul to the organized body. Besides, they will be a source of income. The Philadelphia council has raised quite a bit of money through its "whists" this year, and a goodly sum from a dance.

As the council grows, efforts should be made to organize F. N. F. baseball teams, basket ball teams, tennis players, actors, and other athletes or artists. Contests may be arranged in physical athletics; debates may be staged in intellectual gymnastics.

The Boycott Committee

The boycott committee's business is to determine what shall be boycotted. Its work is partly economic, partly civic and social. Where dealers overcharge in the sale of goods to Negroes, or are discourteous to Negro patrons,—this committee should publish an unfair list, while at the same time calling attention of the Negroes to places which are most reasonable and courteous.

Of a social and civic nature should be listed the committee's work in theatres. Passes should be secured from the chief houses in the Negro sections. If productions are put on there which stigmatize and reflect upon the Negro, the people should be so informed in order that they may withhold their support.

Sometimes, however, a production like the "Birth of a Nation" or the "Klansman" will be put on in a house in which Negroes not only have no economic pressure by their attending, but in which Negroes are not wanted. Here the committee must get together 25, 50, 75, 100 Negroes, picket the theatre sometimes, and at others, go in, take seats and hiss the unfair parts of the production. This will create public attention and probably alarm the municipal authorities. Feeling that trouble may result if the production continues, the authorities will very likely demand its cessation.

This must be a very sane committee. No excitable individual should be on it. Moreover, no dealer should be boycotted until he has first been approached and the complaint against him presented calmly and in a dignified way. The same is true of the theatrical management.

This committee must also be specific and constructive. It should state what the dealer is doing which it regards as improper and suggest what modifications it thinks should be made. With a theatre manager, the committee must discuss whether a whole

production is vicious as in the case of the "Klansman" and the "Birth of a Nation," or whether only a part is objectionable as in the picture, "The Trapping of the Weasel," where the only objectionable part is showing a Negro thief in a hen-house putting chickens in his bag.

A reasonable time for decision should be allowed, the circumstances to determine that in each particular case. (A man cannot be expected to make a snap judgment on important matters.) Pictures and shows are usually advertised in advance. The F.N.F. Boycott committee seeing that the "Birth of a Nation" will appear somewhere should start opposition to it immediately. This can be done where a show is well known, but not otherwise. The committee must be alert, on the job, vigilant—eternally awake!

This committee is to examine stocks being sold in the community and supply the people with truthful information as to their actual or probable worth. It should pry into all sorts of business schemes.

The Membership Committee

The membership committee is to work to increase the membership. It should be at all forums, and public meetings with application blanks for membership. It must investigate applicants and make recommendations to the body. Special efforts are to be made by this committee to keep out disreputable and corrupt politicians, fanatics, cranks, business crooks, chronic disturbers, notorious nuts. The organization does not have to accept the membership committee's recommendations, and the body should keep a close watch, at all times, to see that this committee does not use its power to punish personal enemies for reasons with which the organization is not concerned.

Getting more good members and keeping out bad applicants admirably sums up the work of this committee.

The Auditing Committee

This committee is to audit the books, to see that the bookkeeping system installed by the National Office is carried out precisely, to check up on all financial matters and make a monthly report to the body. Where a Council has accountants or business men members, they will be good persons for this work.

The Negro Business Committee

Speaking abstractly, superficial thinkers say "The employer and the employee have nothing in common." This is not scientifically correct. What is meant is that the employer desires to get the greatest amount of work for the least amount of pay. The employee desires to get the greatest amount of pay for the least amount of work. In this respect, their interests are opposed.

The employer and employee, however, have this in common: *they both desire to maintain industry.* If a store, factory, mine, railroad or other business can be run,—the employees get wages from it and the employers receive profits. If the business fails, the employer fails to receive profits from it, and the employee ceases to receive wages.

Since this is true the question of what business affords greater employment to Negro workers is pertinent. The answer would seem to be that, as a rule, white proprietors employ white workers, while Negro proprietors employ Negro workers.

To illustrate: Brown & Stevens, Bankers, of Philadelphia employ fifty-seven (57) young colored men and women. It is reasonably safe to say *there* are more Negroes employed by this one Negro bank than all the white banks in the United States combined employ of the Negro race.

Not only that: Negro businesses employ Negroes in capacities which would not be considered by white businesses. About fifty Negro banks employ as many Negro cashiers, assistant cashiers and tellers. It is estimated that not ten per cent of the Negroes' deposits are placed in Negro banks. The bulk of 90 per cent or more is deposited in white banks. *Yet not a single white bank in the United States employs a Negro as a cashier, assistant cashier or teller.* They employ a few Negroes as minor clerks, or messenger boys, porters and janitors—but not in the banking business at all.

What is true of Negro vs. white banks is generally true in a substantial measure of the relation between other white and Negro businesses. In short, Negro business employs chiefly Negro workers and they give them opportunities not accorded by white businesses.

