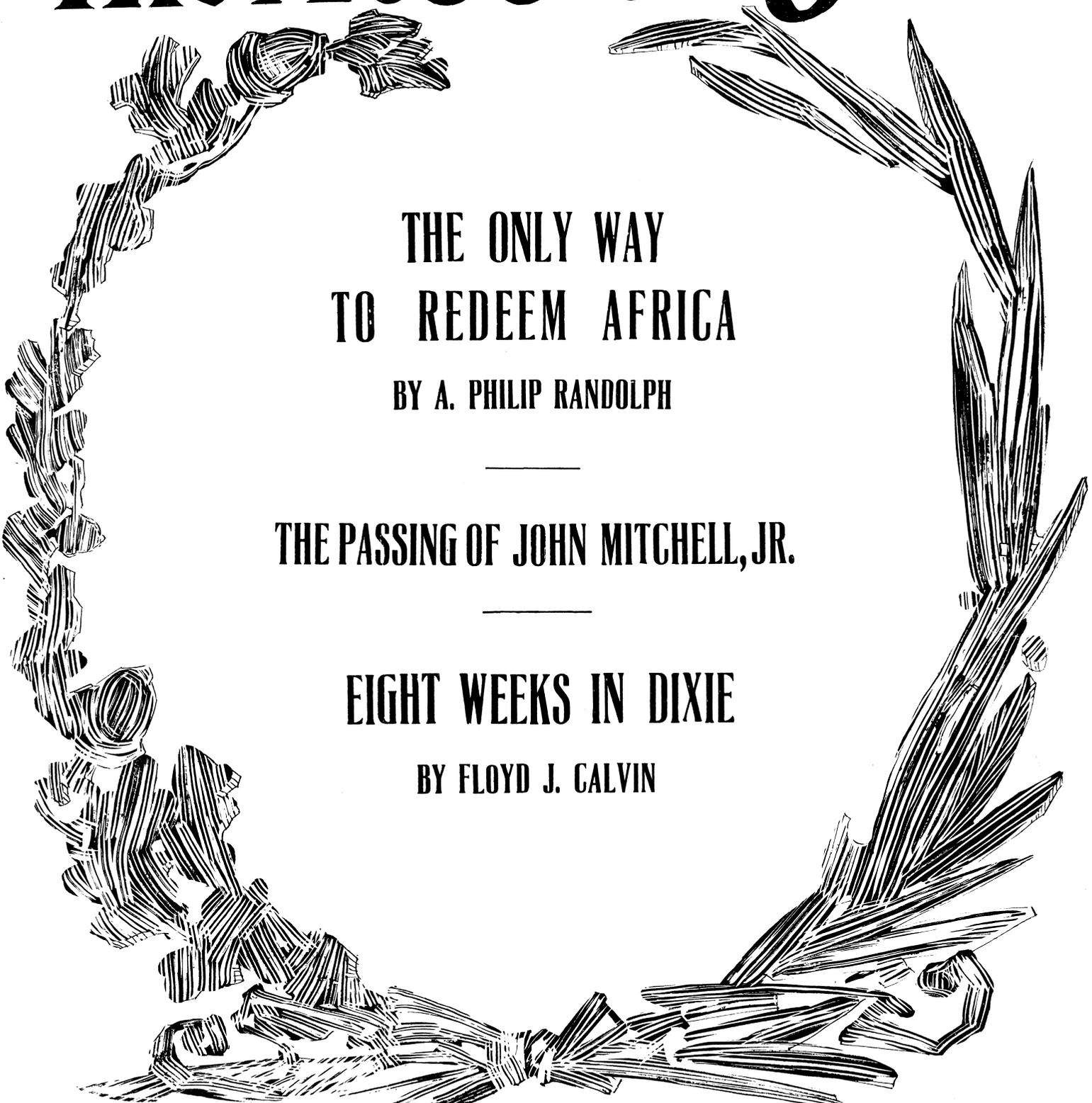


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Psychoanalyzing New York Colored First Citizens

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Editorials

TWELVE SMALLEST PERSONS IN AMERICA

NEARLY everybody has been trying his hand at selecting the twelve greatest men in America. There have been selections of the twelve gratest Jews, the twelve greatest artists, the twelve gratest Negroes, the twelve greatest women. But we are interested in small people. We therefore decided to name the twelve smallest persons in America. Our list has no race or color line and anybody who wishes may disagree with us. Here we go:

1. **Marcus Garvey**, self-styled Provisional-President of Africa, President-General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the African Communities League; President of the Black Star Line, whose star is black and no longer does shine, whose ships have sunk to a bunch of junk, carrying with them a million dollars of Negroes' money; President of the Negro Factories Corporation, a corporation without a factory; President of the Liberian Loan Fund, a loan which the Liberians never received; editor of the *Negro World*, which gives a world of information about Marcus Garvey; editor of the *Negro Times*, which heralds darker times to the darker peoples; with the unenviable distinction of being the only black ally of the Ku Klux Klan.

2. **Kleagle Edward Young Clarke**, the nefarious white Wizard of the Southern Cracker White Lizards, opponent of bootlegging who carries hooch in his own automobile, and has a court record having been caught with some "jump-steady" in the house of Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler.

3. **Jack Johnson**, who once was but is not now!

4. **Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler**, the Imperial Grand Witch of the Ku Klux Klan, once caught in a bawdy-house with the nefarious Wizard discussing affairs of "organization", a leading social worker, the woman head of the Ku Klux Klan, who fights to protect white womanhood by running a house of prostitution herself.

5. **Dr. Leroy N. Bundy**, Garvey's newly elected "American Leader" (or is he an American "bleeder" of the people)? He is alleged to have fought very courageously in the East St. Louis riot, but judging from the fact that he received neither a scratch nor a blow and was one of the few men in it who got away, his fight must have been against the natural resistance offered by the air.

6. **John S. Williams** of the Jasper County Murder Farm of Georgia, who killed and buried alive thirteen Negroes and is now serving an "at-jail-at-home" term, for life.

7. **Rev. J. C. Austin** of Pittsburgh, preacher and banker; pledges that if you will let him save your money, *he will save your soul*.

8. **Charles Ponzi**, air-castle banker of Boston.

9. **Rev. J. R. L. Diggs** of Baltimore, a Negro minis-

ter and teacher who claims to believe in the soundness of Garvey's empty and nebulous schemes, *but who ought to know better and does know better*. His judgment has probably been impaired by the constant stare on "Greenland's (greenback's) Icy (inviting) Mountains" and "Africa's Golden (gold dollar) Strand."

10. **Billy Sunday**, whose sun has ceased to shine, and has turned to "bully" Sunday.

11. **William Sherill**, a little Negro lawyer from Ohio, messenger boy for Garvey, who went to Europe to ask Lloyd George to give Garvey the German colonies in order that they could show how to govern themselves.

12. **Fatty Arbuckle**, buckled down with more fat than brains.

This is our try-out on the twelve smallest persons in America.

A SOCIALIST TOWN IN BUSINESS

ABOUT a year ago the city of Rahway, N. J., elected a Socialist Mayor, James B. Furber. At the time citizens of that city were paying 18 cents a quart for milk. Specially prepared milk for babies sold for 24 cents. The milk dealers were paying the farmers 4½ cents a quart for this milk. The Mayor organized a committee to study the milk problem. The committee reported that the farmers were paid too little for their milk, while the consumers paid too much. The city established milk stations and took charge of the milk problem itself. It now pays the farmers 9 cents a quart—or twice as much as they formerly got—; it sells milk to the consumers for 12 cents a quart—or 33½ to 50 per cent less than what they formerly paid. Shortly Rahway will inaugurate experiments in selling potatoes, furnishing light and other utilities for far less than the people are now paying.

RACE QUESTION TO BE DISCUSSED

MR. JAMES WELDON JOHNSON, Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., announces the receipt of a letter from Mr. Golay, General Secretary of the International Bureau of Peace, with headquarters at Berne, Switzerland, stating that that organization at its Twenty-Second Congress held in London, July 25 to 29, adopted the following resolutions.

"The International Bureau of Peace is asked to put on the Agenda of the next International Peace Congress the question of the relations of the white and colored races."

The relation of races has now become one of the foremost questions of the day. Ere long no one will be able to evade discussion of it at any kind of con-

vention,—labor, political, business, social, civic, or what not.

THE ACOUSTIC FILM

SCIENCE is steadily revolutionizing the world.

German inventors announce the perfection of the "Acoustic Film." The pictures will talk and strut. A despatch announces:

"An elaborate program of acoustic films planned includes grand opera, cello, violin, flute and piano solos, orchestral numbers, several vocal recitations and speeches and talking moving picture scenes.

"This German 'acoustic film' is the result of a syndicate of inventors' brains and moving picture and allied industrial interests, especially formed to solve the problem of acoustic films in a practical way. Three inventors, Hans Vigt, Jo Engl and Joseph Massolee, got together to collaborate on the problem, pooling all their knowledge and inventive genius. They were backed by a financial consortium directed by Robert Held. For nearly four years experimental work has been proceeding in lavish laboratories and ateliers until an "acoustic film" was perfected to the point of a first public showing before an invited audience.

"Some idea of the magnitude of the task can be gathered from the fact that the triumvirate of inventors made one hundred and fifty inventions, for which patents were applied for, in connection with the practical solution of the sound problem. It is claimed by the inventors and their backers that whole operas and symphony concerts can now be broadcast without a break by means of the acoustic film.

FAIR HARVARD

ON the application blanks of Harvard University this year are these questions: (1) What is the Race and Color of applicant? (2) What is his religious preference? (3) What change, if any, has been made since birth, in his own name, or that of his father's?

It might easily be a Ku Klux questionnaire. The question about race and color being designed to exclude Negroes: the question of religious preference designed to exclude Catholics; and the question of change of name being calculated to find out Jews who have taken on Gentile nomenclature. Has the Imperial Wizard captured fair Harvard? Who knows?

