

Carton 11:19 THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

The Messenger (folder 1 of 5)

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# THE MESSENGER

WORLD'S GREATEST NEGRO MONTHLY



JULY, 1925

Vol. VII No. 7

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# The Messenger

World's Greatest Negro Monthly

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# THE CASE OF THE PULLMAN PORTER

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

The Pullman porter is in a miserable and tragic plight. His wages are low. His hours of work are long. His condition under which he works are bad. He has no effective voice in the regulation of the conditions of his job. Few workers in America are so low in the industrial world. Still few workers render a more essential and socially useful service. And few workers are as helpless. Few workers are as steady, as reliable, as loyal to their employers.

Something must be done and done quickly. Unrest is growing apace amongst them. Complaining about their situation is chronic and widespread. But they are not sure as to what can be done or what ought to be done. But most of them are quite sure that something must be done.

Obviously before anything is attempted in the interest of the Pullman porters, it is necessary to determine why something ought to be done, the cause for the complaints and unrest among them. In other words, what is the problem? Second, we must seek and settle upon the remedy. Third, we must work out rational, sound, sober and effective methods for the solution of the problem, the removal of the cause.

Now as to the problem:

First: Wages. Wages are by far the most important factor in the life of any worker. So they are in the life of the Pullman Porter. Why? Because with wages the porter buys food, clothing and shelter. Upon food, clothing and shelter his life depends. Thus when wages are low, life is low; when wages are high, life is high. (It is a notorious fact that the average wage of Pullman porters is only \$60 a month.) A small percentage in increase is given each year after he has been in the company a certain length of time. Not enough however to give the porter cause for enthusiasm or to look forward with a pleasant anticipation to a long period of service in the Pullman Company. (No fair-minded person will contend that \$60 a month is sufficient to maintain a family according to recent American standards of living during this period of high rents, the high price of food and clothing—the bare necessities of life. Of course, any of the so-called luxuries, such as the theatre, a vacation and sending the boy or girl to high school and college, is out of the question.) On such a wage, the porter can not think of getting such things which are regarded as necessities by persons of moderate means. Plenty of white workmen enjoy them. (It has long since been officially settled by the United States Department of Labor that \$2000 a year is essential to maintain the average American family in a decent living. The yearly wage of the Pullman porter sums up to \$720 or \$1280 below a decent living wage.) It is apparent then that in all justice they are entitled to a substantial increase in wages.

## Doubling Back But No Double Pay

(Doubling back is a common task for Pullman porters. It means going back the same night or day, generally on the same train from the place to which the porter has just arrived to the city from which he just left. This too is borne by the porter without sleep or rest, seldom has he time enough to take a bath and freshen up himself. This is a hardship. It wears the porter out. It undermines and wrecks his health. When you add to this the fact that for doubling back he gets nothing except his same regular salary for which he is normally expected to make 11,000 miles a month.) You can imagine the plight of the porter. While it is bad enough to be compelled to do two days and two nights work on a stretch, it is worse to receive nothing for it. This is not true with any other worker on the railroad. If the engineer works an hour overtime, he gets time and a half. The same is true of the fireman, brakeman, train conductor, and, I think the Pullman conductor. But it must

be remembered that (the hardship of doubling back is required of no other workers on the railroad.) Not because the railroad or Pullman companies love them any more but because they are organized and consequently have the power to prevent it. And the only way to prevent it is to demand and exact double or, at least, time and a half in pay. The companies in order to keep from paying these excess wages will regulate the schedule so as to avoid doubling back. As it is the company loses nothing by doubling a porter back. The porter only loses. He loses his health. When he is dead and gone the company can easily get another porter. Doubling back then is one of the evils of the Pullman porter's work which must be abolished or paid for at the rate of time and a half or double time. If the Pullman Company put the adjudication of this question of the porter's doubling back before any enlightened social welfare agency in America, it would decide against it in favor of the porters. But doubling back is not the only grievance.

## Hours of Work

With the Pullman porters there are (no definitely regulated hours of work.) They work until their cars reach their destination, however far that may be from the place it started. Sometimes porters are on the road for weeks and months at a time, without adequate linen or food, snatching a little sleep when and whenever they can. This impairs their ability to render the proper service to the traveling public. They have no certainty with respect to their time with their family. This is a crying injustice which needs to be more humanely regulated for the welfare of the porters.

## Conditions of Work

Besides wages and hours of work, the conditions under which one works are the most important. Conditions of work include the relations with other workers, the public and the kind of work done.

## Pullman Conductor and Porter

On the Pullman car there are two workers: The Pullman porter, and the Pullman conductor. Of the two, that the porter is the most important, most valuable both to the company and the public, goes without saying and is recognized as a matter of course. Why? Because while the Pullman porter can do his work and the Pullman Car conductor's too with great efficiency, the Pullman conductor can only do his own work and that poorly. While he spends hours trying to get the map of the car down so that he knows where the berths are, the occupied and unoccupied, the porter has these facts in his head and never makes a mistake. The company knows this and the public knows it. So well is this recognized by the company that it has many porters running in charge, which means that he is porter and conductor in one. Still the Pullman conductor who does less work, knows less about the Pullman car, is of less value and service to the company or public, gets more than twice as much wages as the porter. He never doubles back, would get time and a half if he did, and has better provisions made for his rest. (The main reason for his higher pay and superior advantages to the porter is that the Pullman Conductors are organized. They have power. Whenever the Pullman porter and conductor are involved in a complaint, the conductor's word usually is accepted. It is most generally respected.) The porter is generally made the goat. He gets the demerits. Moreover, the Pullman conductor feels that he is the head of the car and attempts to lord it over the porter, which experienced porters naturally resent knowing that they know their business. This makes for bad team work on the car. It ought to

be definitely settled that the Pullman conductor is not the boss of the porter. He simply has special work to perform. The porter's word in a misunderstanding should be regarded on the same basis as the word of the conductor. This won't be done, however, where one has an organization and the other hasn't. It is interesting here to note that the relations between the train conductor and the Pullman porter are generally good. Here there is no problem to be solved. Both know their work well and do it well. On account of the existence of an organization behind the train conductor, he shows greater self-assurance and independence. If a controversy between the two were to arise, the porter would have no standing whatever beside the train conductor, because the former has his brother workers behind him whereas the latter is compelled to stand alone.

### The Traveling Public

Unlike the train conductor, (the Pullman porters forever stand in fear of complaints by the traveling public. Because complaints unsatisfactorily answered count as demerits against them, and demerits count against the small increase in wages which they are entitled to for long service. Now each porter, Mr. "A" or "B" has less opportunity to get justice when complaints are lodged against him because it is recognized that he has no power. He has no redress when the decision of his district manager is against him, except that he may appeal to the headquarters in Chicago.) And even though he usually gets more consideration from the higher-ups, he does not get as much as any other worker on the railroad gets. Because it is not always convenient for a porter to take his case to Chicago, nor has he any power after he gets there.

In Chicago the Pullman porter is regarded more as a charge, an object of pity, than as a man. He never gets what he is entitled to but only what they are willing to give him. Not so with the organized railway trainmen.

### Pension of Porters

(Every other worker on the railroad except the porter is assured an adequate measure of security in old age. While the Pullman conductor is given pension of \$50 or more a month, the engineer \$100 or more, the Pullman porter only gets \$18 or \$20.) The consequence is that the porter faces the future with fear and trembling. He is doomed to become a beggar in order to make ends meet with the appallingly low pension for there is very little of anything which \$20 can buy in this period of high prices. So much for the plight of the Pullman porter. A word now about the remedy.

### No Remedies

But before dealing with the real remedy, let us discuss what are not remedies. This is necessary in as much as numerous unsound proposals have been made presumably to improve the condition of the porter.

### Company Union

First among the false remedies is the company union. "Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts" is an old but wise adage. Sometimes the source of a so-called remedy is a very safe guide as to whether it is a remedy or not. The employer seldom shows any genuine concern about the welfare of the employee. The emancipation of the slave never originates with the master. Landlords don't institute movements to reduce rents. It is not to his interest to do so. Nor is a company union for the benefit of the employees. It is by, of an for the company. And naturally because the company organized and controls it. The officials of the company union are the tools of the company. They serve the company for the company pays them. And he who pays the fiddler calls the tune. Who-

ever feeds the dog can rub his back and the dog in turn will lick his hand. (Whenever the workers start to organize a genuine union of, by and for themselves then the company steps in, in order to divert the attention of the workers from a real union, to a fake company union. Thus the Pullman company has organized an employee's association. Its objects is to prevent the Pullman porters from organizing a union for themselves—one which will actually fight their battles and secure their demands. The company union is not only not a benefit, it is a detriment to the porters, since it fools some of the porters and delays the time when the porters will realize that their salvation lies in their own hands—their own union. One can readily see that a company union is no good to the workers since it never demands more wages, shorter hours or better working conditions.) Because it is not anymore to the interest of the company to do so than it is for the flea to get off the back of the dog. This is the task of the Pullman porter because he benefits from more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. I have never heard of an employer telling an employee that he is working too hard and too long; that he is not paying him enough money. Nor have I ever heard of a worker telling his boss that he isn't working hard enough or long enough and that he is being paid too much money. Why? Because it is not to his interest to do so. Clearly then the Pullman Company and the Pullman porters have separate interests and hence must have a separate organization. The Pullman stockholders have a union—namely, the corporation. It looks out for the interest of the stockholders. The officials of the corporation, such as the President, superintendent, etc. represent them. Likewise the Pullman porters must have a union of their own whose officials should meet the officials of the company and settle questions relating to their respective interests. This is perfectly fair. The officials of the porters' union can't represent the company nor can the officials of the company represent the porters. The only sound conclusion then is that the company union is no remedy.

### "Rights Not Stripes"

Nor is honor a remedy. A Pullman porter cannot eat, wear or pay rent with honor. (Stripes may represent honorably service but not serviceable honor, because the stripes benefit the company not the porter.) Rights which the company is bound to respect are more important than stripes which only represent an empty honor. Their object is to close the porter's mouth and satisfy him with a sham.

### Big Negro Job Holders in Company

Anything which does not benefit the rank and file of porters is no benefit at all. Such is the case with the porters who have been given big jobs in the Pullman offices at big salaries. Those jobs only benefit the job holders and the company, not the Pullman porters. The jobs are only given to impress the porters with the idea that the company is doing something for them; that it has an interest in them. *They are jokers.* For they only help to chloroform the porters and keep them from organizing. Don't look to the Negroes holding jobs in the company for a remedy. They cannot speak out. They dare not speak out. If they do they will lose their jobs. Thus it is obvious that organization, education and agitation is the only hope of the Pullman porters. Organization of, by and for the porters. Such an organization can get more wages, shorter hours and better conditions of work. It can make stripes represent rights. It can protect the interests of the porters as the railway unions protect the interests of the train conductors, engineers and firemen. It can secure a larger pension. It will give to the porter backbone.

Next month I will discuss methods of organizing.

# rials

## g colored American thinkers



tendency to give indicates. Negroes can't afford to impress national opinion with the idea that they are alone interested in Negro affairs. As citizens of the republic, it is their bounden duty to be interested in all social, civic, political, economic and philanthropic movements. For being an integral part of the populace, they are either injured or benefitted by these agencies. Thus we have only praise for the fine public spirit of the Manhattan Lodge of Elks led by Mr. J. Dalmus Steel, which subscribed \$6,000 to the building of the Presbyterian Hospital. Negro churches, too, are to be congratulated upon the generous assistance they are giving the movement. And this is timely. For the impression is abroad that the Negro preachers are only interested in building fine churches and getting big salaries for themselves. There is no good reason why the Negro churches, fraternal and benevolent societies, together with the general Negro public, should not save the Lincoln Hospital. Its closing will result in throwing scores of capable Negro nurses out of employment. To the end of meeting such emergencies when they arise the group which has the drive for the Presbyterian Hospital in charge, ought to make itself permanent, and a similar one should be launched in all of the big cities. May we say, however, that the Negroes' interest in the Presbyterian Hospital should not end with the conclusion of the campaign to raise the building fund. If their contributions are sufficiently large, they should seek to secure one of their number on the board of management. They need also to see to it that Negro doctors be accorded the privilege to practice in the Hospital. Negro physicians get the same training as the white physicians, but they will not remain as competent in actual practice unless they get hospital experience. Especially should they demand the right for Negro doctors to serve as internes in the New York City hospitals. Not only into the Harlem branch, but all of them. It is unwise to limit our interest in getting Negro physicians in any one hospital. As taxpayers they are entitled to practice in all of them.

### Negroes and the Labor Movement

It is gratifying to note that there is now considerable interest manifest in the organization of the Negro workers. Doubtless the real reason is that the white unions are slowly but surely awakening to the serious necessity of unionizing the Negro worker in self defense. They are beginning to realize that Negro labor is playing an increasingly larger and more significant role in American industry. Especially is this true in the East, West and North, where large numbers of Negro workers have migrated and are competing in the labor market with organized labor. It is this competition

which has jolted the organized white workers out of their state of chronic indifference, apathy and unconcern. Of course, even now nothing definite has been done in the interest of Negro labor by the organized labor movement. Some of its leaders such as Hugh Frayne, Thomas J. Curtis and Ernest Bohm, are members of the Trade Union Committee for Organizing Negro Workers, but it is not apparent that this committee has anything as yet save the moral good will of some of the local unions of New York City. In order for it to succeed in its organization work, however, it must be financed by the white organized workers. So far its financial backing has come from the American Fund for Public Service. It has made possible the employment of Frank R. Crosswaith as Secretary. This Committee was started under the aegis of the National Urban League led by Mrs. Walzer and Mr. Holden. Of course, this work is not new or original. *THE MESSENGER* has been the pioneer in the field advocating the organization of Negro labor. Now the *Crisis* is belatedly taking up the fight for the next three years, and the Negro press generally has become sympathetic and active in advising Negroes to organize into labor unions wherever their white brothers will accept them. We are glad to note that Negro editors are learning their economic lessons slowly but surely. Let no Negro fail in his duty of advancing the cause of Negro labor without let or hindrance. The time is rotten ripe. Immigration from Europe has been materially cut, which means that the yearly supply of labor is much less than it formerly was. This gives the organized workers an advantage, greater bargaining power by virtue of this limited supply. It also gives the Negro worker a strategic position. It gives him power to exact a higher wage from capitalists, on the one hand, and to compel organized labor to let down the bars of discrimination against him, on the other. Thus it benefits him in two ways. And the Negro workers cannot rely upon anything but the force of necessity, the self-interests of the white unions, and the fear of Negro workers' competition, to give them a union card. Another potent force in the organization of Negro labor is education and agitation. A certain course of action may be to a group's interest to take but if it doesn't realize it it is not likely to act upon it. Thus the Negro press and the enlightened white labor press have a big task before them. But the task of Negro workers consists in more than merely deciding to organize. They must guard against being lured up labor blind alleys by irresponsible labor talkers who present them all sorts of wild,

(Concluded on page 275)

## Editorials

*(Concluded from page 261)*

impossible dreams such as are advocated by the Communists. No labor movement in America among white or black workers can solve the industrial problems of the American workers, white or black, whose seat of control is outside of the country. This ought to be too obvious to require argument. The Communist movement in America is a menace to the American labor movement. It is a menace to the Negro workers. While healthy, intelligent, constructive criticism is valuable and necessary to the American labor movement, criticism which starts from the premise that the existing organized labor movement should be disrupted and destroyed must be resolutely opposed. This has been ably done by Abram Cahan, Vladeck of the Jewish Daily Forward; Geleibeter and Baskin, President and Secretary, respectively, of the Workmen's Circle; Sigman and Baroff, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers; Kaufman and Wieneiss, of the Furriers; Hillman and Schlossberg, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, etc. It ought to be patent now that the social history and psychology of the American workers will not yield to Communists' methods and tactics. Thus instead of advancing, the Communists have set back and retarded the cause of labor in America. If such is true of the white worker it is as equally true of the Negro worker.

## Not In Dixie

The Chicago *Daily News* publishes the picture of the infant class at the Woburn (Mass.) Health Clinic, where the best methods of baby nurture are taught to mothers. There are ten babies in the group. In the center, number six in the row, is an apparently full-blood, little black tot.

Obviously, Woburn (Mass.) regards its duty to keep all its children educated, healthy and happy.

Now, when will Dixie get this conception of enlightened selfishness?

The New York *Times*, with "All the News That's Fit to Print," so-styled, publishes this interesting news: *Colored Boy President of Class After Bitter Voting*

New York, April 29.—[Special]—A 17-year-old Negro boy, Arthur Waller, of Jamaica, L. I., was elected president of the general organization of the Newtown High School, Elmhurst, L. I., by the students today, after a bitter fight. Waller received 1,406 votes from a student body of 2,300, and defeated two white candidates. *There are only twelve Negro students in the school.*

This is a happy departure on the part of American newspapers to report such a thing. Normally when a Negro does something commendable one needs a microscope to discover it in the far corners of the white newspaper, if indeed it gets in at all. Should a Negro snatch a white woman's pocketbook, however, that will be published on the front page, most likely with big headlines.

Study this report carefully. "Only twelve Negro students in the school." Yet a Negro boy is elected president of the high school organization. Elected by 2,288 white students, since there were 2,300 students and only twelve Negroes.

This shows that students, with hearts young and

clean, have a sense of justice and fair play till someone plays upon their prejudices.

In New York, too—greatest city and greatest state in the United States. Did it ever occur to you that the same thing could happen in New Orleans or Newport News if Negroes were given the choice? Many a little black boy or girl walking around Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, South Carolina, Arkansas or Texas is a diamond in the rough, waiting only an opportunity to prove his or her worth. Genius is abundant; the chance only is limited among our black boys and girls.

Moreover, herein lies a strong argument against segregated schools. Had the white students in that New York High School simply been told that Negroes were inferior, never having any contact with them, they, the whites, would have grown up believing it. Not so now. Contact destroyed this superman, superior race bogey. Never will a white student of that school ever forget that colored boy. And, mind you, that boy must have possessed not only brains, but dignity, executive capacity and tactful qualities.

We commend the Negro boy for his ability, the white students for their bigness in a prejudiced nation, and the white press for publishing this piece of news which is reassuring—reassuring that the young white American is not tied to all the foolish and vicious traditions of his fathers.

## Beautiful But Dumb

When one hears that a woman is a great artist; a splendid organizer, a business genius, or any of those fine things, if sophisticated, he naturally expects to find a homely little, dried-up looking soul, or a huge, elephantine Amazon. When he hears that a woman is so pretty to look at, her beauty stressed at every mention, he looks for a rapid, empty-headed, blank specimen. He is seldom deceived. Beauty and brains rarely go together.

Emerson once wrote an essay on Compensation, showing that when a man gains one thing he loses another. For instance, civilized man is no more fleet of foot than primitive man, but he has greatly increased his speed in locomotion by the railroad, steamboat and airplane. He is no more keen of sight than his ancestors, but the telescope, microscope and various high-powered glasses have tremendously augmented his optical strength. He is not more alert at hearing than the aborigine, but the telephone and radio have engendered unlimited auditory powers. In very truth, by limited use of his walking, seeing and hearing faculties, he would probably not be able to compete with his primitive brother.

Nature is ever tending toward the norm. It doesn't even give women everything in one package. If she is beautiful, normally she doesn't need any sense. If she is ugly, she needs everything to make up for the absence of pulchritude. Does this explain why most beautiful women are so dumb? And is it necessary to say that the rule applies to men?

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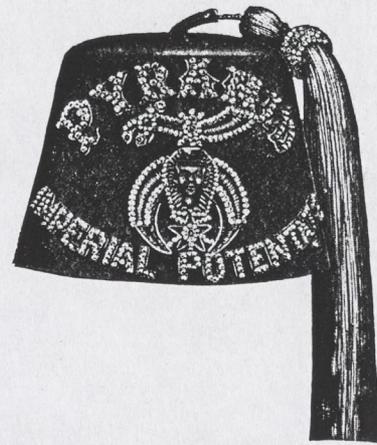
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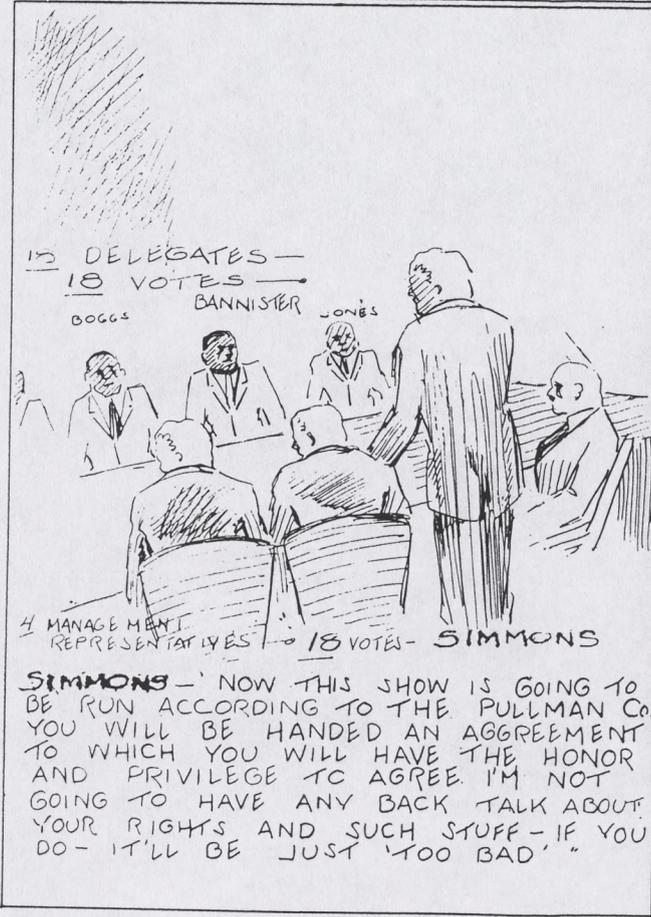
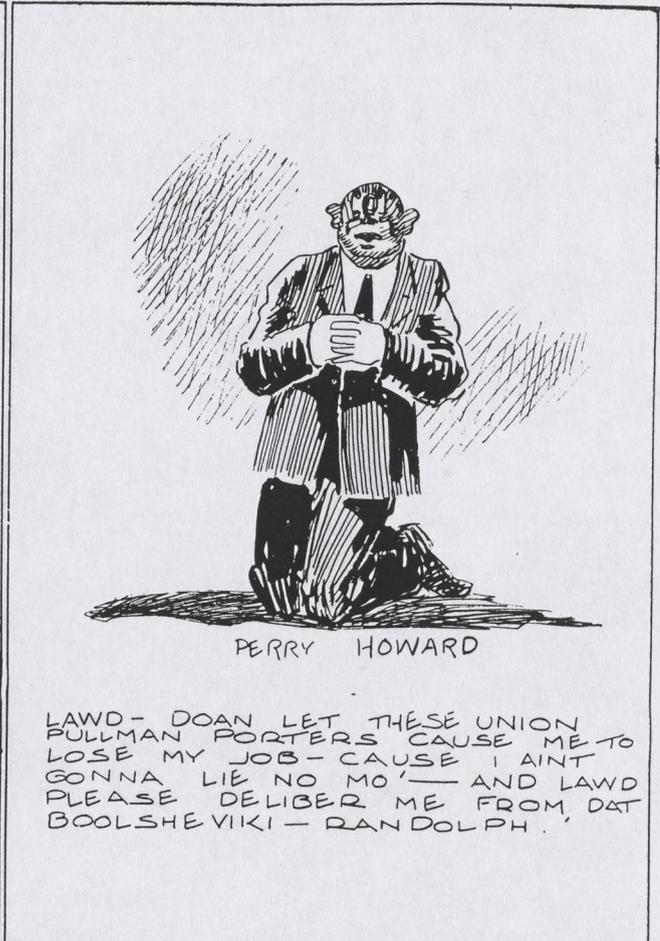
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CHICAGO



# THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

## WHEN ORGANIZED

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was organized August 25th, 1925, New York City, N. Y.

## WHO ORGANIZED IT?

(As a result of a speech by the writer at the Pullman Porters' Athletic Association on organization, the porters of New York were aroused. Immediately thereafter Mr. W. H. Des Verney interviewed the writer on the matter of organizing the porters. He called a meeting at his home at which Messrs Roy Lancaster, at the time, recently discharged, A. L. Totten and the writer, attended. The question of organization was discussed and the grievances of the porters told the writer. Upon the facts received in that conference an article was written in The Messenger magazine on the Case of the Pullman Porter. It aroused the porters throughout the country. It was followed up with another, more comprehensive.

After the second article appeared, a mass meeting for Pullman porters was called, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was organized. As a result of that move an intensive organization campaign was launched and branches were established in Washington, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Mo., and Omaha, Neb.)

Opposition immediately arose from some of the Negro papers and leaders who were bought up by the Pullman Company. In Chicago the fight was bitterest but with the able support of R. L. Mays, noted Negro Labor leader, Chandler Owen, Chief Editorial writer of the Chicago Bee; C. Francis Stratford, Prominent young lawyer of Chicago; M. P. Webster, Organizer of the Chicago Division; George A. Price, Local Secretary Treasurer, and W. L. Berry, Field Agent, the Brotherhood went over the top with colors flying. A large number of colored women's clubs of Chicago, as a result of the splendid cooperation of Mrs. Irene B. Gaines and Mrs. Naola Smith, gave their moral support to the Brotherhood.

## WHY THE WRITER WAS SELECTED TO LEAD THE BROTHERHOOD

(First, because of his long advocacy of the cause of organized labor; second, because of the fact he was not a porter and hence had nothing to fear from the Pullman Company. Besides he was the editor of The Messenger magazine, which could be used to spread the propaganda of organization. No man in the employ of the Company could organize the porters as shown by the discharge of men who were merely suspected of trying to organize them.)

(The right of employees to select any one they desire to represent them, whether working for their employer or not, is recognized by the U. S. Railroad Labor Board in decision No. 218 (Docket 404).

It reads: "The Labor Board also holds that the employees may vote for representatives who are not employees of the carrier, if they so desire, just as the carrier may select a representative who is neither a director or a stockholder."

## WHY ORGANIZED

### WAGES

1. To get a living wage.

(a) The present wage is \$67.50 a month. It is graduated upward over a period of 20 or 30 years, to \$90.00.

## PREPARATORY TIME

2. Pay for preparatory time.

(a) By preparatory time is meant time spent in making ready the car and receiving passengers before the departure of the train.

(b) Example: (A porter leaving New York at 12:30 midnight for Washington, D. C., reports for duty at 7:30 P. M. Although he works five (5) hours for the Company preparing the car to depart, his time does not begin until the train leaves the terminal station.) Upon a basis of his monthly wage of \$67.50, he receives 25 cents an hour. Thus five hours spent in preparatory time represents \$1.25 which the Company deprives the porter of every time he makes this trip. A porter on this run makes the trip twelve times a month, which means that he enriches the Company at his expense to the extent of \$15.00. Over a period of a year this represents a loss of \$180. (This is quite an item to a worker whose yearly wage is only \$810, or, according to the U. S. Department of Labor, \$1,278 below the income which is required of the average family in order to live according to a decent American standard.) A porter running out of Omaha, reports for duty at 3 P. M. and works until 2:30 A. M. the next morning before his train departs, or his time or wages begins. When it is considered that this is being done by thousands of porters throughout the country, it is easy to estimate what a great profit the Company derives out of this practice.

3. Conductor's pay for conductor's work.

(a) There are what is known as "in charge" porters or porters who do conductor's work and porter's, too. "In charge" porters are in complete charge of the car. They do the same clerical work of a regular conductor. But they only receive \$10.00 additional pay for said work.) Therefore, on each "in charge" porter, the Company saves \$145 a month, since the minimum conductor's pay is \$155 a month. The rule is that when a porter has two cars, he should get the minimum conductor's pay, but the custom is that when there are two cars to be handled, a conductor is there to take charge. The conductor's union protects them to this extent. There are several thousand "in charge" porters in the service. But estimating on only one thousand, it is clear what a great advantage the Company reaps by paying them only \$10.00 additional instead of the minimum conductor's pay, \$155. On one thousand such porters the Company saves \$145,000 every month or \$1,740,000 every year.

## HOURS

### DELAYED ARRIVALS

4. Pay for delayed arrivals.

(a) At present the average porter's train may be late several hours every trip during the month, but he receives no pay for hours spent on duty beyond his regular scheduled hours' run because the hours he is late are required to be put in his accumulated mileage column and since he must make 11,000 miles or nearly 400 hours each month, he makes no overtime by being late.)

(b) Example: (A porter is running on parlor car from New York to Washington, D. C. The porter makes 13 round trips or 26 trips per month. The mileage from New York to Washington is 227 miles or 454 miles for a round trip. Now 13 round trips times the round trip mileage of 454 equals 5,902 miles.

The minimum mileage required for a porter to make

a month for \$67.50 before overtime is paid, is 11,000 miles.

The specified lay-over is from the time the train is due to arrive to the time train is due out.

The rule reads: Road service performed on specified lay-over to be paid as doubles at 60 cent per 100 miles.

The porter running to Washington is due to arrive at 6 P. M. but arrives at 9 P. M., must put late arrival of three hours in accumulated mileage column. If he is three hours late at New York and Washington each trip during the month, he will be late 78 hours. Now 78 hours times 30 miles, the mileage hour rate of the train, will equal 2,340 miles. And 2,340 to 5,902, the mileage between New York and Washington, a porter makes during a month and it totals 8,242 miles. Subtract 8,242 from 11,000, the minimum mileage a porter is required to make, and the remainder is 2,758 miles, the porter is yet required to make before he is paid overtime.)

(c) (The Brotherhood demands 240 hours or less in regular assignment as the basis of the porter's monthly wage. This provision will regulate preparatory time, station duty and delayed arrivals.

The Pullman conductors have the 240 hour month.)

#### DOUBLING

5. (Doubling is injurious to the health of the porter. Doubling means leaving for a point immediately the porter arrives off a run, however long. It throws a regular porter out of line and he earns less.)

(a) Example: (A porter operating a line car between New York and Chicago. From the 1st of October to the 25th makes 5 trips with lay-over periods which expire on the 25th day. At the rate of \$67.50 per month he earns \$56.25. It happens, however, that on his arrival at New York, on the night of the 23d, he is required to double out to Boston on the night of the 24th, and consequently is not able to cover his run on the 25th day.

By doubling to Boston he is placed on the mileage basis and only earns \$1.44, which is less than his day's pay, or 60 cents times 240. He returns from Boston in service on the night of the 25th and arrives in New York on the morning of the 26th and earns another day's pay of \$2.25, which expires on the night of the 27th.

He is now out of line, and has to lay around until the 30th, when his line is due out, without pay. He then leaves New York on the 30th and arrives in Chicago on the 31st and earns \$2.25, another day's pay. His total month's wages by doubling equals to \$64.44. \$56.25 is the pay received for time put in from Oct. 1st to 25th, \$1.44 is amount received for doubling to Boston, and \$6.75 for three day's put in thereafter at \$2.25.

