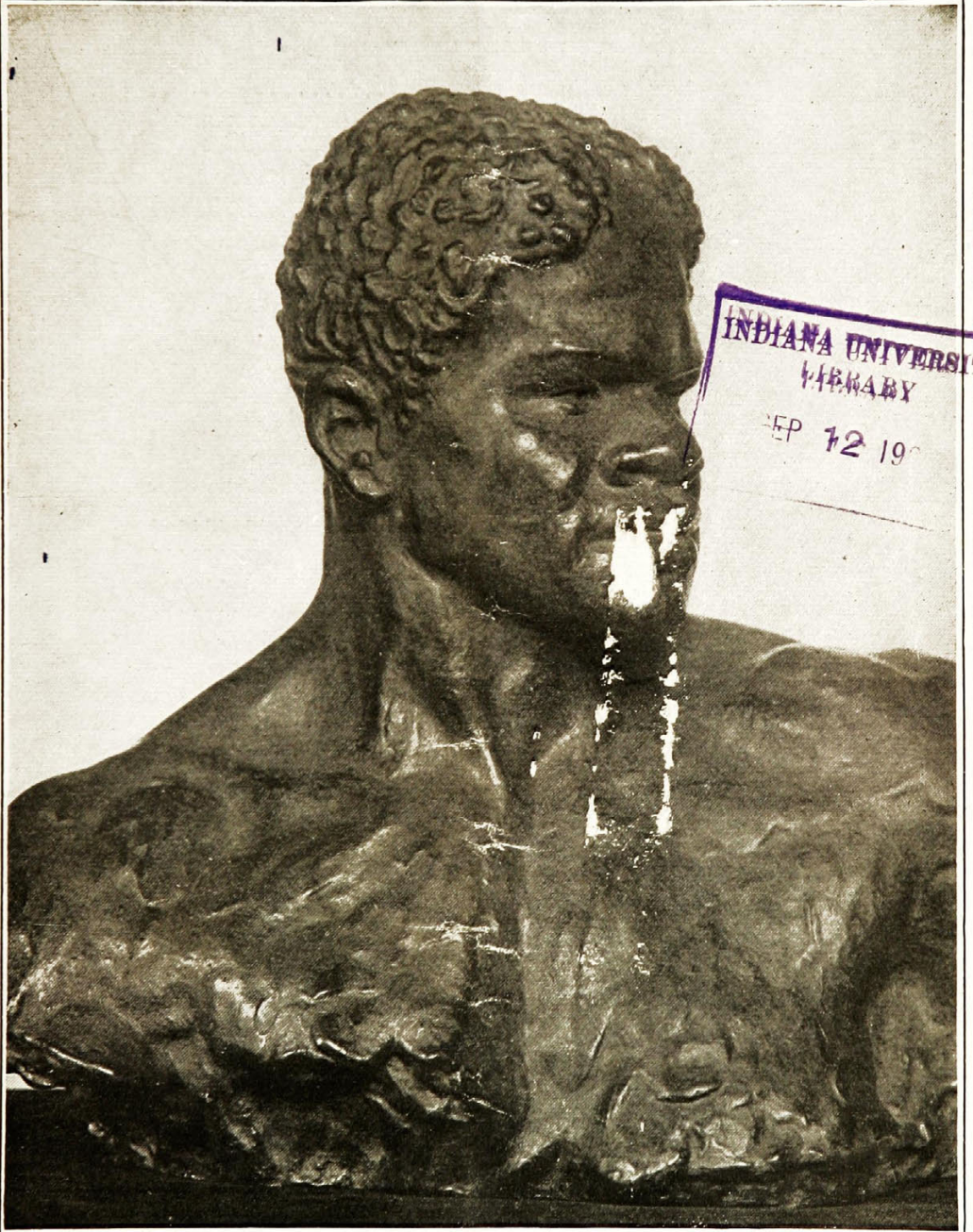


The CRISIS

Vol. 20—No. 5

SEPTEMBER, 1920

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 20. No. 5

SEPTEMBER, 1920

Whole No. 119



FORWARD

THE reaction of war is upon us. For two terrible years and for four others the world has been raised to heights of intense spiritual and physical turmoil amounting at times to wild hysteria. We black folk have been whirled up with the tide. The inevitable reaction born of sheer physical law is now upon us. We sit back exhausted, depressed. What is the use? we groan. What has this world madness meant to us? We are still in bonds; wages lag behind the mounting costs of life; lynching flourishes—what's the use of it all!

Steady, comrades, you have seized from the Hell of War, Self Knowledge and Self Control. These are priceless. They are worth all. We know that there is no royal road to our emancipation. It lies rather in grim, determined, everyday strife. The strife cannot be wild and erratic and individual. It must be ordered and continuous and carefully considered—the campaign of an army and not the tactics of picturesque but ineffective guerrillas.

We have the army in the 90,000 members of the N. A. A. C. P. and hundreds of thousands of their friends and sympathizers. This army has a new leader in its Secretary, *James Weldon Johnson*. Let us now sit up, come to life and despite war-weary reaction and economic harassments, let us see that the N. A. A. C. P. has a budget of \$50,000 to continue the war on lynching, to defend the defenseless in Arkansas, to in-

augurate a great drive for the ballot, to combat "Jim-Crow" legislation, and open America and the world to efficient self-respecting Negro citizens.

Let every member rally to a renewed vitality in the N. A. A. C. P. Let every member in every branch get his shoulder to the wheel.

HOW SHALL WE VOTE ?

THE present campaign places the Negro voter,—and indeed all American voters—in a difficult position. Four parties ask our votes.

The *Republican* party has for 25 years joined the white South in disfranchising us; it has permitted us to be "Jim-Crowed", deprived of schools and segregated. It has partially disfranchised us in its party councils and proposes practically to eliminate us as soon as this campaign is over. It has encouraged and recognized the "Lily-White" factions and nearly driven us from public office. In addition to this the Republicans represent reaction and privilege, the abolition of freedom of speech, the punishment of thinkers, the suppression of the labor movement, the encouragement and protection of trusts, and a new protective tariff to tax the poor for the benefit of the rich.

The *Democratic* party stands for exactly the same things as the Republicans. Between their professed and their actual policies there is no difference worth noting. To be sure, the northern wing of the party has

tendencies toward some recognition of the laborers' demands and the needs of a stricken war-cursed world, but this is more than neutralized by the Solid South.

The Solid South means lynching, oligarchy, mob-rule, disfranchisement, systematic ignorance and rotten-borough voting. Against this body of death the highest ideals of Woodrow Wilson at his best availed absolutely nothing, and there is not today the shadow of a hope that Governor Cox of Ohio would be able to champion any policy as president that proposes to disturb the rule in the South of the conscienceless exploiter of black and white labor.

This is the position of the two chief parties, one of which is bound to win.

There are two other parties, the *Farmer-Labor* and the *Socialist*. Both these parties speak out bravely in our behalf. Neither of them can win and because of our defenseless position the triumph of one of the greater parties without our aid might be the signal for further aggressions upon our rights as citizens. Our one clear path is this: Whatever vote we cast for president, let our vote for *Congressmen* be clear and decisive: *vote for friends of our race and defeat our enemies.*

THE RISE OF THE WEST INDIAN

IN 1880 there were 14,017 foreign born Negroes in the United States. This number increased slowly to 19,979 in 1890 and 20,336 in 1900. Then suddenly it doubled in a single decade to 40,339 in 1910 and in the last decade they have been arriving at the rate of over 5,000 a year. At present there are probably more than 100,000 foreign born Negroes in the United States, two-thirds of whom are from the West Indies and adjacent parts of South America.

These facts make it increasingly necessary for us to understand this

new ally in the fight for black democracy. We are naturally provincial in North America and we easily forget that our 12 million Negroes are but one-half the Negro population of the New World. To our own numbers we must add 6,000,000 in the West Indies, and 9,000,000 in Central and South America.

Moreover the Negro problem as seen by Negroes in the Islands and the other Americas differs from our problem and differs in such ways as to make misunderstanding very easy. In most of South America the solution of the race problem is found in amalgamation with the whites and where that is going on there is little migration to America. However, in centers like Jamaica, Haiti and Guiana, where there are comparatively few whites, a racial consciousness has been developed which not only does not find amalgamation but does not desire it. In Haiti this feeling made a nation. In Jamaica, Guiana and elsewhere it is today asserting itself in a great surge of activity. Migration to other islands and to North America has been large and the war has fostered widespread discontent.

Especially have the islands become disgusted with their old leadership. These leaders were largely mulattoes and it was British policy to induce them by carefully distributed honors and preferment to identify their interests completely with the whites. The visitor to Jamaica sees no color line in politics or society but he easily fails to note that the great mass of Negro peasantry has no real economic leadership or sympathy but is left to toil at a wretched wage and under disgraceful conditions.

It is this mass of peasants, uplifted by war and migration, that is today beginning to assert itself at home and abroad, and their new cry of "Africa for the Africans" strikes

with a startling surprise upon America's darker millions. The movement is as yet inchoate and indefinite, but it is tremendously human, piteously sincere and built in the souls of a hardworking, thrifty, independent people, who while long deprived of higher training have nevertheless very few illiterates or criminals. It is not beyond possibilities that this new Ethiopia of the Isles may yet stretch out hands of helpfulness to the 12 million black men of America.

MURDER WILL OUT

SLOWLY, too slowly, and yet with inevitable sureness the meaning of the South in American civilization is becoming clear to the blindest. T. W. O'Connor, President of the International Longshoremen's Association, has just said:

"The South has been utterly reactionary in its attitude toward labor. It is completely out of step with modern attitudes toward such questions as women in industries, child labor, limited hours of labor, employers' liability and the like. In Texas recently a Democratic State administration declared martial law in Galveston, where there was a strike, against the protest of every city official, at a time when there was not a sign of disorder and no arrest was made from the beginning to the end of the strike. Yet troops were brought in and martial law proclaimed."

For long years American laborers have been bamboozled by the South. Southern white laborers have thought that they could raise themselves by disfranchising, lynching and insulting black laborers. Northern white laborers have thought that their salvation lay in forcing black workers to be scabs or to starve. Black laborers have been convinced that their salvation lay in close communion with the "aristocratic" southern landlords and capitalists and with rich northern "philanthropy" against the "poor white trash". All were wrong. There is no color line in labor. To entrenched Privilege the underpaid

day's work of black and white all looks alike, and entrenched Privilege finds the South its finest, freest dwelling place.

THE SHIP AND THE SEA



THE April CRISIS said:

Only yesterday in Tennessee, where a real Republican movement with high aims and efficient leadership has been led in the western part of the state by R. R. Church, a Republican convention composed only of white men calmly ousted every black Republican. And it stands every chance of being given recognition by the National Republican Committee, which refused to seat Perry Howard of Mississippi, who was legally elected and in the face of right and justice, put a white man in his place. So that the Republican Party has practically said to the South,—no decent colored man need apply and we will recognize anything, decent or indecent, among white politicians.

In confirmation of this the Republican National Convention took up contests in 11 Southern States, where the issue was clearly drawn between Negroes and "Lily Whites". Three of these were decided in favor of the Negroes and *eight* in favor of the whites. In the Tennessee case R. R. Church writes us as follows:

In reference to my contest, the National Committee, as you will see from the enclosed copy of the minutes relative to the 10th Tennessee district contest, was of an unanimous opinion that I was entitled to at least one-half of the vote of my district. On an amendment to that motion the decision was twenty-six to twenty-three that I was entitled to a full vote.

When the Committee on Credentials met, my contest was called at 5:45 in the morning. Each side was allowed five minutes to present their side of the controversy and to my surprise, instead of discussing the irregularity of my election, the lawyer for the contestant only discussed the harmful effect of the election of a colored man to represent this district in the Republican National Convention. His argument was backed up by a woman by the name of Mrs. Eddie McCall Priest of Huntington, Tennessee, who does not live in this congressional district. She had with her, four other white women said to be from Tennessee. The vote on unseating me and my contestant, C. B. Quinn, was twenty-three to eighteen.

R. R. CHURCH.

"The Republican Party is the Ship—all else is the Sea," said Frederick Douglass. Well, for God's sake, give us the Sea!



HAITI, one of the most beautiful islands in the world, was discovered by Christopher Columbus, December 6, 1492. The Spaniards enslaved and killed the Indian inhabitants until in 1511 only 14,000 of the original million were left. French pirates began to frequent the island in the seventeenth century and in 1663 the French annexed the eastern part and since then the island has been divided into Spanish and French halves, the former known as Santo Domingo and the latter as Haiti. African slaves were introduced and for a while cruelty, murder and desperate revolts took place all over the island.

Later, in Haiti, a more liberal policy encouraged trade; war was over and capital and slaves poured in. Sugar, coffee, chocolate, indigo, dyes, and spices were raised. There were large numbers of mulattoes, many of whom were educated in France, and many masters married Negro women who had inherited large properties, just as in the United States to-day white men are marrying eagerly the landed Indian women in the West. When white immigration increased in 1740, however, prejudice arose against these mulattoes and severe laws were passed depriving them of civil rights, entrance into the professions, and the right to hold office; severe edicts were enforced as to clothing, names, and social intercourse. Finally, after 1777, mulattoes were forbidden to come to France.