A COURAGEOUS JUDGE

JUDGE DAVID of the Superior Court of Chicago has barred all Ku Klux Klansmen from Jury service. Judge David will be recalled as the distinguished lawyer who fought the Southern lawyers when at the American Bar Association they attempted to exclude William H. Lewis from that organization. This is a good example for others to emulate. A professed lawless and criminal group should not be permitted to administer the law.

THE SCHOOL SITUATION

OUR school situation is getting worse instead of better. Witness the following travesty upon the school facilities in the richest city of the richest country in the world:

166,171 PUPILS ON PART TIME
40,000 More Than Last Year on Divided Schedule
There are over 40,000 more children on part-time in

the public schools at present than there were in September, 1921.

This is evident from the Board of Education's own figures made public recently from the office of Superintendent William L. Ettinger and approved by George J. Ryan, president of the board. Of 862,278 children attending the day public schools 166,717, or 19 per cent, are on part time. Last year at this time the part-time students numbered 126,105.

The foregoing news item carried in the metropolitan press is proof sufficient. The Republican and Democratic politicians can always find plenty of money for everything except education. But in their attitude they evince the fact that they are following the reliable promptings of the instinct of self-preservation; for when the masses get knowledge, their political supremacy will end. Whenever some one suggest appropriating a dollar to build more schools or to raise the pay of the teachers in the schools, the political henchmen of the rich throw their hands up in holy horror and exclaim "No, no, we can't do that." "Why?" comes the query from the poor; only to be answered with "Well, that will interfere with business; Wall Street won't stand for it." Of course, poor schools or no public schools don't effect the children of the rich, for they go to private schools endowed by the rich. But the children of the masses either go to no schools or to poor schools. Still the sleek, well-kept president of the big colleges and universities subsidized by the bankers, railroad magnates, coal barons and oil kings, in their commencement orations, preach about the seats of "hire" learning serving mankind. We admit that they serve a certain part of mankind!

MEMBERSHIP IN THE AMERICAN FACISTI DISCLAIMED

DENY KLAN MEMBERSHIP
Senators and Government Officials Contradict
Kleagle Lewis

Washington, Oct. 30.—If fourteen Senators and high officials of the Government are members of the Washington Klavern of the Ku Klux Klan, as Kleagle Lewis reports, they are keeping it a dark secret. Not the faintest corroboration of that claim is ascertainable here. On the contrary, Senators make an indignant denial.

Gen. Pershing, Attorney General Daugherty, Senators Simmons and Overman and various others have been accused of membership, but all emphatically deny it.

The Koo Kooos are having hard sailing these days. Since the radicals, liberals, Catholics, Jews, Negroes and labor groups have set out to crush them, everybody who has been silent about membership in the Klan before, is now disclaiming any connection with it at all. Still we have not seen where the above-named high officials have denounced it and demanded its suppression; although they are violently articulate in condemning the reds. Were the palest pink group responsible for the outrages, lawlessness and down-right murder of the Ku Klux Klan, it would be destroyed over-night.

But disclaiming membership in the Klan by some higher-ups is not all. It is splitting to pieces. Note the following excerpt:

RIVAL KLAN DEFIES INVISIBLE EMPIRE
Incorporation of "National Ku Klux" Body Announced
by Ex-Grand Goblin—Mask Placed in Discard—
Officers of Elder Organization See Trouble
Ahead

Atlanta, Ga., Sept. 27.—Imperial officers of the Ku

Klux Klan today admitted they were preparing to combat stiff competition in the very near future.

This statement was made after incorporation of the rival "National Ku Klux Klan," with headquarters in Delaware, but authorized to organize anywhere in the United States, was announced here by W. S. Coburn, an Atlanta lawyer, former Grand Goblin of the Klan.

Of course, this is simply a case of grafters falling out. When the pickings are big, each Grand Goblin has visions of hogging it all and he proceeds to getting himself a Klan of his own. One is no better than the other.

It is very unwise to trust anybody who has ever been connected with this gang of cut-throats. It does not matter that they talk of dispensing with the mask. Both have the same ideals—opposition to Negroes, Labor, liberals, Catholics, Jews and foreigners. Garvey and the klan outfit are having some bad breaks through these narrows. Garvey has been indicted by the U. S. Government for fraud, so has Kleagle Edward Y. Clarke of the Klan. Garvey's klan is breaking up; so is the white klan of Simmons and Clarke. Garvey's former lieutenants have split away and have now become his bitter opponents and competitors; so have the erstwhile grand goblins of Clarke. The klan's money is getting law; so is Garvey's. But it is natural for two peas in a pod to meet the same desert!

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

THE Republican Campaign Bureau has sent out a release on industrial conditions. Considering a desire of a political group to represent its reign favorably, the report must be taken with a grain of salt. Inasmuch, however, as our readers are especially interested in economic questions, we feel constrained to give them this report from the only group that has an opportunity to know the complete facts, whether they give them out or not. The report reads:

Washington.—All official sources of information agree that a vast improvement is taking place in business and industry and that conditions will continue to improve. The fact that business has grown steadily better throughout the summer in face of the railroad and coal strikes conclusively proves that it is on a sound basis. The settlement of the coal strike will operate to increase tremendously industrial activities which will react to the benefit of business and agriculture.

The United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor has just completed a survey of conditions in 65 industrial centers. In 39 of these centers there was an increase in employment in August over July. In those localities where there was a decrease the report states it was largely due to the unrest and uncertainty in connection with the strike situation. Commenting upon the fact that in a majority of industrial centers there was an increase in number of men employed, the report says: "The soundness of business is reflected in the increased number employed in many industries, surmounting the reaction of the rail and fuel situation."

The report finds such a steady increase in employment that the demand for labor in the middle west is absorbing the men, who have been engaged in harvesting. As a rule the close of the harvesting season throws a large number of men on the labor market unable to find profitable employment. This will not be true this year. In a great many states there is a shortage of all types of labor.

The National Industrial Conference in a report just made public gives a comprehensive survey of the trend of wages. Its conclusions are that wages are practically stabilized. It shows that since May 15 there have been

110 changes in wage scales in leading industries. It will probably be surprising to know that the number of increases in wages since then have been equal in number to the number of decreases.

This corresponds with the report made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which shows that the iron and steel industry, automobile industry, leather industry and a number of other industries have made very material increases in their wage scales during the last year. As compared with July, 1921, the iron and steel industry shows an increase of 57 per cent in wages paid.

There are two other checks upon this survey. One is furnished by the United States Postoffice department. Its report of postal receipts in 50 industrial cities for the month of August as compared with the month of August, 1921, shows an increase of eight per cent. The same cities showed an increase of 10.45 per cent in July this year over July a year ago. Postal receipts are regarded as a very reliable gauge of business condition.

The other is furnished in the report of conditions of savings banks this year as compared with a year ago. The savings banks of the United States today have on deposit \$6,935,000,000. This is an increase of \$197,000,000 over last year. Savings banks are patronized almost exclusively by laboring classes and in increase of that amount in their deposits is an infallible index that the working people are making more money than they are spending.

Business of all kinds is reflecting the improvement in the industrial world. The bank clearings of August show an increase of 14 per cent over August, 1921. Expressed in dollars and cents, it shows an increase of \$804,000,000 in the volume of business done in August this year as compared with August, 1921. The individual deposits in the national banks of the country show an increase of a billion dollars in August this year as compared with August a year ago. The American Railway Association reports more cars are being loaded with merchandise of all kinds than at any time since October, 1921.

These various reports showing improvement in industrial conditions will very shortly be reflected in the markets for manufactured commodities and in the markets for food products. According to estimates given out by the Department of Labor the first of September, there were 3,000,000 more men employed than there were a year ago. Since that time the textile strikes and the coal strikes have been settled, which will add another million to the totals.

It stands to reason that with 4,000,000 more people employed at good wages than were employed a year ago the farmer will have a larger and better market for his products and the manufacturer of household commodities will profit thereby.

The report appears to show that the Republican Elephant has a full dinner pouch, while the Democratic Donkey is braying from an empty stomach!

A NEGRO ALMOST AS LOW AS GARVEY

AT Muncie, Ind., there is a Negro preacher who has gotten about as low as Marcus Garvey. According to the Indianapolis *Ledger*, Sunday, Sept. 24, at Cavalry Baptist Church, the Rev. T. H. W. Gibson had a Mr. Cayhill, an organizer of the Ku Klux Klan, address his congregation. Mr. Cayhill said the Klan had nothing against colored people. (It is true they lynch and tar and feather them every few days, but they hold no malice against them.) After a short talk Mr. Cayhill produced an envelope and asked Rev. Gibson if he would accept a small donation from the Klan. It is stated that Rev. Gibson accepted the envelope which contained \$40 and asked the people to applaud. It is said the whole audience did applaud and afterwards shook hands with Mr. Cayhill. Later Dr. McMurray, a prominent physician of Muncie, Ind., and many other prominent citizens heard of the

matter and hurried to the scene and admonished the Rev. Gibson and the church to send the money back. Rev. Gibson became shaky and put the matter before the church, but only three voted to send the money back. It has been said that Mr. Cayhill made the remark to a Catholic layman on this same day that "He could buy all the 'niggers' in the country with a little money."

The only way we can interpret the action of this belly-crawling Negro preacher is that he and his church are members of the Garvey Movement. It makes no difference where this preacher comes from it is time for this Negro and all those members of his congregation who supported him, to go with lightning speed. We have not heard of their equal in Georgia or in any part of the South.

A headline in the New York *World* of June 7, reads:

**SUMMER CAMPS
FOR MILITIA FIXED
Nine Sites Selected and
First Term is From
June 17 to July 2**

We thought German militarism was crushed in 1918. Why so much drilling and training? Was not the world made safe for democracy? These camp movements suggest that we who are opposed to wanton war had better get busy on our anti-military propaganda. Something is brewing. We are afraid we may be preparing to fight our late allies. Who knows?