Now if he did a full month's work in regular time he would earn \$67.50. But by doubling he only gets \$64.44, or \$3.04 less than his monthly wages. By one month's work in regular assignment, he, on a 31 day's month, covers 11,532 miles, an excess of 532 miles over the monthly mileage, a porter is required to make before he is paid for overtime. When 532 miles are multiplied by 60 cents, the rate allowed for excess mileage, one gets \$3.18. Thus if the porter had stayed on his regular run, he would have earned \$67.50, his monthly wage plus \$3.18 for excess mileage, or \$70.68. By doubling he loses the difference between what he makes, \$64.44, and what he would have made if he had not doubled, \$70.68, or \$6.24.)

#### CONDITIONS

##### 6. Sleep.

(a) Example: A porter leaving Boston at 6:10 P. M., enroute to Chicago, a run of 23 hours, gets three hours sleep on the run; whereas a Pullman conductor on the same train gets off at Buffalo, a run of 11 hours, and gets four hours' sleep during that run.

(b) (Porters are never assured of sleep, since they are always subject to a call by the passengers.

(c) No provision is made for the porters sleeping unless upper No. 1 is not taken. If it is taken he must steal naps in the smoking room in the glare of the lights.

Nor can he take these naps until every passenger has retired.)

(d) (Special provision should be made for the sleep of the porters. This could be arranged through a system of relief porters.)

#### EXTRA PORTERS

7. (Extra porters are not paid if they report for duty and there is no line for them to be sent out on. This is obviously unfair. Extra porters who are required to report at the yard for duty should be paid whether they are sent out or not. They are required to report regularly or be put off the list.)

#### REGULAR PORTERS

(Regular porters who miss their line as a result of having doubled out, are not paid during the time they are lying around waiting to catch their line. This is unjust. They should be paid for this time spent waiting for their line, since they were thrown out of line accommodating the Company.)

Example: If a regular porter running from New York to Chicago is doubled out from New York to Atlantic City upon his return from Chicago to New York, his home district, he will miss his line when he returns from Atlantic City to New York. Hence he must lie around for one or two days until his regular line returns. He is not paid during that time. (A regular porter is only paid when he reports for duty and is not sent out if he is in a foreign district, that is, not in his home district.)

#### SHOE POLISH

9. (Porters are required to buy the polish and equipment for shining the passengers' shoes. If he does not shine their shoes, he is given 15 or 30 days on the street, and, if he shines them and requests pay for same, he is penalized. Polish and equipment should be supplied by the Company.)

#### DOUBLING

10. (Porters should receive adequate rest before they are required to double out. They should not be required to double out during their lay-overs, except where necessity of very pressing. At present, a porter running from St. Louis or Chicago to New York, is often required to double right out to Boston or to some other point, before he sees his family, gets anything to eat, freshen up himself or change his clothes. During rush periods such as holidays, he is given bad hot coffee and buns. This is palpably against the health of the porter.)

#### MAIDS

11. (Maids don't receive the same lay-overs as porters. Having the same runs, they are entitled to the same lay-overs.)

#### SAVING PORTERS' TIME

12. (Whenever a porter is compelled to report for investigation, he does so on his own time. Facilities should be so provided that a minimum of time is lost, since the lay-overs of the porters are their rest periods and the time for attending to their personal business.)

#### DEADHEADING

13. Example: (A porter was assigned to a dead-head car, that is to say, a car not in line service. He carried no passengers and had no opportunity to receive tips while enroute. When assigned to the car, however, he was told by the clerk that said car was going to some other destination, to return in service. His car was cut off at some station near Rhode Island where there was no Pullman district or agency. He could not plead shortage of funds or refuse the car, because in doing so he would violate the instructions contained in his rule book and is subject to immediate dismissal for insubordination of duty.

He was held at this place three days and had no way

(Concluded on page 61)

# A LETTER TO DELEGATES TO PULLMAN COMPANY'S WAGE CONFERENCE

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

*General Organizer Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.*

You have been elected to the Wage Conference. Some of you are earnest and sincere; others selfish, ambitious and hypocritical. You were elected by un-American and un-Democratic methods. Most of you were voted for by the men involuntarily, under threats and intimidations. Some of you really believe that you can help the men through the Conference. Some of you are well-meaning but misguided.

At the outset it is well for you to realize that this is the Company's Conference, organized, owned and controlled by it. The cards are stacked against you. This method has been tried by the workers of America before, on and off the railroads, but without success. The Company union sugar-coated the Employee Representation Plan, has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Your case is like the lion and the lamb. They only lie down together when the lamb is in the belly of the lion. So it will be with you and the Company. Of course, you will be flattered, cajoled and honey-fuggled; you will be told that you are great men, that the members of the Brotherhood are scalawags, and that the Employee Representation Plan is your only salvation; that the Company is your best friend; all of which is pure deception.

The Company knows, the porters know and the general public knows that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters compelled the Pullman Company to call this conference. It is called in a desperate attempt to head off the Brotherhood, to arrest its progress. Of course it will give you an increase in wages, but remember, not on account of your being in the Conference, that is merely an excuse for giving an increase; it is because of the progress and agitation of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Don't thank the Company; thank the Brotherhood. You never would have gotten anything were it not for the union. Now although the Company feels that you are sure things, that you have no minds of your own, that you can be moulded like clay in the hands of a potter, don't permit them to make a complete fool of you.

Elaborate and sumptuous banquets will be prepared for you; plenty of smokes and drinks will be furnished you, and so-called big, hypocritical and corrupt Negro leaders will orate to you on the virtues of the Pullman Company and the wickedness of the porters' union. They have been bought and paid for with Pullman money. Like the dog before the graphophone, they are listening to their master's voice, the Pullman Company. Ask these very same leaders have they protested to the Pullman Company against the violation of the rule of seniority, by placing untrained, inexperienced Filipinos on the club cars over the request and protest of Negro porters who have five and six stripes, been twenty and thirty years in the service?

Putting the Filipinos on the club cars is a definite and flagrant violation of the agreement made between the porters and the Company, in the wage Conference of 1923. May I ask, if the Pullman Company has not kept that agreement, what assurance have you that it will keep the one you are about to sign? Making an agreement is not important, keeping it, enforcing it, is the question. Thus granting that the Company gave you a good agreement, you could not enforce it, because you have no power, and you have no power because you have no organization.

In this Conference, the Company may pity you, but it will not respect you. It fears and respects only the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

And dear delegates, don't be misled by the Pullman Company's propaganda which is circulated to the effect that this Conference will halt the progress of the union. The wish is father to the thought. It will do nothing of the kind. It will only help it because the men have brains enough to see that they would not now be getting the little the Company is giving them were it not for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The Brotherhood is a reality. It is on the map, and here to stay. It is no spasmodic bubble of enthusiasm. It is a solid, enduring, imperishable achievement, a steady, progressive, constructive movement. It will prevent the Company from reducing the wages of the men as well as force the Company to raise them. It will also remedy and correct numberless grievances of the porters which are bound to arise from time to time. Just as the Locomotive Engineers keep their union, though they are the highest paid on the railroad workers, in order to get greater future wage increases and constantly to improve the conditions under which they work, so the Pullman porters need a union of, for and by themselves for all time, to protect their interests, else the Pullman Company will take away what they give them when they get good and ready.

Now what can you do to help the men? (If you are in earnest in your desire to help your fellow brothers, demand: (1) 240 hours or less in regular assignment, (2) an increase in wages from \$67.50 to a living wage of \$155 a month, (3) conductor's pay for conductor's work, (4) time and a half for over-time, (5) the elimination of Filipinos off the cars, since they were used as a threat against organization, (6) pay for porters who report for duty whether they are sent out or not, (7) the right of the porters and maids to join a union without interference or discrimination against them by the Company.)

Refuse to sign the agreement unless these demands are granted. Remember the eyes of the Brotherhood are on you. These demands will be a supreme test of the Company's pretensions that it is your friend. All of these demands will benefit you. You want them. Be men and contend for them and stage a memorable stand by leaving the Conference, if they are not granted. It will be a tribute to you, an honor to your race and a lesson to the Company, it will ever remember. Of course, all of you would not do it. Because some of you are hopeless Uncle Toms, but others of you more manly spirits should form a minority, block and deadlock the Conference unless it treats the porters justly, since it is upon the porter's labor that its wealth depends.

Sincerely yours,

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH.

## BEREAN SCHOOL

DAY, COMMERCIAL NIGHT, TRADES

Second Semester, February 9, 1926

CLASSES NOW FORMING

Write the Principal

MATTHEW ANDERSON

S. College Ave.

Philadelphia, Pa.



# Editorial

Opinion of the leading c

## Negro Students

At Howard and Fisk Universities a new Negro student has arisen. He breathes the spirit of independence and revolt against oppression. As a result of autocratic policies on the part of the presidents of these respective institutions, much unrest has developed among the student body. Undoubtedly discontent among the students with the administrative and executive heads of an institution interferes with the constructive and spiritual life of the institution. Even granting that the grounds of complaint and opposition on the part of the students are unsound, if they are persistent, no fundamentally creative work can be systematically done on the part of the students of the faculty. Obviously the situation which obtains in Howard University, where there is a ceaseless conflict between the president and the student body as well as hesitant and grudging loyalty and devotion on the part of members of the faculty to the president, renders it necessary, in the interest of the development of a healthy, vigorous, educational spirit, that the source of the trouble be courageously dealt with. It is quite generally conceded and recognized that President Durkee is responsible for the turmoil at Howard. Since that is true, even though he may have brought to Howard munificent contributions and placed Howard in class A of the colleges of the country, he is evidently spiritually unprepared successfully to continue as the head of the institution. For this reason he ought himself to resign and lift Howard out of this chronic and devastating confusion; for it is not enough for an institution of learning to win the goods of this world and lose its soul.

## Mays and the Brotherhood

The Negro press reports telegrams received from Mr. R. L. Mays, telling of his resignation from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This is indeed amazing because Mr. Mays has never been a member or official of the Brotherhood. How can he withdraw from that with which he was never connected?

Of course, he spoke in the meetings of the union, just as did Pickens, Owen, Strafford, Hugh Frayne, Crosswaith, John Fitzpatrick (president of the Chicago Federation of Labor), James Weldon Johnson and H. E. Wills (vice-president of the Locomotive Engineers), but he was never a part of the movement.

He was invited to speak in the meetings because he was thought to be sincere and genuinely interested in the movement. But we see now that we misjudged him. And we are amazed. We confess

that we are disappointed in both his character and his judgment.

Whom does his action benefit?

Certainly not the Pullman porters.

## Governor Smith's Message

In vision, courage and masterly handling of state problems, Governor Alfred E. Smith is by long odds, the superior of any governor in the country. On the matter of housing, he has faced the question more boldly than any of his predecessors. On taxation and the reconstruction of the State's government machinery, he showed a serious interest in fundamental state issues. Withal there are definite limitations to his message from the workers' view point. Many of his policies are mere liberal tinkering and palliatives. They don't go to the roots of problems but still they are suggestive of deeper strivings for beneficent social change. In very truth, Al Smith is a credit to Tammany, a challenge to the aristocratic Republican silk-stocking group and a stop gap on the fundamental, political, economic and social radicals. He is industriously stealing the thunder of the Socialists, and effectively rendering their protest less appealing and effective.

## The Coal Strike

The coal strike has been on for about four months now. Miners and operators have conferred but to no avail. Both are adamant. Both are unyielding. The miners are willing to submit to government control. This the operators oppose. The operators, on the other hand, would accept Chas. E. Hughes as an arbitrator. But this is unsatisfactory to the miners.

The issue is, should wages be reduced or not. The operators contend they should whereas the miners contend they should not.

Meanwhile the public is suffering from the lack of coal, and miners' wives and children are calling to their men despite diminished sustenance, occasioned by the strike, to hold out. Apparently the miners' solution of government control is a sound one.

## The N.A.A.C.P. Raises \$50,000 Defense Fund

Negro Americans have responded nobly. For once, they are recognizing the value of dollars in a fight for manhood—rights. Challenged by the Sweet case, the segregation situation in Washington, D. C., and the question of legally testing the validity of disfranchisement, Negroes have answered and registered their verdict in no uncertain terms. Were they to fail in rising to the test imposed by either one of these cases, they could not look the world squarely in the face again and claim that they are real men and women.

But, of course, the raising of \$50,000 for such a big

# rials

## g colored American thinkers



vital question is no great feat for ten million Negroes. The sum is picayune for such a cause. Even the raising of a million should not baffle a group of people with one fifth of our number, so oppressed, who seriously want freedom and justice.

### The Month

No great bolts of sensational world events were shot this month. The world has about forgotten the Mosul award of the Council of the League of Nations, despite the injustice to the Turks. The franc is still sick, and the Briand government may fall any day. Mussolini's dramatic proclamation on the proposed Italian empire has fallen in to the background in public interest to give way to the discussion of the ubiquitous question of the funding of the Italian debt to the United States. Affairs are relatively quiescent on the eastern sector of world politics. Commercial relations are reported to be in full swing, between Soviet Russia and American Capitalists. Lloyd George is at it again, trying to stage a "come back" via liberalism through a sort of rapprochement with British Labor. The British widow's pension is the subject of endless discussion. In America the big events are the Anthracite coal parley between the operators and miners which ended in a statement, neither side yielding, and the threat of the U. S. State Department to the Calles Government because of Mexico's alleged violation, through certain legislation, of the right of Americans to certain vested property interests. Then there is the Aluminum investigation involving Mellon of the Treasury. Among Negroes, the Sweet case, the Pullman porters' movement and the sensational expose of the Chicago Whip, occupy the center of the stage.

### Roland Hayes' Dilemma

Roland Hayes faces a dilemma. He is torn between devotion to two principles; one, standing by his pledged word in his contract with the management of his singing tour; two, loyalty to the principle of race equality or the right of his race to enjoy the constitutional guarantees of every American citizen. Which will he stand by? Which is the more important, both from the point of view of Hayes and the race? If he does not live up to his contract, it may injure his future opportunities to appear, as an artist, before large audiences in America. If he does stand by it he will alienate and provoke the condemnation of the militant element of his race, since it is construed that by singing to an audience in which members of his group are jim crowed, he is rendering the fight against the evil of segregation more difficult, every day. It is a dilemma, we submit, which is not easy of solution.

The question may logically be raised: Is the race to benefit more by Roland Hayes appearing before

large white audiences, affording them the opportunity to witness talent and genius of the Negro as expressed through him, though Negroes are denied admission or are jim crowed in such audiences; or, will the race be advanced more by an absolute refusal on the part of Hayes to sing to any audience, the contract, to the contrary notwithstanding, where Negroes are deliberately segregated. This is a serious and unfortunate situation for Mr. Hayes. Undoubtedly the strain which it imposes upon him prevents him from giving his best to the world.

In view of the great social consequences of segregation of the Negroes in America, as shown by the recent case of Dr. Sweet of Detroit, of Mrs. Curtis of Washington, from the point of view of the race it would appear proper and advantageous for Mr. Hayes to demand the unrestricted right of Negroes to buy seats wherever they choose where he sings, upon pain of his refusal to sing. Of course this thing is not new of Negroes being segregated in or barred entirely from audiences before whom members of their race are performing. This is true of all the Negro theatrical companies who travel through the South appearing in the white theatres. In the south, too, Negro barbers conduct shops in which a Negro could no more get a hair cut or a shave than he could get a room in a white hotel in Georgia. Two instances in proof are Herndon's barber shop in Atlanta, Ga., and Frank Crowd in Jacksonville, Fla. Of course nothing is said about these forms of Negroes discriminating against Negroes, because they are of such long standing, and certain Negroes take especial pride in the fact that certain members of their race have the privilege of catering to white people only. They talk boastfully about the fact that they have no Negro customers, seeming to feel that this is a special badge of honor. And the so-called best Negroes glory in this thing. They talk glibly about the impracticability of mixing the trade. Few professional or business Negroes are willing to admit that they have Negroes as their clientele.

This is a hangover of the slave psychology. It is an expression of the inferiority complex, a belief that it is an honor to serve white people and a dishonor to serve black people. It is an evidence of spiritual decay in our group. We lack pride of race which is essential to the progress of any people. On account of these big issues involved, the decision of Roland Hayes in the matter of singing to jim-crowed audiences has far-reaching consequences to our group. It needs a much deeper analysis than we are here making, an analysis which we may undertake to make in a future article in the *Messenger*. Our aim here is to suggest a train of serious thinking on question that is of vital interest to the race.

### Mays Again

We were on the press when the startling telegrams about the resignation of Mays from the Brotherhood were read in the Negro papers. We held up the forms to say a word about the matter. We shall go more deeply into it in the next issue.

The question is being asked everywhere by everybody, why did he do it? Hasn't he attempted, at one time, to organize the porters himself? Hasn't he spoken in the meetings and professed interest in the success of the B. of S. C. P.?

What could be at the bottom of his sudden right-about-face?

Does he think he is benefiting the union? Hardly. Why was he in such a hurry to get his alleged resignation from the Brotherhood into the press? Where did he get the money from to send out so many telegrams? Everybody knows that Mays had no money before this movement began. Who would naturally pay for such propaganda against the movement as Mays is now carrying on, under the pretext that the union was mismanaged? Isn't it strange that Mays's action was timed to come just a few days before the Pullman Company's Wage Conference in Chicago?

Who would naturally want and pay Mays to attack the Brotherhood just before the Wage Conference? It is sad. It is pathetic. Mays is dead, and he is his own assassin.

### Housing

The laws protecting tenants from the rapacity of landlords will terminate in a few weeks. Then the tenants will be defenseless. The landlords will be all-powerful again. Wholesale dispossession will be enforced against those who are unwilling to be bled by exorbitant rents. In order to meet the situation something must be done and done quickly or else New York will experience a series of threatening rent strikes. Of course, the landlords are industriously demanding that the State cease intervening in their personal affairs. Public-spirited men, on the other hand, recognize the social peril which is involved should landlords have the unrestrained right and power to boost rents at will.

Governor Smith has suggested a feasible plan for building houses for the accommodation of people whose means will not permit them to pay more than \$9 a room per month for rent. It is maintained by the real estate owners that the building boom has removed the war emergency which necessitated rent laws for the protection of the tenants. It is true that the widespread building resulted in a large supply of apartments for people, but they were not apartments for the working people. They could only be reached by the rich and well-to-do. The working people are still ground down under the heavy burden of high rents. Among Negroes rents have not fallen at all. Landlords in Harlem are getting forty and fifty dollars for one-room apartments. While private houses and tenants of apartments have been compelled to reduce the price of rooms to roomers, the price of apartments and private houses have remained the same. The building of one-room apartments forced people who rented to roomers to reduce their rents because a roomer could get a one-room apartment for himself for forty-five or fifty dollars a month and be the boss of his room; whereas as a roomer in an apartment with other people, he pays the same price or more and is deprived of the freedom which the one-room apart-

ment gives a man or woman. This situation operates to increase the burden of rent on the average family, because it is being deprived of the support which rent from roomers brings. We think that this situation is more peculiar to the Negroes of Harlem than to any other people. Hence it is to the interest of the Negro of New York that some plan, far-reaching in its scope and fundamental in its application, be adopted which will tend toward the amelioration of this crying social condition.

Congested housing among Negroes, arising from the necessity to convert their apartments or private houses into veritable hotels, is productive of shocking social maladjustments. The moral life of the home is menaced. A wholesome and free atmosphere for children is practically destroyed. Under it an ideal home life is impossible. Of course, the situation is not alone characteristic of the New York Negro. It is true of the Negro in all of the large cities, such as Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Kansas City, Mo. This is the outgrowth of the movement of the Negroes from the South, North, in large waves of migration. It cannot be met and solved with mere palliatives. It must be dealt with by a sure and understanding hand from a large social viewpoint. To this end Negro editors, preachers, lawyers, doctors, nurses, teachers and business men should work for the securing of fundamental social legislation which is calculated to remove the evil of congested housing and the ruthless and merciless exploitation of innocent and defenseless Negro tenants.

It is much more important that the housing situation among the masses of Negroes be improved than that the professional Negroes, however laudable, should become richer and more independent. It is to the interest of the professional Negro that the masses raise their standard of living. Because it is upon the masses of Negroes that the prosperity of the professional Negroes depend. Unless the housing situation is remedied, the social life of the Negro will decay.

### THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE AND PERRY W. HOWARD

Perry W. Howard is a member of the National Republican Committee. This fact has given him some influence. He has maliciously used it for personal gain and against the interest of his race; first, by opposing the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, espoused by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a bill which was calculated to make lynching a federal crime; second, in opposing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters whose object is to increase the pay of porters from \$67.50 a month to a living wage, to secure better working conditions and better hours for the men.

He has not only used his prestige unwisely, secured by virtue of his connection with the National Republican Committee, but he has also traded upon the fact that he is the Negro Special Assistant to the United States Attorney General. This is a most anomalous situation. It is a violation of every canon of ethics. In the nature of things it is impossible to serve two masters. Perry Howard cannot conscientiously perform his duties as a servant of the government, and at the same time, serve a private corporation, which is a possible litigant before the government. His duties, according to his own admission involve the handling of railroad cases, at the same time, he hires himself out to a railroad, the Pullman Company. Mr. Howard

has no more right to accept a salary from the government, the tax payers' money, for services he is supposed to render to the government, but which he is giving to the Pullman Company, for another salary, as an attorney to oppose the Pullman porters' union. than President Coolidge has.

It is a challenge to the National Republican Committee. If it is willing to stand by and permit one of its members to bring discredit upon the Republican Party and the present administration by allowing him to accept pay from the government for services he is not rendering, it is a party to the malfeasance of duty in office which Howard is committing. Technically, of course, the National Republican Committee has no responsibility for Mr. Howard's action, but actually it has, because of his connection with it. Nobody will gainsay the fact that one's relation with organizations brings either credit or discredit, honor or dishonor, influence or injures his influence. It is also true that the activities of one who is a part of a given organization will reflect credit or discredit upon that organization. Besides the general public feels that an individual has the sanction of his organization. If his activities are palpably unethical, the organization of which he is a part, is obligated either to repudiate him or to defend him, and accept the consequences of such a position. Such is the case with the National Republican Committee relative to Perry W. Howard. It is construed by the general Negro public that the National Republican Committee and the Coolidge Administration sanction the notorious and disgraceful attacks of Perry W. Howard upon twelve thousand Pullman porters, or nearly a hundred thousand Negroes, and consequently they feel sorely aggrieved against the National Republican Committee and the Coolidge Administration.

That this question is pertinent and material is evidenced by the fact that one of the high members of the Republican Committee, a white man, plead with us, while in Washington, D. C., not to continue our attacks on Mr. Howard, because of probability of the said attacks forcing the committee to eliminate him. It was contended by this gentleman that, from the point of view of the Negro race, it was advisable, according to his view, to keep Perry Howard on the Committee, because if he were removed it would be difficult to get another Negro there in his place, since there are always a large number of white people in the country who are interested in keeping Negroes out of responsible positions. In reply, we emphatically told the gentleman that we were not interested in having a Negro on the National Republican Committee merely because he was a Negro, that we rather have a white man there than to have a worthless, unscrupulous, Uncle Tom Negro there, that the thinking, independent Negroes today wanted a Negro selected for office upon a basis of merit and worth only. This caused him to redden and show visible signs of nervousness, and after fidgeting impatiently in his chair for a moment, and swallowing audibly, he admitted that this was the proper attitude. From the conversation of the gentleman there was nothing to show that he was motivated by any spirit of unfairness. It was obvious, however, that he had no idea of the character of the Negro he was facing. Undoubtedly he was accustomed to dealing with Negroes who are always looking for favors in the form of political jobs, and consequently he thought that by playing up the fact that Perry W. Howard might lose his job if we continued our attacks upon him, that that would appeal

to us and soften our attitude toward him. But he was mistaken. He admitted that Perry Howard had come into his office and told him about his prospective trip to Chicago to become connected with the Pullman Company. But he said he had no idea that Perry Howard was serious about the thing. He said he thought that Perry Howard was perfectly stupid in doing such a thing. Doubtless, said he, Perry Howard construed his silence on the matter as his approval of his action. To this extent, he admitted that he was partly to blame, which shows that he feels that Perry W. Howard's action in holding two jobs, one with the government, and the other with a private corporation, is entirely unethical, and reflects discreditably upon the committee; else he would not consider his silence on Howard's announcement that he was going to connect himself with the Pullman Company, as carrying with it an element of blame. For one does not consider being responsible for a person doing something which is creditable in the sense of blame for that thing. But if it is discreditable and one is responsible for it, he is blamed or guilty for something which he feels is injurious to someone, and that he ought to do something to move that injury.

Despite his pleading that we let Perry Howard alone, that he can't be of any great injury to the movement, we assured him that we would do our utmost to force Perry Howard, both out of the United States Department of Justice and off the National Republican Committee. He reluctantly and apparently disappointedly, said that that was our privilege, that whenever we made formal representations against Mr. Howard that they would be considered.

It was quite evident from the conference that Howard's case has been considered by the National Republican Committee. They are ready to throw Howard overboard if public sentiment seems to warrant it. But they think that perhaps it will be possible to avoid such action if they are able to induce us to let up on him. Of course we shall never let up on him. Howard must either get out of the government or the Pullman Company.

#### Wage Conference

The Pullman Company is calling a new Wage Conference. It will take place some time in January or February. It was called in order to head off the movement to organize the Pullman porters. (It is the last card played by the Pullman company in order to destroy the spirit of organization among the men. After making futile and ineffective gestures with its sensational attempt to gag the Negro press, to muzzle the Negro leaders, to frighten the porters with the Filipino scare, to no avail, the Company finally resorts to the old trick of granting small wage increase in order to make the porters believe that the remedy for their grievances does not consist in a union of, by and for themselves, but in working through the Employee Representation Plan.)

Of course, whatever is given the men in this wage conference is clearly the result of the program and agitation of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The porters owe every penny they get, however few they may be, to the Brotherhood. A half century of exploitations of the Pullman porters by the Pullman Company is irrefutable proof that the porters cannot rely upon the sympathy and good will of the Company. They will get no substantial wage increase or improve-

ment in their condition until they are thoroughly organized and are prepared intelligently to present their grievances to the Company in particular or to such government agencies as are charged with the duty of handling their class of problems. This is no far fetched, airy, impractical, visionary scheme but a sane, sober, sound, practical plan of action, born out by the experiences of the workers over well nigh a century.

Even granting that the wage conference adopted an agreement between the management and the employees there is no assurance that that agreement would be observed and respected by the management. The porters already have an agreement with the Company and it is not observed. One of the most flagrant violations of that agreement is the hiring of Filipinos by the Company and putting them on club cars over the request of experienced and trained Negro Pullman porters who have given probably thirty of their best years in the service of the Company. According to the principle of seniority, club cars and preferential runs are to go to men of long and responsible service. But the Company brutally sweeps this principle aside, the very principle which it agreed to and pledged its word of honor to uphold, and still expects the Pullman porters to trust it to observe a new agreement. One must be very gullible and childish indeed to fall for this. Knowing that the men have no faith in this wage conference, the Company has employed threats, various forms of intimidations and misrepresentations in order to compel the men to vote for the conference. They want the porters to vote for the wage conference so that the spokesman of the Company can come before the country and say that this conference is the result of the collective desire of the porters throughout the country. They will cite this as an indication of the fact that the porters don't want any union. Of course the public does not know that the Company has threatened to hold men off their runs, to withhold their pay checks, and that they are actually telling the men that they had better vote, in order to get an apparent general approval of the conference among the porters.

It is indeed gratifying to note that in every district there are bold spirits among the porters who flatly refuse to be bullied and intimidated by the Company. In a number of districts, reports come that fifty per cent of the men have refused to vote, that blank ballots are a common thing.

In order to assist the Company's desperate efforts to jam this wage conference down the throats of the men, it has brought up a number of men from the south and made them vote before they were two months in the service, a violation of their own Employee Representation Plan. According to the wide spread sentiment among the men against the conference, it is conservative to estimate that were they free to do as they choose, over ninety per cent of the men would refuse to vote for the conference. This the Company knows. Hence its unlawful tactics.

#### Chisum

Melvin J. Chisum is one of the most urbane, artful and coldly calculating Negroes we have ever met. He is unquestionably gifted with the ability to manipulate men. He has successfully fooled some of the biggest men in the country, white and colored. Being absolutely devoid of any scruples, he handles social and personal elements just as dispassionately as a chemist does elements in his laboratory. He would be eminently useful to the race if he were not imbued with

sinister motives. He has the necessary sensationalism, a sort of a Ponzi business ethics, which equip him for selling his gold bricks at a lucrative return. His career has been varied, theatrical and questionable. Few people trust him and still his personality has a resistless charm. He is ever protesting his love for the race while at the same time, with his fertile and resourceful imagination, he is plotting various schemes that are palpably against the interest of large sections of his people and for his personal aggrandizement. Melvin J. Chisum is not regarded by respectable men and women as a thoroughly desirable character, although, by virtue of his culture he is above the category of the cheap, crude gangster. When the name of Chisum is raised among people of integrity, they assume an attitude of indifferent disgust.

Perhaps his boldest and most astute stroke in pulling the wool over the eyes of men was the conference recently held in Washington, presumably to discuss political and economic questions and segregation, but actually to condemn the movement for organizing the Pullman porters and to glorify the Pullman Company. He inveigled into this notorious scheme such responsible and highly placed men in the public eye as Emmet J. Scott, Secretary-Treasurer of Howard University, John R. Hawkins, Financial Secretary of the A. M. E. Church, Dr. O. M. Dumas, A. L. Holsey, Secretary to Robert R. Moton, C. A. Franklin, Editor of the Kansas City Call, Scipio C. Jones of Arkansas, Benjamin J. Davis of the Atlanta Independent, J. A. Jackson, formerly of the Billboard, now of the Washington Tribune, and Rhenzi B. Lemus, President of the Brotherhood of Dining Car Employees, and large number of others. Be it said to the credit of Messrs. Jackson and Lemus that they came out and exposed the whole thing, indicating that the resolution adopted in the conference did not refer to either the Pullman Company or the porters' union and that the resolution broadcasted which condemned the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and endorsed the Pullman Company's Employee Representation Plan did not express the sentiment of the conference. This seems thoroughly to show that the majority of the men in the conference were wholly unaware of its purposes and aims. They did not show that their transportation, hotel bills and the sumptuous banquet given them were paid for with Pullman money, for Brother Chisum had very shrewdly and charmingly told them that it was his personal party, whatever that is. Of course, everybody knew that Chisum didn't have any money. Everybody knew of the thin thread upon which his living hangs, that he has no visible means of support and that all of his propositions are to be taken with a grain of salt. But still they wondered how in the world could this man command so much money with which to pay the railroad fare and hotel bills and provide the most lavish and elaborate entertainment for fifty men in Washington for several days. It is reported that man after man at the conference arose and asked for information as to why they were called there. To each question the suave Chisum replied that everybody has his way of enjoying life and that his way is to entertain his friends. Of course, everybody wondered about one man entertaining his friends in such an expensive way. Because they knew that Brother Chisum, like the average Negro, has been only two jumps ahead of a horde of hungry creditors. They couldn't understand how he could so suddenly come into affluence. But they had accepted his hospitality, and consequently they were hesitant about pressing questions which apparent-

(Concluded on page 60)



# Open Forum

*A Voice for Supporter and Opponent*



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 Fifth Avenue, New York City

Mr. Roy Lancaster, Secretary-Treasurer,  
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,  
2311 Seventh Ave.,  
New York City

My dear Mr. Lancaster:

I was very glad to learn from you that the effort to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is progressing. This is most encouraging after all the additional difficulties which you have had to face. I mean by that, difficulties in addition to the looked for apathy and hesitancy which you, of course, expected to encounter. These additional difficulties have been placed in your way by men professing to have the good of the porters at heart and who have fought on your front and in your rear every move you have taken. Opposition was expected, of course, from the Pullman Company itself and the interests allied with it, but it is despicable when it comes from colored men professing to be working in the interest of the Pullman car porters.