When the French Revolution broke out, the Haitians managed to send two delegates to Paris. Nevertheless the planters maintained the upper hand, and one of the colored delegates, Ogé, on returning, started a small rebellion. He and his companions were killed with great brutality. This led the French government to grant full civil rights to free Negroes. Immediately planters and free Negroes flew to arms against each other and then, suddenly, August 22, 1791, the black slaves, of whom there were four hundred and fifty-two thousand, arose in revolt to help the free Negroes.

For many years runaway slaves had hidden in the mountains under their own

chiefs. One of the earliest of these chiefs was Polydor, in 1724, who was succeeded by Macandal. The great chief of these runaways or "Maroons" at the time of the slave revolt was Jean François, who was soon succeeded by Biassou.

Pierre Dominic Toussaint, known as Toussaint L'Ouverture, joined these Maroon bands, where he was called "the doctor of the armies of the king", and soon became chief aid to Jean François and Biassou. Upon their deaths Toussaint rose to the chief command. He acquired complete control over the blacks, not only in military matters, but in politics and social organization; "the soldiers regarded him as a superior being, and the farmers prostrated themselves before him. Dessalines did not dare to look in his face, and all the world trembled before his generals."

The revolt once started, blacks and mulattoes murdered whites without mercy and the whites retaliated. Commissioners were sent from France, who asked simply civil rights for freemen, and not emancipation. Indeed that was all that Toussaint himself had as yet demanded. The planters intrigued with the British and this, together with the beheading of the king (an impious act in the eyes of Negroes), induced Toussaint to join the Spaniards. In 1793 British troops were landed and the French commissioners in desperation declared the slaves emancipated. This at once won back Toussaint from the Spaniards. He became supreme in the north, while Rigaud, leader of the mulattoes, held the south and the west. By 1798 the British, having lost most of their forces by yellow fever, surrendered Mole St. Nicholas to Toussaint and departed. Rigaud finally left for France, and Toussaint in 1800 was master of Haiti. He promulgated a constitution under which Haiti was to be a self-governing colony; all men were equal before the law, and trade was practically free. Toussaint was to be president for life, with the power to name his successor.

Napoleon Bonaparte, master of France, had at this time dreams of a great American empire, and replied to Toussaint's new

government by sending twenty-five thousand men under his brother-in-law to subdue the presumptuous Negroes, as a preliminary step to his occupation and development of the Mississippi valley. Fierce fighting and yellow fever decimated the French, but matters went hard with the Negroes, too, and Toussaint finally offered to yield. He was courteously received with military honors and then, as soon as possible, treacherously seized, bound, and sent to France. He was imprisoned at Fort Joux and died, perhaps of poison, after studied humiliations, April 7, 1803.

Thus perished the greatest of American Negroes and one of the great men of all time, at the age of fifty-six. A French planter said, "God in his terrestrial globe did not commune with a purer spirit."

The treacherous killing of Toussaint did not conquer Haiti. In 1802 and 1803 some forty thousand French soldiers died of war and fever. A new colored leader, Dessalines, arose and all the eight thousand remaining French surrendered to the blockading British fleet.

Thus in 1801 Haiti became a free and independent nation; but the inhabitants were, it must be remembered, chiefly illiterate slaves without capital or experience. They began a long struggle to secure their independence and achieve prosperity. Dessalines became the first national leader and was succeeded in 1806 by Petion and Christophe. The latter had been among the Haitian soldiers who helped the Americans against the British at the siege of Savannah, while the former was a staunch and

effective ally of the South American revolutionists. Petion died in 1818 and Christophe the following year. They were succeeded by Boyer who became ruler not only of Haiti but of Santo Domingo from 1822 to 1843. He gained recognition for Haiti from France, United States and Great Britain and arranged a *concordat* with the Pope. He finally resigned in 1843.

The subsequent history of Haiti since 1843 has been the struggle of a small divided country to maintain political independence. The rich resources of the country called for foreign capital, but outside capital meant political influence from abroad, which the little nation rightly feared. Within, the old antagonism of the freedman and the slave settled into a color line between the mulatto and the black, which for a time meant the difference between educated liberalism and reactionary ignorance. This difference has largely disappeared, but some vestiges of the color line remain. The result has been reaction and savagery under Soulouque, Dominique, and Nord Alexis, and decided advance under presidents like Nissage-Saget, Solomon, Légitime, and Hyppolite.

In political life Haiti is still in the sixteenth century; but in economic life, she has succeeded in placing on their own little farms the happiest and most contented peasantry in the world, after raising them from a veritable hell of slavery. If modern capitalistic greed can be restrained from interference until the best elements of Haiti secure permanent political leadership the triumph of the nation will be complete.

THE TRUTH ABOUT HAITI

AN N. A. A. C. P. INVESTIGATION



JAMES WELDON JOHNSON



IN writing of my visit to Haiti for CRISIS readers, I should like to tell all that I learned about political, economic and social conditions there, and to give, as well, the information and impressions I gained about the country and the Haitian people themselves. This, of course, will not be possible, for either of these phases of the subject, fully treated, would make a complete article. I have decided that something about each phase will be more interesting and more comprehensive than all about

one. Therefore, what I say will of necessity be rather sketchy.

THE HISTORIC BACKGROUND

I SHOULD like the reader, first of all, to take a swift glance at the historical and cultural background of the Haitian people. In order to fully understand present and actual conditions, it is necessary to be familiar with the fact that the Haitian people have a glorious history behind them. Haiti was the first of the American Republics, after the United States, to gain its

independence. The story of the war for Haitian independence is one of the most thrilling chapters in the history of the world. If one reads only what alien historians have written, he gains the idea that the Haitian struggle was nothing more than the massacre of outnumbered whites by hordes of semi-savage blacks. There was massacre and savagery but it was on both sides. But the war itself was one which suffers very little in magnitude by comparison with the American Revolution. There were times when the French troops and the Haitian troops engaged, aggregated more than 80,000 men. The French troops were the best that Napoleon could send. The Haitian troops were not a band of lawless guerrillas but were well drilled and well officered. There were battles in which these troops compelled the admiration of the French for their valor, and their commanders, for their military ability and gallantry.

It should also be borne in mind that the Haitian Revolution was not merely a political revolution. It was also a social revolution. There was a complete overturn of both the political and social organization of the country. The man who had been the chattel became the ruler. The great estates of the colonial slave holders were cut up into small parcels and allotted among the former slaves. This last fact has a direct bearing on present conditions in Haiti, to which I shall refer later.

Haiti gained her independence 116 years ago and maintained her complete sovereignty down to 1915, the year of American intervention. None of the Latin-American Republics had the difficulties in maintaining their independence that Haiti encountered. The Black Republic did not receive from the United States the support which it had a right to expect. Haiti had fought France, England and Spain, but the United States was the last of all the strong nations to recognize her independence, when, indeed, she should have been the first.

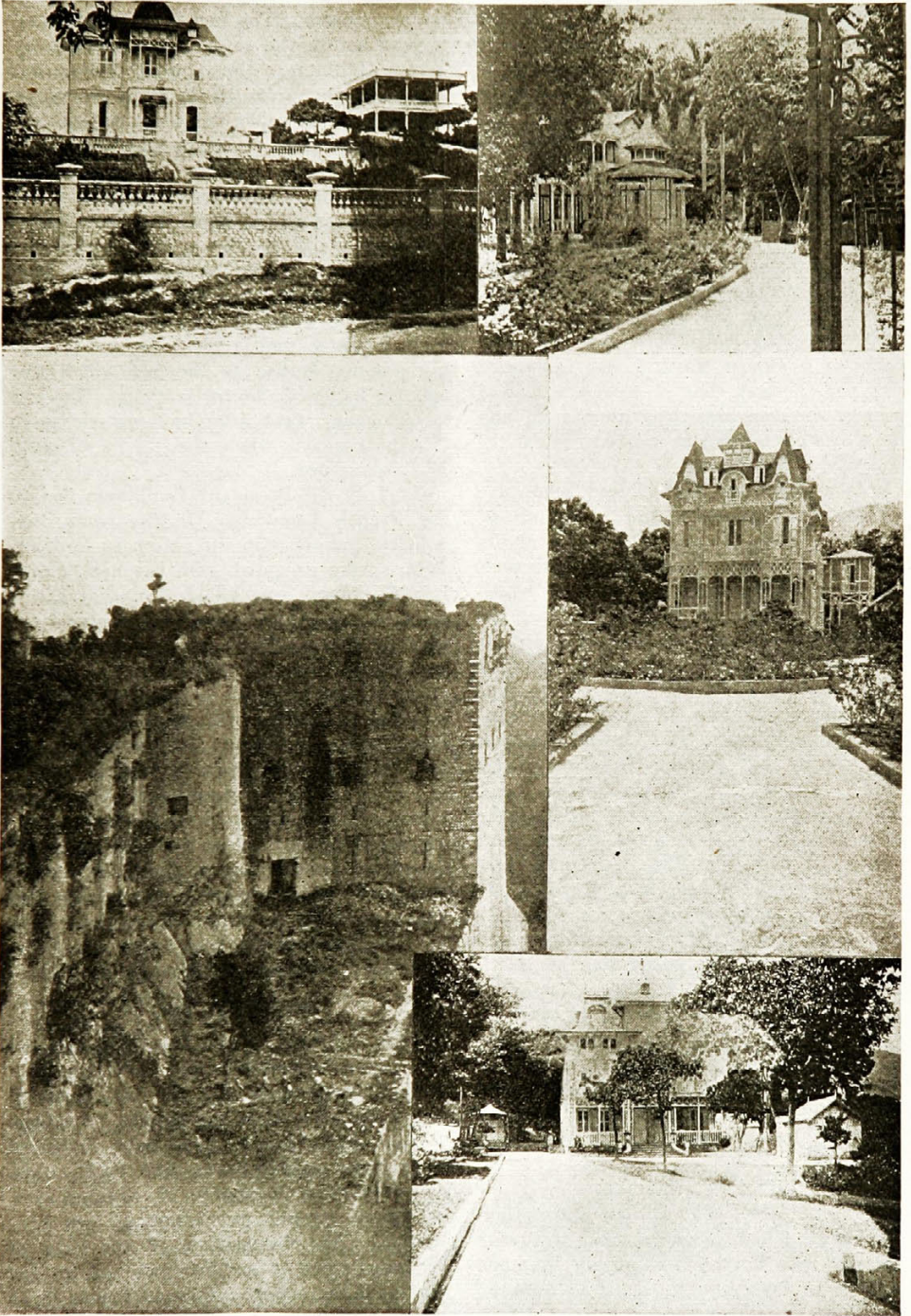
CHRISTOPHE

EVEN intelligent colored Americans are apt to feel indulgent or embarrassed over the subject of Haitian history. No doubt many of them have smiled or felt ashamed at the generally accepted story about King Christophe in his palace at *Sans Souci* and his court of dukes and counts. The popular

picture of Christophe's court is that of a semi-savage ludicrously playing at king, surrounded by a nobility that took their titles from the names of things they liked best to eat and drink. Christophe was a remarkable man, and a ruler of great intelligence and energy. He declared himself king because he felt that most could be accomplished for Haiti under the strongest possible form of government. Under his direction, the northern part of Haiti underwent great development. I visited Christophe's palace at *Sans Souci*. It has fallen into ruins, but there is still enough left to show that it was indeed a palace. The buildings and grounds were copied after the palace at Versailles, and were constructed by the best European architects and builders. There is no doubt that when it was erected, it was the most palatial residence on the western hemisphere.

But a yet more wonderful testimony of Christophe's energy and greatness is the citadel which he built with the idea of its being the last stronghold against the French if they should attempt to reconquer Haiti. He built this citadel on the top of a mountain more than three thousand feet high, which towered up above his palace at *Sans Souci*, and dominated the fertile plains of northern Haiti which stretch around for miles. I made the trip to the citadel. The journey requires more than two hours on horseback up a narrow and precipitous mountain-path. After I had ridden for an hour and a half, I reached a sudden turn in the path and caught the first view of the structure. The sight was amazing. It was dumbfounding. I could hardly believe my own eyes. There, from the pinnacle of the mountain, rose the massive walls of solid brick and stone to a height of more than one hundred feet. On three sides of the citadel the walls are sheer with the sides of the mountain. The other side is approached by the path.

This path, Christophe had commanded by fifty solid brass cannon, each one about thirty feet long. How he got these guns up to the top of the mountain nobody seems to know. The Haitian Government has had offers for them as metal, but nobody seems to know how to get them down. Getting them up was a super-human accomplishment, as it is not an easy matter to get up to the citadel with an ordinary basket of lunch. I spent more than two hours going



SCENES IN HAITI

A bastion of Christophe's Citadel, and homes in Port-au-Prince

through this vast fortress without pausing a moment, and the more I saw of it, the more the wonder grew on me not only as to the execution but the mere conception of such a work. In many places the walls are from eight to twelve feet thick. An idea of its size may be gained from the fact that it was built to quarter 30,000 soldiers. It is the most wonderful ruin in the western hemisphere, and for the amount of human energy and labor sacrificed, can well be compared to the pyramids of Egypt. As I stood on the highest point, where the sheer drop from the walls was more than 2,000 feet, and looked out over the rich plains of northern Haiti, I was impressed with the thought that if ever a man had the right to feel himself a king, that man was Christophe when he walked around the parapets of his citadel.