THE REPUBLICAN-DEMOCRATIC TARIFF

WE have received another interesting letter addressed to Republican publishers and editors. Knowing that we are colored, it is assumed that our politics are Republican, and our Religion Baptist or Methodist. The letter is a masterly argument on the sameness of the Democratic and Republican parties. It shows that the Tariff—so long a bone of contention between the two old parties—has become the uniting chord as a consequence of growing Southern industry during the last decade. It is also an interesting study how the members of one party will vote against a bill for political reasons after they are thoroughly confident that the other party will pass the bill. Read carefully what took place during the vote on the tariff schedules:

If the Democratic senators had not been certain that the Republicans had sufficient majority to pass the McCumber-Fordney protective tariff, would they have opposed it?

This question is suggested by a study of the roll call votes on the tariff bill during its progress through the Senate. It reveals that every Democratic senator, with the exception of Owen, of Oklahoma, voted for protective tariff on articles and products of their respective states.

There is Heflin, of Alabama, who vigorously denounces the McCumber-Fordney bill as "a piece of iniquitous legislation," yet he voted 11 times to stand by the rates of that bill as reported from the Senate Finance Committee. Caraway, of Arkansas, is another vociferous critic of the bill, yet he voted seven times to sustain rates reported by the Senate Finance committee, as did his colleague, Senator Robinson.

Senator Simmons, of North Carolina, ranking member

of the Senate Finance committee and floor leader of the opposition to the bill, who has spent a large portion of his time every day for months in denunciation of the bill, lined up in favor of it whenever interests of his state needed protection. He voted to sustain the rates of the Senate Finance committee on eight different occasions.

Senator Walsh, of Massachusetts, whose indignation against the bill almost overwhelms him, equaled Senator Simmons in supporting the rates which would benefit interests in his state. Walsh, of Montana, voted to sustain the rates reported by the Senate Finance Committee nine times. Underwood, of Alabama, voted nine times to sustain the Senate Finance committee's rates. Trammell, of Florida, voted with the Republicans 10 times; Sheppard, of Texas, voted with them 19 times, and Overman, of North Carolina, voted eight times with the Republicans. Even Senator Pomerone, of Ohio, voted seven times to sustain the "iniquitous rates" of the McCumber-Fordney bill.

Ashurst, of Arizona, voted to sustain 22 of the rates reported by the Senate Finance committee. Jones, of New Mexico, voted to sustain 18 rates. Senator Reed, of Missouri, was away from the Senate during the discussion of the tariff until after the Democratic primaries in Missouri, held on August 1. He then rushed back to Washington in time to get in at the tail end of the roll call and voted to sustain the Senate Finance committee on one rate.

Senator Broussard, of Louisiana; Senator Ransdell, of Louisiana, and Senator Kendrick, of Wyoming, voted with the Republicans on practically every schedule and voted for the passage of the bill itself. Senators Kendrick, of Wyoming; Jones, of New Mexico, and Amhurst, of Arizona, are all candidates for re-election, and each of them are asking for support of the people of their states upon the ground that they supported the Republican McCumber-Fordney protective tariff.

If the tariff is as iniquitous as the Democrats would have people believe, why did 35 out of 36 Democratic United States senators vote at various times to sustain the rates in this bill? The answer is evident. They voted to afford protection to interests of their own states whenever those interests were involved. They did this because they knew that the bill would become a law despite their voting against it on the final roll call, and they wanted to be sure that when it did become a law it afforded their own states ample protection.

In other words, the Democratic senators and the Democratic party are by word of mouth against the Republican protective tariff in order to play politics, but by their action and their vote they are for it as a matter of business and material prosperity for their communities.

NEGRO LABOR ON THE RAILROADS

ROSCOE CONKLING SIMMONS, writing in the *Chicago Defender*, makes the following significant statement:

Newspapers are not saying anything about it, but you should know what your men are doing in the strike centers.

Last week this writer told you of one or two killings traced directly to the effort to keep Colored men from working. Things are getting better.

You know how wretchedly you are treated on Southern railroads.

You are carried like cattle; your women and children are shown but scant courtesy, and accommodations are a scandal in this century of progress. That is all right. You will see a great change in the next 10 years. Slavery dies hard—has always died hard.

All the big lines South are running only because Colored machinists are turning out engines on time; turning them out in ordered shape; turning them out as good as anybody else else turned them out in the past. This writer has seen this with his eyes.

Railroad officials are loud in praise of Colored machinists and laborers. "They have saved us," you hear big railroad men say.

The Illinois Central, the Louisville & Nashville and

the Mobile & Ohio railroads, traversing the great valley, will tell you that but for Colored men, their faithfulness and aptitude, matters would have been much different in the South.

The Shopmen's Union does not admit Negroes as members. The unions don't recognize black skins. The railroad owners, however, recognize anything and anybody who can keep those trains going. Eventually white labor will learn that it cannot ignore any factor of production which is not ignored by organized capital. Oh, don't worry; it will learn!

THE RICHEST MAN IN THE WORLD

THE average man who does not keep up with things (and the average man does not keep up with things) may skip over this article, or approach it cocksure that we are talking about John D. Rockefeller. Not so, however. We are discussing the Flivver King. He is known to be very favorably disposed to Labor. An examination of the profits of Henry Ford, however, will reveal that he is more adept at skinning than at coddling labor.

Henry Ford, according to the Wall Street Journal, is the richest man in the world. His wealth surpasses even that of John D. Rockefeller.

"Henry Ford has in the Ford Motor Company the largest income, if capitalized, the largest fortune in the world," the Journal said recently. "His income, adding to his boundless wealth \$500,000 a day through the busy season, is probably unequalled in all history.

"Profits before taxes for 1922 will exceed \$125,000,000. After taxes they will be \$110,000,000, about \$100 a car. With these earnings the Ford Motor Co. could be capitalized at \$2,000,000,000 and pay 5 per cent on that capital.

"Even a Republican Congress unites to add to the Ford wealth. The company paid more than \$50,000,000 in Federal taxes in 1921. Because of the abolition of the excess profits levy, it will pay only \$16,000,000 in 1922. The Fords are \$34,000,000 richer.

"So Ford continues to pile up in his business the millions which find their way into Wall Street. His replacement parts business is so profitable that he could chop off his manufacturing profit of probably \$80 a car and make more than \$15,000,000 annually, or \$114 on each car produced from the sale of parts necessary to keep the millions of Fords now on the roads in running condition.

"He could distribute this \$15,000,000 as a bonus to his workmen and still make the \$6 a car profit from interest.

"But he is not selling at cost. He is selling on to profits from interest, parts and cars: \$58,000,000,000 in the record ten months ended last February, despite the heavy taxes: \$110,000,000 in all probability after taxes in 1922.

"If he continues to pile up cash at this rate he cannot long denounce Wall Street, or the money power or the country.

"Henry Ford will be that money power."

STOCK FRAUDS

WE are constantly warning our readers against stock frauds. We are warning them again about the Co-operative Society of America. We are not playing any favorites and we hold no stock in any of these things. We are simply giving out straight, honest advice. Mr. A. I. Harris of the Federated Press writes in the *New Majority*:

The Co-operative Society of America, branded by many co-operators as a "fake co-operative," which figured in a sensational trial in federal court in Chicago last winter, has established northwest headquarters at 503 Lumber Exchange building.

Coincident with establishing northwest headquarters in Minneapolis, F. B. Brink, Chicago, in charge of the local office, made known a campaign to obtain \$1,125,000 here through the sale of 15,000 "beneficial interest" certificates at \$75 each. Their par is \$50.

Officers of the society claim immunity from securities commission rules regulating the sale of stock on the ground that the "beneficial interests" are not stock. Securities commissions in several states, however, have held otherwise, and have refused to permit disposal of the certificates.

In refusing to permit the sale of its certificates, the Michigan securities commission said:

"The proposed plan of business of the trustees of the corporation is of such a nature that the sale of its certificates would work a fraud on the purchaser."

The Co-operative Society of America was the most ambitious enterprise ever undertaken in this country under the banner of co-operation. The magnitude of the venture is reflected in the \$20,000,000 worth of stock or "beneficial interests," it already has disposed of since its organization in Chicago in 1919. The amount of paid-in stock, according to its officers, exceeds \$14,000,000, the stock being sold on the part-payment plan. It claims 90,000 members, and it has set as its goal for the next two years 1,000,000 members.

Among the numerous organizations which have condemned the Co-operative Society of America as a "fake co-operative" are the Co-operative league, the New York Central Trades and Labor assembly, the New York City Co-operative, and the Chicago Federation of Labor. The New Majority, official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, has waged a bitter fight against the society almost since its inception.

The Co-operative Society of America is not a real co-operative within the generally accepted meaning of the term, and those who invest their money in this enterprise under the impression that they are partaking in a genuine co-operative movement do so under misapprehension. The word "co-operative" in the name of the society is misleading.

Let those who are awake take warning.

THE HARRIMAN NATIONAL BANK

A FEW weeks ago a shudder of surprise was sent through certain circles when Mr. Harry B. Rosen, director of the Harriman National Bank, announced that \$200,000 had been loaned to the United Mine Workers of America for the purpose of buying tents and food for the strikers. The loan was made on the personal notes of officials of the Union, without collateral.

There is much significance to this loan. It shows that the unions have become a great power and that a mere organization constitutes collateral. Then there is another phase. So many big labor unions are organizing banks of their own that capitalist banks feel constrained to assist them lest they lose the union's deposits. The "forgotten man", of whom the late Dr. Sumner of Yale wrote, is gradually being remembered. He will be remembered more in the future.

THE RAND SCHOOL

WHY don't you educate yourself? You have nothing to lose but your ignorance. This is the question which the Rand School is asking.

The Rand School of Social Science, New York City, opened its fall term on September 23rd, and is now ready to register students for any of the courses. Since 1906 we have been engaged in working out the most effective courses possible in labor education. We have secured a corps of teachers of

which no other labor institution in the United States can boast. And they represent not one but many points of view.