The F. N. F. Negro Business Committee, then, is interested in the preservation and extension of Negro business. It must therefore study Negro businesses and supply constructive and destructive criticism. It must see that information is supplied on the essentials of keeping the goods wanted, having them at locations convenient to the people, having them at such time as the people want them, and dispensing them courteously and quickly. In technical economics, we call these form utilities, place utilities, time utilities and service.

We feel that the emphasis must be placed on the Negro business man's efficiency rather than on the prospective Negro patron's race pride. The Negro purchaser wants the best goods as cheaply as possible, as conveniently as possible, when he wants them, and he wants them dispensed without neglect or discourtesy. He will buy from a white man who sells cheaply in preference to a Negro dealer who sells similar goods higher, and justly so.

This attitude cannot be overcome by lectures on race pride, and it ought not. You cannot find a more fanatical group in this line than the Garvey followers. But Marcus Garvey reported that he had to close his laundries in New York because the white laundry dealers had chains and were able to do the work cheaper. Watch this illustration closely. Laundry constitutes but a small part of the family budget. The difference in the charge of a white laundry and Garvey's laundries could not be more than a few cents. Yet even the New York Garvey fanatics over, the Negro question would not pay a few extra cents for maintaining a Negro laundry.

Of course, the F. N. F. Negro Business Committee will recognize that Negro businesses suffer chiefly from lack of capital. The Negro business men put their money in white banks. The white banks loan their (the Negroes') money to white business competitors of the Negro business men. Herein can be seen the necessity of Negro banks well organized in the large Negro settlements. Later the National Office will issue a syllabus on Negro business. The local committee of each council must study this problem.

Who's Who

NOAH D. THOMPSON

WITH the opening of the Convention of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, we naturally wonder whether there will be a Noah D. Thompson in that convention this year. The presence of Mr. Thompson among a group of Negroes largely ignorant and fanatic was, to say the least, wholesome. He opened their eyes and buoyed up their courage. We recognize his bearding Garvey in his New York den as a heroic act, inasmuch as one risks physical danger by taking Garvey to task before his British West Indian Association, generally known as the New York Division of the U. N. I. A.

Despite all threats and an unscrupulous opponent in a man like Garvey who does not hesitate to lie in order to carry his point—Noah Thompson went on the floor of the convention and for thirty days fought the impossible business schemes and the unvarnished demagoguery of the "self-styled Provisional President of Africa."

Not only that—Mr. Thompson returned to Los Angeles, reported the facts to the members in that city,

convincing the great sane majority, and finally carrying them out of this most unsound organization yet developed by Negroes and led by what Prof. William Pickens calls "*the wrongest man who ever attempted to lead Negroes anywhere.*"

The "close-up" which Noah Thompson gave on Garvey resulted in saving thousands of dollars to the poor dupes on the Pacific Coast. It was a public service honestly, courageously and well done.

In characteristic fashion Garvey sent reports to papers in Los Angeles trying to reflect upon the honesty and motives of Mr. Thompson. When Garvey appeared in Los Angeles, however, June 5th, he took back every word and proceeded to praise Thompson. Habit acts with dangerous accuracy, so this was no exception. Garvey said Briggs was a white man and then took it back. He libeled the New York District Attorney and took it back. He said the N. A. A. C. P. had paid persons to dismantle the already dismantled machinery of his would-be rickety old boats, but had to squirm and evade when Pickens hemmed him in and tied him down.

We know Mr. Thompson to be a thoroughly re-

sponsible, honest man. What he reported about Garvey was true, but the half was never told. The people of the Pacific Coast will do well to follow the sound advice of a responsible man who has long lived among them, rather than that of a servile, sycophant, who has surrendered all the rights of Negro American

citizens and shamelessly kow-towed to that black band of criminal cowards, the unspeakable Ku Klux Klan.

A Noah Thompson in every city would result in quickly destroying these fatuous and criminal schemes promoted by shifty, medacious, irresponsible, hat-in-hand Negroes.

Open Forum

REPLY TO MARCUS GARVEY

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

IN the July 8th issue of the *Negro World* under the caption "Marcus Garvey asks Malicious Negroes Who Criticize Him to Prove Their Ability," the Honorable Marcus Garvey assails the Editors of the MESSENGER, purporting to answer an editorial which appeared in the June issue, comparing the Black Star Line to the failures of the True Reformers and the Metropolitan Realty Company.

In his characteristic demagogic fashion, he proceeds to answer the above named editorial by alleging that the MESSENGER is irregularly published. Suppose it were. What has that got to do with the truth or falsity of the charge. Is the Black Star Line failure not a disgrace to Negroes similar to the True Reformers and the Metropolitan Mercantile Realty Company? That is the question. A counter charge does not answer or settle the question. Even a child can see that, to say nothing of a grown-up. Counter accusation of the accuser by the accused does not excuse or vindicate the accused.