It is a people of Negro blood, who have produced a Christophe and a Dessalines, who have given to the world one of its greatest statesmen, Toussaint L'Ouverture, who have behind them a history of which they have every right to be proud, that are now threatened with the loss of their independence; that have now fallen not only under American political domination, but under the domination of American prejudice. Haiti is ruled today by martial law dispensed by Americans. There are nearly three thousand American Marines in Haiti, and American control is maintained by their bayonets. In the five years of American Occupation, more than three thousand innocent Haitians have been slaughtered.

There are three grounds on which the attempt is made to justify American intervention and the military occupation of Haiti. The first is that such a state of anarchy and bloodshed had been reached as could no longer be tolerated by the civilized world; the second, that the Haitians have demonstrated absolute unfitness to govern themselves; and the third, that great benefits have been brought to Haiti by American control.

ALLEGED ANARCHY

AS to the first: The United States Government has wished to make it appear that it was forced on purely humane grounds to intervene in Haiti because of the tragic overthrow and death of President Vilbrun Guillaume, July 27-8, 1915, and that this government has been compelled to keep a military force in Haiti

since that time to pacify the country and maintain order. The fact is that for nearly a year before the *coup d'état* which overthrew Guillaume, the United States had been bringing pressure on Haiti to compel that country to submit to American control. Three diplomatic attempts had been made by three different missions. It was in May, 1915, that the third attempt was made. The United States sent to Haiti Mr. Paul Fuller, Jr., with the title "Envoy Extraordinary", on a special mission to apprise the Haitian Government that the Guillaume Administration would not be recognized by the United States unless Haiti agreed to sign a covenant similar to the one which this country had with Santo Domingo. The two governments were interchanging views on this proposition when the events of July 27-8 took place.

On July 27, President Guillaume fled to the French Legation. On the same day, political prisoners in the prison at Port-au-Prince were executed. On the next morning, Guillaume was killed, and that afternoon, an American man-of-war dropped anchor at Port-au-Prince and landed American forces. Immediately after the killing of Guillaume, Port-au-Prince was as quiet as though nothing had happened, and it should be borne in mind that through it all, the life of not a single American citizen had been taken or jeopardized. The overthrow of Guillaume and its attending consequences did not constitute the cause of American intervention in Haiti; it merely furnished an opportunity for which this government was waiting. There never have been the grounds for intervention in Haiti that there have been in Mexico.

FITNESS TO RULE

THE unfitness of the Haitian people to govern themselves has been the subject of propoganda for the last century. Books and pamphlets and articles have been written, and lectures have been delivered many times over to prove that the Haitians not only were incapable of advancement, but were steadily retrograding into barbarism. An observation of the city of Port-au-Prince is sufficient to refute this oft made assertion. Port-au-Prince is a clean, well paved, well lighted city. Its newer business buildings are constructed of concrete and brick. The wooden shanties which one so often sees in magazines and

books illustrating the business section of the town are relics of the old French régime. The residential section of Port-au-Prince is built on the slopes of the hills that rise back of the city. The homes of the well-to-do people are beautiful villas with well kept grounds, and there are hundreds of them.

This section of Port-au-Prince is superior to the residential section in any of the cities of the Central American republics. In fact, Port-au-Prince is one of the most beautiful of the tropical cities which I have seen. Haiti has been independent for more than a century and if the people had been steadily retrograding into barbarism during all of that time, Port-au-Prince today would be an aggregation of filth and decay instead of the city that it is. In Port-au-Prince one will meet Americans who, in response to the exclamation, "Why I am surprised to see what a fine city Port-au-Prince is!" will answer, "Yes, but you should have seen it before the Occupation." The implication here is that the American Occupation is responsible for making Port-au-Prince a paved and well kept city. It is true that only one or two of the principal streets of Port-au-Prince were paved at the time of the intervention—five years ago—but the work had already been begun and contracts for paving the whole city had already been let by the Haitian Government. The American Occupation did not pave, and had nothing to do with the paving of a single street in Port-au-Prince. The regulations instituted by the American Health Officer may have something to do with the regularity with which the streets are swept, but my observation showed me that the Haitians have a "sweeping habit" which they must have acquired long years before the American Occupation.

I made a five-day trip through the interior, travelling day and night in an automobile. I noticed in the early morning hours, as I passed cabin after cabin in the rural districts, the women carefully sweeping the yards until they were as clean as a floor. In fact, nowhere in the rural districts of Haiti did I see the filth and squalor which may be observed in any backwoods town in our own South.

The smaller cities of Haiti are replicas of Port-au-Prince. Whatever the Haitians may not be, they are a clean people. Many

may be dressed in rags and tatters, but the rags and tatters are periodically washed. A filthy Haitian is a rare exception. On this point, I recall a remark made by a white American who conducts one of the biggest mercantile businesses in Haiti. He was speaking to me about the cleanliness of the Haitians and he made an observation which struck me quite forcibly. He showed me statistics to prove that Haiti imports more soap per capita than any country in the world. He told me that three of the largest soap manufacturers in the United States maintain headquarters at Port-au-Prince.

Another point in the propaganda which has been so long circulated to prove the unfitness of the Haitians, is the statement that the people are congenitally and habitually lazy. Not long ago I saw a magazine article on Haiti, and one of the illustrations was a picture of a Haitian man lying asleep in the sun, and under it was the title "The Favorite Attitude of Haiti's Citizens." I would wager that the photographer either had to pay or persuade his subject to pose especially for him, because in all of my six weeks in Port-au-Prince, I never saw anybody lying around in the sun asleep. On the contrary, the Haitians are quite a thrifty people. What deceives some observers is the fact that their methods are primitive. The mistake is often made of confounding primitive methods with indolence. Anyone who travels the roads of Haiti will be struck by the sight of scores and hundreds and even thousands of women, boys and girls filing along, mile after mile, with the produce of their farms and gardens on their heads, or loaded on the backs of animals, to dispose of them in the markets of the towns. I do not see how anyone could accuse such people of being lazy. Of course, they might market their stuff more efficiently if they had automobile trucks; they have no automobile trucks, but they are willing to walk. For a woman to walk eight or ten miles with a bundle of produce on her head which may barely realize her a dollar is, undoubtedly, a wasteful expenditure of energy, but it is not a sign of laziness.

The Haitian people have also been accused of being ignorant and degraded. They are not degraded. I had ample opportunity to study the people of the cities, and the people of the country districts, and I found

them uniformly kind, courteous and hospitable, living in a simple and wholesome manner. The absence of crime in Haiti, is remarkable, and the morality of the people is strikingly high. Port-au-Prince is a city of more than 100,000, but there is no sign of the prostitution that is so flagrant in many Latin-American cities. I was there for six weeks and in all that time, not a single case of a man being accosted by a woman on the street came to my attention. I heard even from the lips of American Marines tributes to the chastity of the Haitian women.

The charge that the Haitians are ignorant is only partly true. They are naturally quick witted and have lively imaginations. The truth, however, is that the great mass of the Haitian people are illiterate. They are perhaps more illiterate than the people of any Latin-American country, but there is a specific reason for this. For a reason which I cannot explain, the French language in the French-American colonial settlements containing a Negro population divided itself into two branches—French and Creole. This is true of Louisiana, Martinique and Guadeloupe, and also of Haiti. The Creole is an Africanized French, and must not be thought of as a mere dialect. The French-speaking person cannot, with the exception of some words, understand Creole unless he learns it. Creole is a distinct language, a graphic and very expressive language, and in some respects, is, for Haiti, a language superior to French.

The upper Haitian classes, say approximately 500,000, speak French, while the masses, probably 2,000,000, speak Creole, and though Haitian Creole is grammatically constructed, it has not been generally reduced to writing. Therefore, these 2,000,000 people have no way of communication through the written word. They have no books to read. They cannot read the newspapers. They cannot communicate with each other by writing. The children of the masses study French the few years they spend in school, but French never becomes their every-day language. In order for Haiti to abolish illiteracy and thereby reduce the ignorance of her masses, Creole must be made a written, as well as a spoken language for I feel that it is destined to remain the folk language of the country. This offers a fascinating task for the Haitian intellectuals. Before I left,

I talked with a group of them concerning it.

I had the opportunity of being received into the homes of the cultured and wealthy people of Port-au-Prince, to attend several of their social affairs and to visit the clubs. Even the most prejudiced writers of Haiti have had to make an exception of this class of Haitians, for they compel it. The majority have been educated in France. They have money. They live in beautiful houses. They are brilliant in conversation and know how to conduct themselves socially. The women dress in fine taste, many of them importing their gowns directly from Paris. Refined people from no part of the world would feel themselves out of place in the best Haitian society. Many of these women are beautiful and all of them vivacious and *chic*. I was deeply impressed with the women of Haiti, not only the society women, but the peasant women. I should like to give my impressions, but space will not allow.

AMERICAN "BENEFITS"

THE third ground offered as justification is that great benefits have been brought to Haiti by American control. I made an honest effort to find out what things the Americans have done for the benefit of Haiti, during the five years of Occupation. I found that only three things could be advanced, and they were: The Improvement of the public hospital at Port-au-Prince; enforcement of rules of modern sanitation; and the building of the great road from Port-au-Prince to Cape Haitien. The improvement in the hospital is a worthy piece of work but cannot be made to justify military occupation. The enforcement of certain rules of sanitation is not quite so important, as it sounds, for the reason that Haiti, under native rule, has always been a healthy country and never subject to the epidemics which used to sweep the countries circling the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea.

The building of the road from Port-au-Prince to Cape Haitien is a monumental piece of work, but it is doubtful whether the Occupation had in mind the building of a great highway for the benefit of Haiti, or the construction of a military road which would facilitate the transportation of troops and supplies from one end of the island to the other. At any rate, the manner of building this road was one of the most

brutal blunders made by the American Occupation in Haiti. It was built by forced labor. Haitian men were seized on the country roads and taken off their farms and put to work. They were kept in compounds at night and not allowed to go home. They were maltreated, beaten and terrorized. In fact, they were in the same category with the convicts in the Negro chain gangs that are used to build roads in many of our southern states. It was largely out of the methods of building this road that there arose the need for "pacification". The Haitians rebelled. Many of them made their escape and fled to the hills and armed themselves as best they could for revenge. These refugees make up the greatest part of the "caco" forces, and it has now become the duty and sport of American marines to hunt these "cacos" with rifles and machine guns. I was seated at table one day in company with an American captain of marines and I heard him describe a "caco" hunt. He told how they finally came upon a crowd of natives having a cock fight and how they let them have it with machine guns.

There was one accomplishment which I did expect to find. I expected to find that the Americans had at least made an attempt to develop and improve the system of public education in Haiti. This, at least, they have done in other countries where they have taken control. But I found that the American Occupation has not advanced public education in Haiti a single step. No new school buildings have been erected or new schools established. Not a single Haitian youth has been sent away for training and not a single American teacher, white or colored, has been sent to Haiti to teach.

The United States has absolutely failed in Haiti. It has failed to accomplish any results that justify its military Occupation of that country, and it has made it

impossible for those results ever to be accomplished because of the distrust, bitterness and hatred which it has engendered in the Haitian people. Brutalities and atrocities on the part of American Marines have occurred with sufficient frequency to bring about deep resentment and terror on the part of the Haitian people. There have been needless killings of natives by marines. I was told that some marines had cut a notch in the stocks of their rifles for each native killed. Just before I left Port-au-Prince, an American marine caught a Haitian boy stealing sugar on the wharf, and instead of arresting him, he battered his brains out with the butt of his rifle.

I learned from the lips of American marines, themselves, of a number of cases of

rape on Haitian women by marines. But, perhaps, the worst phase of American brutality in Haiti is, after all, not in the individual cases of cruelty, but in the American attitude. This attitude may be illustrated by a remark made by a marine officer at another time when I was seated at table with some Americans. We were discussing the Haitian situation when



Victims of American Rule

he said, "The trouble with this business is that some of these people with a little money and education, think they are as good as we are." The irony of his remark struck me quite forcibly since I had already met a number of cultured Haitians in their homes.

The Americans have carried American prejudice to Haiti. Before their advent, there was no such thing in social circles as race prejudice. Social affairs were attended on the same footing by natives and white foreigners. The men in the American Occupation, when they first went down, also attended Haitian social affairs, but now they have set up their own social circle and established their own club to which no Haitian is invited, no matter what his social standing is. The Haitians now retaliate by never inviting Americans to their social affairs or

their clubs. Of course, there are some semi-social affairs at which Haitians and Occupation officials meet, but there is a uniform rule among Haitian ladies not to dance with any American official.