The Full-Time Training Course comprises six months of pretty intensive work. This season it will begin on Monday, November 13, and close Saturday, May 12th.

As the name of the course indicates, the students devote practically the whole of their time to study. They are expected to spend from twenty to twenty-four hours a week in class, and to devote rather more than that amount of time assigned to reading, investigation of topics, preparation of written exercises, and so forth.

There are no hard-and-fast requirements for admission to this class. Each case has to be judged on its own merits. Among the full-time students of the past eleven years there have been several who had not even had the advantage of a common school education. Yet it has been found practicable for them all to work together as students.

Full-time students have the right of membership in the gymnasium and all are expected to avail themselves of this privilege, in order to keep themselves in good physical condition.

The tuition fee for this six-month course, covering the complete service of the School is \$75. It is expected that this will in all cases be paid in full at the beginning of the term.

The cost of living will, of course, depend largely on the habits of individual students. It can hardly be estimated at less, however, than \$13 a week, or about \$350 for the whole period.

There are a few scholarships available, and there will be opportunity also for some of the students to earn a small amount by work which will not interfere with their studies.

Persons who think of taking up the Full-Time Training Course should get into communication with the Educational Director at the earliest possible moment, at 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

Rand School.

Economics and Politics

THE ONLY WAY TO REDEEM AFRICA

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

THE proposition of Africa for the Africans is not new. Even before the Civil War, groups of whites, both friend and foe, favored schemes for the colonization of American Negroes in Africa.

The establishment of the Republic of Liberia grew out of the idea that Africa was the best place for the Negro. Plans for carrying all of the Negroes back to Africa were freely discussed with President Lincoln, but were shown to be impracticable. Only recently an idiot, known by the name of Chief Sam, promulgated schemes not much more feasible than Garvey's, for shipping all Negroes to Africa.

Fundamentally, the idea of Africa for the Africans is accepted, endorsed and advocated by all Negroes as well as by the liberals, radicals and labor sections of the whites. Of course there are various and varying interpretations of this phrase. A word then about its meaning.

To Mr. Garvey the phrase means Africa for the Negroes, as shown by his perfervid reference to 400,000,000 Negroes establishing an empire there. Of course, brother 'Bark-Much-Garvey' is something over 100,000,000 off in his figures. But he should worry! What's a hundred million to this imperial Don Quixote? Even if we allow 200 millions to Africa which is 50 million too many; 15 millions to the United States; 3 millions to the West Indies and 30 millions to South and Central America whose actual populations are much less, His Majesty's Highness would have just 102 millions of Negroes more in the world than actually exist. But, you know, that is jolly, darn good propaganda to make claims to that which

no other sane and honest person will make claims to. It attracts attention, and the ignorant will believe it; verily, they will not only believe it, but they will come across with their cold cash for this sort of sensational stuff. But it will be seen later on that to view the idea of Africa for the Africans to mean Africa for Negroes only is the essence of error and folly.

Meaning of "Africa for Africans"

To Mr. Marcus also the phrase Africa for the Africans carries with it the hope of isolation from the white world. His anti-white-man's doctrine indicates as much. He is ignorant of the fact that such can not be done in this period of modern industrial inventions that facilitate transportation and communication. The steamship, airship and railways, together with the cables and wireless means of communication make the most distant peoples neighbors.

But even were it possible to separate the Negro peoples from the white world such would not be desirable or beneficial. The isolation of any people from the society of other races and nations would result in an inevitable racial and national decay, the arrest of their economic, political and social progress. Witness China for centuries. Also note the difficulties of Russia as a result of a world-wide blockade, preventing her from establishing complete trade relations with the great world powers. And it is a matter of common knowledge that the German debacle grows out of her inability to set up commercial and political contact with whomsoever she chooses. Japan only rose to national greatness upon

her recognition that isolation was suicidal, studied the methods and ways and entered the councils of the white nations, even though she didn't love them. I think its logical to ask that if isolation is against the interests of China, Japan, Germany and Russia, wherein and why will it benefit Africa? If the yellow, brown and white peoples of the world have fought against segregation, why should the black peoples invite it? To separate the Negro peoples from modern, scientific Western Civilization and culture would wreak irreparable injury upon their progress, in fact, they would relapse into barbarism and savagery. It is to the interest of the weaker peoples always to maintain contact with the peoples of power. To disjoin them is like segregating intelligence from ignorance, light from darkness, undeveloped children from educated grown-ups. Nor is it sufficient to justify segregation upon the plea that the strong will exploit the weak, the intelligent, the ignorant. Though this be generally true, it is only out of this exploitation of the weak by the strong, a sort of struggle between the classes, that the weak will even prepare itself for achieving its own emancipation. Such has been the inexorable law of social progress. It is not a question of right or wrong. It is purely a brutal question of advantage. Progress is only possible through intelligence, and intelligence is only possible through contact between those who have and those who haven't information, power.

Thus, from the point of view of isolation, Mr. Garvey's interpretation of Africa for the Africans is uncount and inimical to the interests of Africans in general and Negroes in particular.

Ultimate—Not Immediate Aim

The only rational interpretation of the phrase "Africa for the Africans" is from the point of view of ultimateness. It is a condition "devoutly to be wished." But the fact that we desire "Africa for the Africans" does not imply that we recognize the ability of the Africans to assume the responsibilities and duties of a sovereign nation, at the present. To illustrate: We may desire a boy some day to become a man, to assume the responsibilities and duties of manhood, still we realize that he is not yet a man. To make it known that he is not is no reflection upon the boy, nor does it indicate that he will not become a man or that he does not possess the qualities and capacity for the ultimate assumption of the duties and responsibilities of a man. Again the writer can not speak the Chinese language. But that does not prove that I can not learn to speak it. Nor is it any reflection upon my intelligence to admit that I can not speak Chinese. But for me to pretend that I can when I can't tends only to mislead and to confuse; and, perhaps to shut me off from the agencies from which such knowledge may be secured. Moreover, a belief that I know when I don't know a given subject tends to disincline me to seek to learn that subject.

Such is the situation with Africa. In terms of wisdom, skill and power. Africa is a child continent. This does not indicate, however, that she will always be so, that she is incapable of the highest flights of modern civilization. Numberless causes are responsible for the backwardness and unprogressiveness of Africa, a discussion of which is beyond the purview of this article.

Recognition and Achievement of End, Different

While we all recognize and advocate Africa's right of self-determination, it ought to be clear even to a child's mind that the recognition and advocacy of "Africa for the Africans" is not tantamount to the achievement of "Africa for the Africans." The recognition and advocacy of a thing and the achievement of that thing are two different propositions. For instance, we all desire always to be in perfect health but the how we are to effect it is another issue. Again, we all would like to become millionaires but the becoming millionaires is a different song. Thus the method, the how by which we are going to redeem Africa is the chief question.

Right to Different Methods

Nor is it sufficient for Mr. Garvey to maintain that we all are entitled to the right of our opinions about redeeming Africa in order to shield his program from a critical examination. True, we all are entitled to our opinions but it is not true that all of our opinions are sound, rational and productive of correct action which is the only basis for achieving the goal in view. The old saw that "different roads may lead to the same place" must not be construed to mean that all roads lead to the same destination. And it must also be understood that to select the wrong road will not only not lead you to the place to which you desire to go, but it will lead you away from the place. *Hence the necessity of probing all programs that are labeled the programs which the masses are entreated to adopt.* They should be accepted or rejected upon a basis of their soundness or unsoundness, their benefit or injury to those who are invited to accept them.

Sincerity of Interest Not Sufficient

Besides sincerity of intent is not sufficient. Garveyites cannot meet the issue merely by claiming that His Excellency is sincere, that he has good intentions. While I deny that he is sincere about his cry of "Back to Africa", even if he were sincere it would not change the prospects in the least. He never expects to land there himself, or to get any of his followers there for that matter. He is simply exploiting it as a grand slogan with which to fire the imagination of the unthinking to lure them to pour their sweat and blood dollars into the Black Star Line "Sea."

But even granting that his intent were good, what about the result? Though intent be good, intent will not redeem Africa. It is no substitute for knowledge, for correct forms of action. Mere intent to go somewhere or to do something, however sincere, is not sufficient to take you there or to have that something done. Thus the followers of Garvey are in for a rude awakening if they think that Brother Garvey's alleged good intentions will conquer Africa. What do the British and the French care about his good intentions? The more sincere he is in his desire to conquer Africa, the harder they will fight him. It is a well recognized fact that good intent won't cure influenza. Ignorance of the science of medicine may lead one, with perfectly good intentions, to take the proper medicine, to take bi-chloride of mercury, a poison which results in his death. His desire to get well was good, but his knowledge of medicine was faulty, and hence he was the victim of his own honest

ignorance. From the foregoing it is obvious that the entire problem of achieving "Africa for the Africans" hinges upon the question of method, method with respect to the construction of the phrase "Africa for the Africans", and method with respect to the execution of every phase of the program of the U.N.I.A. or of any other movement.

But before entering upon a searching examination of the Garvey program, let us consider briefly what the true meaning of the phrase Africa for the Africans, is.

First, Africa is a continent, not a nation. It comprises many nations and races. Its area is 11,500,000 square miles. It is a continent like Europe, Asia, America, South and North, and a continent is a vast area of land in which numberless nations and empires, races and religions may exist. History records no case where a continent has been conquered and made into an empire. Even the Holy Roman Empire under Charlemagne failed to achieve this mighty end. A nation may exist in a continent, but not a continent in a nation. A continent is a natural product of nature; a nation is an artificial product of man. Not a cubic foot can be added to a continent by the ingenuity of man, but the area of a nation may be increased almost, at will. Nations rise and fall; not continents. Yet, the conquering of a continent for the erection of an empire is the fantastic project of Garvey. From his ignorant sputterings one would think that the terms nation and continent may be used interchangeably. While it may be possible for a continent to be controlled by one great empire, it is not probable. In fact, we have grounds a plenty for maintaining that this crowd of Garvey maniacs who can't operate three rickety, old ships will never establish any such empire.