I hope that the men in the Pullman service will not be discouraged or deceived either by those who are advising caution, which amounts to cowardice, or by those who are attempting to stamper them by fear. Neither Mr. Perry Howard nor any other colored man not now in the Pullman service can determine what is best for the men in the service. They know what their work is and they know what they are entitled to; and they are the ones to determine what is best to do. Only a man ignorant of present day industrial conditions, or a hypocrite, could advise the Pullman porters that it is an unwise step for them to take to form themselves into a brotherhood. (If it is good for railroad engineers, railroad conductors, railroad firemen, railroad brakemen and every other branch of railroad service to be organized into brotherhoods, why is it not good for the Pullman car porters, perhaps the hardest worked, and certainly the poorest paid employees connected with the railroads, to be so organized?)

Certainly, the Pullman Car Company does not welcome it. Nor did the railroads welcome the formation of the other brotherhoods; but that is only another proof that the organization of a brotherhood is a good thing. In fact, in the end it would be a good thing for the Pullman Car Company itself, because it will increase both the self respect and the efficiency of the men employed.

I wish you success.

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON, Secretary.

General Organizer, Washington, D. C., Jan. 2, 1926.  
Mr. A. Philip Randolph,  
Editor The Messenger Magazine.

Dear Brother:

I must say you have shocked the whole world and caused the Nations to wonder and sit up and take notice at these mighty works that you are doing. I must say you are the greatest man in the Nation. You have organized a divided house which has been divided for four hundred years. It is indeed great. I know that you had many obstacles to go up against, but I pray each day and night for you to win the fight; and now you have fought a good fight and caused a Nation to shake hands in brotherhood which the white man has been trying to keep out of the heart of the black man. That heroic act has made you the greatest man among the Nations. You will get a great reward.

I enclose herewith the sum of \$2.00 to you for the Messenger Magazine which is well written and will bring all the good news that is worth while.

Yours very truly,

A PORTER

OKOLONA INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

(Incorporated)

For the Training of Colored Young Men and Women

Okolona, Miss.

New Haven, Conn., Dec. 9, 1926.

Mr. Roy Lancaster,  
Secretary-Treasurer, Brotherhood of  
Sleeping Car Porters,  
2311 Seventh Ave.,  
New York City.

My dear Sir:

I noticed in yesterday morning's paper that President Coolidge is in Chicago to address a body of farmers who are already organized and are trying to organize more effectively for the interests of farm life. The papers are unanimous in the fact that President Coolidge is approving this movement and even urging co-operative marketing.

Why in the world, and why in common sense—common horse sense, should farmers organize for their welfare and poor sleeping car porters should not?

With very best wishes, I beg to remain,

Faithfully yours,  
WALLACE A. BATTLE, President.

DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE AND FINANCE

Jersey City, N. J.

A Harry Moore, Director.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,  
2311 Seventh Ave.,  
New York City.

December 18, 1925.

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I have your letter of the twelfth instant and should say, that I was always under the impression that the Pullman car porters were organized. In fact, I have been invited on numerous occasions to their social affairs. It is needless for me to dilate on the advantages of organizing. It is the only method of protection which workmen have. The familiar slogan, "In Union There is Strength" is just as true today as when the thirteen colonies awakened to the realization of it.

Very truly yours,

A. HARRY MOORE

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,  
2311 Seventh Ave.,  
New York City.

The New York World,  
November 19, 1925.

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I am in entire sympathy with the movement of the Pullman Porters to organize, and wish the Brotherhood every success.

Sincerely,

HEYWOOD BROWN

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

Founded as Lincoln Institute 1866 by the 62nd and 65th United States Colored Infantry, Organized as the First Missouri Volunteers.

Mr. Roy Lancaster,  
2311 Seventh Ave.,  
New York City.

Jefferson City, Mo.,  
November 23, 1925.

My dear Lancaster:

Yours of the 19th instant was indeed a pleasant surprise for it brought back to me memories of Florida days.

I enjoyed reading your statement regarding the Movement about which I have been hearing considerable lately, both, pro and con, and I have been trying to come to an opinion.

I had a brief talk the other day with Randolph in St.

Louis, and have had some conversation also with the porters as I run across them on the train, especially with one the other day going into Washington.

The present drift of my thought is favorable to the Movement to which I plan to give more definite opinion regarding the same. I am not much concerned with the talk of Russian Reds as connected with our group in this country. I am in favor of the organization within our Negro workers just as other workers of the world are organized. Although I am not in much sympathy with the I.W.W.'s and those who are inclined to wage warfare against capitalism.

As soon as I come to a definite opinion regarding your Movement, I may send you word. I am now simply studying it with favorable inclinations. I should be glad to have you send me such literature as you may have from time to time.

Very truly yours,  
N. B. YOUNG, President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,  
2311 Seventh Ave.,  
New York City.

132 West 12th Street,  
New York, N. Y.  
December 18, 1925.

My dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter regarding the good work that is being done in the organization of the Sleeping Car Porters. I am thoroughly convinced that these important workers should receive a living wage in accordance with the standard of respectable living in the United States, and that they should be relieved from the degrading necessity of accepting "tips" from the public in order to make up their wages. A prosperous corporation such as the Pullman Company should be able to pay those who help it earn its dividends without relying upon outsiders for assistance or employing the tactics of terrorism.

Yours very truly,  
JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN

170 East 84th Street  
January 15, 1926.

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I am delighted to reply to your letter received this morning, requesting me to express my opinion on the movement to organize the sleeping car porters, so that they may lawfully work to raise their pay to a living wage.)

It is with the greatest pleasure that I express my sympathy and encouragement to them. The sleeping car porters are one of the finest groups of men that I know of. Foreign visitors to our country invariably speak of their helpfulness and courtesy, and I hope that the movement to organize them in order to secure a satisfactory wage will prove successful.

Very truly yours,  
AGNES LEACH.  
Mrs. Henry G. Leach.

January 5, 1926  
150 W. 131st St., New York City,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,  
2311 Seventh Ave.,  
New York City.

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I regret inexpressibly I won't be able to attend the meeting called for Thursday evening, but just at this time I feel precaution must be observed, even though the desire to be among you and of you is very great. I become all enthused and my determination is to help in every way to achieve your one great endeavor—work and toil though it may mean. Under your leadership, which is adequate to so overwhelming a crisis in the economic affairs of 12,000 human beings—yea 60,000 and more, I should say I am glad to have the opportunity of touch and contact with you in so wonderful an effort.

The necessity for a moral purpose in great affairs and for an unswerving determination to achieve it were never expressed better than by Lincoln, the recalling of which invites me to say,—

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray that the mighty scourge that's upon the common people may soon pass away. If God wills it to continue until all the wealth piled up by the Capitalists' years of greed and enriched by the unrequited toil of the undermass of

society shall have been destroyed by moths and worms of the earth, still we shall continue to fight—never losing courage but taking on freshened vigor—press on to the mark of 'our calling.'"

May each man as well as each woman catch the spirit and work with untiring undaunted determination. I am with you whole heart, soul, and spirit. We must have it said that we, at least, as a race have made the Pullman Porter's job a better job in that we lived in it and (at-tempted to live) by it.

I am sincere when I say I am here to be commanded by you—to do as you would have me—standing willing and ready to obey. Please extend to "my" group (The Females) my heartiest greetings.

Yours for the success of the work,  
N. B. DES VERNEY

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,  
General Organizer  
Sleeping Car Porters,  
2311 Seventh Avenue,  
New York City.

United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

January 18, 1926.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am in receipt of your letter of recent date and note what you say in regard to Perry W. Howard and shall be pleased to take up this matter with the proper officials and do what I can to assist.

Cordially yours,  
ROYAL S. COPELAND.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,  
General Organizer,  
Brotherhood Sleeping Car Porters,  
2311 Seventh Ave.,  
New York City.

Daytona, Florida,  
December 2, 1925.

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I have observed with genuine interest the progress of the movement to organize the Pullman Porters to contend for better wages and better working conditions.

Your program, I note is sane and fair, and that your organization is working towards a perfectly legitimate goal. I, therefore, give you my hearty personal endorsement and bid you Godspeed in your worthy efforts.

Please tell the men that they must not be dismayed by opposition. Let it rather spur them on to lawful, loyal, united action. That we may depend upon our men to be law-abiding citizens. I am sure, and so I bid you go forward, remembering that "Righteousness exalteth a Nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

Yours for the right,  
MARY McLEOD BETHUNE

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE  
127 East 23rd Street  
New York City

January 14, 1926.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,  
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,  
2311 Seventh Ave.,  
New York City.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

This letter is written to wish the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters every measure of success in their efforts to secure "more pay," better hours and better working conditions.

I know of the difficulties under which the porters have worked as I personally have had the experience myself.

Certainly the time is long past when men who work can be denied a voice and influence in determining the conditions under which they labor. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, of course, is no exception in this regard. They have my entire sympathy and best wishes in their present struggle.

Sincerely yours  
EUGENE KINCKLE JONES,  
Executive Secretary.

198 Broadway,  
New York City, N. Y.  
December 4, 1925.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,  
General Organizer,  
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,  
2311 Seventh Ave.,  
New York.

Dear Randolph:

I received your letter of November 18th requesting me to send a letter to your organization expressing my attitude upon the efforts of the sleeping car porters to organize a union lawfully to fight for a living wage, better hours and improved working conditions.

I am heartily in sympathy with the purposes of your organization. I have believed for many years that the sleeping car porters and parlor car porters as well should be organized in a strong and effective union and I am glad to see that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has at last been established and that you are functioning as its general organizer. I hope that it will not be long before the sleeping car porters and the parlor car porters shall be organized as numerous and as effectively as are other railway employees.

With cordial greeting to you, I am

Fraternally yours,

S. JOHN BLOCK

RIGHT WORTHY GRAND COUNCIL  
Independent Order of St. Luke  
Richmond, Va., December 2, 1925.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,  
2311 Seventh Ave.,  
New York City.

My dear Sir:

I have your letter and I will follow it up with a letter to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

You have also asked our organization to write a letter expressing our attitude on the efforts of the men to organize a union lawfully to fight for a living wage, better hours and improved working conditions. We shall be glad to carry out your request to the letter.

Yours very truly,

MAGGIE L. WALKER, R.W.G., Sec.-Treas

218 West 139th Street,  
New York, N. Y.  
November 28th, 1925.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,  
General Organizer,  
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,  
2311 Seventh Ave.,  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your recent communication regarding my attitude on the question as to whether or not the Porters working on Pullman Cars should be organized, I would state that I think it is only right that they should to protect themselves and their interests. Organization has proved a great boon to the working man in this country, and for such a large group of men as the Sleeping Car Porters not to avail themselves of the advantages that organization would bring them, would, in my opinion, be very foolish indeed.

Very truly yours,

LOUIS T. WRIGHT

DYETT, HALL & PATTERSON  
Counsellors at Law  
2303 Seventh Avenue

New York, N. Y.

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Dec. 2, 1925.  
c/o A. Philip Randolph, General Organizer,  
2311 Seventh Ave.,  
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Allow me to congratulate you and your colleagues on the formation of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It seems quite apparent to every public spirited Negro, that such an organization is most desirable for the protection of the men who render service of this kind in America. I regard it a sad commentary on the initiative of our Race, that those of us who are engaged in any kind of labor are unable to bind ourselves together and

demand better working conditions and wages for ourselves. Certainly this has been needed for a long time in the case of the Pullman Porters. I am certainly at variance with those of our Race, who are continually insisting that Unions of this kind are disastrous.

The effort that you are making, supplanting much talk done by others, should be regarded as a courageous step in the right direction. I wish the men every success; will be only too glad to serve in any way that I possibly can in the strengthening of this organization.

With best wishes, I remain,

Very truly yours,

GEORGE E. HALL.

1415 Corcoran St., N. W.,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Randolph:

It is hardly necessary for me to say to you and the Pullman porters that I am heartily in favor of your movement and that you have my sympathy and my best wishes for your success.

Very cordially yours,

ARCHIBALD H. CRIMKE,

Former U. S. Minister to San Domingo,  
Author and Spingarn Medalist.

ARTHUR C. HOLDEN & ASSOCIATES  
ARCHITECTS

ARTHUR C. HOLDEN  
MAXWELL KIMBALL

FRANKLIN WELLS  
LEONARD COX.

101 Park Ave., New York.

January 13, 1926.

A. Philip Randolph, Esq.  
General Organizer,  
Pullman & Sleeping Car Porters,  
2311 Seventh Ave.,  
New York City.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

In answer to yours of January 11th, I believe that the Pullman car porters should have been organized long ago. There is no reason for fear; there is every reason for concerted action.

The slogan of unionism should be the same as the slogan of the "Three Musketeers"—"All for one and one for all."

I send you a copy of a little paper which I did over a year ago with some corrections noted on it. It is possible that you might use it in the "Messenger". I tried to have it printed in a magazine like "The Nation" but had it returned. I think it is opportune at this time, and it might help the cause of organization because it points out something more than mere economic return as necessary for the work of all men. Please return the copy to me when you are through with it.

Very truly yours,

ARTHUR C. HOLDEN

Victor L. Berger,  
5th District, Wisconsin.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Washington, D. C.

December 22, 1925.

Mr. Roy Lancaster, Secretary-Treasurer,  
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,  
2311 Seventh Ave.,  
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of the 10th inst. and also a copy of the resolutions adopted by the members of your organization urging an investigation of the activities of the Hon. Perry W. Howard, Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, who, it is stated, is serving the Pullman Company.

I should like to have, if that is available, the material upon which the charge is made. I am in favor of the trade union organization of the sleeping car porters, and do not wish to see their right to organize interfered with by an official of the Government. If the material you have is sufficient to warrant asking for an investigation, I will be glad to do so. )

Thanking you for having written me about the matter, I am

Very sincerely yours,

VICTOR L. BERGER

## Relic of Slavery or Tragedy of Segregation

(Continued from page 43)

The exigies of the case demands that the position of Negro labor be stated by those who by training, by sympathy and by virtue of their record in the workers cause, can be depended upon not to misrepresent the true interest of the Negro.

The Negroes best interest now demands that he join his labor organizations whenever and wherever possible and utilize the present opportunity to intrench himself deeper in the organized labor movement where, shoulder to shoulder with white workers, he may battle for a better living for himself and those dependent upon him for the means of life. That he is doing this, is evidenced by the frantic efforts of his so-called "leaders" to advise him not to do so, but to hold on to the relic of slavery and stand in good with "massa." "Sufficient unto today is the industrial wisdom thereof? The Negro would rather think of the ills he has than fly to those he knows not of." The wisdom of this advice and the psychology behind it is too obvious to need much comment here, except to say that, it is a relic of slavery. That such an advice can be given by a Negro "leader" today and accepted by many white and black as the voice of the Negro worker is indeed a tragedy of segregation.

### Editorials

(Continued from page 52)

ly were embarrassing to their apparent host. We say apparent advisedly because the real host was the Pullman Company which had supplied the money. Chisum's function consisted in getting respectable and quasi-respectable Negro leaders into the conference in order to give it the appearance of something unusually important so that the Pullman Company could say to the public, see, the responsible Negro leaders are opposed to this movement for organizing the Pullman porters. It was assumed by the promoters of this conference that if they get fifty leading Negroes together in the capitol under the guise of condemning segregation and seeking economic and political benefits for the race, and that in that very same conference a resolution was adopted condemning the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, that the porters would feel that they had better let the union alone and that the general public would turn against the organization. But when it was shown that the condemnation of segregation, the visit to President Coolidge, was only fly paper calculated to mislead the innocent public, that the N. A. A. C. P. was not invited to the conference despite the fact that it has made the only consistent and effective fight against segregation in the country, and that they were not invited because they had officially endorsed the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the eyes of the people were opened, they saw the corruption of the conference and they became suspicious and distrustful. Now the more respectable members in the conference are doing their utmost to establish their innocence, to show that they didn't know what it was all about, that they had no special opposition to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, that they knew nothing about resolutions sent out by the Associated Negro Press blessing the Pullman Company and damning the Pullman Porters' Union.

✓ This scheme was masterly conceived by Chisum. Bishop A. J. Carey and Perry W. Howard, his assistants were his handy men. Every man at that conference is obligated to come out before the public and condemn the whole thing as a colossal imposture and free themselves from the taint of the dirty deed. Chisum stock was pretty low before this conference was

pulled off. Now it has hit the zero mark. He will ever be persona non grata in the councils of decent and honorable men and women.

### Pullman Company's Stock Trick

Unable to halt the progress of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters through any other means, the Pullman Company is now playing the stock trick card. By selling stock to the porters it is assumed that it will bind them more tightly to the Company, that it will impress them with the idea that they are a part of the Company, and hence should be interested in keeping down the cost of production in as much as dividends are high when the cost of production is low, and dividends are low, when the cost of production is high. Now since the element of wages is one of the main factors in the cost of production, if the Company can get the men to fall for the stock scheme, it will be able to say to them, why, it's to your interest not to organize and insist upon getting more wages, because then you will be automatically reducing your share in dividends, as a stockholder.

(The Company has so planned the issuance of the stock to the porters that it is impossible for them, granting that all of them bought stock, to exercise any control over the policy of the corporation.) All of the porters combined would not have the power to change the condition of their work one iota as a result of their being a so-called part of the Company, upon a basis of the stock they own.

Again it is quite obvious that the Company does not plan for the men to get any influence through the holding of stock, by the fact that (it will only sell one man one share for every five hundred dollars he earns in salary, yearly. Now the average porter, on a salary of \$67.50 a month, earns only \$810.00 a year. Hence he can buy only one share of stock. We know of no porters who could buy more. The Company realizing the inability of the porters, by virtue of their low wages, to spend much money for stock, permits them to pay three dollars out of their pay check every pay day for forty-one weeks. In fact, they insist upon this method of paying for the stock, even with porters who want to pay the full amount of their stock, at one time.) Mr. W. H. DesVerney, thirty-seven years in the service, and one of the founders of the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association, asserts that this organization once requested the privilege to buy a hundred thousand dollars worth of stock; but was refused. This is significant. Because it shows that the Company does not propose allowing the porters to get hold of enough stock to do them any good. Of course Pullman stock is good because the increase productive efficiency of the Pullman porters makes it good. The porters can hope for no solution of their problems through the purchasing of stocks in the Pullman Company. Their most profitable investment consists in becoming members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The Pullman Company can pay them probably as high as 8 per cent dividends on the dollar. But the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters will pay the porter over one hundred per cent on every dollar he invests in it. (The membership and dues of a porter for a year total \$17.00 only.) Granting that he contributed \$13.00 to the organization for the promotion of the organization campaign, he would only give in all \$30.00. Now if the Brotherhood were able to get an increase in wages of only five dollars a month it would secure for each porter \$60.00 a year. Of course this is a minimum increase.

## Truth About Pullman Porters

(Continued from page 38)

with which to obtain food or wire his superintendent. He was hungry, his car was cold, and he felt miserable. The rule says he must remain with his car, but starvation forced him to desert it, hence he took the first dead-head train back to his district and reported the condition under which he was made to suffer. The assistant superintendent was indifferent. He took undue advantage of his official capacity to assail him unnecessarily in very hard terms. The porter was not able to defend himself in a diplomatic way. The effort was to make him bow his head, and usually the porter does.

Finally the porter was forced to accept a penalty which must be acknowledged by his own signature. Thirty days suspension was the verdict, and this penalty appears against his records, for the rest of his term of service. He refused and asks permission to see the superintendent or local supervisory officer. The assistant superintendent hastened to the office of the superintendent and presented his side of the dispute. The porter was then called in only to find the superintendent was inclined to uphold the action of his assistant. He explained his case to no avail.

The superintendent recommended his dismissal or suggested that he resign from the service. In the latter case he refused and was told he could not go out on the road. Under the Plan of Employee Representation, he has the right to take the matter before his committee on grievances. But the local officials felt that he had no grievance. They blocked his efforts to adjust his case by means of delay. He went repeatedly to the office only to find it hard to interview them. Weeks passed and he was out of work.

Finally he got a hearing and was permitted to take his case to the Committee of Grievances. He discovered that the same official who was in the first part of the dispute was also a member of the committee. With him were four others, as against an equal number of porter representatives. The result was dismissal from the service.)

Such is the way the Employee Representation Plan functions.)

### RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

14. That the porters be not subjected to threats, intimidations and reprisals because of their membership in a labor union.

(a) The Company has fired porters because of activities in the interest of the union. It has compelled porters to vote for the Company union by threatening to withhold their pay checks or to withhold giving them their sign-out slip, that is, hold them off their runs. It has put inexperienced and untrained Filipinos on the club cars in order to frighten the porters away from their union. This is in violation of the seniority rule which the Company pledged to uphold in the agreement with the porters in the last wage conference, 1923. A club car is considered preferential service and supposed to go only to men of long service, efficiency and responsibility. But the Company overrode this rule and placed Filipinos on the club cars over the protest and request of Negro porters who have given probably thirty of their best years in the service.)

(b) Under the Transportation Act, enacted by Congress in 1920, any group of workers on the railroads were invested with a right to organize and present their grievances to the Railroad Labor Board, machinery was set up under the said act to handle the workers' grievances. Thus the Pullman Company is violating a Federal statute in opposing the men to organize)

(c) In the Employee Representation Plan of the Company, a clause specifically states that the Company will not discriminate against a porter or maid because of his or her membership in a fraternal society or union. This is Article 6 and Section F. Still it has done everything to prevent the men from organizing) from hiring Filipinos to

hire Mr. Perry W. Howard, Negro Special Assistant to the United States Attorney General.

This is how the Company Union, known as the Employee Representation Plan, works:

### A. L. TOTTEN IS DISCHARGED

The dismissal of Mr. A. L. Totten from the Pullman service as a porter is the latest evidence on the part of the Pullman Company to deal unfair with its employees.

Mr. Totten was an active and able worker on the Employee Representative Plan, and a national character among Pullman porters. He was the only member of the Committee in the New York district who sought to make the plan function. His sole ambition was to win at least one case for the porters, which would give them faith in the plan.

Wholly because of his determination to seek justice for the men, who always voted for him to represent them on the committee, he was despised by the management and singled out as a dangerous character. The true story which comes from Mr. Totten himself is as follows:

"On the morning of October 1st a porter was dismissed from the service, and feeling that he was unjustly treated, placed his case in my hands, asking that he be given a hearing before our committee on grievances, which is under the plan of employee representation. I asked him to explain his side of the case, and felt that if all he said was true he should be given the privilege of a fair opportunity to defend himself.

I discovered from the outset an inclination on the part of the chairman of the committee to accuse the porter of being under the influence of whiskey when he applied for his grievance blank, a condition that did not exist at the time. This action on his part stimulated me with great interest to seek justice for the porter, who has just been married and the father of a baby a few weeks old.

I have never felt satisfied with the mode of procedure in these committee meetings, because whenever a case is brought before that body there is always an attempt on the part of the management to withhold the facts and deny the representatives of the defendant a fair chance to make a thorough investigation of the changes preferred.

When on the morning of Oct. 15th the committee met I was astonished to learn that the porter was dismissed on the charge of being boisterous at the Pullman porters' House in Chicago and for annoying the older men with his solicitations.

By reason of the fact that the charge as presented was rather weak and without any explanation as to what was meant by the term solicitations I took the attitude that the committee could not vote intelligently on it until we had investigated the custodian at the Porters' House, who should have knowledge of the matter.

According to the custom, the management moved for the executive session and requested that the porter should leave the room and attempted to discredit him in his absence.

They showed his record card with four minor derelictions and based their contentions on the ground that his services were unsatisfactory. I found that some passenger whose name and address are unknown to the committee had written him up for unsatisfactory service.

The management insists that complaints from passengers be charged up as bad records against porters in absence of solid concrete facts. Another passenger wrote him up for being asleep for half an hour in the afternoon between 4 P. M. and 5 P. M. at a time when there were no beds available for passengers or anyone else for that matter.

He was also charged for smoking on duty, despite the fact that Pullman conductors and service inspectors steal their smoke when on duty. An inspector riding on his car reported that he had seen him wipe the hand rails with a pillow slip.

In defense of the last charge I learned from the porter that he discovered the pillow slip tucked away in his stepping box and that it had been previously used for that

purpose. He admitted, however, that he used the precious rag for the accommodation of a lady passenger who wore white kid gloves at the time.

I found no loss record, no insubordination, that he was moral and honest, and I determined to defend the porter on what I believed to be a good case. After a lengthy discussion the management yielded to the opinion of the porter representatives that the case be deferred for another meeting, subject to the call of the chairman, and the secretary communicate with the supervisor at Chicago, asking for detailed report of the porter's conduct at the Pullman Porters' Home.

As a committeeman I have the right to delve into the facts contained in the charged preferred against the porters, and therefore intimated at the time that I would go to Chicago and interview the custodian of the Porters' Home.

Incidentally there were some other matters in connection with the rules governing this plan which I desired to take up with the supervisor and be benefited by his opinion. I desired to carry out this mission without the knowledge of the local officials whom I know had good reasons to hinder me.

So on Monday, Oct. 19th, I wrote a letter of request to work a car to Chicago, leaving New York on Friday, the 23rd, and it was granted me by their Assistant Superintendent at the yards. Immediately on arrival at Chicago on the afternoon of the following day two men grabbed me at the station and demanded that I take a train leaving immediately for New York.

I had worked twenty-three hours on the road and was without proper rest. To return immediately meant further loss of sleep and no opportunity to get a good meal. Besides, I had come here on a mission which was a matter of concern to the management if there is any honesty of purpose in their employee representation plan. I argued that I was a representative of the plan, and I had the legal right under its ruling to stay and carry out my mission, and therefore questioned the authority of anyone who would thus try to bully me.

After the train had backed up to the yards, they attempted to use force to make me return to New York, denying me even a chance to get a cup of coffee. It was then that I decided to remain on solid ground in the capacity of a representative of the plan of employee representative and not as a porter.

After I had interviewed the persons whom I came to see and obtained the necessary information, I reported for duty, and was handed discharge papers for unsatisfactory service."

(Signed) A. L. TOTTEN.

#### ORGANIZATION

1. (There are twelve thousand porters in the service.
2. According to the rules of the United States Labor Board, an organization is required to have 51 per cent of the employees of a certain class of service in order to have a right to represent them.)
3. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters now has branches in Washington, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Omaha, Neb.

#### WAGE CONFERENCE

4. As a result of the progress of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters the Pullman Company has called a wage conference to take place some time in January, obviously for the purpose of heading off the porters' union. This conference doubtlessly will grant a small wage increase to the porters in order to get them satisfied. But the spirit of the men is so high that it will have no great effect upon them, since they realize that the Brotherhood has compelled the Company to call this conference.

The Brotherhood is not backed by Moscow. It has no connection with communists.

The claim that it is is pure Pullman propaganda.

#### MORAL SUPPORT

1. (The Brotherhood is being morally supported by the American Federation of Labor and the Big Four Brotherhoods.
2. It has been officially endorsed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
3. The Civic Club, in a public meeting held to get the facts about the movement to organize the Pullman Porters, endorsed the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.)

#### OTHER ITEMS

(The Brotherhood does not counsel insubordination but efficient discipline. It does not propose to injure the Pullman Company but to help it. The union is conservatively managed and directed so as to make it an efficient and constructive agency in cooperation with the Company for the general improvement of the service on the cars and the development of a high, upstanding, responsible type of porter.)

#### Letters of Davy Carr

(Continued from page 40)

feel a little better, I'll tell you something she said. When the music stopped, I said to your dear friend:

"Tommie, that was an absolutely perfect dance, don't you think so?" And what do you think she said? I won't make you wait longer. She said:

"It was almost perfect, Davy. There's only one person in the world with whom it would have been as enjoyable, and that is our soldier boy. I wish he were here. I miss him a whole lot."

Now I know you'll be glad you waded patiently through all of my puzzles and perplexities to reach this point. It was worth it, don't you think so?

Well, I took Don's advice, or perhaps I should say better, I followed his order, and cultivated Billie Riddick, and I was perfectly amazed to see how she responded. If you had seen us, you would have thought we were sweethearts of long standing. For a few minutes I was tempted to think that it was I she liked, so cordial was she, and so eagerly did she meet me half way, but soon something set my mind at rest as to that. But everything in its own time.

I had a very lively evening, and the air was electric with flashing cross currents. Indeed, I was quite overwhelmed to find how interesting this merely momentary cultivation of Miss Billie seemed to be to a number of people. You can guess who they were, so I need not mention them. There was not a moment when we seemed free from some kind of surveillance. Stimulated by this interest, I threw myself into the game with zest, and the evening, which had begun rather unpleasantly, was not half bad after all. Miss Riddick and I furnished the climax of the evening by actually sitting out one dance in the balcony, while she opened her heart to me about Dr. King. It is curious how love seems to transform some people. When she is talking of him she seems an entirely different person from the hard, sophisticated young woman to whom I was first introduced by Morris Jeffreys so many weeks ago.

I got one interesting point at least from this interview. She does not believe that Caroline cares very deeply for the doctor. While we were sitting up on the balcony with our heads together I was conscious of many inquiring glances directed our way. Don Verney, especially, seemed to get a lot of fun out of the situation, and smiled widely at us each time he passed within eyeshot, dancing with Lillian Barton. I discovered in talking with Billie that she was going next Friday night to the Merry Coterie's card party, to which I had been invited also. It's another one of those affairs where the men come in about ten-thirty, when the games are over. So, still following Don's lead, I asked Billie if I might not take care of her for that evening. Her eyes flashed visibly as I voiced my invitation. She said Scott Green had asked her, but she had not given him an answer, so that she could fix it all right. I might consider the matter settled. I was to call for her

just before eight to take her to the card party, which began early, and then I was to come back at ten-thirty.

When we were putting on our wraps at the entrance to the coatroom, Billie and Scott Green came up to where Caroline, Tommie, the doctor and I were standing, and bade us goodnight most cordially and effusively, leaving me for the last.

"Au revoir, Mr. Carr," she said, "don't forget it's a quarter to eight." And with one of her dazzling smiles, she slipped her arm through Scott Green's and left us with a flourish. As I struggled into my overcoat I stole a look at the others. As Dr. King's back was turned to me, I was deprived of the possibility of seeing his reaction to Billie's remarks, but Tommie's brow was drawn into deep thought wrinkles, and Caroline stood open-mouthed. As they, by one impulse, turned to look at me, I made a point, in my effort to get into my coat, to turn my back on them.