But back to the alleged irregularly published MESSENGER. If Mr. Marcus Garvey will consult the files of the Congressional, 42nd Street, Harvard or Princeton Universities' Libraries, he will find that the monthly appearance of the MESSENGER since the United States Government ceased interference with it something over a year ago, has been as regular as the succession of day and night. It might not be amiss to say, in this connection, that the MESSENGER is the first and only Negro publication in America ever to be denied the mails. The *Negro World* was sufficiently time-serving to merit and secure the approval of the virulent Negro haters during a war period when the Negro was being called upon to sacrifice his blood and treasure for a country which was at the same time lynching and burning him. The MESSENGER, on the contrary, was militant, uncompromising and bitter in its denunciation of the hypocritical policies of the Government toward the Negro, for which it was denied second-class mailing privileges which imposed an unprecedentedly heavy burden of expense on it, entailing a cost of thousands of dollars of which the *Negro World* was free. Of course, the Garvey paper is not bothered about the lynching of Negroes in America! He wanted to deport them to Africa, hence,

he had no trouble. Despite this difficult situation, however, the MESSENGER grew in power and circulation which is a verifiable question of fact and not of a piece with the inflated membership of the U.N.I.A. and the circulation of the *Negro World*.

But a word more about the subject of irregularity. How simple and stupid of Brother Garvey to conjure up this Banquo's Ghost to plague and haunt his every step! There is that joke of the maritime world—the Black Star Line. What about its irregularity? Who is there so base, so shorn of every vestige of probity and character as to jeopard his good name and interests upon the irregularity of this non-sailing, lineless ship line. If it isn't an unkind and embarrassing question for this self-elected, self-styled Provisional President of the African continent, I should like to inquire as to where that Black Star Line is, anyhow? Is it on top of, or under the water? Are the ships sailing or being assailed by the courts? Nor are these questions put in a satirical spirit; for persons of unquestioned honor give currency to the statement that the "Kanawha" is rotting away in disuse, that the "Shady-Side" is still in the shades of libels and dilapidation, and, of course, the "Phylis Wheatley" resides in the Honorable Marcus' imagination. So far as the "Yarmouth" is concerned, the *Nauticus*, a journal of shipping and investments, in its issue of Dec. 10, 1921, settles the question as to its whereabouts. It states that on December 2, the United States Marshal sold, at auction, the "Yarmouth" to Frederick Townsend, for the almost unbelievably insignificant sum of \$1,625, or for \$143,375 less than what the great business genius Brother Marcus paid for it. Did you get that? Impossible? It would seem so, wouldn't it? But not so. It's a matter of record. Consult the *Nauticus* of Dec. 10, 1921 for yourself. *This is running through the cold cash of the poor simps with a vengeance.* And yet this half-wit, low grade moron, whose insufferable presumption is only exceeded by his abyssmal ignorance, has the cheek and brass to mention the business affairs of others. If he had never attempted to do business of any kind, he would have much better grace and ground for speaking on the subject than his scandalous, disgraceful and childish business record warrants.

Far better and safer for Brother Garvey to observe the rule: "that it were better to keep silent and be considered a fool or a crook than to speak and remove all doubt." But no, the conscienceless braggart and egotist that he is, he would like the cuttlefish, muddy the waters by misrepresenting others, hide his own dirty deeds of business disgraces in order to escape detection, to foil his prosecutors.

The white Ku Klux Kleagle's Black Ku Klux Eagle thinks that by resorting to the time-worn trick of condemning others for the things he is doing himself, he will avert suspicion from himself. But that will never carry. The smoke screen is too transparent. Telling what the accused has or has not done does not prove that the defendant, the accused, is innocent of the charge. Either a charge is true or false, and it must be refuted upon a basis of fact and truth. There is no other alternative.

Does Garvey employ the direct, honest and intelligent method of meeting the indictment of the editors of the MESSENGER. Dear readers, judge for yourself. Listen to this. Says he: "Before Owen and Randolph can speak of the failure of any business and the incompetency of any individual to do business they should first prove their success and their competency to handle business." Think of such downright inanity and silly tommy-rot. In other words, a person must be a thief in order to have the right to criticize and apprehend a thief. A critic of acting or of the drama is not required necessarily to be an actor or a dramatist. A person may be the reviewer of books without being an author of books. A patient may know when his pain is relieved without being a doctor. Few economists are business men, yet they formulate the rules, laws and principles of business. Intelligent business men such as Morgan and Rockefeller employ economists to formulate, direct and guide their business policies. They don't rely upon the hit and miss method of guess, conjecture and mother-wit. That period of catch-as-catch-can economic action has passed with everybody with a grain of common sense, except the Honorable Black Kluxer. Thus, it ought to be apparent that the right to criticize work is not contingent upon the ability to do that form of work or upon the fact of having done it. Hence, it is the sheerest idle prattle and an evidence of dishonesty and guilt for Garvey to retort to persons who charge him with shamelessly mishandling the Black Star Line that they are not pilots or captains, that they have owned and operated no ship lines, and, consequently, are not justified in criticizing him! Of course, he, naturally, would wish that to be so. It is the stock and trade of crooks to call others crooks who condemn them. *It is always to the interest of a man with a false stone to impeach the knowledge and honor of a lapidary.* That is the only way he can defraud the public. By lying about Owen's and Randolph's business ability, Garvey thinks that he will be able to divert attention from his own appalling business ignorance and tricks. But he has another thought coming.