A great deal of this prejudice has been brought about because the Administration has seen fit to send southern white men to Haiti. For instance, the man at the head of the customs service is a man who was formerly a parish clerk in Louisiana. The man who is second in charge of the customs service is a man who was formerly Deputy Collector of Customs at Pascagoula, Miss. The man who is Superintendent of Public Instruction was formerly a school teacher in Louisiana. It seems like a practical joke to send a man from Louisiana where they have not good schools even for white children down to Haiti to organize schools for black children. And the mere idea of white Mississippians going down to civilize Haitians and teach them law and order would be laughable except for the fact that the attempt is actually being made to put the idea into execution. These Southerners have found Haiti to be the veritable promised land of "jobs for deserving democrats". Many of these men, both military and civilian officials, have moved their families to Haiti. In Port-au-Prince many of them live in fine villas. Many of them who could not keep a hired girl in the United States have a half-dozen servants. All of the ci-

vilian heads of departments have automobiles furnished at the expense of the Haitian Government. These automobiles seem to be used chiefly to take the women and children out for an airing each afternoon. It is interesting to see with what disdain, as they ride around, they look down upon the people who pay for the cars. It is also interesting to note that the Haitian officials and even the cabinet officers who are officially the superiors of these various heads have no cars. For example, the Louisiana superintendent has a car, but the Haitian Minister of Public Instruction has none. What the Washington Administration should have known was that in order to do anything worth while for Haiti, it was necessary to send men there who were able and willing to treat Negroes as men, and not because of their ability to speak poor French, or their knowledge of "handling niggers".

The United States has failed in Haiti. It should get out as well and as quickly as it can and restore to the Haitian people their independence and sovereignty. The colored people of the United States should be interested in seeing that this is done, for Haiti is the one best chance that the Negro has in the world to prove that he is capable of the highest self-government. If Haiti should ultimately lose her independence, that one best chance will be lost.

"PASTURES NEW"



JESSIE FAUSET



FOUR books on my desk open up to me an undiscovered country. They reveal what I was unable to discover even in the New York Public Library—first glimpses of the literature of Haiti. Here are *Morceaux Choisis* ("Selections") in prose, and *Morceaux Choisis* in poetry, besides a critique of Haitian literature by Duraciné Vaval, and *Rires et Pleurs*, ("Tears and Smiles") the poetical works of a Haitian poet—Oswald Durand.

Haiti boasts of a literature which reaches at least as far back as the end of the 18th century. Even in its beginnings it possesses a maturity and a stylistic quality such as we fail to notice in the early literary output of America. This may be due

to certain intrinsic characteristics of the French tongue. That language if spoken or written correctly seems in that very process to give itself "the grand style". Virtually any Frenchman who is really a writer is a stylist. Haitian prose writers show this same tendency—it is a little more difficult to trace it in poetry,—but one detects it immediately in the prose both of the forum and of the novel.

Out of a host of Haitian authors mentioned by Solon Ménos and his collaborators in the *Morceaux Choisis*, we must speak of Beauvais Lespinasse, born in 1811, a son of Port-au-Prince. M. Lespinasse in his "History of the Freedmen" writes on an old and moot phase of the eternal ques-

tion of the color line.

"In France," he says, "master and slave were both white. There was no difference between a freedman who had the good luck to attain wealth and power, and any other rich and powerful man. In San Domingo the Freedman was easily discernible no matter where he turned, because he was not white. Nevertheless no one dreamed at first of disputing the rights accorded him by liberty. It was a long time before the color of the freedman became the excuse for his segregation. But when the hour of corruption finally struck, this single fact added to the condition of slavery the prejudice of color. Slavery in France was simply an exploiting of *men*, whereas in San Domingo it was an exploiting of *race*. Prejudice in France was merely that against men of poor and weak estate; in San Domingo it was against men of every degree of the African race."

The question of color and its ramifications is a favorite. We find Antenor Firmin, Haitian minister to Paris in 1900, writing on "The Rôle Played by Black Haiti in the History of Civilization". Jules Devieux in his *Chanson d'Afrique* gives a touching account of native Africans torn by the white slaver from their fatherland, brokenly promising those left behind "never, never to forget, no matter how distant the land of exile for which they were starting". Thalés Manigat bases the "Grandeur of the Soul of a Slave" on a magnificent black hero,—Jacques.

Other phases of life meet with due attention. Léon Audain, physician and pathologist, writes sanely and wisely on voodooism. He goes right to the heart of the matter.

" . . . Critics pretend to see in this practice (voodooism) irrefutable proof of the barbarous tendencies of the Haitians. This is overshooting the mark. As I see it Haitians find in voodooism, at least in its ordinary manifestations, only a means of distraction. At certain seasons of the year they offer up as sacrifice, goats, sheep and fowls—and eat them. They drink rum—far too much of it,—they dance to the sound of the drum, the bell, the triangle and the *cata* and lend themselves to all sorts of jugglery, just as in Europe at any given carnival, people throng the streets with din and orgy. Each nation has its own special method of amusement. Spain

and southern France enjoy the bull fight; the fine sand of the arena is ensanguined with the blood of man and beast. Northern France and Belgium favor cock-fights. I need not dwell on the gladiatorial combats of ancient Rome which none the less has handed down to the European world its laws and civilization! It is impossible to standardize the amusements of the *hoi polloi* or to judge from their nature the degree of civilization to which any given people has attained."

These are the propagandists. There are the pure literati too. Vaval the critic speaks specially of Frédéric Marcelin the novelist, famous because of his *Ducas-Hippolyte* and his "Little Tale of Haiti" better known as *Thémistocle-Epaminondas-Labasterre*. Georges Sylvain, according to this critic, is no mean critic himself; his writings "refine feeling and develop judgment." Amilcar Duval in his *Après Dîner* tells a charming tale of the love affair of a child for a beautiful woman bearing the exotic name Ellyane.

In the field of drama we have *La Fille de l'Empéreur* by Liautaud Ethéard, whose plot centres about the great L'Ouverture, and *Le Conseiller Delord* by Edmond Saintonge which somehow recalls his great French predecessor Eugène Scribe.

It is always difficult to define the charm of poetry. Perhaps because that charm rests so largely on the perfect blending of idea and form. There are a few poems which bear resetting in another tongue—but not many. Fewer if any endure the transition from one language to another of essentially different stock. French poetry does not lend itself easily to our harsher, less flexible mould. So it is almost impossible to bring over to the reader in English, the verse of Haiti and have him perceive its charm. It is there, however, ranking with the charm of the poetry of France.

One is struck by the patriotic motif. A country whose struggle for freedom has been so persistent and so beset must reflect that condition in the hearts of her sons. Pierre Faubert, born in the troublesome days following the fall of L'Ouverture, sings:

Brothers, we've cast beneath our feet

The infamous yoke that bowed us so;

Yellow or black—what mattered our skins

When we sought revenge on our common foe?

God who is just gave strength to our arms,
 Yellow or black we breasted the flood;
 Crying "What matters? We've built for
 our race

A common land bathed in common blood!"

Destainville Martineau depicts in his *Lamentations de la Patrie* the country's woe on beholding the horrors of civil war. Massillon Coicou bids all children Love with all your hearts, your Fatherland,

Preserve for her a worship grave and pure!

Oswald Durand, Paul Lochard and Georges Sylvain are the names which stand out even in a cursory survey of Haiti's poetry. Durand in particular is the favorite. He is the lyricist, the poet of the poets, the artist creating and enjoying art for art's sake. His poetry deals with the adventures of love—life indeed is to him nothing but a series of such adventures—he rings all the changes,—but grave or gay the theme is always the same.

Vaval says "Before anything else the *Rires et Pleurs* are a libation to love. Oswald like Alfred de Musset is not far from believing that love is the main excuse for living."

I have known tremendous loves
 Of an hour's—or less—duration.
 Fate dismissed them on their way—

Death arrived with their creation.

The poetry even more than the prose shows the influence of France and of the classics. Eut why not? Both France and the classics are the property of the world. In *Le Secret d'Etre Heureux* of Jules-Solime Milscent, son of a white father and black mother, one finds a familiar note. It is the *Carpe Diem* of Horace the *Freut Euch des Lebens* of Nægeli and the "Gather ye rosebuds while ye may" of Robert Herrick.

Milscent sings:

Take this lesson to your hearts,
 Lovers young and maidens fair:
 Hug your fond illusions fast,
 Do not seek the truth to bare.
 Do not seek to penetrate
 Why's and wherefore's of life's pleasure.
 Ignorance is often bliss:
 Knowledge may destroy joy's treasure!

Thus the Haitian poet singing over a century ago shows that life with its ideals, its problems and its solaces, flows on always the same, though lived under different skies and in varied climes.

THE SLEEPER WAKES

A NOVELETTE IN THREE INSTALLMENTS



JESSIE FAUSET



I-II

AMY when an infant was left in care of a colored family, the Boldins, whom she grew to love, especially her little foster brother Cornelius. She grew up innocent and happy but impulsive and at the age of seventeen suddenly decided to run away to New York City. Here she found work and was received as white. Finally a Greenwich Village artist, Zora Harrison, took her into her coterie and eventually married her to a wealthy, elderly southern white man, Stuart Wynne.

III

From the very beginning he was different from what she had supposed. To start with he was far, far wealthier, and he had, too, a tradition, a family-pride which to Amy was inexplicable. Still more inexplicably he had a race-pride. To his wife this was not only strange but foolish. She was as Zora had once suggested, the true democrat. Not that she preferred the company of her maids, though the reason for this did not lie *per se* in the fact that they were maids. There was simply no common ground. But she was uniformly

kind, a trait which had she been older would have irritated her husband. As it was, he saw in it only an additional indication of her freshness, her lack of worldliness which seemed to him the attributes of an inherent refinement and goodness untouched by experience.

He, himself, was intolerant of all people of inferior birth or standing and looked with contempt on foreigners, except the French and English. All the rest were variously "guineys", "niggers", and "wops", and all of them he genuinely despised and hated, and talked of them with the huge intoler-

ant carelessness characteristic of occidental civilization. Amy was never able to understand it. People were always first and last, just people to her. Growing up as the average colored American girl does grow up, surrounded by types of every hue, color and facial configuration she had had no absolute ideal. She was not even aware that there was one. Wynne, who in his grim way had a keen sense of humor, used to be vastly amused at the artlessness with which she let him know that she did not consider him good-looking. She never wanted him to wear anything but dark blue, or sombre mixtures always.

"They take away from that awful whiteness of your skin," she used to tell him, "and deepen the blue of your eyes."

In the main she made no attempt to understand him, as indeed she made no attempt to understand anything. The result, of course, was that such ideas as seeped into her mind stayed there, took growth and later bore fruit. But just at this period she was like a well-cared for, sleek, house-pet, delicately nurtured, velvety, content to let her days pass by. She thought almost nothing of her art just now, except as her sensibilities were jarred by an occasional disharmony. Likewise, even to herself, she never criticized Wynne, except when some act or attitude of his stung. She could never understand why he, so fastidious, so versed in elegance of word and speech, so careful in his surroundings, even down to the last detail of glass and napery, should take such evident pleasure in literature of a certain prurient type. He fairly revelled in the realistic novels which to her depicted sheer badness. He would get her to read to him, partly because he liked to be read to, mostly because he enjoyed the realism and in a slighter degree because he enjoyed seeing her shocked. Her point of view amused him.

"What funny people," she would say naively, "to do such things." She could not understand the liaisons and intrigues of women in the society novels, such infamy was stupid and silly. If one starved, it was conceivable that one might steal; if one were intentionally injured, one might hit back, even murder; but deliberate nastiness she could not envisage. The stories, after she had read them to him, passed out of her mind as completely as though they had never existed.

Picture the two of them spending three years together with practically no friction. To his dominance and intolerance she opposed a soft and unobtrusive indifference. What she wanted she had, ease, wealth, adoration, love, too, passionate and imperious, but she had never known any other kind. She was growing cleverer also, her knowledge of French was increasing, she was acquiring a knowledge of politics, of commerce and of the big social questions, for Wynne's interests were exhaustive and she did most of his reading for him. Another woman might have yearned for a more youthful companion, but her native coldness kept her content. She did not love him, she had never really loved anybody, but little Cornelius Boldin—he had been such an enchanting, such a darling baby, she remembered,—her heart contracted painfully when she thought as she did very often of his warm softness.

"He must be a big boy now," she would think almost maternally, wondering—once she had been so sure!—if she would ever see him again. But she was very fond of Wynne, and he was crazy over her just as Zora had predicted. He loaded her with gifts, dresses, flowers, jewels—she amused him because none but colored stones appealed to her.

"Diamonds are so hard, so cold, and pearls are dead," she told him.

Nothing ever came between them, but his ugliness, his hatefulness to dependents. It hurt her so, for she was naturally kind in her careless, uncomprehending way. True, she had left Mrs. Boldin without a word, but she did not guess how completely Mrs. Boldin loved her. She would have been aghast had she realized how stricken her flight had left them. At twenty-two, Amy was still as good, as unspoiled, as pure as a child. Of course with all this she was too unquestioning, too selfish, too vain, but they were all faults of her lovely, lovely flesh. Wynne's intolerance finally got on her nerves. She used to blush for his unkindness. All the servants were colored, but she had long since ceased to think that perhaps she, too, was colored, except when he, by insult toward an employee, overt always at least implied, made her realize his contemptuous dislike and disregard for a dark skin or Negro blood.

"Stuart, how can you say such things?" she would expostulate. "You can't expect

a man to stand such language as that." And Wynne would sneer, "A man—you don't consider a nigger a man, do you? Oh, Amy, don't be such a fool. You've got to keep them in their places."