When it is remembered that the 11,500,000 square miles of Africa is controlled, every inch of it, by the following powers:

	Area	Population
France	4,200,000	25,000,000
Great Britain ...	3,300,000	35,000,000
Germany*	1,100,000	12,000,000
Belgium	900,000	7,700,000
Portugal	800,000	8,800,000
Spain	750,000	200,000

*Now in the hands of Great Britain, France and Belgium.

These figures represent every inch of land in Africa. Even the mythical Provisional-President of Africa can't create another inch of territory. And, besides, this land is no more available than land in Wall Street, New York City. It is guarded by six powerful navies and armies, one of which would be sufficient to protect it from invasion by the formidable Garvey Black Star Line and Black African Legion. *In very truth, one good-size aeroplane could prevent the Garvey hot-air-brigade from landing.* But of this more anon.

A word now about the term Africans. The word African like European, Asiatic or American has a general, composite connotation. When we say that we stand for Africa for the Africans we mean black, yellow, brown, white Africans, Negroids, Mongoloids, Mediterraneans, Alpines, Nordics, Mohammedans,

Christians, Buddhists, etc. We recognize that in Africa today there are several nations that are as distinct, separate and different in customs, traditions, manners, culture, language, race and religion as are the nations of Europe. For example Liberia is as different from Abyssinia in history, policy, language, customs, etc., as Germany is from Italy. Egypt is as different from the Republic of South Africa as Great Britain is from France. And a native of Abyssinia is just as much a foreigner in Liberia as a Russian is a foreigner in Spain or an American is a foreigner in Mexico. But this bit of ethnography and lines of nationality demarcation mean absolutely nothing in the Black Infernal Blizzard's young life. To him every African is a Negro and every Negro is black. To him there is a racial and nationality homogeneity in Africa; all tribes possessing one mind, awaiting the time, when, according to the Garveyites, Brother Marcus will pull the Houdini stunt and touch a cable button from his imperial dais in "Slavery Hole" (misnamed "Liberty Hall") on 138th Street, New York City, and instantaneously, through his magic power, millions of African Legionnaires will spring forth out of the region of nothingness and pass thousands of miles through thin air, land upon Africa and, presto! all of the armed forces of Great Britain, France, Portugal and Spain will get scared and skiddo. Don't laugh! Honest Enjun, its no stage stuff! Garvey is a *live one* whom some "Nutiacs" follow. Comedy, did you say? Of course it is; but it is tragedy, too, when one considers the economic disaster and moral demoralization that he is bringing upon the Negroes, to say nothing of the joke which he is making of them.

(To be Continued)

THE NEXT EMANCIPATION

By JAMES ONEAL

(Continued from last issue)

The Task Before Us

The great task before the workers of both races is to make both see that so long as they hate each other the class that robs both will continue to exploit them. There is no hope for either so long as they hate. There is hope when they cease to hate. This will be the beginning of understanding, and understanding is necessary before there can be unity of action. Even in the South this is possible, and we have even seen the beginning of that union of white and colored labor in behalf of their common interests.

In Bogalusa, Louisiana, in November, 1919, there was a striking instance of this unity of white and Negro wage workers. Bogalusa was the headquarters of the Great Southern Lumber Company, whose sawmill is said to be the largest in the world. For some time it had made use of unorganized Negro workers against white wage workers. What happened is told by Benjamin Brawley, in his "Social History of the American Negro," p. 349:

"The forces of labor, however, began to organize the Negroes in the employ of the company, which held political as well as capitalistic control in the community. The company then

began to have Negroes arrested on charges of vagrancy, taking them before the city court and having them fined and turned over to the company to work out the fines under the guard of gunmen. In the troubles that came to a head on November 22, three white men were shot and killed, one of them being the District President of the American Federation of Labor, who was helping to give protection to a colored organizer."

Here is a glorious beginning of that understanding between white and Negro workers against the common enemy. *A white union organizer gave his life in defense of a Negro member of the wage working class!* Extend that understanding between the workers of both races from Bogalusa throughout the South and the North and this class brotherhood would wipe out much of the ignorant prejudices that prevail.

What is wanted is not a "white" South or a "black" South, but a working class South and a working class North. The workers on the docks in New Orleans some years ago were also involved in a strike and the white and Negro workers struck side by side and shared in the hardships and sacrifices of the strike. These incidents show that the accursed prejudices can be wiped out and unity of the workers of both races obtained. To realize it should be the aim of intelligent men and women of the white and Negro working class.

Negro workers should organize into unions and continually insist upon the trade unions extending help to them in this work. They should continually insist on the color line being wiped out wherever it exists, and that Negro unions be amalgamated with the other unions. They should point out the advantages to both white and Negro workers in such unions. They should send committees before the unions for this purpose. Wherever possible they should get a white unionist who understands the need of this to supplement their appeals.

This is the way to labor solidarity in industry.

Social Equality

There is nothing harder to make the prejudiced white understand than the question of "social equality." The same white worker who holds this prejudice may be working in the same ditch, on the same farm, or in the same factory with Negro workers. He may be working for the same master. He may be getting wages that are little more than the Negro worker. He may be living in a shack that he calls "home," just as the Negro worker does. In the South his children may be deprived of an education just as the Negro's children often are.

Yet this white worker, who in every respect has been reduced to a level equal to that of the Negro worker, is afraid of "social equality!" In the South many such white workers believe that they are a part of what is called "white supremacy." As a matter of fact, both the Negro and such white workers are victims of a "white supremacy" exercised by white exploiters.

Such white workers need not fear social equality. The white masters have placed both Negro and white labor on the same plane of equality of servitude.

They will stay in this equality until both join hands to liberate themselves from those who buy their labor power and exploit them in the labor market.

But there is another and more intimate sense in which this fear of "social equality" is expressed. It is feared that the emancipation of Negro and white workers would bring about some intimate personal and social relations of the two races by force of law or legal compulsion.

Nothing of the kind. The matter of intimate associates and companions is a matter of personal choice and will always remain such. No law can compel one Irishman to associate with another Irishman if he does not want to. No law can compel one Negro to associate with another Negro if he does not want to. On the other hand, if an Irishman chooses a Negro for a personal friend and both find each other's company congenial, that is their affair and nobody else's.

The writer of this booklet is of Irish extraction. There are some Irishmen I do not care to associate with on a basis of social equality. I have some Negro friends of whom I am fond. Among my most intimate acquaintances are Jews and Russians. There are some with deep affection.

Whoever and whatever my personal associates and friends may be, they are a matter of free choice on my part and on their part. There is no compulsion or force on either side. Yet, as a wage worker, I may be compelled, in order to hold my job, to work by the side of a man whom I detest. What there is of compulsion in this matter of human association comes from capitalist society today. If a man is opposed to forced equality in human relationships he should be opposed to the wage system of robbery which often imposes an equality that is personally distasteful.

Much more could be said on this matter, but it is too big a subject to deal with in this booklet. A separate book would be required to do it full justice. We would have to consider the Jim Crow car, the theater, the hotel, amusements, and a hundred other institutions around which cluster racial prejudices. I must remain satisfied with dealing with the deepest prejudice of all—the prejudice associated with personal human relations between peoples of different races and of the same races and nationalities.

The First Emancipation

There is a mistaken belief that the Republican party has always been the party of the Negro. There were early Republicans who were sincere friends of the Negro, but the party as such used the Negro as a stepping stone to power. Abraham Lincoln sincerely desired the freedom of the Negroes, yet even Lincoln would have been willing to let the Southern masters have their slaves if the South would have ceased to make war on the North.

The Republican platform of 1860 is very interesting reading. The third section opposed "all schemes of disunion." The fourth section admitted the "right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively." This referred to the ownership of slaves.

In the States where slavery existed the Republican

party admitted the "right of each State" to hold such slaves. But it denied, in the seventh section, "the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States." It denounced this dogma as "a dangerous political heresy."

It was not opposed to slavery in the States that held slaves. It was opposed to the extension of slavery into Territories. It held, in the eighth section, "That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom." It did not want to interfere with slavery in the States where it existed, but it also did not want slavery to expand into the Territories. When the Territories were later to be admitted to the Union as States the Republican party wanted them to come in as free States.

It was not until four years later, after several years of war, that the Republican party took a position against slavery. In the third section of the Republican platform of 1864 the party decided that, "As slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic." In fact, the abolition of slavery came to be regarded as a military necessity.

With the fall of the Southern States the Negroes in the South were given the suffrage. Negroes were elected to Southern Legislatures. Republican politicians—"carpet baggers"—went into the Southern States and guided the Negro voters in elections.

But while the Republican party extended the suffrage to Negroes in the Southern States and protected it with bayonets, strong Republican States in the North excluded the Negro from the suffrage. These included such strong Republican States as Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin.

In fact, while the Republican leaders in Congress were insisting on the Southern States placing Negro-suffrage clauses in their State Constitutions, the Re-

publican States of Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota and Kansas, in 1867, refused to extend the suffrage to Negroes. Why? Because the Republican party wanted to use the Negro in the South to obtain political control for Northern capitalism. In the North the Republican party did not need the Negro vote at that time, as it ruled politically without the Negro vote.

When the Republican party had reorganized the Southern States to suit Northern capitalism the Republican administration withdrew the federal soldiers from the South and left the Negro to his fate. He was immediately excluded from the franchise by the old Southern masters.

Before the exclusion of the Negro from the franchise Republican Congresses passed, and the States ratified, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution to protect the Negro and Negro suffrage. The Thirteenth Amendment was supposed to abolish slavery and involuntary servitude. But Negroes were again enslaved by the Southern States through the indenture system which had enslaved white workers for nearly 200 years in America.

The Fourteenth Amendment was enacted to protect "the privileges or immunities of citizens," and to reduce the representation in Congress of such States as disfranchised workers entitled to the vote. In all the years since that amendment became a fundamental law, since 1866, the Republican party has never attempted to reduce the representation of any Southern Congress.