Listen to this grandiose balderdash and burlesque on business. Speaking of what *he* has done, with emphasis on "he," if you please—he says that he was established the greatest Negro paper — the *Negro*

World. That is a lie. The *Chicago Defender* is, by long odds, the greatest Negro paper in the world. Every honest, intelligent Negro knows that. What sort of a newspaper is the *Negro World*, anyway, which devotes its front page, the news page of every modern, civilized, recognized newspaper in newspaperdom, to the wild vaporings, imbecile puerilities and arrant nonsense, of a consummate ignoramus? But what's claiming the greatest Negro newspaper in the world, or the greatest anything in the world, to this Supreme and Exalted Ruler of the Annanias fraternity?

On his erratic rampage of mendacity and bigoted, groundless braggadocio, he beats the air, waving his big, fat hands furiously, and yaps: "We find established to the credit of the Negro a line of steam ships known as the Black Star Line, which has sent out two of its ships on the high seas and has registered the Negro as a competitor in maritime affairs." Is that so? And to the credit of the Negro! Can you beat that for unmitigated, arrogant assininity. Let us hear what Judge Jacob Panken thinks of this great miracle of business success.

Marcus Garvey, who was arraigned in the Seventh District Court upon charges of fraud, admitted that the \$600,000 invested in the Black Star Line by poor, hard working Negroes had been practically wiped out, that the "Yarmouth" cost \$145,000 and lost \$300,000 on its first trip, that the "Maceo" was purchased for \$65,000 and had lost \$76,000 on its maiden voyage.

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

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

Still the Imperial Black "Blizzard" says that the Black Star Line is a credit to the Negro. By the same token of reasoning, one may be justified in concluding that the True Reformers' collapse, the Metropolitan failure were credits to the Negro.

Would any sane white man maintain that the financial adventurers, Charles Ponzi of Boston and young Bischoff of Chicago, who wasted millions of innocent white people's money in visionary, airy schemes *not much sounder than Garvey's*, were a credit to the white people? No, not by a long shot. They pay their respects to them through the prison bars, and

credit them with an involuntary vacation from the community of civilized, respectable, law-abiding citizens, such as is likely to be tendered to Garvey. Still one might well doubt whether their sins against the people are as great as Garvey's.

He says further that the ships are on the high seas. Where, may I ask? Either Brother Marcus is blind or he thinks that the public is blind. It is a matter of common knowledge that the old, rickety, rotten ships of the Black Star Line can hardly stay on top of the water in port, to say nothing about withstanding the waves of the high seas. So unseaworthy was the "Yarmouth," when it ventured out from port, boot-legging, in calm weather, that the New York white press described it as a "Booze ship," reeling and rocking as it was like a drunken old sot. This is what he styles as a competitor in maritime affairs. Indeed, it is to laugh. A competitor! Think of it! A shaky "booze ship line" competing with the great British, French, Italian and American steamship lines! No doubt it is competing as the braying of a jackass competes with the roaring of a lion, as an ox-cart competes with a steam engine, as an infant competes with a man! It is competition of a sort which none but a fool would claim!

However, on he goes like a mad man making specious, foolish, irresponsible statements about what he has done.

"We find enterprises, namely, grocery stores, restaurants, laundries, tailoring and dress making establishments established at different points of the country in the name of the Universal Negro Improvement Association," sputters Hizzoner. Well, grant that it is true, what of it?

What good are they to the members of the U.N.I.A. or anybody else? These two-by-four, dirty, dingy, mismanaged dumps, misnamed enterprises, are a liability, instead of an asset. They are a disgrace instead of a credit. They are rat holes in which to dump money. Nobody but an idiot would mention them as an achievement. Upon seeing his inability longer to inveigle the dupes, on account of Government prosecution for fraud, to dump their dollars into the Black Star Line Sea, he got together these business jokers to serve as flypaper to ensnare the unsuspecting, ignorant and gullible. When the well-meaning, but misguided delegates come to the convention, His Noble and Imperial Highness can point to these picayune junk shacks as the achievements of a mighty business wizard. "See what I have done; see what we have got! Down with the traitors and agitators who point out my faults! Down with all Negro leaders but me! Hurrah! for the Ku Klux Klan! Up with Kleagle Clark! Up with Marcus Garvey!" will be the effusive ejaculation of this Black Don Quixote. Add to this the ceaseless band-playing, the waving of the red, black and green flag of the African Empire, the imperial parade, the flaunting of the habiliments of the Black Cross Nurses and the Black African Legion, the Court Reception, the knighting of the "insane," and the perpetual flow of hot-air which is the supreme function of His Honor, the Black Infernal "Blizzard,"—and the mesmerized fanatics are supposed to cough up, each and every one of them, from one to a 100 bucks for the African Redemption Fund, the revival of the Black Star Line,