It was a silent party in Dr. King's car, though the thoughts were almost vocal. Just before we drew up at the Rhodes' house, however, Caroline broke the silence. Smothering a yawn with her hand, she turned to Tommie,

and in the coolest, most matter-of-fact tone in the world, she said:

"Did you notice how old Billie Riddick is looking? She really ought to stop going so much."

What Tommie would have answered, I really cannot guess, for at that moment the car stopped in front of the house, and Dr. King swung the door open.

When I was at Tommie's last night for a few minutes I saw the new photo. It is a good one, there is no doubt of that. I told Tommie that I thought she had enough pictures of you, but she answered that she wanted one in civilian attire, for all she had were taken in uniform. I suppose if she expressed a desire for the moon you would rush and try to get it. Buddie, I fear your days of freedom are over, for this time you have swallowed hook, line and sinker, and there is little or no use in trying to wriggle, even. Tell Sallie Cole that I say she is wasting her valuable time being nice to you. You are what my old nurse used to call "a gone goose." But no doubt you endure your hopeless state with remarkable serenity.

Davy.

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# PULLMAN PORTERS NEED OWN UNION

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

The Pullman porters are unorganized. They are the only workers on the railroads unorganized. Of course they are a part of the Company's Plan of Employee's Representation. But this is the Company's union. The



MR. RANDOLPH

Negro officials of the union have no rights which the Company is bound to respect. This fact is fully and clearly shown by a number of cases adjusted under the Employee's Representation Plan. It is merely calculated to impress the Porters with the idea that they have a union when in reality they only have a *fake union*, a sham, a union which is of no earthly benefit to them because it is owned and controlled body and soul by the

Pullman Company.

Note example No. 1 as to how it works out. We shall indicate the names of porters by letter x.

(A Mr. X was dismissed because of a complaint by a passenger. The grievance of Mr. X was referred to the Local Committee, the body of original jurisdiction over disputes or misunderstandings arising between porters and passengers of porters and the conductors and matters for adjustment of any nature relating to the work of porters. The Local Committee by a majority vote gave favorable consideration to the porter, Mr. X's defense. The Local Committee made the following recommendation: "That the action of the management in X's case be sustained, but in view of the fact that he has been freed from the conditions which existed at the time of his dismissal, the Committee recommends that he be re-employed in the Pullman service." Despite the recommendation of the Local Committee, the superintendent opposed the re-employment of Porter X, and so advised.)

Now according to paragraph (a) of Article IV of the Plan of Employee's Representation, the Local Committee was acting within its power. Note the plan: "The Committee may consider and make recommendations concerning any matters pertaining to their employment, working conditions, questions arising out of existing industrial relations, and such other matters as they may deem important to the welfare of the employees." One of the porter members of the Local Committee protested against this high-handed action of the district management in setting aside the recommendations of the Local Committee on the ground that according to the Employee's representation Plan whenever a grievance or petition was referred to the Local Committee for its consideration, and that Committee by a majority vote had sustained the management or the porter's claim, that the matter ended there, as far as the Committee was concerned.

But apparently the Local Committee is a mere figure-head Committee which can be ridden over rough shod by the superintendent. (Of course, this is true, but in view of the recommendations of the Local Committee, the matter was referred to the Zone General Committee to review the entire case. The Zone General Committee by a majority vote recommended that Porter X be not re-employed, thus sustaining the local management.) In other words, after the Pullman Company gives the Porters the Plan of Employee's Representation, the Company won't permit the Plan to function whenever it is in favor of the porters. Obviously, the Local Committee got out of the control of the company officials, hence in order to defeat the porter, the local management had the case referred to the Zone General Committee, which is an appeal body. It must be remembered that all of the members of these committees are endorsed by the Company. Sometimes it happens that the Company endorses a porter member more independent than it has any idea of. There are a number of porters of independent spirit throughout the country. *It must also be*

*remembered that the Pullman Company has a veto power over the action of all committees functioning under the Employee's Representation Plan.)*

## Free Assemblage of Porters Banned

It is a matter of common knowledge that the company is opposed to the porters holding meetings in their own interests—even under the Employee's Representation Plan, which was supposedly devised by the company for the porters. The reason is, of course, that the company fears lest the porters, through discussion, discover that the Plan is a farce, *as it is*, and that they need a real union which can and will fight their battles. The company only wants the porters to come together when some of their watch dogs are there to see to it that they (the porters) behave; that they don't get any mischievous ideas into their heads about unionism. But for the porters to meet without discussing the wages, hours of work and working conditions of their work is for them to waste time. That the company is afraid of free speech and free assemblage of the porters is evident by the fact that the annual conventions of the Pullman Porters Beneficial Association are *merely talk fests about nothing under the whip hand of some high-salaried official of the company*. In the executive sessions of the conventions the legal brains of the company sit and instruct and advise the men just what they can and cannot do. Porters cannot change the laws of the Association. Whenever a porter raises a question about wages, hours or conditions of work, he is immediately waved down and told that this is a benevolent organization, not industrial. In short the porters are not supposed to *think about anything worth while*. "Theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do and die."

It is interesting to note in this connection that the P. P. B. A. was organized to break up the porters' effort to organize. Believing that Negroes have some special weakness for organizations that pay sick and death benefits the company founded the P. P. B. A. as fly-paper for the unsuspecting, well-meaning but misguided porters. They forthwith took the porters active in trying to organize the men and made them officers in the Pullman Porters' Beneficial Association. This closed the mouths, tied the hands and chained the feet of the former fighting porters. Naturally, a dog will not bite the hand that feeds it. (Nor does the Company make membership in the Association altogether optional with the porters. It has a subtle way of bringing pressure to bear on the men. It takes the form of giving special favors and privileges to porters who are members of the P. P. B. A.) This was the final and effective blow to the porters' efforts to organize themselves. The porters did not realize that they would not need any favors if they had power, and that power could only come through a union by, for and of themselves. They fell for the sick and death benefit hokum, something which they can get in any insurance, fraternal or benevolent society which is unrelated to the Company. Besides if they got proper wages they could plan for themselves. Moreover, even if the company gives sick and death benefits to the porters that is no reason why they should not organize. For in fact the company is not giving them anything. The porters are giving sick and death benefits to themselves, but they don't know it. (The porter pays \$26 a year as dues into the P. P. B. A. for which he receives ten dollars a week sick benefits for 12 weeks, \$1,000 at death, \$200 for disability. And note this method of holding the porter on the job. If he is discharged the company compels him to pay 50 per cent increase in assessment, while at the same time he is deprived of a voice in the affairs of the Association.) This is real feudalism. The porter is bound to the Pullman car just as, in the Middle Ages, the serf was bound to the land of the lords.

The Pullman Porters' Beneficial Association is then a hoax, calculated to lead the porters up blind alleys, away from the goal to which it is their interest to go. It is maliciously deceptive in that it makes the porters believe that they are organized. In their own union they could have a benevolent phase if they chose to do so. They would also be free men.

### Cannot Rise

It is a notorious fact that the Pullman Company provides for the promotion of every other worker in the company except the porter. The *Pullman News* in the May issue, 1925, carries the pictures and speaks of the rise of Howard P. Clements and Edward J. Burke to the positions of Passenger Traffic Manager and General Passenger Agent, respectively. *Under the head of honor veterans of 50 years Pullman service*, their upward climb is shown as beginning as messengers in 1875 and being gradually promoted as follows: clerk in 1880; ticket agent, 1882; Assistant District Superintendent, 1886; District Superintendent, 1889; Assistant Division Superintendent, 1890; Assistant to General Superintendent, 1901 Assistant General Ticket Agent, 1903; General Ticket Agent, 1908; General Passenger Agent, 1918; Passenger Traffic Manager, 1925. These men are receiving a salary of some 25 or 30 thousand dollars a year, perhaps more. (No porter has any such opportunity. He cannot even become a Pullman conductor,) although even the Pullman Company officials would not deny that they are fully competent. Many porters are superior in intelligence to the officials in their district. This the officials recognize and consequently attempt to suppress them. Moreover there are numerous porters whose services in the company are as long, as honorable, as efficient as that of any of the officials or white employees. (Still they are not only held down to one place in the service, but they are underpaid and overworked as well.)

### To Dignify Jobs

Obviously, all of the porters cannot become officials in the Company. They are destined to remain as they are. But with organization they can dignify their jobs. They can make them respected. The wages can be raised so as to insure a decent living. At present they are the *monkeys* of the service. They are expected to sing and cut up such capers as are unbecoming to a man. (To this end the Company organized an octette and quartette of singing porters.) This is not only a disgrace to the porters, it is an insult to the race. The Company would not think of requesting any other group of workers in the service to carry on such monkey foolishness (for the traveling public.) Nor would the public expect it of any other group. So long as they can keep the porters singing, laughing and dancing, they will be able to underpay and overwork them. *Why? Because they are too happy to think.* In such a state it is to the interest of the Company to keep the porters. *If the porters expect to get their rights and not stripes, they have got to stop singing and begin thinking.*

- ② (Music is also taught the porters free of charge) This too is nothing but a sop, which is intended to take the porter's mind off his miserable wages, hours and conditions of work. While music is all right, it is not going to help the porters to buy food, and clothes, or pay rent. What the porters need is not *more music but more money.*
- ③ (They have also been given a band, that is, the hall in which the members of the band meet is paid for by the Company, but the porters paid for their own instruments.) While there is nothing against having a band providing you have also the fundamental things, namely one's manhood, adequate wages, humane hours of work, etc. Otherwise a band is a joker. The porters might just as well realize for all time that the Company is not going to present them anything on a silver platter which is of any real value to them. If by giving the porters a band the Company can get their feet more active in dancing than their heads are in thinking, the Company will certainly give them bands. There is no reason why the

porters could not have a band in their own independent union if they so desired. The Company is always ready to give the porters bands instead of more wages.

### Uncle Toms

(The handicap under which the porters are now laboring are due to the fact that there are too many Uncle Toms in the service. With their slave psychology they bow and kowtow and lick the boots of the Company officials, who either pity or despise them. The company uses these me-too-boss, hat-in-hand porters to spy on the independent manly men.) They are always afraid that somebody will rock the boat, that *the good white folks will get mad.* They are always singing to let well enough alone, even though they be kicked and spat upon; that the time isn't ripe for the porters to stand up like men. The officials know this, the white employees on the railroad know this and the public knows it. This sort of porters who have a *wishbone* where a backbone ought to be, must be brushed aside and made to understand that their day has passed never to return. It is reported that Frank Walsh, Chairman of the Industrial Relations Committee, indicated that it was obvious upon cross-examining the Pullman porters relative to conditions of work, wages and hours of work, during the Congressional investigation of the Pullman Company, that the porters had been coached. And naturally, because their transportation had been given them by the Company. They testified in favor of the Company and against themselves and their fellow workers. Happily, however, this type of porter is gradually losing his influence.

### Big Four

(It is interesting to note that before the Wage Board<sup>7</sup> adjusting wages of railroad workers, that the Big Four Railway Brotherhoods favored an increase for the porters.) Why? Not because they love the porters. But because by raising the pay of the lowest paid worker on the railroads they can the more forcefully argue for a raise in theirs. Hence their attitude toward the porters was dictated by enlightened self interest.

### Pullman Conductors

For the very same reason (the Pullman conductors would favor the porters getting higher pay. They would also favor the porters becoming organized. Because as the porter's pay is raised, the conductor's pay will be raised. The Company knows this and hence it seeks to keep the porters and conductors at loggerheads. The Company officials impress the porters that the conductors are not their friends, and on the other hand, they keep the conductors harassing the porters so that the porters will have no good blood for them. By such a plan they wont get together.) The fact is the Company cares no more about the conductors than it does about the porters.

### Oscar J. Daniels

Whenever it is possible to satisfy a group with an apparent benefit instead of a real one, it will always be given. Such an instance is the naming of a Pullman car after Oscar J. Daniels. By this little gesture of honoring an heroic porter who was underpaid and overworked all of his life in the service, the porters are led to believe that they have got something when in truth they have got nothing. Even the *New York Sun and Globe* recognizes that the thing is a dud. The following clipping indicates that the public realizes that these men are not getting a square deal:

### An Honor Well Deserved

The Pullman Company has done well to give to one of its cars the name of Oscar J. Daniels in honor of the porter who distinguished himself by his clearheadedness, his fortitude and his devotion to duty in the Rockport wreck on the Lackawanna Railroad on June 16. The story of his heroism is told thus in the company's announcement:

(Continued on page 306)

# THE TRADE UNION COMMITTEE FOR ORGANIZING NEGROES

By FRANK R. CROSSWAITH

*Executive Secretary, Trade Union Committee for Organizing Negro Workers*

Onward sweeps the industrial tide of America carrying in its resistless rush, many of the accumulated beliefs and attitudes long held by a large portion of organized labor in regard to the Negro worker. This sweeping tide is also washing away the myth that this is a classless country in which every man has a chance to become a bank president, an oil magnate, a coal baron, a landlord, or a railroad czar.

Having been, upon his landing in America, soldered as it were to the soil for over 250 years, while around and about him was growing up the industrial system which has now spread throughout the length and breadth of the land, the Negro worker was for many years looked upon by organized labor as being outside the pale of its concern.

The general opinion was that he—the Negro—was definitely and for all time to do no more than hew wood and draw water, consequently, no worthwhile efforts were made to reach him with the message of unionism, because, the early trade unionists held the common belief that, due to certain physiological and psychological distinctions the Negro would never be able mentally to "fit in" to the growing and complicated industrial system; that the natural habitat of the Negro, in chattel slavery or out of it, was the farm. Be that as it may, it is now a fact that with ever increasing rapidity the Negro is being introduced into industry both as a skilled and unskilled worker and as a result of this fact, two other facts stand out as clear as a noon-day sun.

1. In almost every important strike lost by organized labor within the last fifteen or twenty years, the Negro worker has played a conspicuous role in its outcome and he is destined to play a still more important role in the future. In the collapse of the workers fight in the great steel strike of 1918, the Negro strike breaker was very much in evidence; in the stock yard fiasco of 1922 the unorganized Negro worker was found on the side of the great packing interest; in the railroad strike of 1920 the Negro worker was on the side of the railroad owners. It is even claimed that Negroes helped to defeat the printers in their "rump strike" two years ago in New York City.

2. The gradual realization on the part of organized labor that its own existence, its own best interest was at stake and that unless the Negro workers are organized as well as the white workers are, the strikes won by union labor in this country would become fewer and fewer with the passing of years; because of these facts we have seen from time to time some feeble efforts made to get Negro workers organized; these efforts have not always brought the desired results, of course there is a reason, which I do not desire here to discuss, but will do so in a future article on "labor and the color line."

Nevertheless, to expect that the accumulated ideas and impressions made upon the minds of the white people of this country through 250 years of chattel slavery, would be suddenly changed by the simple process of a worker joining a labor union, is to expect entirely too much. And so, after white trade unionists, lashed by the whip of self-interest were forced in many instances to admit the Negro worker, we find the left-over ideas and impressions from chattel slavery moulding the unions' attitude toward the Negro worker. For instance, where he was permitted to enter the unions the following practices were perpetrated upon him; first he had to have a special Negro local (of course with white officers in control) in distinct contrast to the white locals, and incidentally the members of the white locals were usually less unemployed than were the members of the Negro locals;

where he was taken into a white local, he quickly realized that his main function there was to pay dues; from certain official positions in the union he was barred whether these were elective or appointive, these positions being considered "white men's jobs"; the higher the salary and the greater the privileges attached to these positions the stronger was the conviction that they were "white men's jobs"; the Negro also found in many cases that whenever there were jobs to be had his white brother would invariably get them, while he would be sent to a job only when all the whites were employed; when the "lay-off" period set in the Negro was the first to get that most unwelcome ultimatum; as a result of these experiences the Negro worker reacted by becoming suspicious of all unions and all union organizers.

However, the present stringent immigration laws which cut off the supply of European and other foreign labor, together with the rapid urbanization of the population of the United States resulting in thousands of workers leaving the farms every year for the industrial centers, the farms themselves becoming highly industrialized with the aid of modern farming instruments, are among some of the factors that have forced white labor to search itself and assume some concern about the Negro worker.

About a year ago a group of Negro and white trade unionists and their friends met at the Civic Club for an exchange of ideas on the question of the Negro worker and his relations to organized labor. At this gathering were present many whose records in the worker's fight for economic justice are well established, such men as Dr. Norman Thomas, Dr. Harry Laidler, Cedric Long, Thomas J. Curtis, Max Danish and such women as Mrs. Gertrude E. McDougald, Mrs. Kenneth Walzer and others too numerous to mention. There were also present some who apparently did not fully understand the question and the principles under discussion and whose attitude seemed rather opposed to organized labor because of the latter's past neglect of the Negro worker, nevertheless, out of that gathering was organized a committee consisting of the following: Thomas J. Curtis, General Manager Compensation Bureau of the Building Trades; Samuel A. Irving, Carpenters Union, Secretary; Frank R. Crosswaith, Union Organizer; Max Danish, Editor of *Justice*, the organ of the I. L. G. W. Union and Mrs. Gertrude E. McDougald, Teachers Union.

Mrs. Walzer was elected chairman of the committee and its consequent success is due in large measure to her industry and her untiring devotion to the task assigned her. After a period of many months spent in ascertaining the attitude of the unions toward the matter, a conference was decided upon. This conference met at Arlington Hall, May 23, 1925; over 25 local and international unions were represented by delegates, many which had shown interest in the matter and signified their intentions to be present were unavoidably kept away.

The principal address was made by Mr. Hugh Frayne, New York representative of the A. F. of L. He spoke in very interesting and sympathetic terms of the Negro worker, and pledged the full support of the A. F. of L. to whatever constructive effort the Conference would decide upon. Mr. Frayne's enthusiastic address was a true reflection of the general spirit of the delegates who seemed clearly to realize the tremendous size and seriousness of the task facing them. The determination everywhere was that never again must organized labor lose another strike in New York City through the activities of unorganized Negro workers. The Conference voted to create a permanent organization to be known as the "Trade Union Committee for Organizing Negro Work-

ers," whereupon Mr. Thomas J. Curtis, President of the International Union of Tunnel Workers and Manager of the Compensation Bureau of the Building Trades was elected Chairman and Treasurer. Mrs. Gertrude E. McDougald, Assistant Principal of Public School No. 89, and representing the Teachers Union, was chosen vice-chairman; Frank R. Crosswaith and A. August Marquis were elected executive secretary and assistant secretary respectively.

An executive committee was also chosen, its membership besides those above named, is as follows: Ernst Bohm, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union; Ed. Brown, Jr., Elevator Operators and Starters Union; Eugene J. Cohan, Teamsters Union; Samuel A. Irving, Carpenters Union; L. Rosenthal, Laundry Workers International Union; James J. Cunningham, Carpenters Union and Joseph Kesten, International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Headquarters have now been opened at 2380 7th Avenue, Room 504, and within a short time the organization will begin to make its presence felt in the economic life of the Negro workers of New York City. Too long has it been a truism that the Negro is the last to be hired and the first to be fired. Too long has the Negro worker's dinner pail been almost empty while the dinner pail of the other workers has been comparatively full. The future of the Negro is inextricably bound up with that of labor and consequently, the sooner this fact is realized by both black and white workers the faster will speed the day of emancipation from economic slavery of all who usefully work whether by hand or by brain.

"The Trade Union Committee for Organizing Negro Workers" will adopt as its slogan, "*Union hours, Union wages and Union conditions for every Negro worker in the City of New York.*" The task the Committee faces is by no means an easy one, it must do both educational and organizing work; it must organize the unorganized workers and it must aid in education both Negro and white workers toward a realization of their common

economic interest. It must not alone get Negro workers into the unions of their trades, but it must also stand by them in the fight for justice inside of their unions; it will serve the Negro workers as the Woman's Trade Union League serves the women Trade Unionists as the "United Hebrew Trades" serves the Jewish workers and as the Italian Chamber of Labor serves the Italian workers.

This Committee ought to receive the instant and genuine support of the far-seeing men and women of the race. It must be plain to all that in strengthening the earning capacity of the workers of our race, we are directly strengthening the entire race; for when the Negro worker's dinner pail is full, when his pay envelope is fuller, it is then that the professional men of the race, the fraternal organizations of the race, the churches and other institutions of the race will be greatly benefitted and their permanent prosperity more assured, to say nothing of the social and educational improvements which will come to the group, and lastly, "the Committee" needs financial support; this support it will not get and does not want from those whose selfish interests are protected by having the Negro workers unorganized where they can be more effectively abused and exploited. It does not want and it cannot get, financial support from the enemies of organized labor. It is to organized labor and to the sympathizers of organized labor that it must look for support; every race-conscious and class-conscious Negro in particular, ought to come forward now and aid in this the worthiest of all attempts to bring relief to the hard pressed and brutally exploited toilers of our race.

Checks and money orders should be made out to the treasurer, Thomas J. Curtis and addressed to the Trade Union Committee for Organizing Negro Workers, 2380 7th Avenue, New York City, Room 504.

All Negro workers desiring to join the union of their trade should come to our headquarters and consult the secretary.

## NEW BOOKS

*The Everlasting Stain.* By Kelly Miller. Published by the Associated Publishers, Washington, D. C. 362 pages. \$2.65.

Despite two good chapters on Booker T. Washington and on the Negro population, this latest book of essays by Kelly Miller is a mass of drivel. It is a gargantuan task to wade through it . . . an everlasting *pam*. The doughty Dean has included in the volume a large amount of his writings in the Negro press, and a couple of his open letters to the late lamented Woodrow and Warren, dealing with the position of the Negro in this virtuous Republic. For 352 pages the eminent defender of the so-called Negro race trims and hedges, dodges and evades, qualifies and modifies every definite statement of opinion, runs first with the hare and then with the hounds, blows hot and cold with the same breath; all tempered with his well-known caution. He denounces radicalism with the vehemence of Judge Gary and the ignorance of Senator Lusk; weeps over the declining birth rate of his dark brethren (a universal phenomenon); sobs because more college-bred Negroes are not entering the ministry (as if we didn't have too many clergymen already); flirts with the capitalists and frowns on organized labor; gives aid and comfort to the separate Negro schools, and strives to create a favorable

view of segregation while at the same time pretending to condemn it. He repudiates social equality and loudly advertises the Negro's loyalty, meekness, forgiving nature, and other supposed characteristics of the dark brethren so often emphasized by "friends" of the Negro. He sees the Negro as "essentially a manual laborer" and thinks our "weakness of will" a "besetting sin." He ballyhoos for the white man's burden, labeling the white people as "the advanced section of the human family" and "trustees of human culture and civilization." "Other men have labored," he assures us, "and we have entered into their labors," and advises us to place our strength upon the Ten Commandments. In some places he sounds like Kipling, or a propaganda tract from the British Foreign Office or our State Department. Like all Negro school teachers and our black bourgeoisie generally, he lays more emphasis upon the necessity of having ministers, social workers, doctors, lawyers, probation officers, editors and teachers, than upon bricklayers, carpenters, tailors, concrete finishers, engineers, chemists, architects, engravers, plasterers, and other workers of greater importance. Like most of his ilk, he insists that it is the Negro who creates the problem, rather than the white man. There is much pseudo-scientific nonsense and historical balderdash; there is also much that is sound common sense. But what is sound

is submerged in a mass of pious piffle and polished platitude. His writings would be more effective if he occasionally took the offensive, got out of the middle of the road and ceased bubbling banalities with the solemn air of revealing startling and profound truths. He is a curious mixture of Woodrow Wilson, Dr. Frank Crane and William Jennings Bryan . . . an expert phrase-monger, a whooper for moral forces, a genius at glittering generalities, a self-constituted oracle on affairs Aframerican, a calamity howler and a viewer-with-alarm. Withal an ardent cudgel wielder for the beleaguered blacks of these United States. Prof. Allain Locke, erstwhile dispenser of philosophy at Howard University, supplies an able introduction.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER.

## NEXT ISSUE

will be

## The Negro Fraternal and Benevolent Number

Don't Miss It

University into an efficient educational machine. Only a maudlin sentimentality will raise a hue and cry against their adoption. Overlapping, dovetailing, duplication is a menace to any business, and universities have become business organizations for the production and sale of a standardized form of education. It is regrettable, however, that the survey has been used as a means of dispensing with the services of some of the most able and worthy members of the faculty. Especially were we pained to learn of the dropping of Alain Le Roy Locke, an able and brilliant scholar. We count this as a distinct loss to the school in particular and the race in general. It seems to us that some way might have been found to retain Locke. Such a retrenchment, though a saving in money, is a loss in spirit, an asset not to be discounted. Now that Howard is well on its way to becoming a big first class university, it is the task of the President, faculty, alumni, student body and the general Negro public, to be eternally vigilant lest she lose her soul, a grave probability.

Note: We are happy to learn from a release of a statement of the trustees of Howard University that Kelly Miller has been retained at the salary of a dean, \$3,500 a year. We did not know this when we wrote our editorial on Kelly Miller and Howard University in the August issue.

### Political Storms in Africa

(Continued from page 294)

throw the capitalist system of government and usher in a co-operative commonwealth one, a system of government which is not foreign to the aboriginals of Africa."

This Johannesburg Congress made a history, for it adopted the foregoing objective. The daily press interpreted this bold declaration as "Communism for the Natives." If a visitor from Europe or the United States of America would have been privileged to attend this Congress, he would have left Africa fully convinced that the African proletarian delegates were quite able to understand and to grasp the economic and industrial development of South Africa, coupled of course, with their knowledge of the World Labor Movement. Congress again decided to send an official overseas at an early date to study the World Labor Movement.

### Bid for Freedom

The political storms were gathering. The I. C. U. had declared at the beginning of the present year its slogan: "We must be free men and women in the land of our fathers." They were pledged therefore to go the whole hog at this conference, thus in adopting a resolution dealing with the obnoxious "Pass Laws," declared to embark on a "passive resistance" campaign, should the Government tolerate this capitalistic institution.

As we write the whole country is in political turmoil. Both the I. C. U. and the African National Congress are jointly decided to organize the workers both politically and industrially. The pending struggle in this country is a direct challenge to the British Labor Movement and to International Labor. We shall ask the civilized workers of the world: *Are they to sit idle, giving no assistance to the workers of Africa?* Words would fail us to be precise, the space allotted to me in this journal will not

permit our full indictment of the British Imperialist atrocities in the so-called Dark Continent. We do not intend to fill this page with instances showing the savagery and profanity of this much boosted Empire. Whenever an attempt is made to better our lot in this country, the capitalist press rush to broadcast the news as I read the other day with much disgust in one of the London papers—"The Daily Mirror"—"The attempts of Bolshevik agitators to organize a native boycott is already doomed to failure." No truth has ever been sent to London or to any of the civilized countries about our struggles here! "We want to be free men and women in the land of our fathers." And we call upon the British Labor Movement to assist us by denouncing the atrocities committed by British Imperialism in the House of Commons, the Labor Press at the Trade Union Congress and at all their platforms. If they fail to assist us this way, they would have no justification to exist as a Labor Movement. They shall compel us to join and to echo the narrow and selfish slogan, "Africa for the Africans," but because we are reluctant to adopt this slogan, hence our appeal to the British Labor Movement. Let the British Labor Movement lead the way in not only preaching but in practising the glorious doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man.

### Pullman Porters

(Continued from page 290)

"At the time of the wreck Daniels was seated in the forward end of the first Pullman, which left the rails, halting near the locomotive, from which dense clouds of steam poured in through a door. Daniels braved the steam to close the door. He succeeded but fell mortally injured. He still was alive when rescuers entered the car, but after being taken outside he refused first aid, saying, 'Attend to that little girl first.' The doctors obeyed and when they returned they found Daniels dead."

( Pullman porters usually get less credit than they deserve. The public takes for granted their courtesy, their resourcefulness, their capacity to anticipate the wants and whims of querulous or nervous or bewildered passengers, their dexterity in a rapidly moving train. It makes few allowances for accidents, none for incidental, probably unintentional impertinences. A mishap that throws a porter against a passenger is likely to subject him to severe reprimand. In literature and on the stage the porter shares the common fate of his race, he provides the comic relief.)

Not only is this unfair, but it has created an atmosphere in which the most praiseworthy deeds of Pullman porters have been obscured. They share the honorable tradition of the tracks which bind engineer and brakeman, towerman and track walker, dispatcher and call boy, to get the train through, to protect the lives the passengers, to relieve those in distress before taking thought for their own safety.

The records of the Pullman Company are not lacking in reports of highly meritorious acts by its porters. Many men and women have been aided on their way by the alert custodians of chair and sleeping cars who alternate nimbly between white jacket and blue coat. It is good to have one of their fraternity receive the public recognition he deserves; the Carnegie Hero Fund might look up his dependents, and the observer may well say, "A car bearing an honorable name" as he watches the passage of the Oscar J. Daniels.

But of course the *Sun and Globe* does not suggest the remedy. *A porter is not as interested in having his breast swell with pride when he sees the Oscar J. Daniels passing as he is interested in having his pockets swell with cash.*

### NEXT MONTH I WILL DISCUSS "HOW TO ORGANIZE"

(Note—This is only the beginning of the biggest fight ever waged in the interest of downtrodden, exploited, starved and enslaved Negro workers. This important message and clarion call must and will reach every Pullman porter in the United States and Canada. Special newsdealer rates to Pullman porters. Send in for bundle orders of five or more, or send us the name and address of any newsdealer handling Negro publications around any railroad station, anywhere. Help us to help break the grip of the Pullman Company on the throats of its most faithful workers! Spread the news!)

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# THE PULLMAN COMPANY AND THE PULLMAN PORTER

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH



A. P. RANDOLPH

Pullman porters are efficient. They are loyal. They are honest. They are faithful. This, the company admits. Not only does the company admit it, but praises the porters to the highest.

Listen to the Pullman Company speak for itself on the porters' honesty. Note the following items, appearing in the column entitled "Honesty's Honor Roll," in the *Pullman News*, a monthly magazine of the company, of March, 1925:

### *Honesty's Honest Roll*

Porter J. E. Avery (Jacksonville) was highly complimented for turning in a wallet whose contents aggregated \$750, of which \$250 was cash and the remainder endorsed drafts.

Porter E. Hutchinson (Chicago Western) found \$180 in a vestibule on the "Overland Limited" soon after leaving Chicago recently, and on arrival at San Francisco deposited it at the Pullman office.

Porter W. T. Davis (Chicago Southern) found a purse containing \$60 on the "Floridan" and was given \$10 for his honesty by the owner.

Porter G. W. Tisdale (Nashville) was rewarded for turning in a purse containing \$55.

And this is a general thing. One may find in practically every issue of the *Pullman News* the mention of porters for honesty. I need not remark that it is a commonplace that honest workers are an asset to any institution. The Pullman Company undoubtedly realizes this, else it wouldn't praise its employees for honesty. But it does little to make the porters honest save by putting their names on the Honesty's Honor Roll, a reward of too unsubstantial a character to merit appreciation. The policy of the Pullman Company has been to reward their porters with praise and flattery only. But the porters want more than kind words.

There is also a Courtesy's Honor Roll in the *Pullman News* on which may be found the names of Pullman porters every month. "Is Your Name on the Service Roll of Honor?" is the caption of a page in the July issue of the *News*. Under this heading is an explanatory statement, viz., "The following Pullman employees have been commended by passengers for acts of courtesy and good service." *A star indicates more than one letter of appreciation.* Then follows a long list of porters distributed throughout the country, indicating that the Company recognizes the great service of the porters to it.