Some innate sense of the fitness of things kept her from condoling outspokenly with the servants, but they knew she was ashamed of her husband's ways. Of course, they left—it seemed to Amy that Peter, the butler, was always getting new "help",—but most of the upper servants stayed, for Wynne paid handsomely and although his orders were meticulous and insistent, the retinue of employees was so large that the individual's work was light.

Most of the servants who did stay on in spite of Wynne's occasional insults had a purpose in view. Callie, the cook, Amy found out, had two children at Howard University—of course she never came in contact with Wynne—the chauffeur had a crippled sister. Rose, Amy's maid and purveyor of much outside information, was the chief support of her family. About Peter, Amy knew nothing; he was a striking, taciturn man, very competent, who had left the Wynnes' service years before and had returned in Amy's third year. Wynne treated him with comparative respect. But Stephen, the new valet, met with entirely different treatment. Amy's heart yearned toward him, he was like Cornelius, with short-sighted, patient eyes, always willing, a little over-eager. Amy recognized him for what he was; a boy of respectable, ambitious parentage, striving for the means for an education; naturally far above his present calling, yet willing to pass through all this as a means to an end. She questioned Rosa about him.

"Oh, Stephen," Rosa told her, "yes'm, he's workin' for fair. He's got a brother at the Howard's and a sister at Smith's. Yes'm, it do seem a little hard on him, but Stephen, he say, they're both goin' to turn roun' and help him when they get through. That blue silk has a rip in it, Miss Amy, if you was thinkin' of wearin' that. Yes'm, somehow I don't think Steve's very strong, kinda worries like. I guess he's sorta nervous."

Amy told Wynne. "He's such a nice boy, Stuart," she pleaded, "it hurts me to have you so cross with him. Anyway don't call him names." She was both surprised and frightened at the feeling in her that prompt-

ed her to interfere. She had held so aloof from other people's interests all these years.

"I *am* colored," she told herself that night. "I feel it inside of me. I must be or I couldn't care so about Stephen. Poor boy, I suppose Cornelius is just like him. I wish Stuart would let him alone. I wonder if all white people are like that. Zora was hard, too, on unfortunate people." She pondered over it a bit. "I wonder what Stuart would say if he knew I was colored?" She lay perfectly still, her smooth brow knitted, thinking hard. "But he loves me," she said to herself still silently. "He'll always love my looks," and she fell to thinking that all the wonderful happenings in her sheltered, pampered life had come to her through her beauty. She reached out an exquisite arm, switched on a light, and picking up a hand-mirror from a dressing-table, fell to studying her face. She was right. It was her chiefest asset. She forgot Stephen and fell asleep.

But in the morning her husband's voice issuing from his dressing-room across the hall, awakened her. She listened drowsily. Stephen, leaving the house the day before, had been met by a boy with a telegram. He had taken it, slipped it into his pocket, (he was just going to the mail-box) and had forgotten to deliver it until now, nearly twenty-four hours later. She could hear Stuart's storm of abuse—it was terrible, made up as it was of oaths and insults to the boy's ancestry. There was a moment's lull. Then she heard him again.

"If your brains are a fair sample of that black wench of a sister of yours——"

She sprang up then thrusting her arms as she ran into her pink dressing-gown. She got there just in time. Stephen, his face quivering, was standing looking straight into Wynne's smoldering eyes. In spite of herself, Amy was glad to see the boy's bearing. But he did not notice her.

"You devil!" he was saying. "You white-faced devil! I'll make you pay for that!" He raised his arm. Wynne did not blench.

With a scream she was between them. "Go, Stephen, go,—get out of the house. Where do you think you are? Don't you know you'll be hanged, lynched, tortured?" Her voice shrilled at him.

Wynne tried to thrust aside her arms that clung and twisted. But she held fast

till the door slammed behind the fleeing boy. "God, let me by, Amy!" As suddenly as she had clasped him she let him go, ran to the door, fastened it and threw the key out the window.

He took her by the arm and shook her. "Are you mad? Didn't you hear him threaten me, me, — a nigger threaten me?" His voice broke with anger, "And you're letting him get away! Why, I'll get him. I'll set bloodhounds on him, I'll have every white man in this town after him! He'll be hanging so high by midnight—" he made for the other door, cursing, half-insane.

How, *how* could she keep him back! She hated her weak arms with their futile beauty! She sprang toward him. "Stuart, wait," she was breathless and sobbing. She said the first thing that came into her head. "Wait, Stuart, you cannot do this thing." She thought of Cornelius—suppose it had been he—"Stephen,—that boy,—he is my brother."

He turned on her. "What!" he said fiercely, then laughed a short laugh of disdain. "You are crazy," he said roughly, "My God, Amy! How can you even in jest associate yourself with these people? Don't you suppose I know a white girl when I see one? There's no use in telling a lie like that."

Well, there was no help for it. There was only one way. He had turned back for a moment, but she must keep him many moments—an hour. Stephen must get out of town.

She caught his arm again. "Yes," she told him, "I did lie. Stephen is not my brother, I never saw him before." The light of relief that crept into his eyes did not

escape her, it only nerved her. "But I *am* colored," she ended.

Before he could stop her she had told him all about the tall white woman. "She took me to Mrs. Boldin's and gave me to her to keep. She would never have taken me to her if I had been white. If you lynch this



"God! Let me by, Amy!"

boy, I'll let the world, your world, know that your wife is a colored woman."

He sat down like a man suddenly stricken old, his face ashen. "Tell me about it again," he commanded. And she obeyed, going mercilessly into every damning detail.

(To be concluded in the October CRISIS)

National Association for the ... Advancement of Colored People.

THE POLITICAL CONVENTIONS

NONE of the political parties can profess ignorance as to the needs and aspirations of the Negro in the coming political campaign. Representatives of the N. A. A. C. P. have presented the demands of the Negro before the conventions of the Republican Party at Chicago, the Democratic Party at San Francisco and at the convention called by the Committee of Forty-eight in Chicago in July from which sprang the new Farmer-Labor Party.

James Weldon Johnson, our Field Secretary, who was a member of the Advisory Committee on Platform and Policies of the Republican Party, attended the Chicago Convention. He had a personal conference with Senator Watson, who was Chairman of the Republican Platform Committee, regarding a plank against lynching. He and other colored men also appeared before the Platform Committee and spoke in behalf of a plank endorsing legislation that would make lynching a Federal offense. Such a plank was included in the Republican platform and read:

"We urge Congress to consider the most effective means to end lynching in this country, which continues to be a blot on our American citizenship."

This single reference to the Negro, is, of course, far from satisfactory. Its significance lies in the fact that it indicates that the Republican Party realizes that the Negro is not as easily satisfied as he once was with promises alone. It realizes that something tangible must be done if that party hopes to retain the support of the Negro vote.

At the San Francisco Convention of the Democratic Party a committee representing the Association, headed by Walter A. Butler, President of the Northern California Branch, appeared before National Committeeman Quinn of Rhode Island of the Resolutions Committee and requested planks against lynching, for enforcement of civil service laws without discrimination and for Federal control of elementary education. Those who read the Democratic platform

know the results. Nothing was expected and nothing was received. The Association desired, however, to put that party on record. This it did.

The most encouraging reception was that accorded the Rev. Robert W. Bagnall of Detroit, who is Organizer for the Association in the Great Lakes District, by the conventions of the Committee of Forty-eight and the American Labor Party in Chicago in July. An ovation was given Mr. Bagnall at the conclusion of his address. The joint platform contains a plank demanding equal suffrage for all citizens regardless of race, creed or color; one demanding that this country shall abandon imperialistic designs, instituted at the behest of Wall Street, and shall withdraw from Haiti, San Domingo, the Philippines and Porto Rico. The resolution of the Labor Party against lynching is unusually strong and offers a striking contrast to the indefinite tone of the plank adopted by the Republican Party. It reads:

"Whereas, The lynching of our fellow-workers is not only un-American and brutal, but a most flagrant denial of fundamental American rights; and

Whereas, Such lynchings not only bring about a moral deterioration in the community, but breed disrespect for law,

Therefore, Be it resolved that the Labor Party in convention assembled protests most vehemently against the un-American crime of lynching and urges upon the legislatures of the various states and upon Congress to enact legislation making impossible future lynchings or any other manifestation of the mob spirit."

This resolution which was later adopted as a plank in the platform demanded in definite language the enactment of laws by Congress making lynching a Federal offense, after being concurred in by the Committee of Forty-eight convention.

One of the most prominent figures at the convention who could not be reached in time to secure permission to use his name writes to Mr. Johnson the following regarding the action of the convention and Mr. Bagnall's speech:

"Mr. Bagnall spoke very effectively and movingly before both the Labor Party Convention and the 48 Convention. I am extremely glad that he was there, since the effort which I had suspected would occur to sidestep the color question, did occur, and in fact became quite pivotal in the deliberations of the amalgamated convention.

"We have a platform and a candidate both squarely pledged and aggressively interested in the colored people"

The October CRISIS will contain later developments with regard to the political situation which will be of extreme interest to all colored voters and to those who are interested in the great question of how the Negro vote will go in November.

DULUTH

THE August issue of THE CRISIS told of the work done by our branches at St. Paul and Minneapolis in connection with the lynching of three Negroes at Duluth on June 15. Since that story was written, additional evidence secured through investigation and the action of the Grand Jury in returning indictments of members of the mob throw more and more doubt on the guilt of the three men lynched. Investigators' reports show that there is grave doubt as to the guilt of any of the Negroes lynched or now held in prison, nor is there any proof that the girl was assaulted. In fact, available evidence points to the conclusion that the story of the assault was an afterthought.

Thus, an investigator sent to the scene by the St. Paul Branch, N. A. A. C. P., reports: "The conduct of the boy and girl is inconsistent with an assumption of the guilt. The girl accompanied by the boy left her home at 8 P. M. for the circus and [they] were home again at 10 P. M. They came home on the street car with many other people and exhibited no signs of excitement. Both went to their respective homes and said nothing to anyone about it. The girl made no complaint and the following morning at 8:30 she was at the train to identify the Negroes if possible, and after looking at each of them declared that none of them was the guilty party. She was examined the same day by a reputable physician who declared that he could find no evidence of the girl having been criminally assaulted, although she claims six Negroes had assaulted her in turn. The

boy went home and had to be at work at 12 o'clock. He was at home two hours, from 10 to 12, and said nothing about this awful crime."

A huge caption on the first page of the Duluth *Rip-Saw* of June 26, reads as follows: "Negroes Did Not Rape Girl."

Despite the complete absence of proof against the lynched colored men, and despite the strong indications that the story of the assault was a fabrication, the press of the country gave the wildest and most prominent display to statements that an alleged attack upon a white girl by colored men had been the cause of the orgy of bestiality and mobbism which had raged through the streets of Duluth.

There was, so far as the N. A. A. C. P. knows, no attempt on the part of the press to correct the viciously misleading impression which had gone forth to the country. A typical instance is that of the New York *Times* which published prominently statements relating to the alleged attack. The only correction and indication that the colored victims of mob violence had not been guilty occurred in an insignificant news item headed "Duluth Lynching Dragnet", wherein the County Attorney was quoted as announcing that the inquiry aided by the chief of police had proved that at least two of the three men lynched had been innocent of the assault with which they had been charged.

Despite this and over a month after the affair the St. Paul *Pioneer-Press* says editorially: "A few weeks ago three Negroes were lynched in Duluth for the unspeakable crime unspeakably committed."

The news method of the press, which makes charges of guilt, good news, and proof of innocence unworthy of display, constitutes a large element of the falsification which complicates the relations of white and colored people in this country.

At the time of writing forty men had been indicted by the Grand Jury and will be tried at the September term of court. The Twin City branches as well as the newly formed branch at Duluth are watching the cases very closely in conjunction with the National Office.

THE ERIE SURVEY

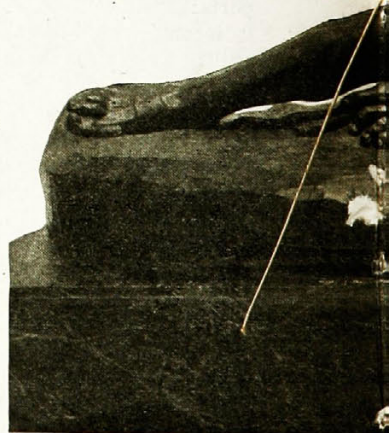
THE Erie, Pa., Branch, located in a city where the colored population has greatly increased during the past five years, has



recently done a splendid piece of work in investigating in thorough fashion housing conditions among colored people in that city. This report is too lengthy to give in full but it offers suggestions to other branches in communities where there are problems resulting from a marked increase in the colored population. A schedule was drawn to ascertain the following points: Name; address; number of occupants; occupation; employer; present monthly rent; number of rooms and style of house, whether frame or brick; state of repair; sanitary conditions; length of residence; landlord's name; monthly rent a year ago; when rent was raised and how much. It was also ascertained whether or not the occupant was the owner of his home; the purchase price; the present value; the amount of mortgage; also whether he would like to own a home and in what district, and the amount of money he could afford to pay down as the first payment.

The work was done largely by the members of the Branch Executive Committee. In addition to the above preliminary report, the Committee expects to interview the Real Estate Board, Loan Companies and employers and to interest citizens as to what they can and will do for the colored people in Erie.