the Factories' Corporation, the Liberian Loan, the Convention Fund, and whatever other scheme happens to crop up in his imagination which might serve to skin the people. It might be interesting to add that these so-called enterprises seldom last more than a few months before they fail like the biggest of all his schemes, the Black Star Line. But as fast as one fails, he starts a new one, ever alert to have something into which the people can waste their moneys.

But in order to justify this saturnalia of waste and reckless extravagance, he observes that: "We find this organization giving employment to thousands of Negro men and women." Yes, that's true. But are they paid? From the number of suits for wages filed in the Seventh and Third District Courts, it would appear that employment is all that he gives them. The only way he keeps work going is by getting new employees to work from week to week.

And at the climax of his grotesque and imposing claims, he settles down in a sort of satisfied imperiousness. Says he: "Now if Marcus Garvey has done these things, is Marcus Garvey a success or a failure?" Yes, Brother Marcus you have been both a success and a failure! How, you ask? Well, you have succeeded in wasting more of the Negroes' money than any other Negro. You have succeeded in beginning more impossible schemes than any other Negro. You have succeeded in making the Negro the laughing stock of the world. So much for your success. Now as to your failure: *You have failed to succeed in anything except failures!*

Now you ask what have Owen and Randolph done?

Before pointing out what Owen and Randolph have done, I shall indicate briefly what Owen and Randolph have not done.

First, they have not made away with \$600,000 of the people's money on any worthless ships.

Second, they have not been indicted for defrauding the people, white or black, by the United States Government.

Third, they have not initiated any wild-cat bunco games for skinning the public, incorporating them in Delaware, a state that will incorporate anything, however fantastic.

Fourth, they have not been relieving ignorant Negroes of their hard-earned cash to establish millinery shops and grocery stores that they knew, could not succeed.

Fifth, they haven't been carrying on any propaganda to divide the American and West Indian Negroes, the black and mulatto Negroes.

Sixth, they haven't conjured up any fantastic projects for conquering Africa as a means of taking in the uninitiated.

Seventh, they have never organized any non-going Black Star Lines and been compelled to suspend them because of Government indictment for fraud.

Eighth, they have never accused a Negro of being a white man to suit demagogic ends, when they knew it was a lie.

Ninth, they have never lied about men of public affairs and been compelled to retract upon pain of being locked up in jail. Everybody remembers the Assistant District Attorney Kilroe case and Marcus Garvey.

Tenth, they have never held any secret interview

with the Ku Klux Klan, surrendering the rights of the Negro to a criminal, murderous gang of cut-throats and mid-night assassins. They have never advised the Negro to stop fighting those who are lynching, burning and trying to sterilize Negro men. They have never opposed and denounced as rabid race baiters all white men at one time, only to shift to the support of that most conscienceless mob of Negro phobists—the Ku Klux Klan.

Eleventh, they have never advised Negroes to go where they couldn't or didn't ever plan to go—Africa.

So much for what Owen and Randolph have not done. Not a bad record this, though negative. But I am not going to answer Mr. Garvey with mere negation.

Now about what Owen and Randolph have done.

First, they have established a great journal of scientific opinion, fearless, able and uncompromising. Witness the survey of the United States Department of Justice in its report on radicalism in the Negro press: "The MESSENGER is by long odds the most able and the most dangerous of all the Negro publications." How is that Brother Marcus? Some publication, eh? The *Negro World* was fully considered in its report when it made this statement on the MESSENGER.

Second, we established the first publication among Negroes to advocate the principles of organized labor. Unionism gets more wages for workers. Don't you think Negroes need more wages? Ask your own underpaid employees! Wages buy food, clothing and shelter. Without wages, Negroes who are chiefly workers, cannot live. Hence, he who fights for more wages for the Negro, fights for more life for the Negro. This is no mean achievement, is it Brother Marcus? At least, *intelligent people*, white and black, think it a great achievement.

Third, Owen and Randolph have spoken to hundreds of thousands of white and black workers in the unions from Coast to Coast, insisting upon the Negro workers' right upon a basis of equality, discussing every aspect of the Negro problem to white workers who, heretofore, have been ignorant of same.

Fourth, they are the first and only Negroes to present the Negro workers' question to the European workers, radicals and liberals.