### *Pullman Porters Synonymous with Pullman Company*

Well does the Pullman Company know that the Pullman porter is synonymous with the Pullman Company. (When one speaks of the Pullman Company, the first image which comes to mind is the porter with his white coat, cap and brush. In fact, it is a matter of common knowledge that the chief commodity which the Company is selling is *service*, and that service is given by the Pullman porters. For comfort, ease and safety, the traveling public looks to the porter.) Chil-

dren, old, decrepit and sick persons, are put in his charge. And the history of the Company shows that he has been a responsible custodian, ever vigilant, tender and careful of the well-being of his passengers. His every move and thought are directed toward the satisfaction of the slightest whim of restless and peevish passengers.

And oftentimes this service is rendered under the most trying conditions. Many a porter is doing duty though he has not slept in a bed for two or three nights at a time. Nor has he had adequate food. (Despite the requirements that he be clean, he is often doubled and trebled back without ample time to give his body proper cleansing.)

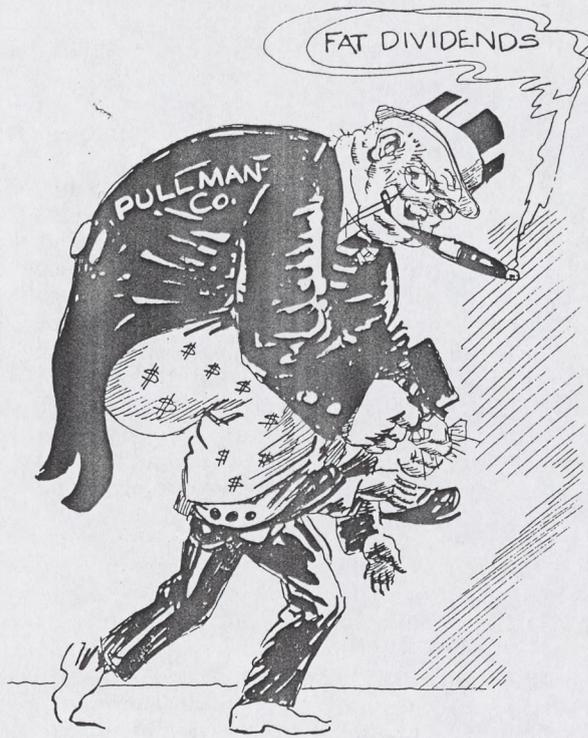
### *Treated Like Slaves*

But despite the long, devoted, patient and heroic service of the Pullman porter to the Pullman Company, despite the fact that the fabric of the company rests upon his shoulders, despite the fact that the Pullman porter has made the Company what it is today, the Company, callous and heartless as Nero, treats him like a slave. In very truth, the Pullman porter has no rights which the Pullman Company is bound to respect. So far as his manhood is concerned, in the eyes of the Company, the porter is not supposed to have any. (When he is required to report in the district offices to answer to some complaint, he is humiliated in being compelled to stand for two or three hours before the district officials decide to consider him, while there he is insulted by some sixteen-year-old whipper snapper messenger boy who arrogantly snaps out: "What d'you want, George." This may be a porter who has been in the service some thirty or forty years, trenching hard upon the retirement period.) But what does that matter? He is only a Pullman porter. His lot is hapless. In obedience to the mandate of holy writ, when he is slapped on one side of the cheek, he is expected to turn the other one. And if, perchance, under the cross of oppression, of bitter insult and brutal exploitation, he should assert his rights as a man, immediately he is branded as a rattled brain radical, and hounded and harassed out of the service. Many a tragic and pitiful case may be cited of porters who committed the lese majeste of challenging the injustice of an Assistant District Superintendent, being deliberately framed in order to secure a pretext for persecuting him until his life becomes more miserable than a dog's, and is driven to resign. And this porter may be one who has not only rendered exemplary service to the Company but has seen a score or more years on the road.

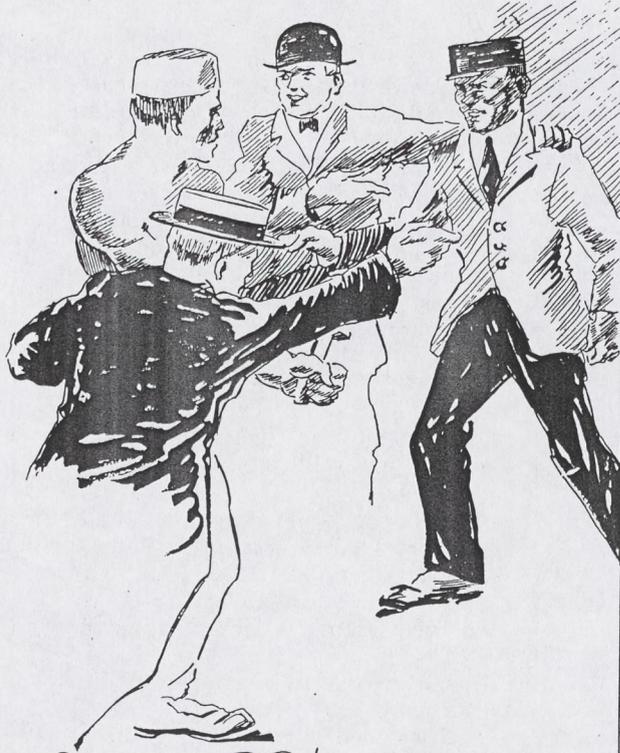
### *Framing Up Porters*

(There are many ways in which to "get" a porter. A porter must be examined, unlike any other worker on the railroad, once every year. Many of them speak bitterly of this method of humiliation and abuse. If a porter is pronounced unfit, he may be retired or fired. Whenever the Company wants to "can" a porter who has the impudence to "speak up" for his rights and the rights of the men, the examining doctor, paid by

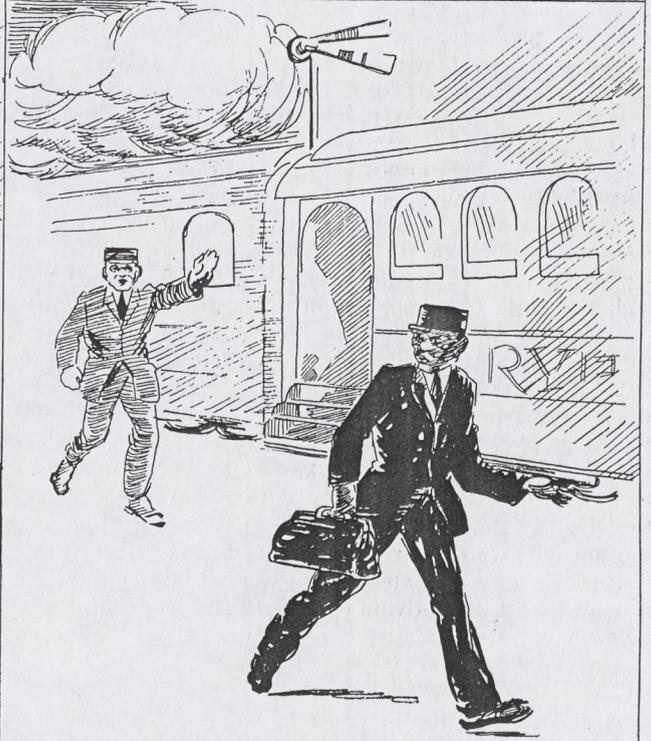
TED CARROLL



Old Company Official: NOW YOU ALL JEST  
 QUIT DAT TALK—FIRST THING YOU'LL  
 MAKE DE WHITE FOLKS MAD, WHY'N'T  
 YOU LET WELL ENOUGH ALONE.



Organized R.R. Workers:  
 "WELCOME- BROTHER! WE ARE WITH YOU—  
 STAND TOGETHER—YOU SHOULD  
 HAVE BEEN UNIONIZED LONG AGO."



Dist Supt: HEY— HANG AROUND— YOU  
 HAVE TO DOUBLE BACK.  
 PORTER: I'VE HAD NO SLEEP FOR  
 THREE NIGHTS—AM NEARLY STARVED—  
 AND I HAVE TO WASH UP.

the Company, finds it necessary to give this particular porter a *very rigid* examination, and he does not *pass*. He is politely told that, on account of the report of the doctor's examination, his (the porter's) services are no longer required. Porter after porter avers this to be a fact. Of course it cannot be proved. But it is quite sufficient that the men assert it to be true. Large masses of men have a way of sensing the true reason for things, however subtly done. It is obvious that grave injustices may be done men, especially the bold spirits, under cover of medical precaution. If a man is up to be retired or fired, as a result of a Company doctor's examination, he should have the right to file a report of an examination in a first class hospital on his case. And the report of the examination in the hospital should be considered final and decisive. But in fact, the porters should not be subjected to a physical examination every year at all. It is unnecessary, discriminatory and hence, unfair. In this connection it is interesting to note that some of the porters objected to a certain Company doctor, and suggested that the Company employ U. Conrad Vincent, a colored physician of high standing, and, incidentally, a former Pullman porter with an excellent record card, but the Company balked. Why? Guess? It may not be so easy to frame a porter through annual physical examinations. The only remedy for this situation is organization. If, when a porter is told that he is unfit for any future service, he could say to the Company, "Well, I will report the matter to my union," a very different attitude would be assumed toward him. It is because the Pullman conductors have their own union that they are not subjected to the degrading ordeal of these yearly physical examinations. It must be remembered too, that there are only one-fourth as many Pullman conductors as Pullman porters. But their interests and rights are not disregarded as the porters' are, because they are organized. The philosophy of organization is aptly stated by an old grizzled farmer, who, while driving through the woods, nonchalantly flicking a fly which annoyed the ear of his horse, next a grasshopper which sat challengingly on a twig, then, a caterpillar perched snugly on a bough, with his whip, but balked significantly when he saw a hornets' nest. Upon inquiry by a cynical friend as to why he didn't flick the little busy hornet, buzzing menacingly on a little spongy looking knoll, he, with a mixture of chagrin and humor, growled back: "Them's organized." What he meant was that that hornet, if flicked, would report his troubles to his union and that the union would go to the bat for that *one hornet* who had been wronged. The old farmer knew that he could not flick the hornet and get away with it as he had done the fly, the grasshopper and the caterpillar, because the hornets are organized. Verily, hornets have more sense than some humans, perhaps, most humans. They are aware of the advantage of facing opposition *en masse*.

#### *Porter's Word Regarded of No Value*

( A classic instance in point is the case of a porter who was accused by a woman passenger of having hugged her at two o'clock in the night. She claimed that she screamed and stuck him with a hat pin, that he hollered, but no one came or awoke. This, too, was in a ten section car. She never reported the incident until seven o'clock in the morning to the trainman. The porter denied it. The trainman and Pullman conductor wrote the woman's report to the Pullman office. The case hung on for six months. One morning one of the members of the Grievance Com-

mittee, under the Employees Representation Plan, was commanded to come to the office and sit on the case. This porter had been up two nights on the road. When he appeared in the office before the nine men sitting on the case, he pleaded that he was unfit to deliberate on the matter; that he needed rest. "To insist upon my passing judgment on this case, indicates," said the porter, "that either you undervalue your own ability or you over value mine, because you expect me to do in a few minutes what it has taken you six months to do, and still you have not finished." This porter member of the Grievance Committee maintained that it was ridiculous to think that a porter would hug a woman in a ten section car, that a woman could scream and not awaken the passengers or the Pullman conductor who was asleep in a berth only two spaces away; and that the porter could yell and not be heard. The accused porter had requested the officials to examine him stripped for the pin prick, but this was not done. The porter-member of the Grievance Committee pointed out that the Company was doing to the porter what a mob in the South would not do to its victim, namely, it was trying and convicting him without his accuser identifying him. He also contended that the woman might have dreamt that some one was hugging her, and the next morning put it on the porter, the most defenseless person on the car. This porter was fired after he had walked the streets for six months. The porter-member of the Grievance Committee was forthwith framed-up and fired because of his manly attitude in fighting for the accused porter. He is one of the responsible citizens of New York. Such rank injustice cries out to high heaven for redress! But there is none except through organized action.

#### *Sentenced Before Convicted*

This policy of the Pullman Company's, putting a porter in the streets immediately he is accused, before he is duly tried and convicted, is absolutely indefensible. No other worker on the railroads is so outraged. If, when he is reinstated he were paid for the time he was suspended, it would not be so bad. But this is not the case. The porter gets nothing for the time he has lost, even though he be vindicated. How unfair! A Pullman conductor who is accused, works while his case is being tried. Why? Because the conductors are organized.

#### *Where a Porter's Word Counts*

Even a porter's word is revered and respected by the Pullman Company at times. Pray, tell us what time *is* that; you naturally inquire. *Well, it is when the Company is being sued by a passenger.* A case in point: Lady "X" was a passenger on car "Z" coming from Chicago. Porter "Y" was on the car. Nine other women were also on the car. Lady "X" got up early next morning and went into the ladies' room. The nine women went into the ladies' room also within the course of an hour or so. After Lady "X" had left the car she discovered that she had lost a necklace worth \$25,000. She reported it to the Company's offices. She threatened to bring suit. The porter was brought to the Pullman offices and questioned. He was asked whether he entered the ladies' room after Lady "X" had gone in and come out; when he entered, if at all. The porter said that when he had women passengers on a car, he made it a policy of not going into the ladies' room. He said that all nine of the women entered the ladies' room after Lady "X" came out. The Company took the porter's word and rested its

(Continued on page 335)



# Editorial

Opinion of the leading

## Library Employees Want More Money

Apparently the Library employees of New York City have finally awakened. They are coming to a realization of the fact, though belatedly, that they are mere white collar slaves, and that their only salvation lies in organizing their labor power. It is a striking disgrace to the city that a group of public servants who perform so essential and useful a form of work in ministering to the intellectual desires of the public, should be so shockingly underpaid. But, of course, the reward for service does not correspond with the character of work done. Workers of hand or brain usually get what they are able to take. Yes, the Library workers are entitled to a raise and a substantial one at that. Every public spirited citizen should demand of those who seek their suffrage that they stand square on this fight of the Library employees for an adequate wage increase.

## Alain Le Roy Locke

We wish to make the motion that Alain Le Roy Locke be reinstated in his professorship in Howard University, and that the School of Business and Commerce be restored with its former personnel. It does not appear that there is any financial or scholastic justification for the dropping of Dr. Locke. Even though it be in obedience to a policy of financial retrenchment, it is pernicious and only calculated to injure the spirit and scholarship of the University. Locke represents a type of professor which universities should be attempting to secure instead of letting go. Big income should not be the chief desideratum of schools of learning. We trust that the rumors are not true that reprisals have been visited upon Dr. Locke because of his independent spirit. If that be true then that is all the more reason why he should be given back his place. The race is already sadly spiritually impoverished because of a total absence of militant spirits in the class rooms. The spiritual renaissance in the Negro schools and colleges so far rests with the student body. Such is not the case in the white universities. Professor after professor has been fired out of the big eastern and western universities because of their economic, social and political iconoclasm. Even the backward South numbers its professors who have been thrown upon the scrap heap because of their defiance of status quo canons, either as respects the Negro question; such as was the case with Professor Kerlin of a college in Virginia; or of Scopes of Dayton, Tennessee, of the Monkey-Evolution fame. Quite familiar, of course, to all, is the classic case of Scott

Nearing losing his berth in the University of Pennsylvania because of his criticism of the Philadelphia traction interests. But Negro teachers are ultra conservative, though their cause for radicalism is much greater than that of the white teachers. Why? Because they have all of the economic, social and political problems of the white Americans, plus the disabilities of race. Doubtless one reason for the Negro teacher's conservatism is the fact that should he lose his job, he has less chance of securing as equally remunerative a position as his white brother or sister has. We have thought very seriously about the fact that we have yet to hear of a Negro teacher who has lost his place because of the expression of an unpopular opinion on anything. We must doff our hats to Mr. Neval Thomas, teacher in the public schools of Washington, D. C., who has always fearlessly spoken out when an issue affecting the race was raised. If Locke is the first to be offered up as a sacrifice, let us stand behind him and see his case through to a successful issue.

## The A. F. of L. and the Negro Worker

Mr. Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, has issued a broadside against the American Negro Labor Congress, pointing out that it is unrepresentative of American Labor. Mr. Whiteman, the head of the American Negro Labor Congress, replied that Mr. Green could criticize the Congress with poor grace, because of the fact that the A. F. of L. has been recreant to its duty in organizing Negro workers. Now, Green is right. The American Negro Labor Congress is certainly not representative of the American Negro worker because its seat of control is in Moscow. At the same time the A. F. of L. has been inexcusably indifferent to the entreaties of the Negro workers. It was quite natural that the Negro press should react as it did to Mr. Green's statement. It regards the attack of the President of the A. F. of L. as unjustified, thinking strictly of the failure of the various internationals, affiliated with the A. F. of L. to let down the bars to Negro labor. The issue, however, is much deeper. And, unfortunately, the Negro press does not understand it. It involves the right of American labor to control and determine its own affairs, as against the rule or ruin policy of the Communists who look to Zinoviev, head of the Third International, as their generalissimo. It is this senseless policy of the Communists to control or disrupt the American labor movement which has won for them the bitter and unrelenting opposition of Mr. Green's organization as well as all of the organized labor movements in England and the European continent. The fact that the Communists start with the questionable premise that we are living in a revolutionary period,

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19 colored American thinkers



and that the tactics adopted should be calculated to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat and the soviet form of government, reveals their ignorance of the American state. Needless to say that this formula has no rational relation with the existing labor conditions in America. (Naturally the organized labor movement which though conservative, has won the highest labor standards of any workers in the world, combats this philosophy whether proclaimed among white or black workers. But it ought to be clear to the students of labor problems in the United States that the Negro workers' interests are inextricably tied up with the interests of the white workers in America. What injures one will injure the other.) The high wage standard and the eight-hour day of bricklayers, plasterers, painters, paperhangers, carpenters and mechanics of all kinds, are also enjoyed by Negro artisans. Most of the Negroes in the building industry in the South, West, East and North are organized by the A. F. of L. To break up the A. F. of L., then, the object of the Communists who control the American Negro Labor Congress, is to break down the present strong collective bargaining power of the Negro workers in the Federation and also out of it. It must be recognized in this connection that the unorganized workers' conditions in America are improved by virtue of the existence of five million men and women organized in the A. F. of L. Practically all of the Negro workers who are in any unions at all in the United States are in those affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. But the work of organizing the Negro workers should certainly not abate. Too few are organized. The same thing is true of the white workers. But the solution of this problem does not consist in introducing Russian socio-economic labor methods into the American labor situation. Nor does this imply that the American workers may not profit from the great experiment which, perhaps, may have been inevitable in Russia during those war days. It does not follow, however, that the Russian workers' methodology, however good for them, is also the only solution to the American labor problems. A thorough grasp of these varying psychological, socio-economic political backgrounds of the workers in different lands is absolutely essential to the formulation of a sound constructive labor policy for the American workers in general and the Negro workers in particular.

## Jim Crow Chicago

Chicago, like many Northern and all Southern cities, has a dirty, filthy jim crow jail. It also has a jim-crow fire department. Sometimes one wonders how the health department can afford not to condemn the sanitation in the city prison. Most jim crow institutions

would be amusing were they not so mischievous. They present so many contradictions. For instance, a white crook and a Negro crook may hold up a store, blow a safe, and rob a bank together, but they cannot stay in prison together; that is, be punished together after they are arrested. The jim crow fire department is quite as foolhardy. Negro and white policemen work together very smoothly in cities north and south; but there is some idea that certain departments, like the fire departments, and street cars are strictly white men's jobs. Watch the inferences. A Negro policeman and a white policeman may arrest two fire bugs of any race, while trying to burn a building down, but a Negro fireman and a white fireman cannot go together to put that fire out. Railroads offer the same risible situation. A white man gets on a train in New York going to Richmond, Virginia. He rides side by side with colored people to Washington and then he can no longer sit beside them for the remainder of the trip to Richmond. The same white man starts from Richmond to New York. Sometimes he is a rank Southerner. He insists on Jim Crow cars to Washington; from Washington to New York, however, he gets into a car with Negroes, obeys the law, and keeps his mouth shut like anybody else.

A city with the political power of Chicago Negroes should wipe out both jim crow jails and jim crow fire departments. The aldermen and state legislators should make the issue paramount in every campaign until these dirty forms of degradation shall have been extirpated from America's second city. For jim crow in one thing paves the way for jim crow in another. No sooner than separate fire departments and jails have become established will their proponents start on something else. It may be residences, schools, street cars, inter-marriage of races. Never let any form of discrimination become entrenched; always keep it on the defensive, wearing itself out by constantly having to dig in at new places.

Segregation in anything is a mark of inferiority; it is a label of the low; it is for the benefit of the segregator and not of the segregated. For instance, the sane people segregate the so-called insane—set them apart in asylums. The healthy people segregate the diseased—shut them up in hospitals. The so-called law abiding folks segregate the lawless—incarcerate them in prisons, jails and penitentiaries. In short, to segregate a man is to label him practically as belonging to the insane, diseased, and lawless classes. It means that he is crazy, unhealthy and crooked. No red blooded people will submit to such treatment without vigorously fighting to throw off this badge of servitude and degradation. How will the proud Negroes of Chicago meet this indisputable evil?

## OUR NEGRO WORKER

By WILLIAM GREEN  
*President, American Federation of Labor*

As human progress moves upward men are increasingly concerned with the problems of living together. The first step is to find those things in which there is community of interest. As we develop the art of living together and develop those things that constitute civilization, wide chasms between groups and nations tend to disappear. But there must be balanced development, in all groups. So the wage earners of all industries and all races have mutual interests and common problems. It is of fundamental importance that the approach to these problems be intelligent, not emotional; with tolerance of understanding and patience and not prejudice and antagonism.

There are within the United States wage earners of many nationalities and races. The ideals for which our republic stands require that all these wage earners shall be accorded equal opportunities for self-development and progress. On the economic side, the standards established by the foremost ranks cannot progress further than they can resist the downward pull of the backward ranks.

The backward ranks have been recent immigrants and those racial groups within our country whose standards are below ours. The American Negroes have been in this class. The Negro wage earners of the United States have made great strides under tremendous handicaps. For historical causes over which Negroes themselves had no control, Negroes were living in the land of a race with which they were not equipped to compete. Despite a generally unfavorable public opinion, Negro workers have proven their ability to make a contribution to the world's work and to achieve positions of responsibility and service.

As Negro workers have increasingly found their way into the industrial world, they have come more or less directly into competition with white wage earners. That competition worked against the best interests of both groups. It vanishes only when the Negro workers raised their standards of life and work, and this can be done only through organization directly or indirectly. Many Negro workers have assumed the responsibility of industrial workers and have joined the union of their trade.

The forces of industry operate impersonally—irrespective of race, religion or prejudice of any nature. If those forces are to be controlled and directed to conserve the best interests of those employed in production, there must be co-operation and joint counsel

irrespective of any consideration but the welfare of the group determined on a functional basis.

There is need for broad understanding of the mutuality of the welfare of all concerned with production. That there has been prejudice on the part of white workers against Negroes, we cannot deny, but the way to overcome this lies through clearer understanding and honestly facing the principles of human betterment. Nothing permanent is gained by seeking an unfair advantage or exploitation.

The principle of mutuality is essential to all co-operative undertakings. Mutuality postulates groups and intergroup co-operation. The group must study its own problem and organize for constructive action. The procedure differs but little whatever the group or the purpose. The dependency for all real progress is education. Development must come from within. Outside agencies may help, but the only road to self-government and self-discipline is education. By this I mean something more than the formal agencies for study and information, important as they are. I mean that attitude toward the experiences of life that seeks truth without being confused either by personal feeling or prejudice on the part of others, and which reasons from facts and principles to logical conclusions in making decisions in every day life. Such an attitude makes every experience a step in the education of the individual. It is an attitude that brings growing possibilities for richness of life and broadness of vision as the years are added.

It is my most earnest hope that Negro wage earners will not allow themselves to be lured from principles and practices that make for substantial and practical progress. With you as well as with all mankind your hope for progress lies in education. Guard well your opportunities for education and self-discipline and see that your children avail themselves of opportunities. Guard your educational agencies against propaganda or special interests that would prevent them from the service of truth. Freedom of learning is the heart of all real freedom—for if the mind is in bondage then are we hopelessly lost.

The A. F. of L. stands ready to give you the protection of an organized movement. Many of you have already joined, but many more are still on the outside. Our organization has demonstrated its practical value. The struggle is not easy, but you owe to yourselves and to us to join in the movement for the advancement of common interests.

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## Pullman Porters

(Continued from page 314)

case on it. Of course, in this case the porter's word saved the Company money, hence it suddenly took on value. As an evidence of the value of the porter's word, a clean record card was produced for him. The Company, by the way, has a way of making out record cards to suit its convenience.

*When Porter's Word Will Count*

The porter's word will never count until they are organized. The present Employee Representation Plan is a *pure farce*. (It was forced upon the men. They never wanted it. Many of them say that they would have rejected it if they had been allowed to. They were simply ordered to vote for representatives of the plan. They did so. The Pullman conductors were asked if they wanted it. They said, no, and rejected it. The porters were not supposed to have the right of choice, hence they were gagged with the plan.)

*Porters Should Reject Plan in November*

(Because of the failure of the Employee Representation plan to function in the interest of the porters, it is their duty and right to repudiate and reject it. How? By simply not voting for it at all in November, when the delegates to carry on the plan will be voted for. When fifty-one per cent of the porters vote for the plan, the U. S. Labor Board recognizes it as the lawful spokesman of the men. If 51 per cent of the porters don't vote for it, it is no longer regarded as having the right to represent the men.) *In as much as the Plan does not represent the porters anyway, they are justified in rejecting it.* To support the Plan is to reject an opportunity to build up your own organization to represent you. The Plan is merely a blanket endorsement of the feudalism of the Company. Under the Plan the porter is merely a pawn shunted here and there at the caprice of the Company.

*Local Management Prosecutor, Jury and Judge*

It is a notorious fact that the porters are the victims of judicial lynching under the Plan. Note the procedure: When a porter is up on a charge, the papers in his case are sent to the Local Committee, the body or original jurisdiction, of the Employee Representation Plan. The Local Committee is composed of ten members: five representatives of the Company, including the Assistant District Superintendent, and five representatives of the porters. Should the Assistant District Superintendent make the charge against the porter, he, at the same time presents the case against him in the Local Committee, sits in the Committee as the jury and judge. If perforce, the Local Committee should convict the porter, and the case is carried to the Zone General Committee, the body of appellate jurisdiction, the Assistant District Superintendent may serve as prosecutor, jury and judge there also. If the decision of the Zone General Committee is not satisfactory, the case may be referred to the Bureau of Industrial Relations, which is under the supervision of welfare workers in the pay of the Company.) The Company, therefore, gets the porters going and coming. What is the remedy? *Organization!*

*Company Can Do No Wrong*

(In every case where the Local or Zone General Committee recommends the re-employment of a porter, the resolution calling for his re-employment also explicitly states that the Local Management is sustained,

that is, that the Company's attitude in the matter is sound, just, and correct, but that it is willing to extend *mercy* to the porter.) The theory being that, where porters are concerned, the Company can do no wrong. The porter is always wrong. He never tells the truth, is always dishonest. How unsubstantial is this theory! For, note the presence of countless porters on Honesty's Honor Roll. But there is something more behind this theory. There is a desire on the part of the Company to impress the porters with the idea that they have no right to expect justice, that if they get it they would be worse off than they now are. For, logically, if one is always wrong, he can not expect any improvement in his lot by getting justice. He needs to pray for mercy. Hence the Pullman Company assumes the roll of always forgiving the porters of their sins, of being merciful, the porters being unable, as it were, so reasons the Company, to endure the sentence of stern justice. Now if the porters are standing on the mercy, the sufferance of the Company, naturally, they cannot demand their rights like men. Their only hope is to beg and beseech the Company to take pity on them, don't treat them like grown-up men, but like children, for they are not of age, they are not responsible. Such is the underlying philosophy of the Plan in relation to the porter. A porter is less than a man to accept it. For if every recommendation of the Local and Zone General Committee is to sustain the Local Management in every case involving the rights of porters, the assumption is that these porters are guilty before their case is heard and they are tried. And if they are always guilty, what on earth is the use of trying them. The Plan is superfluous so far as the interests of the porters are concerned. It simply serves to whitewash the Company and to emphasize the criminality of the porters. Thus the Plan is a menace and ought to be rejected. No other group of workers on the railroads or in the Pullman Company is a victim of such a trick plan.

*P. P. B. A. Company's Trap*

But the Employee Representation Plan is not the only snare of the porters. The Pullman Porters' Beneficial Association is another joker (The P. P. B. A., together with the Employee Representation Plan, were devised to break up the efforts of the men to organize a *real union*. Practically all of the members of the Board of Directors of the P. P. B. A. have soft berths in the pay of the Company. *This makes them safe and usable.* While the money in the P. P. B. A. belongs to the porters it is *controlled* by the Company. Not a dime can be drawn without the O. K. of the *Company's Treasurer. The Company controls the P. P. B. A. by controlling its officials.*)

Pullman porters take notice: Your funds are secure. They are deposited in the Locomotive Engineers' Bank of New York City. A certified accountant is handling your books, which means that they are absolutely accurate. All persons handling your money are bonded.

A. P. R.

(Though it is supposed to be a benevolent organization, the local bodies are compelled to raise a fund through voluntary contributions to help members when in distress, despite the fact that each member pays \$26 a year dues to the organization.)

*Organization Only Hope*

That organization is the solvent key of the problem of the porters is generally admitted by all groups of workers on the railroads.

(The Big Four Brotherhoods have long since urged the porters to organize, because it strengthens the bargaining position of the Big Four.)

*"Doubting Thomases"*

But notwithstanding the overwhelming sentiment in favor of the organization of the porters, there are some doubting Thomases among them. Some of them have "lucrative runs" and many stripes. They ask such silly question as: Can it be done? Think of it? Why every other group on the railroad is organized. Are the porters the most ignorant group of workers on the roads? The Company could not prevent the Pullman conductors from organizing. Why should the porters permit it to prevent them from organizing? If organization has helped the conductors, the engineers, firemen, switchmen, trainmen, maintenance-of-way men, why will it not benefit the porters? Only a few porters have good runs. The large majority have *starvation runs*.

*Porters Have Nothing to Fear*

There is no reason for the porters holding back from organization on account of any fear. The railroad workers and public opinion are on their side. And when they organize they will not only have *right* but they will also have *might* on their side.

Porters should beware of smoke screens, canards and schemes to divide and conquer them. This is a device to which the Company will readily resort immediately it finds that the men mean business. It will seek to pit the southern against the northern porters, and the American against the West Indian. This, porters must guard against. (Show that you have a higher sense of race solidarity. Whencesoever we have come, we have a common heritage, common source, common interests and common enemies. Thus ours should be the slogan: each for all and all for each.)