Erie is a city of 93,372, of which 1200 are colored people. The census of 1910 gives the colored population of Erie as 340. The relations of the colored and white people of the city are amicable

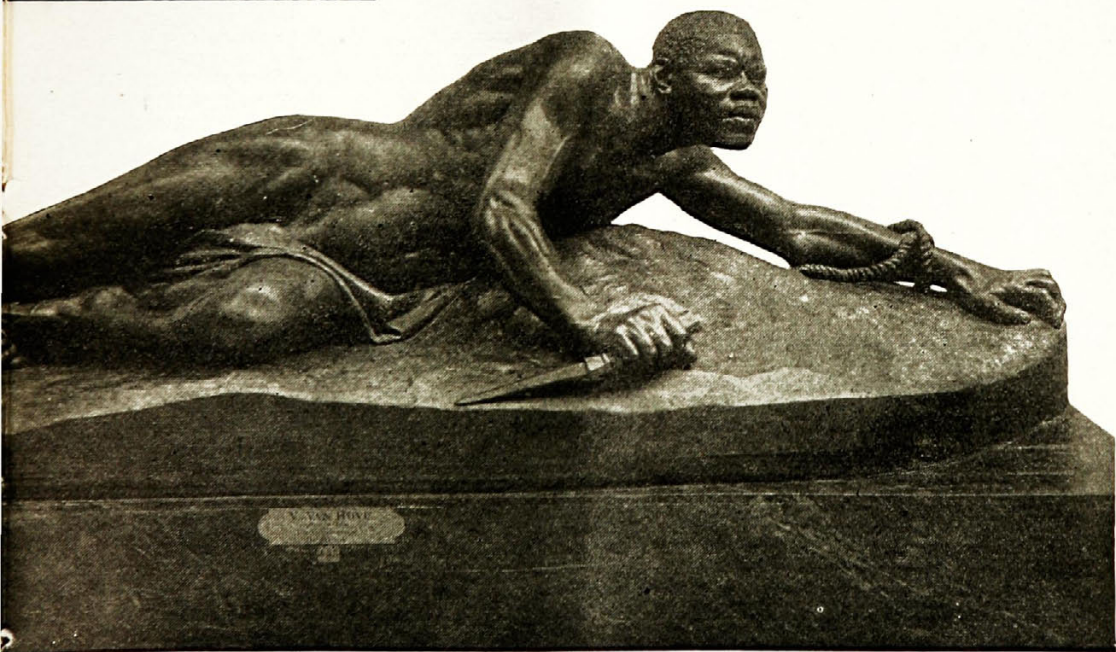


THE VAN HOVE STATUES IN T

and it is doubted whether any other northern city has less race prejudice. The colored people are not confined to any particular district and there are no segregation laws. In connection with its survey the Branch Executive Committee prepared a map showing the location of every colored renter and home owner. In its work the Committee had the most enthusiastic co-operation of the colored citizens of Erie. They gave information some of which, in the case of home owners, might be construed as nobody else's business. However, they all realized that their help would be of value to the Committee and that the facts once secured would aid every colored citizen of the city.

Replies to the schedule sent out were received from 112—42 home owners and 68 renters; 531 people were covered by the investigation, of which 110 families, 38.18 per cent, were home owners—a remarkable showing, in the opinion of the Committee. Thirty-seven occupations were represented, the majority of which were personal service occupations.

One of the matters now being taken up by the Branch Executive Committee is that of interviewing the Real Estate Board of the city, various building and loan companies and the employers of colored laborers with the view of finding out on what terms colored citizens may be able to purchase homes. A list of properties available to colored people will be secured and every effort will be made to assist colored citizens to become home owners. The question of securing more dwellings for renting will be taken up. Quite recently there have been many instances of colored workmen leaving the city because they were unable to secure dwellings for their families. Employers of colored labor will be asked to consider this fact and suggest means of aiding colored persons in securing permanent dwellings in Erie.



THE CONGO MUSEUM, BRUSSELS. (ABOVE) THE PROSTRATE VICTIM (BELOW) THE SPIRIT OF REVENGE.

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

MAURICE McMAHON in *Gale's*:
What think ye of Christ, ye patriots
all,

With your selfish ends to gain?
Alas! it seems, from the acts ye do,
His coming to earth was vain.
Think ye ever of how ye knelt
At your mothers' knees, and God's spirit
felt?

Illusions of madness are veiling your eyes;
Would God that the clouds would rise!

* * *

E. P. Dutton issues *The Voice of the Negro* by Robert T. Kerlin. This is a compilation of the sayings of the Negro press on various phases of the problem. Professor Kerlin says in the introduction:

This book is designed to show the Negro's reaction to the Washington Riot and like events following, and to the World War and the discussion of the Treaty. It may, in the editor's estimation, be regarded as a primary document in promoting a knowledge of the Negro, his point of view, his way of thinking upon race relations, his grievance, his aspirations, his demands. Virtually the entire Afro-American press, consisting of two dailies, a dozen magazines, and nearly three hundred weeklies, has been drawn upon. Here is the voice of the Negro, and his heart and mind. Here the Negro race speaks as it thinks on the question of questions for America—the race question. The like of this utterance, in angry protest and prayerful pleading, the entire rest of the world does not offer.

When I told a publisher that I was making this compilation he remarked that my book would make disagreeable reading. There are worse things than disagreeable reading.

* * *

Recent treatment of the Negro in periodicals:

The Black Vote. W. E. B. DuBois. *The Nation*, June 5, 1920.

Black Man Without a Country. W. A. Anderson. *Harper's*, May, 1920.

The New Negro Speaks. Martha Gruening. *The World To-morrow*, July, 1920.

Menace of a New Race War. *Current Opinion*, July, 1920.

The Conquest of Haiti. H. J. Seligmann. *The Nation*, July 10, 1920.

A Negro Diplomat. M. W. Ovington. *The Freeman*, August 4, 1920.

HAITI ET AL

OTTO SCHOENRICH of New York, former Secretary of the Minister of Finance of the Dominican Republic, spoke at the Clark University Conference on

Mexico and the Caribbean, of the American injustice in tropical countries. The *New York Times* quotes him:

"The record made in Santo Domingo must bring us deep disappointment, while the mess in Haiti must awaken feelings of resentment and shame."

The chief fault is in the Washington Government which "in its dealings with Haiti and Santo Domingo has displayed a disregard of the rights of the inhabitants, an obtuseness with respect to the obligations devolving upon the United States and an indifference to the opinion of Latin-America and the world which are simply incomprehensible."

Inhabitants of the Virgin Islands, he declared, are complaining that they had more freedom and consideration under Danish rule than at present, and it seems that "whenever in the last five years the United States has assumed the government of another country the coming of the American flag signified suppression of popular institutions and the setting up of an arbitrary and inefficient militarism."

Not a few of the naval and marine officers in Santo Domingo have been "overbearing tyrants," said the speaker, but a number have been conscientious. Some, he averred, had openly shown their race prejudice.

"There are," said Mr. Schoenrich, "unfortunate stories current of torture of prisoners by water cure and by application of red-hot machetes and in other ways. A protest signed by the Archbishop of Santo Domingo, which is being spread throughout Latin America, is, in part, my authority for this statement. Giving prisoners an opportunity to escape and shooting them while escaping is also said to have occurred."

* * *

Jacinto Lopez, editor of *La Reforma Social* of Venezuela, says:

The President of the United States exercises a virtual dictatorship over the islands and republics of the Caribbean and Central America, uncontrolled by public opinion either in the United States or in the republics themselves. Since 1898 the United States by seizure of strategic stations, the establishment of various kinds of protectorates, had become supreme lord of the Caribbean and retained its position by force.

Only the protection of the United States preserves the present Government of Nicaragua from being overthrown by her sister republics and the real will of the Nicaraguan people.

* * *

Herbert J. Seligmann writes in the *Nation*:

To Belgium's Congo, to Germany's Belgium, to England's India and Egypt, the United States has added a perfect miniature in Haiti. Five years of violence in that Negro republic of the Caribbean, without sanction of international law or any law other than force, is now succeeded by an era in which the military authorities are attempting to hush up what has been done. The history of the American invasion of Haiti is only additional evidence that the United States is among those Powers in whose international dealings democracy and freedom are mere words, and human lives negligible in face of racial snobbery, political chicane, and money.

STRAWS SHOW THE WIND'S BLOWING

THE colored Board of Trade of Miami, Fla., has issued this open letter to the Mayor and citizens:

The rough element among us is very impatient. And we confess to you, friends, that we are losing our grasp on the rowdy element of colored town. They have listened to us on numerous occasions and the results have not come. They are possessed with the idea that a better way is theirs and seem anxious to pursue it. We have been answered with such remarks as this: "They sent us three thousand miles away from home to make the world safe for democracy and it's up to us, now, to make Miami safe for our families." Unless the officers of the law will convince these men that they are as dutiful in running down and bringing to justice all white criminals the same as colored criminals, the besmirching of the good name and record of Miami is inevitable. And, as is always the case, the innocent suffer losses while the guilty parties escape. If the authorities will cultivate a sense of justice that knows no discrimination when the law is broken and vigorously prosecute the guilty parties, such depredations as have recently occurred will never be experienced.

The Miami *Herald* admits the justice of this frankness:

This is an indictment of the attitude of the white people and white officials toward the enforcement of law where colored people are concerned, that is too close to the truth to be at all palatable to the thinking white man.

Say what we will, the white people of this city have never discharged their full duty toward the colored section of the city. It is a matter of plain observation that while very many colored people are taxpayers and entitled to a due proportion of the city's improvements, they have not received them, by any means. Many of the improvements made for the exclusive use of the white people of the city, have been partly paid for by money collected from the Negro part of the population. They have been taxed without representation and they have been de-

nied their part of the tax money for public improvements for the part of the city they inhabit. That is an injustice for which the white people should seek a remedy.

* * *

The Seattle, Wash., *Union Record* gives sound advice from another approach:

The governor of North Carolina, Thomas W. Bickett, has been giving the Negroes a bit of advice in a speech at Tuskegee, Booker T. Washington's famous school.

The governor urged the Negroes to be patient, saying that "the one safe path for the Negro to follow is the path that leads straight to the door of the white man's conscience—and in time every plea born of justice and wisdom will be allowed."

That the Negro has been patient, no one denies. That he has found much redress for his wrongs at the door of the white man's conscience may be doubted.

The white man's conscience has not responded very vigorously in India, in Egypt, in Middle and South Africa, in the United States, to the betterment of black men.

Our advice to the Negro is to help himself for, according to an old saw, such people get the help of God. Economic power, created by the Negro himself, has done more than the white man's conscience.

The trouble with the governor is that he starts wrong, although he takes a position held by many Anglo-Saxons. He starts in with the idea that the white man is a superior being, and that "justice" to Negroes is something to be "allowed" by white men.

The position contradicts the latest history, the newest thought and the true interpretation of mankind.

No race dare any longer hold itself to be master of other races. No race possesses a conscience to which any other race should come and make its plea. Justice is not something to be "allowed" by one race to another race.

The sensible thing for the Negro, or any other race, is to go ahead with the assumption that he is an equal and honorable member of the human family,—to agitate, to educate, to organize—and keep on sawing wood.

THE STAND OF COLORED WOMEN

THE colored women who have just been convening at Tuskegee left no doubt as to their political stand. The *New York Sun* and *Herald* says:

Delegates to the annual convention of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs to-day failed to pass a resolution offered which would have indorsed the Republican platform and pledge support to the Republican party. Speakers criticised the platform because it did not take a bold enough stand against lynching.

In response to a telegram of greetings from Senator Harding, the convention sent the Republican Presidential nominee a mes-

sage which said, "We regard your message of greetings, coming at this momentous period of our nation's history and from so distinguished a citizen, as most inspiring and encouraging."

* * *

The Des Moines, Ia., *Register* remarks:

The platform adopted at the Tuskegee institute by the National Association of Colored Women's clubs is a better model of clear statement than the perhaps more important platforms of the major political parties.

* * *

We reproduce some sections:

"Since it is evident that the women of the nation are soon to be invested with the right of full franchise, we recommend that the colored women give their close attention to the study of civics, to the laws of parliamentary usage, and to current political questions, both local and national, in order to fit themselves for the exercise of the franchise.

"We heartily commend the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who are doing so much to bring about justice to the members of our proscribed race.

"We wish to go on record as asking the instructors throughout this country, especially those in colored schools, to teach our boys and girls the lives of the great men and women of our race, who have thus far shaped, and are shaping, our destinies.

"We further recommend that wherever possible the local clubs co-operate with the teachers in building up good libraries in colored schools, and in putting upon the shelves authentic publications from our best colored authors in literature, history, science and art.

"We go on record as indorsing and urging the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment to the Federal constitution of the United States, as interpreted in the Volstead act.

"And we also urge our national congress to enforce the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the federal constitution.

"Since glaring headlines and detailed accounts in the press, of crimes and misdemeanors committed by colored people, tend to inflame the passions of the public against members of our race, culminating often in rioting and mob violence, we urge the press of the United States to refrain from thus perpetuating such propaganda against us."

* * *

The *Register* concludes:

The common sense, courageous attitude of the colored women toward the problem of race advancement should be an inspiration to those of the colored leaders who may occasionally doubt.