Fifth, Owen and Randolph were the first to organize the Radical Movement among Negroes in America. They organized the first Socialist Branch in a Negro community which white and black Socialists attend. The People's Educational Forum, the greatest Negro Forum in the United States, grew out of this radical work.

The Garvey Movement could only have begun in New York City where the field had been prepared by Owen and Randolph for the reception of new ideas, presented through the vehicle of radicalism. It is well known that Garvey began his propaganda in harmony with the MESSENGER's principles in order to get a hearing. He shifted his propaganda after he got a foot-hold. It is a verifiable fact that Brother Marcus got his first knowledge of the African problem from a program drawn up by the writer and presented at a conference, held at the late Madam C. J. Walker's home, Irvington-on-the-Hudson, out of which grew the "International League of Darker Peoples."

Mr. Garvey was there and participated in the conference. During the pre-peace conference, Owen and Randolph were the theoretical exponents of achieving the goal of "Africa for the Africans" through the instrumentality of a league of darker peoples, re-enforced by an alliance with the white radical, liberal and labor movements of the world.

So much was this recognized that Mr. Garvey capitalized the reputation of the writer by selecting him as a representative of the U. N. I. A. to the Peace Conference. Needless to say that I never went. The money collected was used as the money has been used that was collected for the Black Star Line. It is also a matter of record, that the first big mass meeting ever held by the U. N. I. A. was held under the pretext of sending the writer to the Peace Conference. The writer didn't know then that Mr. Garvey was untrustworthy. Garvey claims to have sent some one to the conference. No legitimate reporter at the conference took note of his presence.

Seventh, Owen and Randolph organized the first Negro movement with a sound economic program.—The Friends of Negro Freedom. Its founders include the ablest Negro thinkers and men of public integrity which is in striking contrast with the U. N. I. A., which does not include a single reputable scholar and honorable public figure. This is their record of achievement which I submit before the high tribunal of Negro public and world opinion. In conclusion, Mr. Garvey attempts to get an alibi for his business miscarriage by saying: "Marcus Garvey does not hold himself up to be the doer of the impossible. Marcus Garvey is not a navigator; he is not a marine engineer; he is not even a good sailor, therefore, the individual who would criticize Marcus Garvey for a ship of the Black Star Line not making a success at sea is a fool, because no head of any steamship company can guarantee what will be the action of the captain of one of his ships when he clears port." Such is his excuse for the dismal and miserable failure of the Black Star Line. If he was ignorant of the shipping business, why did he go in it?

Pointing out that he is not a captain or an engineer or a sailor is not sufficient. The owners and managers of steamship lines are not supposed to be sailors. Still they are morally and legally responsible for the business of the steam ship lines, including losses by sea and otherwise. Hedley, the president of the Subway, is not a motorman, but he is responsible for the business condition of and accidents on the Subway. This is too obvious to need debate. All honest and intelligent business men recognize and accept the responsibility of the principal for the acts of their agents.

Mr. Garvey further states in his lamentation upon the farce and mess he has made of everything he has touched: "What can Marcus Garvey do if men are employed to do their work and they prove to be dishonest and dishonorable in the performance of that work?" So Brother Marcus admits that he has failed. Very well! What about your pompous ravings on your so-called achievements? A great leader is supposed to know how to pick men. It is the chief function of a leader. But you admit that it is beyond you. Then why don't you be honest and stop misleading ignorant Negroes, wasting their money and making them the butt of ridicule and raillery? If

BEST EDITORIALS OF MONTH

Marcus Garvey

MARCUS GARVEY addressed at Valhalla hall a mixed audience, made up for the most part of colored Americans.

Mayor Riddell in a few well-chosen and complimentary remarks welcomed Garvey to the city.

Garvey likened himself to a bull—and he acts like a bull in a China shop. He dealt largely in generalities and flamboyant, spread-eagle, verbal pyrotechnics. He talked volubly of redeeming Africa, but did not specify how it was to be done. He closed with an appeal for membership, urging those present to buy some sort of a book, containing the pictures of the directors of the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Africa may need to be redeemed. Africa may need all the things that Garvey says. But Africa will never be redeemed by the type of man that Garvey appears to be. Garvey stands as charged with mulcting his followers of thousands of dollars. Instead of saying something of these charges and making a report of his stewardship, he dealt in a mirage of glittering abstract nouns and pronouncements, garnished

with a conglomeration of adjectives that would tend not only to beguile the unwary but confuse those easily influenced.

Africa is a great empire, susceptible to great development. Like Russia, it must and will trade with the world and for any race of people to talk of building a wall about such a country is the merest moonshine.

Garvey's lecture was a disappointment to many of those who expected to hear something of the land of which he prates so much and seems to know so little. The Rev. J. Sampson Brooks, bishop of the great A. M. E. connection, has been in Africa only a little more than a year. Yet he has started an industrial school for girls at Monrovia, Liberia and is to build another school at Sierra Leon for boys. The bishop is in the United States to raise \$50,000 and the people of Chicago say they will raise \$100,000 for his work in addition to the sum he is asking.