A concrete start has been made in New York to organize the twelve thousand Pullman porters. Every porter should rally to the call. None should shirk. All should work. The only test of a porter's sincere interest in the welfare of himself and the men is to join the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It is your only refuge. (Demonstrate for once that you have spirit, guts, independence, manhood and the will to be freemen.)

With a real union, the porters can get the 240 hours or less in regular assignment as a monthly wage basis. The Pullman conductors have it. But they only got it because they are organized. With a real union, the porters can demand and secure pay for the time they spend in making ready a car to go out on the road. As it is a porter may report at the yards at 3 P. M. and work on his car until 7 P. M., the scheduled time for his car leaving the station, but he receives nothing for this time he has worked for the Company. This is obviously unfair. But the only remedy lies in organization. With organization, the men can get more respect from the underlings of the Company who are far more oppressive than the big bosses.

Down through the ages you will find the militant injunction: He who would be free must himself strike the blow, is still true.

*Pullman Porters, Attention!*

"My pledged Word": Don't worry about your leadership selling you out. Every Pullman porter in the

(Continued on page 339)

### The Fight of the Century Is the Emancipation of the Pullman Porters!

Help Educate! Organize! Agitate! And you will emancipate the Porters.

Help emancipate the overworked and underpaid Pullman Porter from industrial feudalism!

Help break the bonds that make Pullman Porters the plaything of a soulless corporation!

Help 12,000 insulted, browbeaten, robbed and bullied Pullman porters to a manhood status in the proud kingdom of organized labor.

Help spread the message of unionism against industrial feudalism now appearing each month in **The Messenger**.

See that every porter has a copy, and reads it!

See that **The Messenger** is sold on every newsstand in your neighborhood.

See that **The Messenger** is in every library in every city and town.

(We can beat the Pullman Company by pitiless publicity. We will beat it.)

If you want the Porters to win, spread the bright message broadcast.

Subscribe! Subscribe! Subscribe! Send in your \$1.75 today.

We need money to fight the battle for these exploited Negro workers!

We must depend on the Porters themselves and our readers for support.

Big Business will not help those who are fighting them; nor do we want their help!

Send in your subscription now! Buy a few copies for your friends!

Help us to carry the propaganda all over the United States!

The arrogant Pullman Company must be humbled—the Porters must be saved!

(Emancipation only through education, organization, agitation!)

Help us to spread the Publicity about the damnable conditions, under which the Pullman Porters work. It costs money to do it. Will you help? Sign blank.

The best and surest way to get **The Messenger** is through the mails.

The Messenger Publishing Co.,  
2311 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

.....192  
(Gentlemen: I want to render some assistance in the great fight **The Messenger** is carrying on in behalf of the 12,000 insulted, downtrodden, robbed, bullied, bamboozled Pullman Porters. I am herewith sending in this letter the sum of \$1.75 for a year's subscription to **The Messenger** to help it carry on the Fight of the Century.)

Name .....

Address .....

City or Town .....

Send Postal Money Order or Express Money Order.

### Readers! Pullman Porters! Subscribers!

Let us know what you think about the great Fight of the Century. Write us a letter of not more than 100 or 150 words for our Open Forum. Don't let the Company think you are afraid. Stand by us and **The Messenger** will stand by you.

(This is your fight. Don't shirk—work! The Pullman Company understands one thing and one thing only, and that is **POWER** and power will come when **ALL ARE FOR EACH AND EACH FOR ALL.**)

**Pullman Porters**

(Continued from page 336)

service will cut his throat before I will desert the movement. May I say now that all of the millions of the Pullman Company could not cause me to desert you.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH.

**Prince Hall Masonry**

(Continued from page 322)

"History of Freemasonry Among the Colored People of North America," by William H. Grimshay, (D. C.).

"Caste Among Masons," by Lewis Hayden, (Mass.).

"Masonry Among Colored Men in Massachusetts," by Lewis Hayden, (Mass.).

"The Origin and Objects of Ancient Freemasonry" etc., by Martin R. Delaney, (Pa.). Of this volume only two copies are known to exist; one in the Schomburg collection and the other in the Iowa Masonic Library.

"The Colored Masonic Fraternity of the United States," by William T. Boyd, (Ohio).

"The Lost Chord," by James R. Spurgeon, (Liberia).

"Freemasonry Versus An 'Inferior' Race," by Arthur A. Schomburg, (N. Y.).

"Masonic Text Book," by Harrison L. Harris, (Va.).

"Prince Hall: The Pioneer of Negro Masonry," by John E. Bruce (Bruce-Grit), (N. Y.).

"The National Grand Partem," by Jas. C. Corbin, (Ark.).

"Foreign Status of American Colored Masonry," by Jas. C. Corbin, (Ark.).

"Grand Lodge Jurisdiction Claim; or War of Races," by Lewis Hayden, (Mass.).

"An Argument in Relation to Freemasonry Among Colored Men in This Country," by John Jones, (Ohio).

In addition to the foregoing items which is only a partial list, must be included the numerous contributions by our brethren that have been given publication in the white Masonic magazines of the United States and Craft periodicals in England, Germany, South Africa, East India and New Zealand. This array of facts proves beyond a shadow of doubt that Prince Hall Masonry enjoys the distinction of being the greatest and most widely known of all the fraternal societies among the Negro people of America.

*References*

A—Proceedings, G. L. of Illinois (white) 1899, appendix page 158.

B—National Trestle Board, December, 1923, San Francisco, Calif., page 15.

**Albert E. E. Jenkins**

(Continued from page 327)

ness administration and office practice, economic principles and problems; money and currency, embracing monetary problems of the world. Mr. Jenkins graduates in February, 1926.

He is a member of the Y. M. C. A., St. Phillip's Men's Club; the Imperial Lodge No. 127 I. B. P. O. E. of W.; the United Colored Democracy and the Chicopee Democratic Club.

He married the cultured sister of the present Solicitor General of Barbadoes, Hon. H. W. Reese, and a cousin of the late Sir Conrad Reese, late Knight Chief Justice of Barbadoes, B. W. I.

Mr. Jenkins has few hobbies. He plays cricket and occasionally hikes. "But," shyly observed Mr. Jenkins "my real hobby is reading," the pastime which makes for a mentally full man.

Such is one of the race's most promising young men: capable, efficient, ambitious and industrious—an honor to our group and an inspiration to the youth of our Race who are ever struggling onward and upward to the final goal of that achievement which spells SUCCESS.

**Pullman Porters and Sleeping Car Porters Generally, Attention!**

**IF**

**You are tired of being treated like children instead of men;  
You think you should work shorter hours;  
You think your wages should be larger;  
You are tired of doubling back;  
You are sick of Company tyranny;  
You have a backbone instead of a wish-bone—**

**THEN**

**Fill out this blank and mail it immediately to A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, General Organizer, BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, 2311 Seventh Avenue, New York City.**

Act today, don't delay.

Spread the Good News.

Membership is growing by leaps and bounds. :: :: **SIGN UP!**

(Note—At the first big mass meeting held in New York City on August 25, 1925, attended by 500 enthusiastic Pullman porters, it was agreed that the name of no member of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters would be divulged until over 51% of the porters in the employ of the Pullman Company had been organized, the requirement of the U. S. Railway Labor Board. This protects you from Pullman Company tyranny until the union is strong enough.) We want to get this number (51%) in the next 60 days. Big Meetings will soon be held at important terminal points. Watch for the notices.

There are still a few copies of the July and August numbers of THE MESSENGER containing the famous articles on the Pullman porters. They are fifteen cents a copy; seventeen cents by mail. Send for them.

Gentlemen: .....1925

Please send me immediately an application blank for membership in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and all literature dealing with the movement to organize the porters into a strong union for, of, and by themselves.

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

State .....

"Read Everywhere by Everybody Who's Anybody"  
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World's Greatest Negro Monthly  
Published Monthly by the  
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Editors:  
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and CHANDLER OWEN

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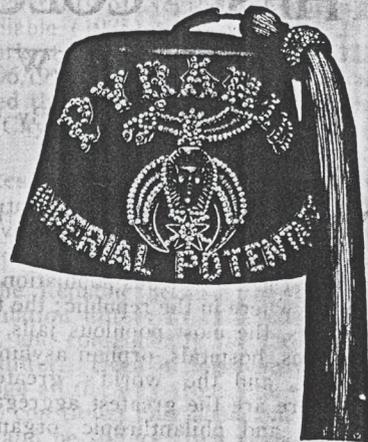
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## RANDOLPH'S REPLY TO PERRY HOWARD

Commenting for his reason for accepting the job on the staff of general counsel of the Pullman Company, Mr. Howard observes:

"While in Chicago last week, startling revelations were made to me which thoroughly convinced me that the movement to effect an independent organization of Pullman porters has in its background Communistic influences. It was because I was unwilling to see the Pullman porter become an agent on Communism in this country that I became associated with the Pullman Company."

Now this is pure invention. There isn't a scintilla of truth in it. May I ask from whom did these revelations come? Did they or the salary influence Brother Howard's action? As a Special Agent to the Department of Justice, Mr. Howard ought to know better. It is a reflection upon both his intelligence and his character to make such loose, unfounded statements. Apparently, though a lawyer of alleged legal training, it has not occurred to him that evidence should be presented in support of charges made.

But, no, with the bland innocence of a mere child, he makes a bold, unsupported statement, expecting an intelligent public, which knows him too well, to accept same upon its face value. Here he has reckoned without his host.

Of course, the charge is calculated to act as a red herring to divert the attention of the Pullman porters from the main issue of organizing to some extraneous, foreign question. But his shot has fallen wide of the mark. Instead of dampening the ardor of the men, it is only serving to stimulate them to more vigorous action in support of the union.

(In this connection, may I say that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is not connected with either Communist, Socialists, Republicans or Democrats. It is entirely independent.) I trust that this statement is sufficiently clear and definite for even Mr. Howard to understand.

(He further states, "That the economic salvation of his race is in the good-will of the capitalists, and that attempts to create ill-will between them are for the purpose of exploitation.") This is, indeed, a pathetic example of the utter gullibility and inexcusable credulity of an alleged intelligent Negro leader.

If white workers, who are of the same race of the capitalists, cannot depend upon their (the capitalists) good-will, why in the name of Heaven should the Negro, despised, condemned and spat upon by everybody, rely upon the capitalists' good-will? To suggest such ridiculous, preposterous and absurd advice tends to impress one with the idea that Mr. Howard's amazing stupidity is only exceeded by his adject servility.

He also avers that the Negro is barred from membership in practically all labor organizations.

Well, what's that got to do with the right, necessity and value of Pullman porters organizing. If this is the sort of reasoning which Mr. Howard is doing for the salary he receives from the government, then the tax payers are throwing away their money. What matter it though some unions do object to Negro workers joining? That is no valid or sound argument against organization, per se. In the South, some prejudiced whites object to Negroes learning how to write. Would any sane individual cite that fact as a sensible reason why a Negro should not learn to write or that writing can be of no value to him? Obviously not. But Mr. Howard contends that organization is valueless to the Negro workers merely because some white workers won't permit Negroes to join their organizations. Such is the analogy. One could hardly imagine that this was the serious belief of a grown-up.

Continues he, "The Pullman porter has no just grievance that in due course will not receive the proper consideration."

This is entirely too vague and general. What, pray

tell us, does he mean by *due course*? It may mean anything from a day to a thousand years. Nor is the *proper consideration* phrase sufficiently explanatory. *Proper to whom*, may I ask? It does not necessarily follow that what may be considered proper to the Pullman Company, is, ipso facto, proper to the Pullman porter.

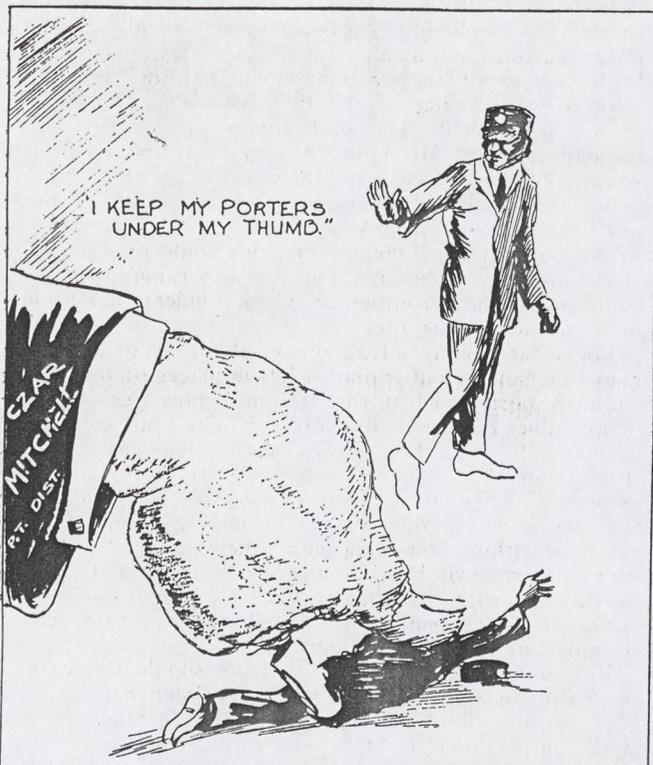
He goes on: "Machinery for the settling of labor disputes between the company and its employees as to hours, wages and conditions of employment is already set up." True, the machinery is set up, but the machinery known as the Employee Representation Plan does not settle the disputes to the satisfaction of the Pullman porters. It is a colossal fraud, which was rejected by the Pullman Car conductors, but forced upon the Pullman porters. Under it, the Company is always right and the porter is always wrong. (Under it, before a charge against a porter is investigated, he is put on the streets, and though he may be finally restored to service, he is not paid for the time he has lost; nor is he adjusted vindicated; but, on the contrary, he is, according to the policy of the Company, only restored to service because of the fact that he was the object of mercy, not justice. In other words, the porter is always guilty.) He carries the stigma of being a perpetual criminal, under the existing machinery for adjusting disputes, so blindly glorified by Mr. Howard. Now the self respecting Pullman porters don't want mercy. They want justice. They don't want sympathy. They want their rights just as well as other workers. But they will never get justice until they have the power to demand it; and they will never have the power to demand it until they are organized.

Obviously, Mr. Howard is more to be pitied than censured. For note this assinine argument against the Pullman porters' getting more wages:

"The Railroad Labor Board and the Inter-State Commerce Commission reduced the salaries of all the railway employees approximately 12½ per cent, except the Pullman porters', who received an average increase of approximately 12½ per cent." While this is true, granting that it was true, what does it prove? Not that the Pullman porters are not entitled to pay for *preparatory time*. It simply proves that a per cent increase based upon a low wage is no increase to go daffy over.

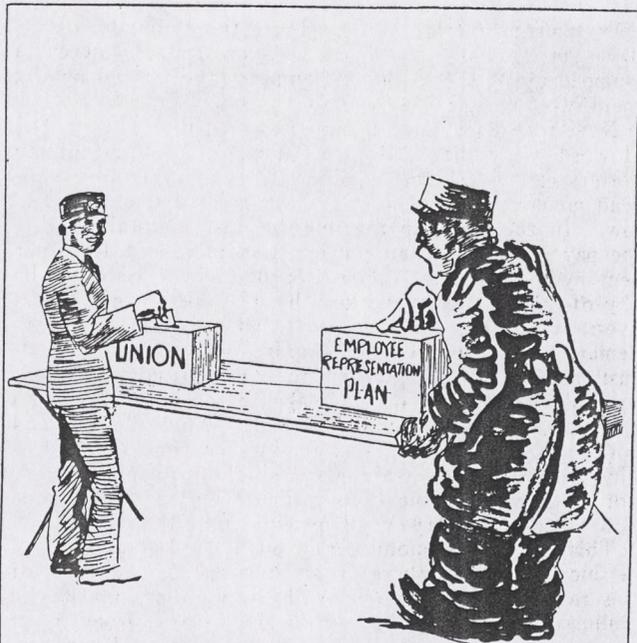
Besides, a 12½ per cent increase for the Pullman porters was a mere pittance, a virtual insult. The very fact that it only raised the pay to (\$67.50 a month) is comment sufficient. Only a conscienceless highwayman could have the heart to reduce a man's wages which are already nothing. Granting that the other railroad workers were reduced 12½ per cent, they were still getting three, four, five and six times as much as the hapless Pullman porter. In terms of dollars and cents, it means this: Let us take for example a trainman whose pay is \$250 a month. To reduce his pay 12½ per cent means that he will lose \$31.25 a month, which still leaves him \$218.75 monthly wages. But the Pullman porters' wages are so low that a 12½ per cent increase still held him to the starvation level, a level which no white railroad worker would think of accepting. In fact, if the Pullman porters had received a 100 per cent increase, they still would be justified in demanding more wages, because their wages are already at a miserably low level. The Pullman Company has tried to trick and befuddle the porters with percentage increases. Twelve and one-half per cent increase in wages to Pullman porters means nothing. It is like the boy who only has one apple getting an increase in apples of 100 per cent which merely gives him two apples, whereas the girl with 100 apples who only gets a ten per cent increase possesses 110. A vast difference, this. Although the boy's per cent of increase in apples was ten times greater than the girl's, still the girl had 108 apples more than the boy. So it is with the Pullman porters. They are not getting anything of any consequence any-

quoting  
other  
salaries



"I KEEP MY PORTERS UNDER MY THUMB."

**Defiant Porter**—IF YOU HAD A BACKBONE INSTEAD OF A 'WISHBONE' YOU WOULDN'T BE UNDER THE THUMB OF ANYBODY. THE ONLY THING MR. MITCHELL WILL RESPECT IS A CARD IN THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS



**Old Porter**— SAY, SON, COME ON AND VOTE LIKE THE WHITE FOLKS TELL YOU.

**NO, OLD TOP, I AM VOTING FOR MYSELF, MY CHILDREN AND MY RACE THIS TIME.**

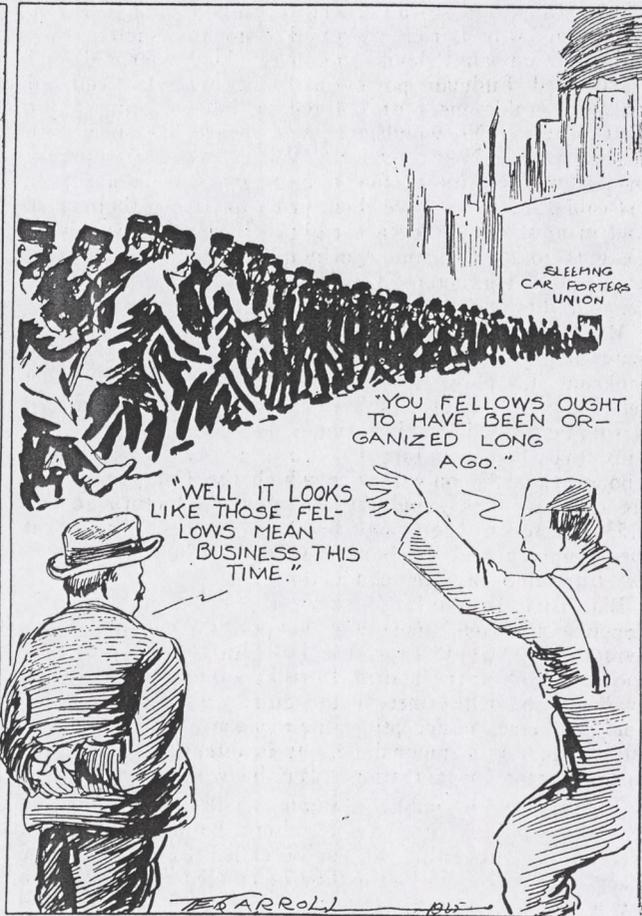


"YOU'LL WAIT THERE UNTIL I GET TO YOU, SEE!"

"SAY THERE 'GEORGE,' WHAT DO YOU WANT?"

UN ORGANIZED

ORGANIZED



"YOU FELLOWS OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN ORGANIZED LONG AGO."

"WELL, IT LOOKS LIKE THOSE FELLOWS MEAN BUSINESS THIS TIME."

BARROLL

how, consequently when they get a ten or twenty per cent increase, they haven't got much because it is based upon too low a wage scale. Hence the Pullman porters have got to watch the so-called per centage increases trumped up by the Pullman Company and trotted out by their hired "Big" Negro tools to fool them.

Now for some more meaningless sophistry from Mr. Howard. Says he: "Before the wages of the Pullman porters can be increased again, the wages of other railroad employees must be increased." That does not follow. In the above paragraph he just maintained that the pay of the Pullman porters was increased 12½ per cent by the Railroad Labor Board while it reduced the pay of other railroad workers by 12½ per cent. Moreover, workers get wage increases when they are able to demand them, not before. Again, why should the adjustment of the wages of the Pullman porters await upon the adjustment of the wages of the other railroad workers, when the Pullman Company and the railroad companies are different and distinct corporations? Engineers, switchmen, trainmen and Pullman porters are not paid by the same corporation. This is so obvious that even Mr. Perry W. Howard ought to know it.

This medieval economist goes on: "And wages cannot be increased until there is an increase in earnings of the railroad companies." Well, in the first place, the Pullman porter has nothing to do with railroad companies. In the second place, so far as increased earnings are concerned, (the Pullman Company, in its own report, admits that the last fiscal year was the best in its entire history, earning the fabulous figure of \$83,927,749, as compared with \$81,240,698 in the previous year. The net income for the year totaled \$15,771,976, equivalent to \$11.68 a share on 300,000 shares of capital stock, par value \$100 outstanding, compared with net income of \$15,603,062 in 1923, equivalent to \$11.56 a share.) Thus the increase in net income and general business. Hence the argument of the Company's "Big" Negro "white hope" is as unsound and untaneable as it is inane and childish. Besides, think of a so-called Negro leader trying to frame up reasons why a rich powerful Company such as the Pullman Company should not pay the underpaid and overworked Pullman porter a living wage! And all for a miserable mess of pottage, a job as counsel for the Company. No wonder the white race has such little respect for our Negro leaders. White leaders of opinion and business affairs assume that Negro leaders are purchasable, that they have their price to betray their race. And in most cases they are right. So few, indeed, have the guts to stand upon a principle to maintain a high standard of character. Of course, there are some who do, and they stand out as shining exceptions.

Mr. Howard says further that for the Pullman Company to pay the Pullman porters a living wage would bankrupt it. How silly! The Company's fiscal report belies this statement. Isn't it strange that Mr. Howard is so interested in saving money for the Pullman Company that he is willing to starve the Pullman porter who supplies the only service which the Company sells? He does not kick about the Pullman conductors getting \$155 a month to begin with but he is mighty afraid that the Company will go bankrupt if the Pullman porters get the same pay the conductors get.

But listen to this! the acme of folly and nonsense: ("Such a situation," meaning the porters' demand for a living wage, "would cause the Pullman Company to look about for cheaper labor.") In that event Filipinos are available and white men in the guise of trainmen would not be averse to accepting their places." Now this is pure bunk. It is moonshine. It is intended to frighten the men from organization. But he won't succeed.

To begin with, public opinion would not permit the Pullman Company to use any high handed, autocratic methods in attempting to put so-called Filipinos in the places of Negroes because they demanded a living wage through their own union. Nor would the Pullman Company think about doing it because it knows of the efficiency of the Negro worker who is the basis of its

prosperity. The Company is not foolish enough to experiment with the producers of the only thing it sells—service, by employing a group of workers alien in language, customs and manners to the American public. And be it now and hereafter understood that the public, the buyer of the service of the Pullman Company, will determine and decide who shall supply that service. For the edification of Mr. Howard, may I say that the Company did not dispense with the services of the Pullman conductors when they organized and increased their pay over 100 per cent. As for trainmen taking the places of Negroes on the Pullman cars, this could only emanate from one who is either a hopeless ignoramus or a consummate hypocrite; either of which renders him useless or a menace to the race.

For what earthly advantage would it be to the Pullman Company to put trainmen in the places of the Negro Pullman porters when the trainmen now receive four or five times the pay of the porters? The Company would be doing the very thing which brother Howard contends it is trying to avoid, namely, go bankrupt. But this statement above amply shows that Mr. Howard hasn't the slightest idea of what he is talking about. He is simply mouthing something since the Company is paying him to chloroform the Pullman porters, so that they will be satisfied with their miserable lot. Not only that, if white men were put on the Pullman cars they would organize in less than six months.

But suppose the Pullman Company should threaten to put Filipinos or white men in the Pullman cars as porters, because the Negroes organized to demand a living wage and manhood rights? The only manly and effective answer to that threat would be to tell them that if they want to put Filipinos or white men on the cars because Negro Pullman porters, like white men, are organizing to demand more pay, better hours and better working conditions, to put them on. It is better to maintain your manhood and get off the Pullman cars than to kow tow and lick the boots of the Pullman Company for a few crumbs which any other group of self-respecting men would reject. Negroes in the Pullman service had jobs before they went into the service and they can get jobs if they leave it.

There is no use allowing a "second hand" Negro politicians to scare men with spirit into submission to oppression.

Not satisfied with his nameless puerilities, misnamed economic viewpoint, he labors to drag in some half-wit comment on the movement to organize the Pullman porters denying the existence of God. And *this* is supposed to be a lawyer, too. The charge is so groundless that it does not merit a decorous reply.

He ends with the brilliant comment: ("I urge every common sense man in the employ of the Pullman Company to let the wild-eyed, long-haired, leather-lung starving bolsheviks and communists go on their way.") Presto! The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is destroyed, in Brother Howard's imagination. The charge of bolshevism has done the deed!

Such epithets, such names, are the little barricades behind which impotent intellects hide when they cannot answer arguments. Brother Perry W. Howard, sometimes known euphemistically as "Pat's Perry," might just as well realize that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters will be on the map, a credit to the Pullman porters in particular and the race in general, long after his name is consigned to the limbo of oblivion from which it ought never to emerge.

And I herewith challenge Mr. Howard to debate the question of the right necessity and value of the Pullman porters' organizing a union, in any or all of the big cities of the country, so that the public may decide who is right, and I shall be perfectly willing to abide by the verdict of public opinion.

Very truly yours,

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH,  
General Organizer.



# Open Forum

*A Voice for Supporter and Opponent*



Mr. A. Philip Randolph,  
2311 Seventh Avenue,  
New York City.

Chicago, Ill., Aug. 11, 1925.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of July 20th has been forwarded to me here for reply; hence the delay.

I am very glad to know of your interest in the welfare of the sleeping car employees and of your intention of giving publicity to your views. It is taken for granted that your sympathies are with them.

For fifteen years I have worked for closer cooperation between the porters and conductors. During that time I have organized the conductors successfully and have given much time and money to assisting the porters to do the same thing. You have probably guessed that their failure has been due to well laid plans to defeat such attempt. They have been adroitly maneuvered into accepting a Company plan agreement covering wages and working conditions. I was witness to the methods pursued in the selection of representatives which reminded me of medieval history. The results are just about as successful as those of the Congress of Vienna. The original purpose of an agreement was to benefit and protect workers but in the case of the porters we find that these conditions have been reversed. It is an excellent illustration of the corruption of collective bargaining. There can be no bargaining without perfect freedom in choosing representatives.

There has never been any attempt on the part of the Management to create harmonious relations between conductors and porters, in fact they have been led to distrust each other. That condition has seriously militated against my efforts in behalf of the porters. They have been a fertile field for sowing propaganda designed to throw them into confusion and prevent any united action. Every time they have shown any symptoms of getting together, counter movements have sprung up all over the country and in the ensuing bewilderment they lost hope and ceased effort.

As a class the porters are intelligent and they should profit by past mistakes. Whatever they may think of conductors should not blind them to the fact that the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors showed them the way to better conditions and offered assistance to that end. It is one of my greatest regrets that they did not accept.

In dealing with a problem so broad one can not listen to an individual grievance. It is unfortunate but true that many men destroy their usefulness to society by forming their opinions of a class by their associations with a very limited number. Unpleasantness in such cases should have no bearings

on class relations; they are strictly a matter for personal adjustment. (The present economic state of the porter is due to his refusal as a class to make use of the aid extended by the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors.) There may be many individual grievances between conductors and porters; it is folly to let them interfere with mass progress. From the foregoing you will see that my answer to your question on the relations between the porters and conductors indicates that individual misunderstandings have been a barrier to improvement in general and better wages and working conditions for porters in particular. It seems to me that sufficient time has now elapsed to make this apparent to all and the time has arrived for taking profit.

I personally organized the conductors in February, 1918. We are 90 per cent strong. Conductors' earnings have increased 100 per cent during that time. The working conditions have improved proportionately. Wages run from \$155 to \$185 on a 240 hour monthly basis with hourly rates for overtime at straight and punitive computation. We are affiliated with the A. F. of L. and therefore take part in all that constructive work. We are conducting educational work and publish a monthly magazine. We have also been active in legislative work, it being due to my personal efforts that an amendment was passed to the Transportation Act 1920, including the sleeping car companies and their employees within its terms. The Pullman Company recognizes us as the representatives of the conductors and confers with me on all matters pertaining to wages and working conditions which are incorporated in an agreement.

I hope you may find this letter of interest and that you will feel free to call upon me at any time.

Very truly yours,

J. W. WARFIELD,

President, Order of Sleeping Car Conductors.

Greetings:

This—'tis nothing new;  
Just a brief review  
Of facts by writers, able, bold,  
By such as these most ably told.  
My ignorance then, with kindness friend  
I entrust you to expose. The end  
Of this dull story in prose  
May stir the fire in thee—who knows?

J. A. Atkins.

Editor of The MESSENGER:

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I and the rest of the Pullman Porters are, as I believe, satisfied with your movement. This is one of the greatest moves ever made for the advancement of our race. Organization and better conditions is what we need, but we have never had a man outside of the company employ to go forward with these facts. We are not getting anything for our service, with long hours and bassage from the passengers, and no consideration from the company. The traveling public has been blind to our wage owing to their belief that we are getting a living wage. But by your plea for the Porters you have opened wide the eyes of the country by letting the public know this large corporation, the Pullman Company, employing the number of Porters they do, and how these Porters have no voice for their rights and are working for the Company for nothing.

I am a Pennsylvania Terminal Porter out of one of the largest districts.

It is in worse condition than any for treatment and conditions of Porters. In going to the office after our pay check the cashier looks through and sees it's a Porter standing there. He will then take his time in coming to wait on the Porter. After standing a long time waiting, up comes a conductor and he is waited on right away. Then when the cashier gets ready he will wait on the Porter.

There was a time when a Porter ran line on his date due out he was sure he was going out but now when you go down to report you are held off to see some one and that time you lose without pay. The Company has organized in each district what is called an agreement committee but that doesn't mean anything only to take from us our rights. The Penn Terminal district is made up of a family syndicate. General superintendent and assistant superintendent and sign out man are all relatives. Whatever comes up against the Porters they all agree if one takes a dislike for you it's from

the office to the conductors railroad for you. Thank you.

Yours truly,

INFORMATION FROM  
A PORTER.

Love

Love is not Love if bound  
By forcefulness or fear,  
As if must needs be guarded  
To keep the loved one, dear;  
Nor is it ever pure,  
Appraised at any price:  
Love in exchange for Love  
In truth doth quite suffice.

Free Love! What? Ho! Alas!  
Who would sweet Love restrain?  
To make of it a duty  
And force it, but in vain.  
Sweet Love! Unfettered, free!  
May claim its own Soul Mate.  
Free Love! The child of Joy!  
And Binding Love, of Hate.