A WORD OF CHEER

IT is pleasant to come across the occasional evidence of clear and honest thinking on the part of whites toward Negroes.

The *Commercial Appeal* of Memphis, Tenn., strikes a fine note in an editorial entitled "No Color Line in the Law":

The *Commercial Appeal* has received several communications recently protesting against the manner in which the law providing for separate race accommodations in the street cars is enforced, or, to be more exact, not enforced. Our correspondents agree that both races have been more or less guilty of violating the law, but they unite in the conclusion that the greater part of the blame lies with the white people. In this they are correct beyond a doubt. Any street-car patron must have noticed how some unthinking whites will string themselves out in single file along almost the whole length of the car seats while the Negro passengers are compelled to stand huddled together in the rear. This is a direct violation of the plain letter of the law, and it cannot be excused by the fact that the violators are whites, for in the matter of the sanctity of the law no line of color can be followed.

* * *

The "Drifter" in the *Nation* writes with feeling of a splendid incident:

Now while the Premiers fumble the sick body of Europe and in America the candidates mumble toothlessly over the dead bones of ancient issues, The Drifter, in the midst of so much public unwisdom and corruption, likes to turn to certain instances, sticking here and there in his memory, of fine braveries and heroic kindnesses done by plain men and women. There was that black slave in Kentucky who desired freedom enough—when his master had finally lost all right to his slave's respect, and only then—to run away with his scared, unwilling wife, a larger child or two, and two little ones whom he carried on his back across the whole of Ohio into Canada. They had to travel all the way by night, clinging to the most deserted roads, hiding by day in the woods, slinking to freedom. That black father, besides carrying his babies, had the even harder task of keeping up his wife's courage and of quieting the children when the family was in danger, as it repeatedly was, of being discovered; he had to find food for them, and shelter from the weather, and the path across a State almost as blindly as a mole working in the darkness. The whole race of man takes dignity from such an achievement.

AN EXPOSÉ

A HAVAS dispatch from France reports the unflinching stand taken by the Scandinavian novelist, Madam Karen Bramson, with reference to German propaganda concerning black troops in occupation:

Germany seems to forget the bleeding wounds which she caused France while she

calls the attention of the world to her own lot. She does not see the striking contrast for anybody crossing the Franco-German frontier between the devastation of Verdun, the desolation of Woivre, and the fertile territory of the German fields on the other side of the frontier. Germany wishes to distract public opinion by stories of the atrocities committed by black troops. This calumny was considered by the Germans a splendid find. At last they thought they had discovered a blot on France's escutcheon. These stories were used for all they were worth. Illustrated reviews showed pretended pictures of ravaged women. They pointed out that young girls had been carried away and that the bodies of women had been found in the debris of the barracks. Germany knows perfectly well that all this is a lie. If German men hate black soldiers so much it is because their own women show too much interest in the latter.

* * *

Some of the German papers, says Madam Bramson, had the decency to put the blame where it belonged:

The *Stolklinger Nachrichten* says:

These shameless women ought to be flogged and the names black-listed of those young girls who had public relations with strange soldiers in the region of the Saar, and of the loose women who gave themselves up to the same excesses.

* * *

Madam Bramson laments the fact that no voice of authority has been raised to denounce the perfidious campaign which Germany is conducting against the French Army. The despatch continues:

In a second article in the *Matin*, Madam Bramson offers proof of her statements. . . . She declares that the presence of this proof forced the press of the occupied country to acknowledge its dishonesty.

She reproduced statements published by the newspapers, declaring that they were not able to sustain the charges which formed the basis of the articles attacking the use of black troops. She called attention to the fact, moreover, that these acknowledgements of bad faith appeared only in a few papers in the Rhine region, whereas the accusations had been sent broadcast throughout the world.

* * *

The editor of *Harvey's Weekly* has a sane word in this matter.

The Germans have asserted that there have been shocking excesses by the black colonial troops stationed by France in the occupied territory. Women, it is charged, have been insulted and attacked, and have preferred death to dishonor. All this has had an alarming though familiar sound. It has naturally brought from Paris a reply, which is official, and which asserts that not only have the numbers of French troops

in occupied Germany been exaggerated, but the numbers of insults to women have been greatly overdrawn. These instead of being of daily occurrence have been few and far between. Complaint has been made in only thirteen instances, and in some of these convictions have not been found. Modern soldiers are often Crusaders in spirit, but not all of them are so in fact. Offenses by any army are bound to occur. There were offenses against French women by our troops, by British troops, by the French themselves, and by the Germans as well. The figures now offered by the French government in the present case are not high. In the absence of any figures from the German government, they may be assumed to be correct. They show that the number of offenses against German women by French colonial troops is no greater than those against women in other areas. No more talk of excess has come since the French reply was made.

* * *

Germany, according to the London *Daily Telegraph*, was forced to withdraw her statements but the American press as far as we know has failed to take this into account:

Mr. Bonar Law, replying to Mr. A. Parkinson (C. U., Blackpool) said that the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission recently announced a sentence of suspension for fifteen days, from June 16, as regards seven German publications, of which the two most important were the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* and the *Rheinische Zeitung*, for articles attacking the French colored troops. The High Commissions were satisfied that the accusations made against these troops were devoid of any substantial foundation. Several of the newspapers which published those charges having apologized, the period of suspension was reduced to five days.

THE NEGRO PRESS SPEAKS

ON THE LABOR SUPPLY

THE Savannah, Ga., *Tribune* says:

The South is gradually losing hold on its Negro population, long looked upon as the industrial sinew of the South's enterprises, and a heritage which the South possessed by nature and a peculiar accident of fortune and which could not be lost, even if neglected. In this the South has been mistaken and asleep, for the rural Negro has learned that he can "make it" anywhere by such sweat as the South has wrung from his brow. He has had little or nothing to give up or lose in going, and he has found that he can meet the new conditions of labor, climate and housing which he has found at the North. In fact, because of his very penury and poverty, experienced for so long on the farms in the South, he has been able to worst other nationalities in labor and living conditions at the North when thrown into competition with them.

The Horizon

COMPILED BY MADELINE G. ALLISON

MUSIC AND ART

ALFREDO CASELLA writing from Rome to *Musical America* says that "Negro Rhapsody" by John Powell "more impressed the audience than any other piece played at Mr. Damrosch's concert. For once, it seems, a European audience heard American music of clear, immediately recognizable and stimulating American voice."

☐ Sophie Breslau has made a record for the Victor Company of "Greatest Miracle of All", a melody built on aboriginal Negro music.

☐ On account of their rapid increase in business, the Pace and Handy Music Company, Inc., of New York City, has leased a three-story building at 232 West 46th street. It will occupy the whole building.

☐ The Choral Society of Payne University, consisting of 85 voices, has rendered Handel's "Messiah" under the direction of Miss Ruth H. Johnson.

☐ Tommy Harris, a Negro of Des Moines, Ia., has signed a 10-week vaudeville contract for \$250 per week.

☐ Florence Cole-Talbert, soprano, has given a recital at Hampton Institute. She was assisted by Helen Elise Dett, pianist, and Paige I. Lancaster, baritone. The programme included Mozart's "Silently Blending", Bishop's "Lo! Hear the Gentle Lark", "Negro Spirituals" arranged by H. T. Burleigh, a group of Indian songs by Thurlow Lieurance; "Villarelle", by Del'Acqua, and the aria, "Ah, fors e lui", from Verdi's "La Traviata". The last number was the one Mrs. Talbert sang when, out of a class of sixty, she won the diamond medal at the Chicago Musical College in 1916.

☐ Mamie Smith, a colored singer in New York City, has made for the General Phonograph Company records of "That Thing Called Love" and "You Can't Keep a Good Man Down", of which Pace & Handy are the publishers.

☐ The second annual convention of the National Association of Negro Musicians met in New York with a large attendance.

Papers were read and concerts given in which leading artists appeared, including Helen Hagan, Clarence C. White, Minnie Brown, Carl Diton, Florence C. Talbert, R. Nathaniel Dett and Daisy Tapley. Henry L. Grant of Washington was re-elected president.

INDUSTRY

COLORED people at Spout Springs Appomattox County, Va., have opened a grocery business, with Charles Abbott as general clerk.

☐ William H. Triplett, an employee of the Union Pacific Railroad at Denver, Colo., has not lost a day from his work since November 12, 1912. He is the only Negro member of the Union Pacific Family League Committee.

☐ The Farmers' Trucking Association has been organized by Professor Brinkley at Jackson, Miss. Seven carloads of cabbage and one of potatoes were shipped this season, for which the farmers received \$5,000; \$1,000 worth of vegetables was sold to local markets.

☐ At Detroit, Mich., there has been organized the National Inter-collegiate Service Club, the work of which is directed by John M. Ragland. Two years ago there were 40 students in Detroit working in hotels, etc., during the summer; today there are 400 students, representing 20 institutions; 99 per cent of these workers are employed in factories on productive labor.

☐ Negro laborers at the plant of Ayer & Lord Tie Company, Carbondale, Ill., are earning \$110-\$120 per week; the normal wage is \$75-\$90.

☐ Resources of Solvent Savings Bank at Memphis, Tenn., have passed the million dollar mark; deposits amount to \$941,722, among 8,000 savings, 8,000 commercial and 6,000 Christmas savings depositors. B. M. Roddy is cashier.

☐ The Guaranty Mutual Life & Health Insurance Company of Savannah, Ga., has issued \$1,500,000 worth of insurance. Walter S. Scott is president and E. W. Sherman, vice-president.

☐ Bascam Flamer, a Negro at Ridgely, Md., from the first picking of his 3-acre strawberry patch sold 38 crates of strawberries, (1,556 quarts) for \$531.

☐ The Venice Boat and Canoe Company is a colored business at Venice, Cal., which represents \$15,000. It has 65 "class A" row boats and canoes, a working force of 11 men, and its income on capacity days is \$400. Edward and Arthur Reese are the proprietors.

☐ The African Steamship and Sawmill Company has been formed as a million dollar corporation, with Dr. L. G. Jordan, president, and Bishop W. H. Heard, treasurer. The company was chartered under the laws of Delaware, March 16, 1919, and is located in its 3-story building at 1840 South Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Plans have been perfected with the United States Shipping Board for the purchase of a vessel.

☐ Fidelity Savings Bank at Savannah, Ga., celebrates its first year of business with 1,000 depositors and assets of \$29,187. Mr. E. H. Quo is secretary-treasurer.

☐ A site has been purchased and \$21,000 toward a capital of \$100,000 has been paid in by Negroes at Memphis, Tenn., for a department store.

☐ On the opening day of the Workers' Enterprise Bank, organized by Negroes at Bennettsville, S. C., the deposits amounted to \$20,180.

☐ After 44 years' active service Richard Anderson, a Negro, has been appointed special policeman in the Police Department at Washington, D. C.

☐ G. Wallace Reeves, a student of Atlanta University, who has been working in the Pullman service of the Duluth, South Shore and Atlantic Railroad during vacations, has been promoted to the position of conductor of the department.

☐ The Bankers' Fire Insurance Company has been chartered by Negroes at Durham, N. C., with a capital of \$500,000, of which \$100,000 has been subscribed. W. G. Pearson is president.

☐ From Chicago comes word that 825 Negroes in that city are government employees. They include 2 aldermen at \$3500 a year; 2 members of the legislature at \$3500 per term; 2 members of the constitutional convention at \$2500; 1 traction attorney, \$100 per day; 1 assistant corporation counsel, \$3000; 1 assistant attorney gen-

eral, \$5,000; 1 assistant state's attorney, \$45 per day; 2 assistant city attorneys, \$2500; 1 attorney of the sanitary district, \$3000; chief law clerk of Chicago, \$2400; 5 investigators of law department, \$2000; 18 clerks at census office, \$2100; 10 clerks in recorder's office, \$1800; 500 miscellaneous jobs, \$100 per month and up; 1 lieutenant of police, 16 detectives, 8 detective sergeants, 200 policemen, 2 policewomen, 6 probation officers, 1 clerk in the municipal department, 1 lieutenant of fire department and 1 deputy lieutenant.

☐ Since February of this year the 4 colored banks of Portsmouth and Norfolk, Va., have had an increase of \$285,152 in deposits and \$210,305 in resources. Their total capital is \$301,759; surplus, \$151,565; deposits, \$1,498,235; resources, \$2,155,336.

☐ Dr. Owen M. Waller, Jr., the first colored government veterinary inspector at the Cudahy Packing Company, Omaha, has been promoted to the position of final inspector. He is a graduate of Cornell and has been in the government service as veterinary inspector for the past 4 years.

☐ The rule of employing Negroes only as porters, etc., in the street railway system at Boston has been broken by the appointment of former Lieutenant Julian Rainey in the Collecting Department. Through a campaign headed by a colored attorney, John S. R. Bourne, during the session recently ended, the Legislature of Massachusetts enacted a law (1) declaring against discrimination on account of race or color in regard to employees in the civil service of that Commonwealth; and (2) asserting the right and privilege of citizens to employment in the operating as well as in all other departments of street railways in the state, controlled or in any way financially aided by the state, or by any political subdivision of the state.