Bishop Vernon is doing a similar work at Cape Town.

The sensible thing for the Negroes of America to do is to leave Garvey severely alone.

—*Ryan's Weekly* (Tacoma, Wash.)

MARCUS GARVEY TO WILLIAM PICKENS AND WILLIAM PICKENS TO MARCUS GARVEY

July 10th, 1922.

Professor William Pickens,
260 West 139th Street,
New York City, N. Y.

My dear Professor Pickens:—

I am directed by the Executive Council of the Universal Negro Improvement Association to extend a personal invitation to you to attend our 3rd Annual International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World to be held in New York City from the 1st to the 31st August inclusive, of the present year.

You will find herein enclosed a copy of a partial program of the Convention which will give you an idea of the important things to be discussed; but still I am directed to write to you on a more important matter, that is one that is personal.

On the night of the 10th August, His Highness the Potentate of the Universal Negro Improvement Association who is the Honorable Gabriel Johnson of Monrovia, Liberia, will in his official capacity as Potentate, confer certain honors and titles upon certain distinguished Negro characters according to the instructions of the Executive Council of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Among the men of the race who have accomplished things singled out to be honored, your name appears. We feel that you have done exemplary work in the cause of Africa, and that your services should be rewarded and appreciated by

your own stricken conscience does not lead you to stop, I assure you that the aroused and awakened, militant, intelligent Negro masses will see to it that you and all that you stand for will be driven from the American soil.

those of us on whose shoulders it fall to take cognizance of the things that are done in the name of scattered Ethiopia. You have been singled out to be honored with a title in the gift of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. The designation of the title has not yet been announced, as His Highness the Potentate has not yet arrived in the United States of America, and may not arrive until around the 31st day of the present month; but this honor will be conferred upon you at the Court Reception of the race to be given at Liberty Hall, 120 West 138th Street, New York City on the night of the 10th August.

You are therefore advised and requested to make every effort to attend this grand Court Reception to receive the title that will be conferred upon you. If you attend no other sitting of the Convention, you are requested to attend this one, as several other dignitaries of the race will be honored on the same night.

Feeling assured that you will be pleased with the consideration that has been taken of you for the meritorious service you have rendered in the name of Africa.

I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) Marcus Garvey, President-General,
UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSN.

July 24, 1922.

Mr. Marcus Garvey, President-General,
The Universal Negro Improvement Association,
New York City.

My dear President Garvey:—

Your letter of July 10, 1922, on behalf of the Executive Council of the Universal Negro Improvement Association

ciation, has been received, with an invitation and a summons to me to be present on the night of August 10th, at Liberty Hall, when "His Highness the Potentate of the Universal Negro Improvement Association who is the Honorable Gabriel Johnson of Monrovia, Liberia, will in his official capacity as Potentate, confer certain honors and titles upon certain distinguished Negro characters according to the instructions of the Executive Council of the Universal Negro Improvement Association."

The matter is important enough for me to make a definite expression for the sake of clear understanding.

I will first say, therefore, what is unnecessary; that I can never deem myself too good, or quite good enough, to receive any distinction from the hands of honest people, however humble they may be, and especially from colored people. On the other hand, *I cannot feel myself quite bad enough to accept any honor or alliance with such an organization as the Ku Klux Klan or the Black Hand Society. I would rather be damned or murdered by such an organization than be honored or rewarded by it.*

The U. N. I. A. is not (or at least has not been heretofore regarded as) in a class with those criminal organizations, *but I gather from your recent plain utterances that you are now endorsing the Ku Klux Klan, or at least conceding the justice of its aim to crush and repress colored Americans and incidentally other racial and religious groups in the United States. You compare the aim of the Ku Klux in America with your aims in Africa,—and if that be true, no civilized man can endorse either one of you.* The Ku Klux are boldly proposing to commit a great crime against civilization by turning the world back to the racial geography of fifty generations ago. It makes no difference that they cannot do so; their crime will consist in the trouble they will make trying to do it.

It is fair to assume, in the absence of their objection, that your Executive Council approve of your endorsement of the Klan, which proposes to decitizenize the American Negro. But I believe that the rank and file of the U. N. I. A., if they understand it, will disapprove of it as strongly as do the rank and file of the rest of us.

If you are trying to fool the Klan, you have employed a losing statagem. If you are sincere, then *you are more unfortunate to the American Negro than the whole Klan.* You say in effect to the Ku Klux: All right! Give us Africa and we in turn concede you America as a "white man's country." In that you make a poor deal: for twelve million people you give up EVERYTHING, and in exchange you get—NOTHING. *For the Klan has nothing to "give up" in Africa; it does not own or control one square inch of Africa.* But the Negro American citizen has everything to give up in America. You might as well tell the Klan: We will give up all our homes, our rights, our lives, our past and our future in our native land, providing the Klux will give us a free and undisputed title to the moon.' In fact the Klan can give you a much less troublesome title to the moon today than it can give you to Africa. The moon is, of course, a little further away, but so much the better protection against the long-range guns of England, France and Portugal. What is the earthly commonsense of bar-

gaining what we have in the United States for what the Klan, and nothing like the Klan, can ever give us in Africa?