The Fifteenth Amendment, adopted in 1870, declared that "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The Republican party never enforced this amendment, while the courts have explained it away. In the face of this record of pretense and hypocrisy, many Negro workers have sincerely believed that the Republican party represented them!
(To be continued)

Education and Literature

THE WEST INDIES

THEIR POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION

By. J. A. ROGERS

(Continued from last issue)

Education

The nature of West Indian education was given as one of the causes for the chronic economic depression. Education in all of the islands and British Guiana is of a metaphysical and most impractical nature. The objective is purely classical.

The first stress is laid on loyalty to the king, who is worshipped in an equal breath with God. Titles are

regarded with bated breath. A Sir So-and-So or a Lord That is worshipped as the savage worships his lesser gods. With the West Indian patriotism is a fetish, a fact that undisguised race prejudice in the United States serves to strengthen.

The second defect is that most of the schools are denominational, that is, each religious body, as the Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics who generally predominate in the

order named, maintains its own schools. In Barbados the Anglican Church is endowed by the government. Great stress is laid on religion in the schools. A great part of the time is used in studying the exploits and achievements of the ancient Jews. The subjects taught have little relation to life as lived there. Most of it is pro-British propaganda. And of course, as in all oppressed countries great stress is laid on the ethical in the instruction of the peasant.

The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Major Wood, recently made a tour of the islands, with a view to bettering conditions. His report to Parliament was published in the *Jamaica Daily Gleaner*, July 4, 1922, and following dates. He has suggested that Handwork, Agriculture, Domestic Economy, Hygiene and Practical Nature Study be taught in the elementary grades, which is the stage at which West Indian education usually stops. The teachers also complained to Major Wood about the denominational system and "of the employment of the clergy who had often no educational experience as sub-inspectors of schools."

Prior to emancipation there was no education of any sort for the blacks. Later there was introduced a system of school fees of from six to twelve cents a week. Most of the peasantry were too poor to pay this. All of the islands now have free schools and education is compulsory on some of them as Jamaica and Trinidad. Purely elementary subjects are taught. All education beyond that is expensive, and beyond the reach of the lower middle classes. There are no free high schools, as in the United States. The West Indian has perhaps not a hundredth part of the educational opportunity of the Northern Negro in the United States. Something less than one in 20,000 West Indians are college graduates. The following from the report of the Under-Secretary, already mentioned, will throw some light on the situation: "As in England, so in the West Indies, the elementary school curriculum shows a tendency to be too elaborate. . . . A good deal was said in the various colonies about compulsory education. . . . Compulsory education cannot be extended to areas more than two or three miles from a school and of such areas there are many. It must be remembered in this connection that in most of the colonies—more than half in some colonies over 70 per cent of the children are illegitimate and that parental control and parental responsibility are unenforceable. In Trinidad, which is about the best colony as regards attendance, 56 per cent of the total number of children are at school.

"As regards curriculum and text books, dependence upon English models and English publications, is the rule. There is so much local history, so much of interest in the local natural history that it should be easy to produce a "West Indian Reader."

Nearly all of the teachers of the elementary schools are colored and black males. Their salary is very small ranging from three hundred to seven hundred dollars a year, the latter amount in rare instances. This salary depends upon the average attendance. In Grenada the teacher is paid according to the marks his school made at the last inspection. The teachers of Trinidad are the best paid.

Schools are examined annually by inspectors, who formerly were all white men from the British Isles. Within recent years a few colored and black inspectors have been appointed.

There are a few scholarships to universities in the British Isles and to local colleges. The principal colleges are Queens College in Trinidad, Mico College Barbados. George Washington received a part of his in Jamaica and Harrison and Codrington College in education in Barbados.

Barbados and Its Intellectual Status

The most intellectually advanced of the islands is Barbados. Barbados was settled after the manner of the American colonies; the settlers came largely to avoid persecution. This island has produced many distinguished men. All of its chief justices have been natives, among them being Sir R. B. Clarke, Sir C. Tucker, Sir W. H. Greaves and Sir W. C. Reeves, who was colored. Sir R. C. Piggott, a native, became Attorney-General of England. The intellectual advance of Barbados may be due to the severe struggle for existence on that island.

Mean Whites or "Red-Leg Johnnies"

A characteristic feature of Barbados are the poor whites who live chiefly in the northern part. They are descendants of once leading families; of the militiamen who guarded the slaves; or of white ex-slaves. Many royalists, divines and English gentlemen were sold there as slaves in the 16th and 17th centuries. The price was 1,500 pounds of sugar each. Massachusetts also found a market for Quakers there.

Color prejudice with these poor whites is a religion. They have all the blind, unreasoning hate manifested by "the poor white trash" in the United States toward the colored American. They are bloodless in appearance and very thin. They go barefooted and the sun has given a brick color to their legs, hence the term "Red-leg Johnnies." A writer has described them as "having eyes inflamed and in a chronic blood-shot condition with huge freckles on their brick-colored faces, and sun-dried feet and hands, mailed with horn-like scales."

In parts of Jamaica there are also poor whites of no higher social status than the black peasantry, who look down upon and call them "white labor."

While the Negro thrives in hot and cold countries alike, the white man invariably degenerates in the tropics, unless he is in an administrative or other exploiting position. When forced to live in the tropics, and under the same conditions as Negroes, he invariably sinks lower than the Negroes.

Barbados Is Called "Little England"

Barbados is called "Little England." The island is tidiness itself. Someone has likened it to a well-kept tennis-court. Other West Indians are inclined to be jealous of the Barbadians because of their superior intelligence and sharpness.

The joke is told that when England declared war against the Boers, Barbados at once cabled to London: "Go to it England. Barbados is behind you." The flee backing the mastodon

Emigration

As was pointed out emigration is one of the causes for the inactivity of the color question. Every year large numbers of the most progressive and educated spirits leave for Panama, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Cuba, Nicaragua, South America, the United States and Canada, because of inability to find work. The islands being agricultural and with no scientific agriculture to engage their higher talents, they must either do laborer's work at an absurdly low wage and loss of caste or join the scramble for the few clerical positions. The departure of these discontented spirits acts in the nature of a safety valve or there would probably be a revolt worse than that of 1865.

There are about 50,000 British West Indians in Cuba, 28,000 in Costa Rica; 65,000 in Panama, and 60,000 in the United States.

It has been asserted that many West Indians leave because they object to manual labor. Abroad, as in the United States, there is hardly any other field open to them. The difference is that abroad they receive many times more pay than they would get at home. How emigration affects the social progress of the islands will clearly be seen.

Result of Emigration

One result of emigration is that the population of nearly all the islands is decreasing. According to the 1891 census, Barbados had a population of 182,306. In 1911 it had 171,893, a loss of 10,423. In 1919 the deaths exceeded the births by 675, a phenomenal case in any country, but easily explained when one understands the severe struggle for existence. The land as was said is in the hands of a few.

Barbados is perhaps the most thickly populated integral spot on earth. In 1891 it had 1096 people to the square mile; in 1914, 1033. Pre-war Belgium comes next with 600. Grenada and Nevis are also thickly populated, having 500 and 400, respectively, to the square mile.

In Jamaica, while the increase of births over deaths in the years between 1911 and 1921 was approximately 125,000, the census for 1921 showed an increase of only 27,735 in the same period.

West Indian laborers have contributed greatly to the development of Costa Rica and Panama. They

built up the banana industry in Central America, the railroad in Ecuador, and built the Panama Canal. Many of the leading doctors, lawyers, preachers, writers, and educators among Negroes in the United States are from the British West Indies. The first Negro to publish a newspaper in the United States was John Brown Russworm, a native of Jamaica. Alexander Hamilton, who laid the foundation for the financial greatness of the United States was a West Indian.

Wages

Previous to the war, the West Indian laborer received from twenty-five to thirty-six cents a day. Women got from eighteen to twenty cents. This has been the rate since emancipation 76 years before.

Work is irregular and laborers leave in large numbers for Cuba and Central America under contract which in many instances is little short of slavery. In those countries they get from a dollar to a dollar and a half a day, returning when work is exhausted.

The pay of housemaids is from thirty-six cents to a dollar a week without board. Cooks get from a dollar and a half to two dollars a week. None but the menials are content to do this work. The term "servant" is one of opprobrium, and so is the word *bium*.

Clerical work is also poorly paid in comparison with the United States. Fifteen dollars a week is considered a very good salary. Wages are higher in Trinidad than in any of the other islands.

Industrial Conditions

Industries, as was said, are chiefly agricultural. Jamaica produces bananas—about a quarter of the bananas used in the U. S. and England come from Jamaica—sugar, cocoa, cocoanuts, ginger, dyewoods. A valuable by-product of the sugar industry is the well-known Jamaica rum. Prohibition in the United States and the war with Germany caused the islands to lose two of its best customers. During the last few years the demand for rum in Great Britain has fallen off 1,295,433 gallons. Stocks in bond have reached the enormous figure of 11,689,000 proof gallons with no business in sight.

(Concluded in next issue)

Who's Who

THE PASSING OF JOHN MITCHELL, JR.

AN ultimatum has been issued to John Mitchell, Jr., by wealthy bankers from whom he attempted to get aid. They frankly stated that Mr. Mitchell, President of the defunct Mechanics Savings Bank, together with his entire staff, would have to resign in order to reopen the doors of that bank. It seems that there are charges, not only of mismanagement from the point of view of inefficiency, but allegations of deliberate misuse of the bank's funds. So strong were the alle-

gations that Mr. Mitchell was arrested and placed in jail.