By ANN LAWRENCE.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,

Of THE MESSENGER, published monthly, at New York, N. Y. for October 1, 1925.

State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared A. Philip Randolph, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of THE MESSENGER and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912 embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Name of—

Post office address—

Publisher, The Messenger Pub. Co., 2311 7th Ave., New York. Editor, A. Philip Randolph, 148 W. 142nd St., New York. Managing Editor, Chandler Owen, 303 W. 139th St., New York. Business Managers, none.

2. That the owner is: (If the publication is owned by an individual his name and address, or if owned by more than one individual the name and address of each, should be given below; if the publication is owned by a corporation the name of the corporation and the names and addresses of the stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of the total amount of stock should be given.)

The Messenger Pub. Co., 2311 7th Ave., New York. A. Philip Randolph, 148 W. 142nd St., New York. Chandler Owen, 303 W. 139th St., New York. Robert Godet, 32 W. 136th St., New York. Victor R. Daly, 261 W. 134th St., New York.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

A. Philip Randolph, 148 W. 142nd St., New York. Chandler Owen, 303 W. 139th St., New York. Robert Godet, 32 W. 136th St., New York. Victor R. Daly, 261 W. 134th St., New York.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is — (This information is required from daily publications only.)

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day of October, 1925.

(Seal.) JOSEPH L. PRITCHARD, Notary Public, New York County. Clerk's No. 171, Register's No. 7079.

My commission expires March 30, 1927.

"These Colored United States"

(Continued from page 349)

ized labor, yet the Negro must leave no economic weapon unused. The membership of the various Negro organizations and churches need to be more inquisitive about the disposal of funds and more aggressive in forcing mentally lazy officials into constructive economic activity. In fine, the Negro fraternal, benevolent and religious organizations of New York need to become institutions of, by and for the proletariat rather than economic and social bulwarks of the black bourgeoisie, who, from a broad point of view, are but agents and guardians of the system that exploits the urban Negro. Otherwise, despite the pious lallygagging of sleek and well-paid professional uplifters, the future will, like the writer's complexion, be very dark.

"History of Freemasonry Among the Colored People of North America," by William H. Grimshay, (D. C.).

"Masonry Among Colored Men in Massachusetts," by Lewis Hayden, (Mass.).

"The Origin and Objects of Ancient Freemasonry" etc., by Martin R. Delaney, (Pa.). Of this volume only two copies are known to exist; one in the Schomburg collection and the other in the Iowa Masonic Library.

Pullman Porters and Sleeping Car Porters Generally, Attention!

IF

- You are tired of being treated like children instead of men;
You think you should work shorter hours;
You think your wages should be larger;
You are tired of doubling back;
You are sick of Company tyranny;
You have a backbone instead of a wish-bone—

THEN

Fill out this blank and mail it immediately to A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, General Organizer, BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, 2311 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

Act today, don't delay.

Spread the Good News.

Membership is growing by leaps and bounds. :: :: SIGN UP!

Note—At the first big mass meeting held in New York City on August 25, 1925, attended by 500 enthusiastic Pullman porters, it was agreed that the name of no member of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters would be divulged until over 51% of the porters in the employ of the Pullman Company had been organized, the requirement of the U. S. Railway Labor Board. This protects you from Pullman Company tyranny until the union is strong enough. We want to get this number (51%) in the next 60 days. Big Meetings will soon be held at important terminal points. Watch for the notices.

There are still a few copies of the July and August numbers of THE MESSENGER containing the famous articles on the Pullman porters. They are fifteen cents a copy; seventeen cents by mail. Send for them.

Gentlemen: .....1925
Please send me immediately an application blank for membership in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and all literature dealing with the movement to organize the porters into a strong union for, of, and by themselves.
Name .....
Street .....
City .....
State .....

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Editors:  
**A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and CHANDLER OWEN**

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# A REPLY TO JOE D. "BLIBB," "IDIOT-OR" OF THE CHICAGO "FLIP," MIS-NAMED THE WHIP

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

In the issue of your sheet of October 15th, last, under the caption, Porters on Quicksand, you presume to tell Pullman porters what they should and should not do, As an alleged editor, it would appear that you would, at least, get your facts straight before you rush into print. Obviously, in order to express sound opinion on anything, it is essential that your facts be true. To misrepresent facts as you have apparently deliberately done, is unmistakable evidence of a cheap, irresponsible demagogic muckraker, unworthy of a hearing in the councils of decent, respectable journalists.

(Specifically, you say that, "The American Federation of Labor is flirting with the Pullman porters and that they are turning a listening ear." That's a lie. You pretend to know more about the Pullman porters and the American Federation of Labor, than they know about themselves. The American Federation of Labor, as is proper and natural, is lending its moral support to the movement to organize the porters, which every Negro ought to welcome and be proud of. Who, but a consummate idiot, can ignore the great power of five million organized men? Still the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is independent. It is not yet discussing the question of affiliation. But even granting that it were, what of it? Is it a crime to enlist five million organized white workers on the porters' side in the fight for a living wage? Certainly not.) In one breath, like a child, you are crying because the American Federation of Labor, as you claim, is denying Negro workers entrance into the unions, and, in the next breath, you throw up your hands in holy horror because some Negro workers are intelligent enough to accept the hands of white workers when extended to them.

You observe that, "You have no faith in the American Federation of Labor, because it seems to be nothing short of a plutocracy." "Idiot-or" "Blibb," your ignorance is refreshing though a menace to the community. Don't you know that a plutocracy means a wealthy class which dominates the Government? Since when, pray, tell me, has the American Federation of Labor become the representative of the wealthy class, or dominated the Government? Are the workers the wealthy class? Do they dominate the Government? A twelve-year old knows better than that, "Idiot-or" "Flip Blibb."

With a pompous though amusing air of omniscience you state that "the great problems of today have not been solved by either the American Federation of Labor; or by any of the other unions," whatever that means. You are, indeed, one of the worse excuses for an editor which has inflicted itself on the public that I have seen in many a day. Are you not aware of the fact that the chief economic and social reforms of America are the result of intelligent agitation on the part of organized labor? The public school system is the fruit of the insistent demand of organized labor. Even bourgeois economists admit that, if this means anything to you. What about the eight-hour day, the employers' liability act for the protection of injured workers, laws against child labor in most states, the struggle for a living wage for the workers? Do these policies not represent solutions of great economic problems? Is there any greater economic problem than the problem of getting a living? If so, "Idiot-or" "Blibb," pray, vouchsafe the priceless jewel of information to me.

You follow this nauseating assininity up with the statement that, "Lenine and Trotsky failed because of the fundamental desire and urge of private ownership in the bosom of all mankind," implying that the American's

Federation of Labor's policies oppose this so-called inborn urge for private-ownership. Really, Brother "Flip Blibb," you undoubtedly must be suffering from a hopeless case of arterio sclerosis of the brain. From your silly vapourings, in matters of economic and socio-historical thinking, if I am justified in dignifying you by accusing you of ever indulging in such a process, you don't know what it is all about.

With perfect innocence, you charge that the American Federation of Labor is a plutocracy, and in a few sentences below, you accuse it of Communism. Now, "Idiot-or Flip Blibb," which is it? It certainly can't be both at the same time, even you ought to know that. They are antithetical ideas. The former connotes private, the latter, social, property. Furthermore, your talk about the urge for private ownership being found in the bosom of all mankind, is the sheerest nonsense. Society began on a basis of social property. It was a patriarchal communal system of society. Jesus Christ practiced it. The writings of the church fathers, such as St. Augustine, Origen, etc., urged the recognition of the validity of communal property.

In the next sentence, you say that, "It is proverbially true that the psychology of the proletariat changes when he becomes a capitalist," which implies that he had a different psychology before he became a capitalist. Now the chief characteristic of a capitalist is the urge to acquire private property. Thus, logically, before he became a capitalist, according to your own reasoning, he didn't have this urge to acquire private property; thus how do you reconcile your wise crack that this urge is found in the bosom of all mankind? Not knowing what you are talking about, you are simply talking in a circle.

Right after this you say that, "The American Federation of Labor has not changed the psychology of mankind a whit?" Now, isn't this perfectly painful? Brother "Blibb," the American Federation of Labor only exists in America. Why expect it to change the psychology of mankind, a world question? But you have absolutely no regard for logical, consistent thinking. You, just a paragraph or so above, claimed that when a proletarian becomes a capitalist, his psychology changes. You also stated that the American Federation of Labor is a plutocracy or a wealthy capitalist class, and then you forget and ecstatically shout that it has not changed the psychology of mankind a whit.

"Idiot-or," Joe D. "Flip Blibb," take it from me, confidentially, you are out of your line. Your idiot-orial is all right except that you got your facts, interpretation and logic wrong; otherwise, it's a whangdoodle.

On you rave, "The porters should take a dip in speculative philosophy and figure out what would be the attitude of railroad 'brotherhoods' in case they want on strike."

I would advise you, brother "Blibb," to take a dip in common sense, for you are simply bandying with the words, speculative philosophy, without the slightest conception of what they mean. Granting that the Railroad Brotherhoods didn't support them. Is that any good and sensible reason why they should not organize? Are you so cowardly and spineless as to advise Negroes not to attempt to do anything merely because of the possibility of white people not supporting them? (You are a typical *Sambo Negro with the inferiority complex!*) Always ready to fold your arms and wait for some white man to do something for you. Well, not so with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

(You say, "the porters won't be supported in case they desire to strike." Well, sir, all unions don't have always to strike in order to win their demands. The Brotherhoods forced Congress to grant the Adamson Eight-hour Day without a strike.) Surely, you are aware of this fact, if not, that's your funeral.

Finally, you say that we do not believe that labor unions among native born American white Protestants and "one hundred per cent Americans," are free of Kleagles and Goblins of the "Klu Klux Klan." How ridiculous and insane for a so-called editor! Think of such pure, unadulterated moonshine doing duty for argument against Negro workers joining unions. Were it not that your idiot-orial antics are disastrous to the unthinking, the only type of individual who will be affected by them, they would be side-crackingly amusing. Suppose the unions are full of native born, one hundred per cent American, white Protestants. What does that prove? Certainly not that Negroes should not join them, since it is a matter of common knowledge that organized labor has raised wages, shortened hours of work and improved working conditions which both white and black workers enjoy. According to your logic, Negroes had better get out of the country, because it is full of native born, one hundred per cent, Protestant, white Americans. The same thing is true with the Protestant church, Republican and Democrat parties—all are full of Klansmen.

"Brother Idiot-or Blibb," for your information, the American Federation of Labor is no different from the American Government in structure and policy. The American Federation of Labor does not compel the International unions, such as carpenters, jewelry workers or mechanics to admit Negroes, or all white workers. Nor does the Federal Government compel Georgia to permit Negroes to vote. Do you advise that Negroes get out of America on account of that policy?

Your thinking is as loose as your motives are shady.

Don't imagine, Brother "Blibb," that you are clever enough to fool anybody. You know and everybody else knows, who has an ounce of brains, that you are not opposing the Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters because you think it is connected with the American Federation of Labor. That's merely a reason, not the reason. You had to hunt for a convenient excuse to justify your unreasonable and foolish attack on the most vitally constructive, economic movement ever begun by Negroes in America. (The real reason is the advertising you are getting from the Pullman Company to oppose the movement.) Your opposition is not the result of your own convictions, because you haven't any. You are just like the little boy on the knee of the ventriloquist. You appear to be speaking, but you are not speaking. The voice comes from behind. It's your master's voice, the Pullman Company, which is waving the long green before your blinking eyes.

Without the slightest compunctions or scruples, you are willing to betray and sell out your race for a miserable mess of pottage.

Have you so soon forgotten that at the banquet to the porters, at the Wage Conference in 1923, you advocated organization, that you urged them in the WHIP to organize?

But, of course, you stopped your agitation very suddenly, which caused the judicious porters to think that something was rotten in Denmark. Why did you support organization for porters at one time, but oppose it now? Don't you realize that the public will neither trust your judgment or your honor when you recklessly play the role of a jumping-jack as you do?

Think of it! Brother "Blibb," your paper depends for its support upon Negroes absolutely. White people don't buy it. The Pullman Company has never before given an advertisement to a Negro paper, or bought them in such large numbers, to give to the porters. But still you turn against twelve thousand porters or sixty thousand Negroes, your own race, for the Pullman Company, which will heartlessly discard you immediately it finds out that your little worthless sheet is helpless in trying to hold back the rising tide of organization among the Pullman

porters. It is interesting to note, in this connection, "Idiot-or Blibb," that the American white press, which does not depend upon Negro patronage, is behind the movement. Why sell your soul to a corporation which overworks and underpays your race? Have you no principle at all?

And as the last refuge of an impotent intellect, you attempt, in the absence of facts and argument, to drag in some talk about unbelief in a God. This is so irrelevant and immaterial, puerile, pusillanimous and absurd that it does not justify any serious consideration.

You also go out of your way to drag Chandler Owen into the controversy because of your jealousy of the fact that your little weak, ignorant, superficial idiot-orials in the *Flip* pale pitifully beside the able, scholarly, and scientific editorials by Owen in the *Chicago Bee*. That sticks in your craw and you have gone raving mad and lost your head over it. Don't get excited, Brother "Blibb." Well and wisely has it been said that: "If you have a good case, you don't have to lose your head; and, if you have a bad one, you can't afford to lose your head." So that's that!

Your puny efforts against the Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters are as effective as Don Quixote's attempt at reforming society by grotesque gestures under the illusion that he was striking the enemies of society, and that he was a great man.

And, Brother "Blibb," it is, indeed, to laugh that you, an intellectual Lilliputian, presume to speak in derogatory terms of the MESSENGER, a journal which is recognized by the scholars and thinkers of America and Europe as constituting the biggest, most constructive and enduring contribution to the social, political and economic thought of the race in the last twenty years, if, indeed, not in its entire history.

You must learn, my dear Brother "Blibb," that an editorial must consist of something else besides meaningless adjectives. Your blusterings may make the simple laugh but they also make the judicious grieve. Before you dare to comment on grave public issues, and pose as a leader of thought in the community, you ought to get some knowledge of elementary economics from Seager, Seligman or Ely. It is criminal for you to inflict your ignorance of the most vital problems before America upon some well-meaning but misguided people. I am perfectly amazed how you are getting away with *murder* out here. Of course, the intelligent Chicagoans have got your number.

(A wit once said that, "politics make strange bedfellows." And so has the Pullman Company's slush fund against organizing the porters. Note the happy and smiling embrace between Messrs. Blibb and Roscoe "Cackling" Simmons, formerly at swords' points. But what's a little personal opposition between little minds to the long green? Now, at the behest of your lord and master, the Pullman Company, you and Brother Roscoe "Cackling" Simmons are like two peas in a pod.

Now, if the Pullman Company has enough faith in you to let you debate this question, and you think your position is sound, I will hire a hall and very gladly meet you anywhere at any time, and gracefully abide by the verdict of public opinion.

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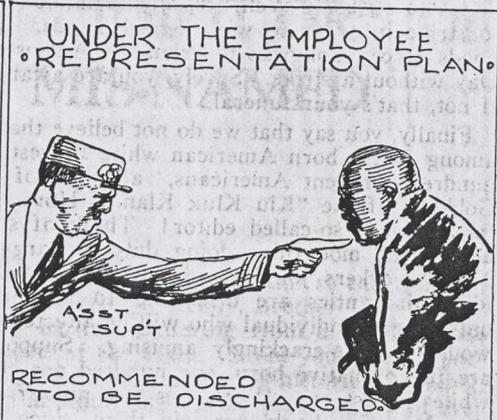
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PORTERS—"HA, HA, WHAT DO YOU THINK WE ARE UNCLE TOM DUMBELLS? THROW THAT THING AWAY. WE ARE REAL RED-BLOODED MEN WHO REALIZE THAT OUR SALVATION LIES IN ORGANIZATION



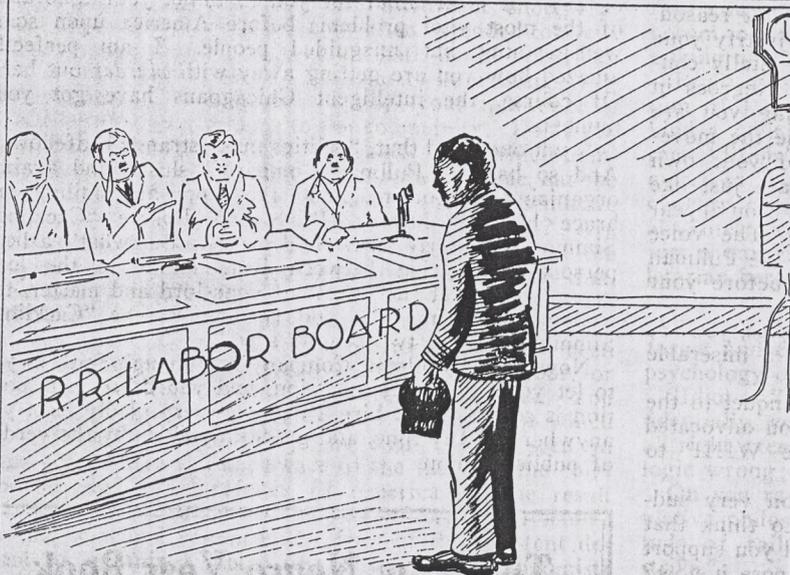
**UNDER THE EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION PLAN**

RECOMMENDED TO BE DISCHARGED.



SAME ASST SUPT.

JUDGE, JURY & PROSECUTION.



SORRY, BUT THIS BOARD IS NOT AUTHORIZED TO HEAR THE COMPLAINTS OF INDIVIDUALS. GO BACK AND ORGANIZE AND WE WILL GLADLY GIVE YOU A HEARING.



TOO BAD, BUT THE GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE HAS NO TIME TO LISTEN TO EVIDENCE.

## A. PHILIP RANDOLPH ANSWERS NEW QUESTIONS FOR PERRY HOWARD

Dear Mr. Howard:

In reply to your questions addressed to me in the *Chicago World*, October 29th, may I say that you make the error in beginning your queries by assuming that the Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters is a radical organization, and you intend for the word *radical* to convey an invidious meaning, a meaning, of course, without the slightest justification. If to do what every ordinary white trade union does, namely, to fight for a living wage, is radical, then we plead guilty. It is a radical organization.

To your first question, may I say that I am a Socialist; and while I was not educated in the Rand School of Social Science, not Socialism, by the way, I lectured there on History, Economics and Sociology.

Are you aware, Mr. Howard, of the fact that some of the world's greatest minds are Socialists, such as George Bernard Shaw, the world's greatest living dramatist; that J. Ramsey MacDonald, ex-Premier of Great Britain, is a Socialist; that Mr. Branting, the late Premier of Sweden for years, was a Socialist; that Donald Richberg, noted lawyer, who argued the case for more wages and better working conditions for the Order of Sleeping-Car Conductors, is a Socialist? And may I say that the conductors won their case? The United States Railroad Labor Board did not refuse to hear him merely because he was a Socialist. It may be interesting also for you to know that Albert Thomas, Secretary of the International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, is a Socialist; that John Spargo, who was appointed to the unemployment commission by ex-President Woodrow Wilson, is a Socialist; that Heywood Broun, one of the editors of the *New York World*, is a Socialist, though the *New York World* is one of the largest and most influential papers in the country; that Bertrand Russell, the world's most eminent philosopher, is a Socialist; that a Socialist, Victor Berger, is now sitting in Congress, and still the government manages to lumber on; that some of the world's leading economists, college and university professors, are Socialists. How do you explain the fact, Mr. Howard, that the United States Government did not break off relations with Great Britain when Mr. MacDonald, a Socialist, rose to the highest and most influential place in the government, the Premiership? Obviously, your point is without rhyme or reason. You are wasting your time laboring to prove that which I would not permit you to deny, namely, that I am a Socialist. Besides, your question is wholly irrelevant and immaterial.

Second, you ask, "do I represent the American Federation of Labor?" No. (The American Federation of Labor, however, has given the movement its moral support by sending men to speak at our meetings. Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, is sympathetic with the movement.)

Third, Mr. Howard asks: "Is it not true that this movement will lead to a strike, and, because of the lack of support of organized labor, it will fail?"

No. (It is not necessary always for a union to strike in order to secure its demands. The Big Four Brotherhoods compelled Congress to grant the Adamson Eight-Hour Day without calling a strike. Collective bargaining backed up with a strong organization, together with effective education and agitation, will achieve a living wage and better conditions for the workers.)

Fourth, you inquire: "Is it not true that Mr. Lovett Fort-Whiteman, who recently returned from Moscow, was an associate editor of my magazine, and that he was interested in this movement?"

Yes, he was the contributing editor to the MESSENGER before we differed in philosophies. He has no connection with this movement, although he is too intelligent to

oppose it, and I have no connection with his. They are separate and distinct. But, pray tell me, what has that got to do with the question: Is it to the interest of the Pullman porters to organize a union of, by and for themselves? Nothing.

Fifth, "Do you know, Mr. Randolph, another racial monopoly except that of the Pullman Company's employment of colored porters?"

Yes. Chinese restaurants, locomotive engineers, train conductors, sleeping-car conductors, street car conductors. These are vocations which are completely in the hands of white men, consequently they constitute racial monopolies, whatever that is. Still they are organized to protect their interest. But granting that the Pullman porters have the only racial monopoly of work, what does it prove? Absolutely nothing. To have a monopoly on certain jobs without receiving a living wage out of them, is to seize the shadow and miss the substance. The Pullman Company has a virtual monopoly on sleeping-car service. This monopoly yields a monopoly profit, which is a high profit; a profit which has made it one of the richest and most powerful corporations in America. On the contrary, the Pullman porters, though having a so-called racial monopoly on their jobs, do not only not receive a monopoly wage, which according to economic laws would be a living wage, but they receive a starvation wage of \$67.50 a month. There is no special virtue in having a monopoly unless it yields a monopoly value. Hence, the Pullman porters can never expect to improve their conditions merely relying upon the alleged monopoly of their jobs. Thus, your talk about a racial monopoly of the Pullman porter's job is entirely meaningless and childish.

Sixth, you ask, do I not know that the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association is a voluntary and independent organization, operated by Pullman porters as shown by its by-laws?

No, Mr. Howard, I don't know anything of the kind; nor do you. It is neither a Pullman porters' organization nor is it independent. Why? (Because the members of the board of directors, the controlling body of the P. P. B. A., are on the pay-roll of the Pullman Company. They are not even Pullman porters.) And it ought to be apparent to you that he who pays the fiddler calls the tune. If the P. P. B. A. belongs to the porters, as you say, why is it that the Treasurer, Mr. J. W. Duncan, cannot draw a dime out of the treasury unless the check is O. K.'d by Mr. A. A. Cummings, Treasurer of the Pullman Company? Now as to the by-laws: They don't show that the Pullman porters control the P. P. B. A. The porters did not frame them. They had absolutely nothing to do with the organization except to accept it after it became a fact.

Seventh, "Do you know, Mr. Randolph, that the Pullman porters are the largest group of colored employees in the world, and that the Pullman Company is paying twelve thousand porters \$9,648,000 annually as salary, and the luscious tips from the passengers? And don't you further know that certain syndicates of white waiters in New York are paying the large hotels fabulous prices for even the privilege of waiting in these hotels and without salaries?"

To the first part of your question, may I say that the Pullman porters don't constitute the largest group of colored employees in the world. There are the colored trainmen and shopmen that exceed the porters in numbers. As to the luscious tips, to which you refer, from the passengers, they have no existence except in your lively imagination. Ask the porters. They are the best authority on tips, both as to number and amount. Your last affirmative interrogation is not true. White waiters, in New York,

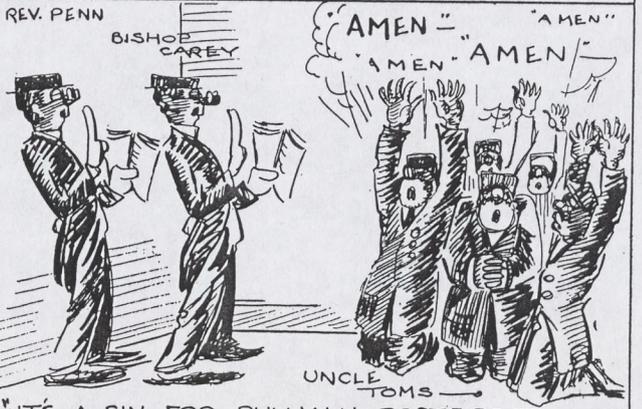
(Continued on page 400)



THE WILSON-SIMMONS-BIBB-G-HOWARD CHORUS—  
 "PULLMAN PORTERS— DON'T ORGANIZE —  
 YOU'RE GETTING ENOUGH MONEY— WE'RE  
 SATISFIED— YOU SHOULD WORRY."



REV. I. GARLAND PENN — BISHOP A.J. CAREY



"IT'S A SIN FOR PULLMAN PORTERS TO  
 ORGANIZE FOR A LIVING WAGE."



HUNGRY EDITORS —  
 WHY, OF COURSE THE PULLMAN COMPAN-  
 NY IS ALL RIGHT. IT CAN'T AFFORD TO  
 PAY PULLMAN PORTERS A LIVING  
 WAGE. HOW WOULD THE OFFICIALS  
 AND STOCKHOLDERS GET ALONG  
 ON LESS MONEY?"



"THAT EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION  
 PLAN IS ALL BUNK. ITS A COMPAN-  
 NY PROPOSITION. YOU FELLOWS  
 OUGHT TO GET A UNION OF YOUR  
 OWN AND YOU WILL GET SOME-  
 WHERE. WE ARE WITH YOU."

# REPLY TO THE ARGUS

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Dear Brother Argus-Mitchell:

You have violated the sacred mission of a newspaper in the issues of the 30th of October and November 2, 1925, by misrepresenting one of the biggest and most vitally constructive movements ever begun in the history of the race.

You seek an excuse for opposing the movement to organize the Pullman porters by falsely claiming that it is an effort to link them up with the American Federation of Labor, which you claim to hate. This is not true. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is an organization of, by and for the Pullman porters. It is independent of, not connected with, any other movement.

As a so-called editor, who is supposed to lead the thought of the Negroes of St. Louis, you ought to know what you are talking about before you rush into print. Either your attitude is the result of ignorance or venality, either of which makes you either useless or a menace to the Negroes of this community. Now, it is perfectly obvious that you are ignorant, and the intelligent public will read between the lines and justly doubt your sincerity, when it notes that your editorial opposing the movement appeared in the very same issue in which a half-page advertisement was carried, an advertisement for which the Pullman Company paid you \$75.00 or \$100.00.)

It is not rather strange and peculiar, Mr. Mitchell, that you only became interested in warning the Pullman porters against organizing when you received an advertisement from the Pullman Company? Don't you realize that the porters and public are justified in not trusting your judgment or honor in the matter, since your convictions and principles, if, indeed, you have any, seem to rest upon the gain you receive or hope to receive?

As an evidence of your hopeless and childish credulity, you say that, "it looks as though the union has waited until the porters had established themselves in their own organization and are satisfied, and then steps in to break up the peaceful relations between the workers and their employers."

Such Nonsense! In the first place, the porters have not established any organization of their own aside from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. What organization do you refer to? Surely you don't mean the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association, which is, as plain as the nose on your face, a Pullman Company's proposition. Don't you know that the members of the Board of Directors of P. P. B. A. are on the pay-roll of the Pullman Company? That they are not even Pullman porters? That the Treasurer, Mr. J. W. Duncan, cannot draw a dime out of the treasury unless the check is oked by Mr. A. A. Cummings, the Treasurer of the Pullman Company? It was not started by porters and it is not run by porters. Are you not able to appreciate the fact that he who controls the treasury of an organization, controls the organization? This is an elementary proposition of social science which an editor ought to know.

Certainly, you are not so naive and gullible as to believe that the Employee Representation Plan is a porters' organization. I can hardly believe that a grown-up could be so stupid. (It is a matter of common knowledge that it is a company organization, owned and controlled body and soul by the Pullman Company. In all of its committees the cards are stacked against the porters. The very same local management which recommends the discharge of a porter is also permitted to sit in the committees on the porter's case as the prosecutor, jury and judge. The local grievance committee has no power to put a suspended or discharged porter back to work.) The whole scheme is a FARCE, a JOKER, a trick to deceive the men into believing that they have an organization when, in truth, they haven't any.

## Porters Should Not Vote for Employee Representative Plan

Every porter should refuse to vote for the Plan when it comes up this month to be voted on. No porter is compelled to vote for it, since, in the agreement between the porters and maids and the Pullman Company, Article 6, Section C, in the Company's own language, it says: There shall be no discrimination by the Company or by any of its employees on account of membership or non-membership, in any fraternal society or union. Besides, public opinion will not permit the Company to discriminate against its employees because they refuse to permit it to force them to vote against their own interests. The Company wants 51 per cent of the men to vote for its Plan, so that the Railroad Labor Board will grant it the right to represent them. But when the porters refuse to vote for it, the Plan collapses, ceases to function automatically. The Pullman Car Conductors rejected the Plan when it was presented to them. Why should the porters accept it? )

Intelligent porters will refuse to permit a "hungry editorial hound" to mislead them.

You say, Mr. Argus-Mitchell, "that should the union succeed in getting the porters to come in, they will call a strike and cause the porters to lose their jobs."

How ridiculous? What unions are you talking about? The movement is not connected with any unions. Besides, it is not necessary for a union to strike always in order to secure its demands. If you knew anything about the history of labor in this country, you would know that hundreds of unions are securing increased wages, better hours of work and improved working conditions without going on strike. Don't you know that the Big Four Brotherhoods forced Congress to grant them the Adamson Eight-hour Day without a strike? Every school boy knows it.

You say to the porters, "Not to listen to those advocating organizations because they don't own any railroads or merchant marine ships." Think of it! And this tommyrot is from an alleged editor, too. Can you imagine it? Well, I suppose intelligent St. Louisans do understand how it could come from his Eminent, Ignorant, Highness. The men who organized the Locomotive Engineers didn't own any railroads. Still they organized the engineers into a union. Andrew Furuseth, President of the Seamen's Union does not own any merchant marine; though he organized the seamen. Is it necessary for one to have a pocketbook to give a person before he warns that person against a thief whom he sees is about to take his pocketbook? Obviously, no.

You also talk about the porters' so-called monopoly of their jobs. Of course, you haven't the slightest conception of what you are talking about. You are simply mouthing something you have been told to mouth for the advertisement you have received. You remind me, Mr. Argus-Mitchell, of the little boy who sits on the knee of the ventriloquist. He appears to be speaking, but he isn't. The voice comes from behind, his master's voice. Be assured, my dear Brother Argus-Mitchell, that you are not clever enough to fool anybody. What value, pray, tell me, is a monopoly, if it does not yield a living wage? The white race has a monopoly of the work of engineers and train conductors, still they are organized.

The main trouble with you, Brother Argus-Mitchell, is that you are a satellite of your white master, the Pullman Company. Your editorials show that you are utterly incapable of any original thinking, but whatever thinking you do, if it is fair to accuse you of ever going through such a process, is a reflection of the thinking your white masters, who, incidentally, hold the money bags, do.