POLITICS

IN the last Republican Convention there were 12 Negro delegates-at-large from Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, South Carolina, Tennessee and the District of Columbia. Those from Missouri and Tennessee had only half votes. There were 24 district delegates as follows: Georgia 8, South Carolina 5, Louisiana 4, Mississippi 3, Texas 2, Illinois 1, Missouri 1. There were 47 colored alternates.

☐ At Charleston, W. Va., in the recent primary election, 16 colored men were nominated,—3 for the House of Delegates, 6 for Justices of the Peace, and 7 as members of the McDowell County Executive Committee.

EDUCATION

FIVE hundred teachers, of whom 400 are women, were in attendance at Hampton Institute Summer School. There were from Alabama 31, Arkansas 13, Georgia 26, Louisiana 21, Maryland 20, Mississippi 13, North Carolina 105, South Carolina 41, Tennessee 27, Virginia 166, Africa 4.

☐ Frances Williams, a colored *Phi Beta Kappa* graduate of Mt. Holyoke College, has been awarded an \$350 scholarship at the New York School of Social Science. Miss Williams is the daughter of Frank L. Williams, principal of Sumner Colored High School at St. Louis.

☐ Dr. Carter G. Woodson has resigned his position as Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Howard University to become Dean of West Virginia Collegiate Institute.

☐ A Social Service School is to be established at Morehouse College. It will be operated under the control of an executive committee, of which Jesse O. Thomas is chairman, and an advisory council. The course will comprise social and economic theory, medical and social problems, social case work, statistics and record-keeping; it will cover one scholastic year and qualify persons for executive positions in social work.

☐ The late Harriet Blanchard of Philadelphia, Pa., bequeathed to Hampton Institute, \$200,000; and \$100,000 each to the American Church Institute for Negroes and Tuskegee Institute.

☐ The Rev. C. G. Howell, pastor of St. Barnabas Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., has received the degree of Master of Pedagogy from New York University. He has also received the degrees of Bachelor of Arts from Durham University, England, and of Bachelor of Divinity from the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge.

☐ The Rev. William W. Howard of Portland, Ore., Presiding Elder of Cascade district, Oregon-Washington Conference of the A. M. E. Zion Church, is the first Negro to receive the degree of Bachelor of Divinity from Kimball School of Theology. He graduates as vice-president of the student body.

☐ At Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., the Cosmopolitan Club this year included in its program "Negro Night" when colored students spoke and entertained.

☐ The first week of the 9th annual session of the Tuskegee summer school for teachers closed with an enrollment of 510.

☐ Dr. Lewis B. Moore has resigned as Dean of the Teachers' College, Howard University, to become Field Secretary of the Lincoln Reserve Life Insurance Corporation of Birmingham, Ala. This company operates in 6 states and has assets of \$800,000 and \$13,000,000 worth of insurance in force. Mr. Moore's headquarters will be in Atlanta.

MEETINGS

AT Halifax, Nova Scotia, under the African Baptist Association the first Congress of Colored Women has convened with 50 delegates. Maude L. Sparks is honorary president and Bessie Wyse, president. Efforts will be made to finance the home for colored children. In Nova Scotia there are 40,000 Negroes, 90 per cent of whom are members of 20 Baptist churches.

☐ There were 700 women in attendance at the 25th anniversary of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs held at Tuskegee. Miss Hallie Q. Brown of Wilberforce, Ohio, was elected president; Mrs. Mary B. Talbert is honorary president and manager and trustee for life of the Douglass Fund.

☐ Seventeen states were represented at the 7th annual meeting of the Interstate Dental Association at Buckroe Beach, Va. Dr. Stephen J. Lewis of Harrisburg, Pa., was elected president.

☐ The National Association of Teachers in Negro Schools held its annual session in Baltimore. They were entertained by the city and Morgan College.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

PROTEST from Negroes at Wichita, Kan., has caused the School Board to rescind an order issued by Superintendent Mayberry for the elimination of colored children from athletic meets. The colored children won most of the events in last year's meets.

☐ Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, former president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, has lectured at Reed College, Portland, Ore., and before the Chamber of Commerce, Spokane, Wash., being the first colored woman speaker at both places.

¶ Julius Rosenwald offers to contribute \$25,000 to any city wherein by popular subscription by both colored and white people, there is raised \$125,000 for the purchase of land and equipment for a Y. M. C. A. building.

¶ A. Crosby, a Negro, won first prize of a gold medal in a putting contest held at Goodwin Park Golf Club., Hartford, Conn. There were 118 entrants.

¶ Hosea H. Smith, a Negro graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has obtained a position with the Bethlehem Steel Company.

¶ Colored people in New Orleans, La., have presented a medal and \$300 each to Adam J. and George N. Pons, white men, who rescued 9 Negro sailors from drowning. The presentation was held at Grace M. E. Church and was participated in by both races.

¶ Mrs. K. B. Parker Taylor, a colored registered nurse at Orlando, Fla., has been appointed nurse in the public schools.

¶ Blanche M. Van Hook at Columbus, Ohio, has been appointed as Clerk to the Superintendent of Markets. In a Civil Service examination for this position, which hitherto has been held by white men, Miss Van Hook ranked first on the list. In a Federal Civil Service examination for stenographers, Miss Van Hook stood third on the eligible list out of 65 competitors.

¶ Bill Pickett, a colored cowboy at Earle-tesville, Okla, has made a new world's record in roping steers. He threw and tied 3 steers with a lasso in 24 2/5 seconds, for which he won the 3-day average prize and the 2-day first prize.

¶ Three Negroes have been selected by the American Olympic Committee to represent the United States at the athletic meet during August at Antwerp. The Negro competitors are Sol Butler of Dubuque College in the broad jump; R. E. Johnson of Pittsburgh in the 5,000 and 10,000 meter runs; Benny Ponteau of New York in the 135 pound boxing class.

¶ During the past 10 years the population of Quitman and Clay Counties, Ga., has decreased 25 and 15 per cent, respectively, by Negro migration.

¶ M. Russell Nelson, a Negro medical graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, has been appointed resident physician at Bellevue Hospital, New York City.



Martha F. Wiggins

¶ At Robins, Ill., a suburb of Chicago, there is a population of 1,000 Negroes with all colored officials, from Mayor to Chief of Police.

¶ In a Civil Service examination in New York for the position of Clerk in the County Clerk's Office, Martha F. Wiggins, colored,

made an average of 91.8 per cent and won second place on the list. Mrs. Wiggins has been a clerk in the Automobile Bureau, Secretary of State's Office, for nine years. In a promotion examination held for that bureau, Mrs. Wiggins made an average of 90.24 per cent.

¶ Sám Davis, a Negro employee of the Leckie Collieries Company at Williamson, W. Va., lost his life in an effort to save a white girl, Gertrude Garnett, from drowning. He leaves a widow and a child.

¶ Emanuel Quivers, a Negro at Stockton, Cal., acted as a Census enumerator. His supervisor wrote him that he turned in the best papers of any enumerator in his district.

¶ For 10 years Joseph H. E. Scotland, a Negro at Newark, N. J., has been County Document Clerk, being the first Negro appointed to this position; for 12 years previous he was confidential clerk in the banking house of John H. Davis and Company of New York. Mr. Scotland in 1899 organized at Newark the People's Forum for moral, social and intellectual development among Negroes.

THE CHURCH

A NEW edifice costing \$70,000 has been completed at Asheville, N. C., for Mt. Zion Baptist Church.

¶ St. John's A. M. E. Church at Cleveland, Ohio, has a Sunday School of 23 classes with 1,463 members and an average attendance of 825; from the Maccabeus Class, of which Robert Crowler has been teacher for the past 6 years, there have come 3 ministers; Mr. W. P. Lemon has been superintendent for 14 years.

☐ The M. E. Church has expended \$10,000,000 for Negro education. The denomination now proposes to spend \$4,000,000 more for education and general welfare work among Negroes, North and South. It supports 21 schools, with an enrollment of 5,279 students, from which 200,000 boys and girls have been graduated.

☐ Shiloh Baptist Church at Cleveland, Ohio, in one day raised \$12,636 toward the purchase of an edifice.

☐ The picture of Bishop Wallace published in the August CRISIS was that of Paris A. Wallace, pastor of Fleet Street A. M. E. Zion Church, Brooklyn, and former pastor of Big Wesley, Philadelphia. It was he and not Thomas W. Wallace who was elected Bishop of the A. M. E. Zion Church.

CRIME

AT Greenwood, S. C., Pope McCarty, white, shot and killed James H. Walker, colored, because the Negro stepped on his foot.

☐ The following lynchings have taken place since our last record:

Wharton, Tex., June 30, Washington Giles and brother, shot, and Jodie Gordon and Elijah Anderson; murder.

Centerville, Mo., July 8, Fred Canafex, shot; attack on white woman.

Steamship *City of Toledo*, July 13, chef, drowned; assault on white youth.

Fayetteville, W. Va., July 25, William Bennett, Jr. (white); murder.

Midland City, Ala., July 30, 2 Negroes killed by posse in search of a Negro who attacked white woman.

Center, Tex., August 2, Lige Danie's; murder.

PERSONAL

AT Marshall, Texas, Oscar Johnson, a colored boy, rescued 2 people from the burning Finley Building.

☐ The late Samuel W. Gordon, messenger for Governors of New Jersey for 46 years, leaves to his widow an estate of \$120,000. Mr. Gordon also accumulated a valuable collection of antiques.

☐ Mrs. Hannah A. Hargrave of Philadelphia, Pa., announces the marriage of her daughter, Mrs. Helen Brooks Irvin of the Miner Normal School and the United States Labor Bureau, to Mr. R. S. Grossley of Jackson, Miss.

The Political Session *of the* **NATIONAL RACE CONGRESS OF AMERICA, Inc.**

The Fifth Annual Session of the National Race Congress of America, Inc., will convene at the John Wesley A. M. E. Zion Church, 14th and Corcoran Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C.

October 5—8, 1920

Every organization in the race, including Churches, Leagues, and Fraternal Societies, is requested to send delegates to this Congress. Forward looking men and women of the race will be among the speakers. In view of the Presidential election this fall, this convention is of paramount importance.

For Information address

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John R. Hawkins, *Executive Secretary*.

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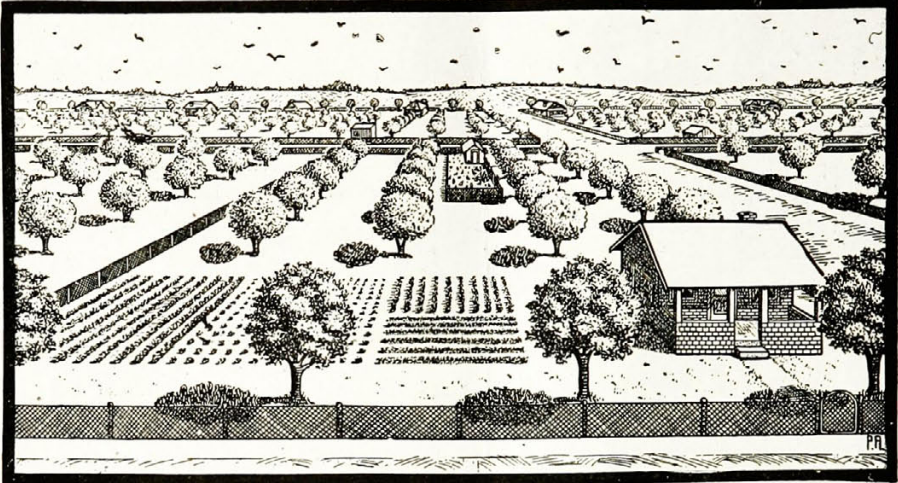
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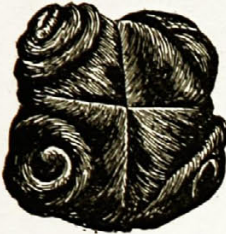
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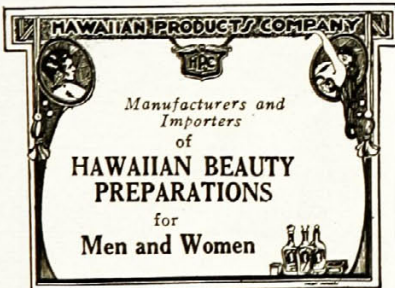
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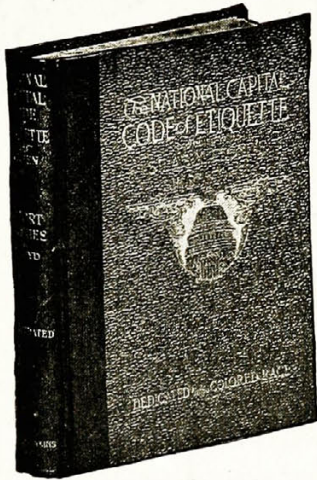
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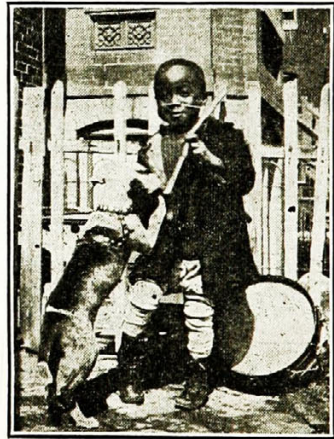
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