If it is ever to be possible for you to negotiate a worse transaction than the Black Star Line, this must be IT. In the deal for the Line, if at a very great expense, you did actually get some boats that are *safe when in a good harbor*,—but in this K. K. K. deal, you get absolutely nothing for the group, and for yourself, you only get a little freer hand—*perhaps*—to exploit the more ignorant parts of the group in the Klux-ridden section of the country. And you have no dependable bond for that yet. The oppressor will not *feel hostile toward any influence that proposes to fool and discourage the oppressed black folk and divert their minds from seeking rights in America; he wants them so fooled and deluded; it will make them less troublesome to the Klan.* You imply that the Klan is only doing in America what you aim to do in Africa. Well, that is the worst possible recommendation for both of you.

Even if the Negroes in Africa should (1,000 years from now,—and we would like to see it earlier) control a territory there, only a very few American Negroes will ever go there, even on a visit,—perhaps one out of a thousand in a decade. There will never be fewer people of Negro blood in these United States than there are at this minute, and never less white blood in Africa than now. Modern science has not done away with races but it has certainly dispensed with racial geography.

Now, I believe in law and civilized government, and am therefore against the Klan and all of its principles, *yesterday, now and to-morrow. I would not therefore accept any special honor from even black people who believe in Klan-principles.* Wherein I have thought Marcus Garvey to be right, I have said so, regardless of the opinions of those opposed to him. Now that I know him to be wrong, I say so. *In this Ku Klux attitude he is just about the wrongest black man that ever tried to lead American Negroes any where.*

Perhaps, then, you will understand why I have the temerity to turn down my first, and doubtless my last, chance to become a Knight, or a Duke, or some other breed of Nobleman. ***I WOULD RATHER BE A PLAIN BLACK AMERICAN FIGHTING IN THE RANKS AGAINST THE KLAN AND ALL ITS BROOD THAN TO BE THE IMPERIAL WIZARD OF THE KU KLUX KLAN OR THE ALLIED IMPERIAL BLIZZARD OF THE U. N. I. A.***

I would accept any title of honor at the hands of Black People more proudly than at the hands of any other people, but I would regard it as more than a dishonor, as even a dishonesty, to so much as indirectly endorse Mediaevalism and crime.

I believe in Africa for the Africans, white and black, and I believe in America for Americans, native, naturalized and all colors,—and I believe that any of these Americans would be foolish to give up their citizenship here for a thousand-year improbability in Africa or anywhere else.

260 West 139th Street, New York City.

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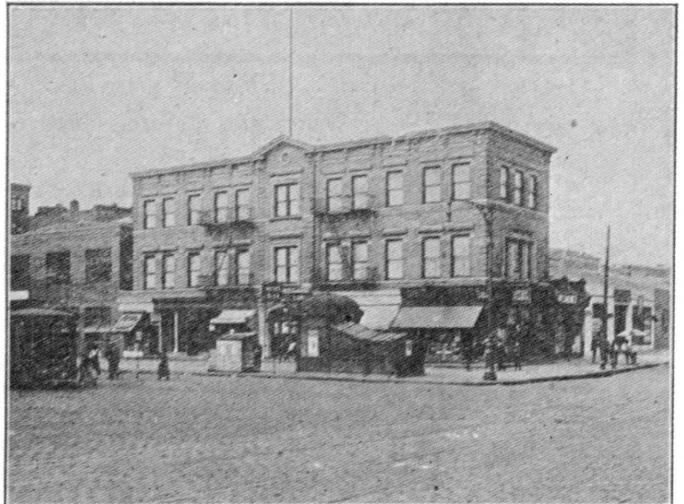
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3 O'CLOCK SHARP

August 6th: **PROF. WILLIAM PICKENS**, Field Secretary of N. A. A. C. P.

Subject: WHAT TO DO WHEN NEGRO LEADERS LEAGUE WITH NEGRO
LYNCHERS

August 13th: **A. PHILIP RANDOLPH**, Candidate for N. Y. Secretary of State

Subject: THE ONLY WAY TO REDEEM AFRICA

August 20th: **ROBERT W. BAGNALL**, Director of Branches for N. A. A. C. P.

Subject: THE MADNESS OF MARCUS GARVEY

August 27th: **CHANDLER OWEN**, Co-Editor of the MESSENGER.

Subject: A PRACTICAL PROGRAM FOR NEGROES EVERYWHERE

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."

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