We are not so concerned about Mr. Mitchell as a banker, except so far as it gave him certain public influence. He has long been in public life and probably better known as the editor and owner of the *Richmond Planet*, a weekly newspaper. Years ago he used to have some courage and independence. He gained his popularity justly as a fighter. Within the last two decades, however, he has been steadily veering towards a *hat-in-hand* Negro. We used to ad-

mire him in his days of fight; in his recent years of surrender we condemn him quite as much as we formerly admired him. Almost every issue of the *Planet* is studded with little editorialettes, the substance of which is, "*Negroes be polite to white folks.*" We submit that the Negro is polite enough to the white folks down there. We do not suffer from the Negro's likelihood of being impolite to the white folks—not at all. On the contrary there is danger that his efforts at politeness will carry him into *sycophancy* and servility.

Whatever sympathy we might have held for Mr. Mitchell passed away when he began to ally himself with Marcus Garvey. We were surprised to see the *Planet* carrying a series of editorials trying to defend the "*belly-crawling*" speech made by Garvey in Richmond. The speech through and through was so ridiculous and disgustingly supine that every decent, self-respecting man should have condemned it. Nevertheless, John Mitchell, Jr., pleaded with the public to let Garvey alone.

On the whole it may be safely deduced that when a Negro in business attempts a defense of Garvey's mythical schemes, there is something wrong with that Negro's business, either in the efficiency of its conduct or the honesty of its management; and it may be both.

There are quite a few similarities between John Mitchell and Marcus Garvey anyway. Each one loves ostentation—the limelight, empty show! For instance, a few years ago some white adventurer came to Richmond and organized a mythical Anglo-American Finance Corporation. The whole second floor of the Mechanics Saving Bank Building was to have been devoted to this enterprise. Less than two years ago, when we were in Richmond, the signs were still on the windows. This white adventurer gave a certificate of membership to Mr. Mitchell (in some Royal Geographical Society of London, we believe the

name was). Shortly thereafter Mr. Mitchell collected money from prospective participants, handed it over to this schemer who took one of the next trains, and has not been seen or heard from since. A banker and business man, too!

Another way in which Garvey and Mitchell are quite similar is the manner in which they write about themselves in their own papers. John Mitchell suffers from what William James, psychologist, terms "total recall". By that we mean one who recounts every little detail in relating his movements. What reader does not remember seeing something in the *Planet* about "Editor Mitchell's Travels" or "Mitchell's Long Journeys"? When he goes to California, it takes about thirty weeks to complete an account of his trip, published in weekly installments. When he comes to New York, he needs twenty weeks to complete his trip. And if he goes from Richmond to Roanoke you will be fed up a month on that, too.

Moreover, no Negro with any sense of dignity and pride would receive any of Garvey's "bubble nobility" honors which constitute a laughing stock to every sensible person in the world.

John Mitchell's day is done. Negroes need shed no tears over it. When one loses his courage and devotes most of his time urging the victims of oppression to be polite to the persecutors, it is time for him to go.

The city of Richmond is sadly in need of a Renaissance. The entire city is almost bedeviled by conventional, reactionary, fossilized leadership. It needs to have blown into it a breath of manhood. Business, pure and simple, seems to have obsessed Richmond. Its leadership seems to feel that the highest good is making money. Ere long they will learn that money is only a means to an end. There are stern soul desires which must be satisfied. As one of the foremost leaders of Richmond, John Mitchell needs to reflect upon this.

Open Forum

EIGHT WEEKS IN DIXIE

By FLOYD J. CALVIN

I HAVE been South. I have been from New York to northern Mississippi and southwestern Arkansas.

I did not go to present the program of The Friends of Negro Freedom nor the platform of the MESSENGER; but to *observe* the social and economic conditions among Negroes for both. My chances for doing this were peculiarly advantageous. Where I went I was among personal friends and they were over-anxious to pour into my ears the most minute details of all the happenings,—both sinister and encouraging—that marked their path since I had seen them more than two years before.

Incidentally I spoke to them, now and then, on

questions they were conscious of but yet did not fully understand. Twice I dwelt at length on our contemporary radicalism and strayed off into an exposition of the advanced demands of the New Negro. This was dangerous business—far down on the Ku Klux Klan's daily beat—but my friends were anxious to know and fortunately I got away with it. I even sold a few copies of the July MESSENGER, but nobody knew it except the parties concerned in the transaction—like bootlegging whiskey.

So now to those who would sarcastically yell at us: "Why don't you take your radicalism to the South? Why preach something you dare not carry where it is needed most?" We can reply in good

faith: "We *have* been South! We *did* take our radicalism where it is needed most." The people were glad to get the message and, recognizing that it could not be done on the proper scale there, bade us God-speed in continuing in more healthy environments.

* * *

On June 27 I left the Pennsylvania Station, New York, at 12.30 a. m. At 7.30 a. m. I was in Washington, D. C., and passed the day at what we New Yorkers call a "southern city" (although I was later to hear Washington referred to as "up North"). In the forenoon I spent my time with a guide going in and out Government buildings, seeing stamps printed, seeing money printed, walking through parks, admiring memorials, and ending that part of my schedule by climbing to the top of the Washington monument.

In the afternoon I sat through the matinee of a musical comedy at the Howard Theatre and found the house and show about equal to our own Lafayette in Harlem. Later I went out and saw Howard University and afterwards met Mr. Wm. O. Walker, managing editor of the *Washington Tribune*, in the *Tribune* office, and Editor J. Finley Wilson of the *Washington Eagle*, in the *Eagle* office. Both gentlemen were very courteous. Mr. Walker conducted me through the entire *Tribune* plant, which is quite a huge affair, and Mr. Wilson invited me to make his office my headquarters while in the city. I halted for a moment in the office of the *Journal of Negro History* but none of the executive staff were in so I went back to the main part of the town and spent the remainder of the afternoon in the Senate Chamber and exercising my right in general as a citizen by roaming through the Capitol. I was a bit disappointed with the Senate as I expected to see a much larger place, but all else came up to my pre-conceived notions.

* * *

At 10.00 p. m. I started South. My ticket called for Nashville, Tenn., where I had planned to stop off and see friends and Fisk University. I purposely chose the Southern route for I wanted to see just how the reactionary methods of the South would impress me after having been in such a radically different atmosphere so long. I could have gone the Philadelphia-to-St. Louis route and not been Jim-Crowed quite so much, but leaving as I did I had to "move to the next car" at Washington—for I was starting through Virginia, "the Mother of Presidents."

* * *

One incident amused me all the way down. An elderly colored lady, Louisiana Creole, very fair, got on the train at Washington. Her husband had begged her to ride the white coach as she could very easily "pass." In the waiting room of the station, to pacify him, she promised, and the husband sent a Redcap along to take the hand-bag and see that she got by. But as soon as she was out of sight of her husband she told the porter she would not ride with the white people and came on in with us. Then she solemnly lectured all who would hear that she was not ashamed of her Race, she didn't want to be with white people, (and said loudly enough for the Conductor to hear) "We don't want social equality—we want separate, but just as good." All my ideas on such things went rapidly through my mind, but I said nothing. I merely thought: Here is an old lady going from Washington to New Orleans—a long trip. It is now 10

o'clock at night. She needs to go to bed immediately. She will need sleep tomorrow night, too. She could have gone back and rode a Pullman. None of us in the colored car would have thought hard of her. We would have been glad to know that some one of us could get a bed. But no, *she didn't want social equality—and was white herself*. She reminded me of the person who was only thought to be a fool, but spoke out and removed all doubt.

* * *

I was fortunate in taking along lunch for the next day we were delayed four hours down in the mountains of Virginia and there was nothing forthcoming on the train but coffee and sandwiches.

I thought when planning my trip at New York that I wouldn't get sleepy—or rather I could tough it through quite easily. The first night I did very well, but the second—Dark caught us at Bristol, Tenn., and from there to Chattanooga was torture. I changed at Chattanooga at 12.30 a. m., June 29, and waited in the station an hour and a half for my train to Nashville. I was a stranger and saw no colored restaurant so held my appetite until next morning.

* * *

At 7.30 I asked a colored baggageman which was the best colored hotel in Nashville. He replied: "Neither one. We haven't any." By further inquiry I found that the Y. M. C. A. would accommodate travelers and wended my way thither. There was a courteous clerk on duty and he showed me into the shower room and I had such a time as I was accustomed to under the showers of our "Y" in Harlem. I finished and asked what was my bill and was astonished to know it was all free. I whispered to myself that New York was certainly surpassed in *one* respect.

* * *

It happens that to get into the Nashville "Y" one passes through Mr. J. C. Napier's Penny Bank. This struck me as novel—allowing the public so near the cash in and out of banking hours. On the next block is the National Baptist Publishing House, and around the corner is the People's Bank, of which my friend, Mr. James L. Horace, is cashier. I went to Mr. Horace's home and spent a delightful few minutes with his family and wife's sisters, Misses Ellice and Myrtle Yerger, advanced students at Fisk. The stately mansion of Dr. R. H. Boyd, head of the National Baptist Publishing Board, faces him just across the street. (Dr. Boyd, now deceased, was then very ill.)

* * *

A letter of introduction had preceded me to Prof. Thomas W. Talley, head of the Department of Science at Fisk. I had just reviewed his book, "Negro Folk Rhymes, With a Study" (Macmillan) and thought it would be interesting to meet him. I found him at work in the Summer School but he took time to have a long talk and to show me about the campus. In our conversation we touched on almost everything of contemporary interest and he gave me some of his ideas about the Race as a whole which I would consider far ahead of the times. He is a professor of science but finds time to keep keenly abreast of everything pertaining to our welfare, and were he called on to single handedly formulate a practical program

for Negroes everywhere I'll wager he could do it and not lose anything from the lack of keeping a stiff upper lip.

* * *

Professor Talley conducted me through the whole of his department, showing various collections and specimens from different parts of the world. He is a man very congenially disposed and one delights in the exuberance of his spirit and ease of his conversation.

* * *

We walked to the main building and met the Dean and Miss Crosswaith, the Registrar. Miss Crosswaith has constantly kept in touch with the MESSENGER since it first began its stormy career, and was surprised to see its representative so far below "the line." We later met Mrs. Nellie Allen White and Mr. Broomfield, librarian and professor of Greek. Near by was pointed out the home of Dr. Jefferson, rich Negro dentist whose trade is exclusively white.

* * *

It was a most enjoyable six hours spent at the Capital of Tennessee, then I started for Memphis, arriving at 10.15 that night.

Next morning I awoke in North Leath Street. It was a beautiful day—the last of June—and my friends just from college, Misses Carrie Mae Sherrod and Mary Ella Biggs, took me for a walk to see the Father of Waters. In the afternoon I explored Beale Avenue, home of the Blues, and stopped at No. 392, the office of the political wizard and philanthropist, Hon. Robert R. Church, Jr. Mr. Church was away at Washington, but his assistants were courteous and talked much of Memphis and her problems.

Oscar Michaux of Chicago, the motion picture producer, happened to be there at the time and spoke of his business and plans for the future. He was then on the lookout for a location for a scene in a cotton field in one of his forthcoming productions. It is announced he will film Charles W. Chestnutt's novel, "The House Behind the Cedars", and he says he will make it end happily by having Rena marrying Sam when George Tyron comes up instead of it being Rena's funeral, as Mr. Chestnutt himself closes it. I had seen all his pictures to date and told him what I thought were their weaknesses, and he said he recognized the defects and was trying each time to do a little better than before.

* * *

The Church Colored Park is just across the street in front of the Church real estate office and I spent a leisure hour or more reading on the beautiful green. Several poor people happened to remark within my hearing that it was wonderful of their first citizen to make possible such recreation for colored children.

* * *

On July 1 the strike was called and the Memphis afternoon papers seemed to note only what Negro workers did. Where they walked out with the whites it was minutely reported, and where they stayed on the job, it was equally obvious. There was no editorial comment either way, but interest seemed to center on the Negroes.

Likewise came a scare-head—"Negro Attacks White Woman", but it dwindled down to a mere paragraph next morning.

* * *

It fell my lot to hear of Garvey down here. I called on a minister's wife of whom I had known, as a church layman, several years, and when we fell to talking of New York, the Negro leaders and racial organizations, naturally Garvey came in. She said she had learned of him two years before by hearing one of his agents speak at St. Louis, and the whole program had impressed her very much—in fact so much that she took \$25.00 of her savings on which she was struggling to school her children, and "bought shares in the Black Star Line." She is an intelligent woman, but unfortunately had faith in the Negro Ponzi, hence now she rues the day she acted so simple.

She had a printed announcement of a meeting of the stockholders, or somebody, of the corporation, shortly to be held,—a "sign the dotted line" affair—and she was to return that paper, which would transfer her vote to one of the officers at New York—with his finger in the pie. So consequently whatever was done she had sanctioned it, and yet she didn't know what it was. She had a "hunch" something was going wrong, but didn't know what. Add to this thousands of out-of-town stockholders who transferred their vote to the Black Star Line charlatans and it is easy to see how people can be plundered legally, with their eyes open!

(To be continued)

Editors, THE MESSENGER,

Being a reader of your magazine and of many other colored publications, there happens to be one question I would like to ask.

Why is it that all the papers and books, white and colored alike, have since I was a boy in school, which was twenty years ago, always in referring to the Negro say ten or twelve million—never over or under—which shows that they neither increase or decrease?

Overhearing the conversation of a white southerner to a white northerner, who was earnestly striving to show the latter the great seriousness of the situation as he stated it: an actual fact that Negroes constituted one-fourth of the population of the United States and were growing so rapidly that in fifty years would outnumber them if something was not done.

He then spoke of the ability of the American Negro's mind if properly cultivated.

Then, is this new attitude toward the Negro envy?

Does it mean that regardless however good he may try to be oppression will be still greater by that class of whites that can only see a thing one way and that way being—only one race can exist by devouring the other?

Of course all well thinking colored people know only too well that this is not the slogan of all white people—but propaganda to the reverse is at its height.

G. B.

Editors, the MESSENGER:

Reading the California *Eagle* I have become interested in your articles as to giving advice to our race. Indeed your articles are grand for one to read. Such advice ought to be a great deal of help to us all if we follow it. We poor colored people need all such good advice and good leaders like you to carry on such

work. Without any doubt you are called for just such a line of duty.

While I am an Eastern man, yet I am deeply interested in our race welfare throughout this country. I therefore feel that I ought to express myself as to your good work which you have undertaken. Therefore please accept my compliments. May you always have the best of health and prosperity in your favor.

West Haven, Conn.

ROBERT A. SMITH.

Editors, the MESSENGER:

In the various Negro periodicals circulated throughout the country I have read accounts of the threats and methods of intimidation which have been used against you to suppress your noble work in behalf of the enslaved and apparently sleeping Negro. Such threats and methods show more plainly than words what a profound and lasting impression your propaganda has made upon the minds of certain gentlemen, whose very existence and assumed superiority depend upon the continued lethargy and ignorance on the part of our race.

I admire your profound knowledge which has made of you such a formidable antagonist against these conscienceless and debased monomaniacs of the southern states. I admire and commend the courage with which you have diffused your opinions and ideas, and endeavored to awaken the sleeping Samson. A new era has only just begun. Russia has almost come into her own; the "Sick Man of Europe" has even now partially recovered from his malady and boldly demands his own. The Mohammedan forces of the world are waiting, waiting for the psychological moment which will come tomorrow or a hundred years from now—at the pleasure of our great God, Nature, in His great plan of evolution. But the great, black monster still sleeps, ever and anon a shudder passes through the giant's frame and the body writhes in the agony of its chains. Some day the giant shall awake and drink the blood of his tormentors—that alone can pacify. As it has been from time immemorial, so shall it be forever—we shall fight—we shall conquer and ruthlessly shed the blood of our adversaries.

Your knowledge, your courage, your genius, your personality inspires hope and courage in thousands of Negro breasts. Your visions are a beacon star for a naturally imaginative people. Continue in your course and may success be your reward.

New Orleans, La.

B.B.B.*

*The editors purposely withhold the writer's name.

Editors, the MESSENGER:

I enjoy reading your magazine and wish it appeared twice a month instead of once.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

ELLA JAY MCKINNEY.

Editors, the MESSENGER:

You will find enclosed money order for \$3.30 for MESSENGERS.

I am not unmindful of the vicious, gruesome and criminal act on the part of one of the most cruel and reactionary band of murderers the modern world ever saw. Permit me to express my condolence; but more than that, my steadfast and unflinch-

ing, if not unmovable, loyalty to you both, and the noble principles which you both have so well expounded and are so bravely fighting for. May all those social forces which help and uplift the human race defend and protect you both. This is my earnest and sincere hope and wish.

Philadelphia, Pa.

A. WARRENO.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The MESSENGER wishes to acknowledge receipt of the following books to be reviewed in successive numbers of this magazine:

Batouala, by Rena Maran and *Women in Love*, by D. H. Lawrence. Thomas Seltzer, Inc., publishers, New York.

The Story of Mankind, by Hendrik Van Loon and *Up Stream*, by Ludwig Lewisohn. Boni & Liveright, publishers, New York.

The Rising Tide of Color and *The New World of Islam*, both by Lothrop Stoddard. Charles Scribner's Sons, publishers, New York.

The Negro Press in the United States, by Frederick G. Detweiler. The University of Chicago Press, publishers, Chicago.

Nigger, a novel by Clement Wood. E. P. Dutton & Co., publishers, New York.

The Rising Temper of the East, by Frazier Hunt. Boobs-Merrill & Co., publishers, Indianapolis.

J. Poindexter, Colored, a novel by Irving S. Cobb. Geo. H. Doran Company, publishers, New York.

The Boy Grew Older, a novel by Heywood Brown. G. P. Putnam's Sons, publishers, New York.

White and Black, a novel by H. A. Shands. Harcourt, Brace & Co., publishers, New York.

The Vengeance of the Gods, short stories by William Pickens. The A. M. E. Book Concern, publishers, Philadelphia.

RESERVED FOR OUR

SPECIAL XMAS ISSUE

Chandler Owen

on

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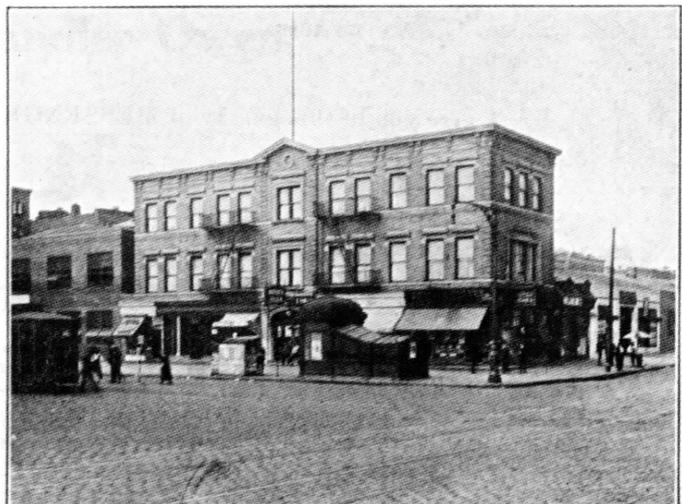
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Looking Forward

THE MESSENGER ranks among the foremost journals of opinion in America. Its editors are young men, of the new school — trained to handle problems and policies scientifically and impersonally. To some this radicalism, a thing to be religiously avoided. But to others, and to an ever-increasing number, this only exemplifies the adage — “**Honesty is the best policy.**” The past record of THE MESSENGER justifies this claim. Everything is written conscientiously, with a zeal to base our progress on a firm foundation of truth and fact.

We have settled down to a life-time task of observation and interpretation of economic, political and social problems in terms of their deeper meaning to mankind in general and the Negro in particular. In coming issues you will find that we shall live up to our well-earned niche in distinctive contemporary journalism.

These articles, now beginning, are symbolic:

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“**EIGHT WEEKS IN DIXIE**”, by **Floyd J. Calvin**, a new star on the horizon of aggressive, fearless and critical writers.

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