In your second editorial, entitled "Forcing the Pullman Company," you say that it hardly looks reasonable that

the Pullman Porters' Union can dictate to the Pullman Company whom it shall hire.

Why, don't you know that a union would be absolutely worthless if it permitted the employer to hire scab labor and pay low wages. To the extent that a union insists upon only union labor being hired, it is dictating who should be hired by the employer. The Pullman Car Conductors dictate to the Company whom it shall hire and the wages it shall pay its conductors. Wake up, Brother Rip Van Winkle. This is 1925, not 1725. The chains of slavery have been broken off your hands and feet, if not off your mind. It is my job to do the latter for you.

As the last refuge of an impotent intellect, you prate about my interest in, \$60,000, joining fees from the porters.

What's that got to do with the right, necessity and value of the Pullman porters organizing? Absolutely nothing. But what irrelevance to an Uncle Tom, "Idiot-or"? Have you ever heard of a moneyless organization? From your furious defense of the Pullman Company after you got a small size advertisement, you are not unconcerned about glittering gold. Brother Argus-Mitchell, you ought to have brains enough to realize that if money was what I am after that I could get much more money than the Pullman porters could ever hope to give me, even if I got all the money they paid in many years to come. No, Mr. Argus-Mitchell, all of the millions of the Pullman Company would not cause me to betray the interest of the Pullman porters. To me there are some things in this world much more valuable than money, namely, my self-respect, my reputation, my principles. Advocating the cause of labor is no new thing to me. It has been my life's work, together with writing and lecturing on economics and socio-historical subjects, if this means anything to you.

Then you hypocritically assert, trying to save your face, that you are not opposed to the men organizing. Perhaps you are not, unless you get an advertisement for opposing it! But you add that the odds against the men are too great. That's just like a Sambo Negro who has a *wish-bone* where a *back-bone* ought to be! Suppose the abolitionists had said the same thing about the Slave Power in 1854, where would you be today? Perhaps where you belong—in slavery.

You end your colossal folly about labor organization by observing that, "everybody knows that all nor half of the men are going to join the proposed organization."

Nobody knows any such thing of the kind. You are, as usual, simply talking through your hat. But even granting that not half of them did join, does that make organization wrong? I guess not.

You say that, "you are told that in nearly every office men are waiting to be hired as Pullman porters."

What does that prove? Nothing. It's an added reason, if true, why Pullman porters should organize to prevent an over-supply of labor from demoralizing their working conditions more than they already are. But it is not true. There is a general shortage of labor, made so by the cessation of immigration. Besides, the student porters have returned to school. But Brother Argus-Mitchell, whose ignorance is only exceeded by his presumption, can be expected to say anything when a little picayune advertisement is in sight. Of course, we have encountered such intellectual lilliputians before and they soon became repentant. Let us watch the *Idiot-orial* Uncle Tom of St. Louis, and see what his future antics will be.

Isn't it remarkable that it was only left for a Negro paper, a so-called leader, to oppose a movement fighting for the bread and butter, better clothes, and shelter for wives and children of 12,000 porters, or 60,000 Negroes. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch wrote an editorial supporting the movement, telling the porters that they are on the right track. The St. Louis Star is supporting the movement. Now, these are white papers that don't depend upon Negroes buying them for their circulation. But the Argus, which could not live one day without Negroes buying it, takes the side of the Pullman Company against the Pullman porters. And remember, it never got a dime from the Pullman Company before this movement began,

while it has been receiving money from the Pullman porters every week, who buy it. But will they continue? Well, all porters are not Uncle Toms.

Every red-blooded, he-man Pullman porter should join the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car porters now. (When the organization gets fifty-one per cent of the men, it, according to the ruling of the United States Labor Board, will be the lawful representative of the men. We must have that number in the next thirty days. The Brotherhood of Trainmen are now preparing to demand a wage increase upon the termination of their agreement, December 31st.) Now is the psychological time for the Pullman porters to organize and go to the Board for more wages, better homes, and better working conditions. They will secure their demands just as surely as the night follows the day.

Don't be misled by Mr. T. A. Crenshaw and Mr. W. P. Smith, the paid welfare workers of the Pullman Company. They could not help you if they would, because the minute they attempted to the company would give them the gate. Why? Because the Company pays them, and he who pays the fiddler will call the tune. They are the paid Uncle Toms of the St. Louis District. Don't tell them anything, because they will carry a bone.

Nor should porters be fooled by the Filipino scare. It's a mere dud. The Company will even go to the trouble of having a few Filipinos in sight for porters to see, so that it will appear that they are going to put them on the cars. Don't worry; the Company has too much brains to exchange workers, efficient and able, whom it knows, such as the Negro porter, for a foreigner, who neither knows the language or the customs and manners of the American people. Besides, the public would not stand for it, since the Negro Pullman porter has made the Pullman Company, in the last fifty years, what it is today. The Company admits, in its last report, that it had the largest and most prosperous year in its history—a year in which it made (\$84,000,000) eighty-four millions of dollars, and all off the increased productive efficiency of Negro labor.

Men, you have nothing to lose, nothing to fear. White men organize, why not you? The conductors are organized, who get almost three times as much as you, and only work 240 hours a month. Why can't you organize, who are the lowest paid and the most over-worked of all the railroad workers?

(Your movement, The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is supported by the white press of the country. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has officially endorsed it. You have the moral support of the Big Four Brothers and organized labor generally.)

St. Louis must go over the top big. New York, Chicago, Boston and Washington have scored big. Now it is up to you. Remember that the Pullman Company is the only big corporation in the United States or the world which depends upon the public to pay the wages of its employees, and, hence, it has no friends.

Don't let Old Man Burr scare you. You are just as much of a man as he is, and the Pullman Company and the traveling public will respect you only when you show respect for yourself. Besides, we are not trying to injure the Pullman Company. We are trying to help it by building up an efficient union which will secure a high type of porter because he can make a living in the service. It is not trying to lessen the efficiency of the Pullman porters; it will increase it. We are not communists; we simply demand a living wage. We don't counsel insubordination, but efficient discipline.

1. Do you want a living wage?
2. Do you want pay for doubling work?
3. Do you want a 240-hour or less in regular assignment as a monthly wage basis instead of the 11,000 miles, which requires you to make almost 400 hours a month?
4. Do you want conductor's pay for conductor's work?
5. Do you want pay for preparatory time?
6. Do you want pay for delayed arrival?
7. Do you want pay for every day you are ready to go out on the road whether you are sent out or not?

(Continued on page 400)

# Serials

for colored American thinkers



segregation in Washington, D. C., and one testing the validity of disfranchisement in the South. To carry forward the cases, the N. A. A. C. P. has started a drive for fifty thousand dollars. Think of it! Only \$50,000 — why one labor union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, composed of only 60,000 members, when about to begin a strike, raised a million and a half dollars in less time than a week. Ten million Negroes ought to have enough guts and backbone, with the challenge of the Sweet case, to raise a million dollars in one week, and that's a mere bagatelle when the race's right to life, property and the pursuit of happiness are at stake as the Sweet case indicates.

### Pullman Company's Conference in Washington, D. C.

In Washington of recent date a mysterious conference was called by a mysterious person, Melvin Chisum. According to some reports, it was styled as Chisum's private conference. No one seems to know who financed it. No one seems to know what it was all about. The pretext, of course, was to fight against segregation. But why so sudden and mysterious an attempt? Isn't it strange that the most prominent, efficient and able persons in the country who are fighting segregation were not in the conference? Why was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People not called in? Is it because the wily Chisum knew that Johnson, Pickens, DuBois, Bagnal and White would not stand for the questionable tactics he is employing in trying to oppose the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters?

It is quite obvious that the resolutions on industrial relations was doctored after it had been adopted in the conference, and why? Because the resolution as drafted by Ben Jefferson Davis did not include in it the thing for which the conference was called, namely, an attack on the movement to organize the Pullman porters. The doctored resolution includes such an attack.

Rhenzi B. Lemus, President of the Brotherhood of Dining Car Employees, affirms that the resolution sent broadcast by the Negro Associated Press was not the one as adopted by the Conference.

Now it remains to be seen whether the other members of the Conference have guts enough to protest against such unscrupulous tactics. That they were well meaning, but misguided is obvious. But they don't have to remain silent on such a notoriously dark and dirty deed.

Will Negro leaders, such as John R. Hawkins, Hutchins C. Bishop, Dr. M. O. Dumas, James A. Cobb, Albin L. Holsey, Bishop Reverdy, C. Ransom, etc., permit themselves to be shamelessly manipulated by the Iago of the race to subserve the interests of the Pullman Company in its fight against the Pullman porters organizing for a living wage? Surely,

it must have occurred to these gentlemen that there was something wrong about a meet called for the purpose of discussing segregation in which the N. A. A. C. P., the only people who know anything about the subject in the country, that is, from an expert point of view, were excluded. Why? you ask. Well, the reason is that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people has officially endorsed the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and the crafty Mephistopheles knew that he couldn't pull any wool over the eyes of that crowd.

The race is indebted to the Pittsburg Courier, and the Washington Tribune for their militant and independent spirit in the matter, for their public spirited exposé of the nefarious trick.

### Self-Made Men

Every so often we come in contact with a singer, a piano player, an actor, who has been praised by parlor parties and applauded by superficial persons until his head has been turned. Quite confident of his ability, which to him must be talent personified, he will tell you in an air of gusto, "I never had a lesson in my life," or as in a recent case a "playwright" told us he had never been to school but four months in his life. In short, these people are telling you in effect that they are self-made men and women.

A word of advice: If you are dealing in any line of art, literature, painting, drawing, singing, acting, and have never had a lesson or very little training, there is no need of announcing that you are self-made. To anybody who knows anything about the subject, it is self evident. In fact it has become true in almost every line. Unless someone has helped to make you, besides yourself, it is obvious that not very much has been made. All of which means that people are either poking fun at you when they praise, or else their opinion doesn't amount to anything.

### Watch for Our New Year Number

**WANTED**

A live, wide-awake, young man or woman to handle advertising. Bring references. Good business career in an interesting field open to one who can hustle. Apply:

THE MESSENGER

2311 7TH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY



# Open Forum

*A Voice for Supporter and Opponent*



Washington, D. C.  
November 15th, 1925.

My dear Mr. Lancaster:

Please find enclosed United States Money Order of \$3.75, of which \$2.00 for my monthly dues in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and \$1.75 for one year's subscription to The Messenger.

Your comment in the New York Age on the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was timely and right to the point. As Mr. X says, we need more publicity in the white daily papers. (This will have to be done by an outsider. The porters, as you know, cannot do it. We must get our women folk interested in our case. Some real race women to write a strong article for our movement. Get the different clubs and civic organizations to write for us.)

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Union must go over the top. We must not weaken. We must not become discouraged. We must fight; we must agitate, content, persist, resist and persevere.

Mr. Green, President American Federation of Labor, says: "And your great problem is organization, education, mobilization of the great economic power of labor." He further states that he is going to "emphasize organization and yet more organization. That is an essential requirement, an essential necessity."

The time is fully ripe for a Union. The porters have a field all to themselves. No other race wants the job, no other race or class of men can give the efficient service as the colored man. The Filipino is only a scare crow.

I close here. Trusting that your health is good, and our cause is succeeding, I am,

Very truly yours,

A. PORTER.

Mr. Roy Lancaster,  
2311 Seventh Avenue,  
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Your letter was received and it found me well and indeed glad to hear from you and to know that you are well and doing well. Now, you need not have any fear of me giving up this fight, because I expect to hold my stand to the very last if God be my helper. You know, Mr. Randolph said nothing can stop the rising tide, and I say the same. I am out every day and part of the night preaching to the porters, and I mean to do this until the last man has signed, and that must be done.

To do this work we must keep the wheel rolling, and that is what I intend to do. This victory must be won and there is no chance of my getting tired. The sky is my limit, and I am doing all that I can to put this movement over the top, and I am going to show that can be done. The boys will start to fall in line pretty soon. They must fall in line, and you can depend on me as one who is going to hold on. I remain

Yours respectfully,

A. PORTER.

Chicago, Ill.  
11-8-25

Dear Sir:

Please send to X six application blanks for self and friends of whom are porters in Chicago Eastern District, or inform me where I can secure same in Chicago.

I have been with the Pullman Company four years, and know the conditions, and I am using every effort to help put the thing over.

Will be obliged to get the information asked for in the above lines.

Very truly yours,

A. PORTER.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph.

Tacoma, Washington.

Dear Sir:

Please send me some of your 14 Points so I can distribute them among the porters of the Seattle, Portland and Spokane District. I am positive that we can carry these three districts by 95 per cent for the Union. I meet so many of the porters and they tell me that they have not seen the 14 Points. I have only one and it is worn out from letting other porters read it.

I will send in my \$5 as soon as I can within a few days. Please don't overlook us Pullman Porters away out West. Send all the reading matter out here that you can. Some of the porters are waiting for you to come out here to speak and some are waiting for you to come to organize. If you will send the papers, such as the 14 Points, and a few other porters will get busy and see the Pullman Porters of these three Districts, we will not wait for you to come out here.

Also I think it would be a good thing for you to get out some papers stating and making it plain for the porters not to wait for you to come to their district to organize them, but for them to send in their fee.

I will send my \$5 in my next letter and I hope you will send me the papers so I can see that the other porters send theirs. It is the only way we will get our rights.

Yours truly,

A PORTER.

St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 23, 1925.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph.

Dear Sir:

I am sending you a little sample of a little folder which I thought of and I believe it will be a great help to all concerned in this work. There was never anything I wanted to go over before in my life as I do The Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters, and I am willing to do my part as a helper. Of course, I have to be careful, but I have some manhood about me.

I hope this will meet with your approval, and if you decide to put these pamphlets out, be sure and mail me a bunch and I will help to get the news all down South.

Yours for success,

A PORTER.

## Raise the Pullmen Men

The Pullman porters need a raise, X  
Yes, siree!  
These men behind it deserve praise,  
Take it from me,  
Everyone should fall in line,  
Boost the movement,  
Yell it's fine!  
More money for them Pullman boys  
All along the line.

They scare make a living wage  
As things stand.  
A raise, regardless of the age  
We now demand.  
These are a loyal bunch of men,  
They serve us all now and then,  
So yell, "More pay,"  
Yell it again  
For the Pullman men.

—Ann Lawrence.

## Reply to the Argus

(Continued from page 384)

8. Do you want to cease depending on tips for a living?  
9. Do you want to be treated like men?

## PORTERS!

Don't be deceived by field days, octets, quartets and bands. If you are always singing, dancing, playing and laughing, you will do little or no thinking, and, consequently, you will be helpless and at the mercy of the Pullman Company. Besides, your own money pays for these things. You contribute your dollars in the hat, but the Company gets the credit, for they are a big and effective means of advertising the Company, for which it would be compelled to pay hundreds of thousands of dollars, if you did not supply it.

Porter-musicians ought to get musicians' pay when they do musicians' work; and, likewise with singers.

Don't be deceived by the so-called quarters. They are provided so that the Company will know where to lay hands on you when they want to double you out. The Company will field day, quartet and band you to death if you are willing to accept such flattery instead of decent wages. And there is absolutely no use whining, crying or denouncing the Pullman Company. You have your own self to blame. The Company is no fool. When it finds that you mean serious business; that you are in dead earnest, knowing your power, your worth, the attitude of public opinion, it will gracefully concede to treat with your organization, and if it does not, the United States Railroad Labor Board will compel it to. It will treat you no differently than it did the Pullman Car Conductors. But you have been children so long that the Pullman Company is slow to believe that you are in earnest about being real men.

Don't be deceived by the little, hand-picked, coached welfare workers. They are paid \$150.00 per month to go around the country to oppose the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Such little Negroes like P. A. Sample of Jersey City, Davis and W. H. Boggs of Chicago, T. A. Crenshaw of St. Louis, J. D. Bannister of Philadelphia, and their ilk in other districts, whom you know too well, haven't got brains enough to come out of the rain. The Company is simply writing propaganda against the movement for them to sign.

Nor should you permit the hypocritical crocodile tears of Brother Perry Parker to bamboozle you. He is General Manager Hungerford's Perry, both from the fair State of Mississippi.

Also beware of such hat-in-hand compromisers as Hon. (?) Perry W. Howard, Special Assistant to the United States Department of Justice and recent appointee on the legal staff of the Pullman Company, and Roscoe (Cackling) Simmons, who speaks but says nothing, and these time-serving, worthless, ignorant Negro newspapers like the Whip, which once advised the porters to organize, but opposes organization now. Why? A half-page advertisement, etc., is the answer.

"We shall not fail—if we stand firm, we *Shall Not Fail*. Wise counsels may accelerate, or mistakes delay it; but sooner or later, the victory is sure to come," since our cause is just.

(Send joining fee of \$5.00 and \$1.00 dues to headquarters, 2311—7th Avenue, New York, N. Y.

*The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.*

You will receive your membership card and dues card by return mail.)

A. Philip Randolph, Editor of The Messenger, General Organizer.

A. L. Totten, Field Organizer.

## "These 'Colored' United States"

(Continued from page 377)

possess a coherence and attachment for the old state that time and distance cannot destroy. After all, we love to be known as a South Carolinian. We have always had a large contingent of my fellow statesmen in Howard University. On an occasion some unworthy deed had been committed by a student, the South Carolina Club met to protect and defend the honor of its membership. The universal verdict was that "No South Carolinian could be guilty of such unbecoming conduct."

## The Case Against Segregation

(Continued from page 391)

directly issues free licenses to the males of the majority group, than in New York and Massachusetts, where colored women still have at least technical protection and defense.

Segregation is necessarily unjust to the minority and has not been proven of any ultimate benefit to the majority. And this is true even where the majority in mere numbers, as in Mississippi and South Africa, is still a hopeless minority in wealth and power.

## A. Philip Randolph Answers Perry Howard

(Continued from page 381)

are not buying privileges to wait in the hotels, without salaries. Where did you get any such idea? Don't you know the hotel waiters are organized?

You say that no Socialist has ever proposed a piece of legislation for colored people in this country.

That's a mere statement which has no basis of fact. But if it were true it would have no bearing on the question as to the right, value and necessity of Pullman porters organizing. This is not a political question, but an economic one. This movement has nothing to do with the Democratic, Republican, Socialist or Prohibition parties. This ought to be too obvious to require constant reiteration; for the persons who have not become Special Assistants to the United States Department of Justice and the paid representatives of the Pullman Company seem to understand it.

You say that my philosophy will convert the race into atheists, communists and agnostics.

This is unworthy of a man of your alleged intelligence. You ought to know better. It is so ridiculous, inane and preposterous that it hardly merits a decorous reply. It

(Continued on page 402)

# The UNIVERSITY Preparatory SCHOOL

STATE BANK B'LD'G FIFTH AVENUE AT 115 STREET

New York's Most Successful Preparatory School

We Cordially Welcome the Negro Student

## Regents' College Entrance Commercial

Day and Evening Sessions

The best in faculty and equipment at a moderate tuition fee.

Catalogue upon request

A. Philip Randolph Answers Perry Howard

(Continued from page 400)

is the last refuge of a man without arguments, principles or facts.

You ask, has not the MESSENGER been the mouthpiece of un-Americanism, whatever that is.

If to condemn mob-law, disfranchisement, peonage, all forms of segregation, and economic exploitation; if to denounce me-to-boss, hat-in-hand, hand-picked Negro leaders who haven't the backbone enough even to support a bill to make lynchings a federal crime, such as you failed to do at the criminal behest of Pat Harrison, of Mississippi, then the MESSENGER is un-American. May I say to you that the MESSENGER is the most significant and constructive contribution which the Negroes have made to political and economical thought in America.

You ask won't I admit that the mutual interdependence between capital and our labor is the economic bed-rock of our future in this country? I have no quarrel with capital. I merely object to the misuse and abuse of it by capitalists. Since capital would be impotent without labor; since it can produce nothing alone, it is logical and fair that labor should receive a commensurate reward for the part it plays with capital in the joint production of wealth. It requires no genius to recognize the truth of this proposition.

Lastly, you ask why am I interested in the Pullman porters who have educated their children and bought homes out of the money they made on the Pullman cars?

In answer to this, may I say that it is a matter of common knowledge that my whole life has been devoted to the cause of organized labor and to the work of lecturing and writing on economic and socio-historical questions. It is no new work for me. May I ask why are you so interested in opposing a movement which will bring more bread and butter to the porters, their wives and children? Is it not a fact that you only became interested when you were hired and put on the pay-roll of the Pullman Company? Do you think it is an evidence of interest in the race for you to fight twelve thousand men who are struggling to raise their pay from \$67.50 per month to a living wage?

The Steel Drivin' Man

(Continued from page 387)

"Dis ole hammah, Lawdy, Lawdy hit kilt John 'Enry; Kilt 'im dead, Lawd, Lawd, kilt 'im dead:— O dis ole hammah, Lawdy, Lawdy, kilt John 'Enry; But hit won't kill me, podnor,—no, Lawdy hit won't kill me."

No it won't Shine. There was only one John Henry. There will never be another. He is the Hero of the Graders!

Convention at Howard University

(Continued from page 395)

planned. Immediately after, the Xi Omega and Alpha chapters will receive the visiting delegates at the Sorority House.

Dec. 29th will include in its program an extended sight-seeing tour of Washington in the afternoon and a formal presentation in the evening. The tour will take in many of the Public Buildings, also Frederick Douglass' home in Anacostia and Arlington Cemetery where wreaths will be placed upon the graves of the Unknown Soldier and Colonel Young. The Presentation will be made to Dr. Anna J. Cooper of the Parchment from the University of the Sorbonne. Following this, there will be a reception to the delegates, members of the sorority and the public.

On the night of Dec. 30th will be held in the new Dining Hall, the formal dance for the organization and its friends.

The final affair on the evening of Dec. 31st will be a banquet in the Dining Hall for the hostesses and visiting delegates only.

Pullman Porters and Sleeping Car Porters Generally, Attention!

IF

- You are tired of being treated like children instead of men;
You think you should work shorter hours;
You think your wages should be larger;
You are tired of doubling back;
You are sick of Company tyranny;
You have a backbone instead of a wish-bone—

THEN

Fill out this blank and mail it immediately to A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, General Organizer, BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, 2311 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

Act today, don't delay.

Spread the Good News.

Membership is growing by leaps and bounds. :: :: SIGN UP!

Note—At the first big mass meeting held in New York City on August 25, 1925, attended by 500 enthusiastic Pullman porters, it was agreed that the name of no member of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters would be divulged until over 51% of the porters in the employ of the Pullman Company had been organized, the requirement of the U. S. Railway Labor Board. This protects you from Pullman Company tyranny until the union is strong enough. We want to get this number (51%) in the next 60 days. Big Meetings will soon be held at important terminal points. Watch for the notices.

There are still a few copies of the July and August numbers of THE MESSENGER containing the famous articles on the Pullman porters. They are fifteen cents a copy; seventeen cents by mail. Send for them.

Gentlemen: .....1925

Please send me immediately an application blank for membership in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and all literature dealing with the movement to organize the porters into a strong union for, of, and by themselves.

Name .....
Street ...
City . ...
State .....

# THE CASE AGAINST SEGREGATION

By WILLIAM PICKENS

There is one problem which will be continuously forcing itself upon the attention of the American people for at least some generations yet to come, and that is the problem of whether or not to segregate, and just how far to segregate its Negro minority group. Of the people in this country who have Negro blood in their veins, there are at least twelve millions, and perhaps fifteen millions who know it themselves. At the same time there are about one hundred million people of various races who are termed together as "white." Because of very recent American slavery and still more recent oppression and repression of the Negro group in American freedom, the question of the civil status of the Negro race and of its relation to the general community will for some time to come arouse more feeling and call for more consideration than the problem of any other minority race in the nation.

The one very simple solution for this very complex difficulty which most people of the stronger group *feel*, rather than think, is SEGREGATION. For the majority of mankind does not think but rather feels its way out of troubles, or into them. So that it is more than likely that by far the greater number of those who naively and unscientifically assume and feel that segregation is the best way out, have at the same time perfectly easy consciences in their belief. They may even have a sense of fair play and highmindedness, and may look upon segregation as a mere "separation of the races" with a square deal to both and something like "equality" in the general body politic. But they have not thought the matter through, certainly not from the angle of the segregated minority. Let us therefore discuss segregation on its merits, from the viewpoint of justice and public economy, and not from the standpoint of sentiment or religion. In other words, let us not measure the matter by any preconception like a social ideal or religious creed, but let us consider merely the workableness and practicality of the scheme for effecting the ordinary human good which the majority of us hope for, and for protecting the just interests of the minority which is one of the best excuses for government. For present purposes, therefore, we make no appeal for any theory of race nor for the "ideal democracy," and we will not appeal to the "brotherhood of man" nor to the "Fatherhood of God"; but we want to see whether the segregation of the Negro race in the United States will do any good, regardless of any social or religious creeds and dogmas.

Very few white men in America would say, even to themselves, that the object in segregating the Negro is to hurt him or to do anybody an injustice. Most of them would say: It will not hurt anybody, while it will at least promote peace and happiness by catering to the sentiment and prejudices of the majority group. Some would even claim that segregation will actually promote the best interests of both races, with justice to all concerned. Nobody, of course, can demonstrate just how it would work out in any important detail, and nobody can cite any case where it ever worked out in detail.

In the first place, segregation always meets with opposition from the best people of the minority group, for these people know by experience where the burden of segregation falls. The fact of this constant opposition to segregation on the part of all Negroes of brains, who are free to express themselves, has caused to grow up in the mind of the majority group another misconception which further irritates and complicates the interracial relationship; namely, the conviction of many white people that Negroes, especially the ambitious and progressive kind, are trying to "get away from their own race" and to encroach upon the whites. It must be admitted that the outward appearance of things lends color to this opinion: for unless we take the second thought, every ambitious and progressive individual of any handicapped minority will present to us the illusion of trying to get out of his own group and into the ranks of the advantaged majority. In America, for instance, it has been and still is true that the white race, generally speaking, is up front while the Negro race is in the rear; and therefore every individual Negro or small group of that race which rises and comes forward, impresses casual observation as if deserting their own ranks and "invading" white territory. And this will continue to *seem* so, until a sufficient number of American Negroes come into the forward part of the congregation to make the individual instances less conspicuous. Fifty years ago the Negro started in almost one hundred per cent poor, ignorant and uncultured, so that wealth, intelligence and refinement naturally seemed to be the domain of the white race. And as individual Negroes of

talent and opportunity are bound to come forward faster than the whole mass, these exceptional people unfortunately create the appearance of "breaking away" and "breaking in." This arouses a keen sense of group solidarity and "race integrity" in the stronger and more advantaged group. But it was ever so: the history of human progress is that some pioneering Titan goes forward, alone, to the mountain top and then beckons his less adventurous, maybe less reckless, fellows from the valley. These individuals are the tentacles of the mass. If white people are occupying all the best streets, when a Negro moves from one of the back streets to one of these better streets, he is, apparently, going from black to white. Where white people have all the best colleges, when a black student goes from an inferior to one of the superior schools, he is visually going from black to white. When white people control all the best places of amusement, if a Negro attempts to desert cheap vaudeville for grand opera, he is getting "out of his place." Segregation would thrust these individuals back upon the limitations of the mass and destroy the inspiration to progress of the whole minority group. One unavoidable issue, therefore, in any scheme of segregation is warfare against the best minds and bravest hearts of the weaker people.

That there has not been and never can be any such thing as segregated equality for members of the minority group, is proven by all experience in America and by every analysis. Take for example the public school. For present argument we will disregard the historic fact that no state with a settled segregated school policy has ever yet provided a school system for its colored children equal to that provided for its white children, and that the Negro children are not given their per capita share of the money for tuition, equipment and supervision. We will assume that the school funds are divided according to the census, and that at least such statistical honesty is practiced, in order to demonstrate that even then a great injustice would be done to the segregated minority. For if any state should scrupulously give to the children of the minority their per capita share of school funds, even then these segregated pupils would be robbed of the advantages of economy and inspiration and power to be found in the organized educational system of organized society. For example, a school district may have 1,000 white and only 10 colored children. If that district spends \$50 per head for the education of its children, that would mean \$50,000 for a school for the white child and \$500 for a school for the Negro child. This whole segregated \$500 could not hire for the colored children even one teacher who was worthy of his profession, and yet they would have to provide not only a faculty but also a school house, coal, books and other supplies. It would be utterly impossible to maintain a school on their segregated and arithmetically "just" share. And what then? Why, the school board, forced by the necessity for providing some sort of school arrangement for these colored children, would reluctantly and grudgingly squeeze out a few more paltry dollars from the general treasury, and the Negro population would be complained against and tolerated only as a "white man's burden" in that community. There would indeed be a burden, but the burden would be created by the institution of unnatural, unjust and uneconomical segregation of a minority. And the colored people, with the incompetent teacher and the unfit school house which this arrangement made necessary, would be expected to be eternally grateful that the *generous* white community permitted them to have any school at all. They might even be told: "Why, if it were left to you and your resources, you could not have a school for even thirty days!" As if the same thing might not be said to any ten of the white children. If each individual child were given his share of the school funds, none of them could have a school for a day. Manifestly the only way to do justice to a segregated minority in such case would make it at the same time necessary to do a great injustice to the unsegregated majority; if the state should establish a really adequate school system exclusively for its colored children, it must result in a great impoverishment of the general school system for all other children, for no state can do *its best* by two such systems. Only one school system and a makeshift can be set up, and as the minority does not collect and disburse the school funds, it requires no long discussion to decide who will get the makeshift. The absurdity is perfectly clear when reduced to its lowest terms and greatest extremes; for if there were but one colored child in the county, and the law, as in Mis-

Mississippi, required that he must attend only a separate school, this little black must either (1) have no school at all, or (2) provide a whole school system with his per capita share of the school funds, or (3) be a "burden" to the whole white community.

It is clear that segregation in the public estate does not simply "separate the races," but thrusts the minority out of the estate. The same truth is illustrated by every form of segregation and discriminatory law based on the accident of race and color, where one of the races is a disadvantaged minority. And if the two races were equal in number and should be given absolutely equal advantages by having all our institutions arranged on a fifty-fifty basis—then *everybody would lose*. But it is unlikely that there would ever be any demand for segregation if neither group could be relatively disadvantaged by it. The very recent attempt to establish black ghettos in the land by residential segregation laws might not have been made, had the blacks been equal in number and in possession of just as much and just as good property as the whites held at the time: for then such a law on the part of either group would be an effort to compel the other group to keep the equality which it already had. But the Negro was occupying the inferior places and was coming forward and gradually acquiring some of the better locations from the whites, so that the statute was aimed to keep the Negro where he was. Of course, the same statute that forbade the blacks to move into white sections, also forbade the whites to move into black sections, but this latter provision was an effort to make the law constitutional. Inasmuch as no law is needed to forbid a man to move from a superior to an inferior condition and status, these statutes were a limitation only upon the black race. In many places when such statutes and ordinances were enacted and passed, the Negroes were living in back alleys, on back streets and out on the railway tracks; so that the law, while phraseologically impartial, was in effect a most terrible discrimination. In reality the whites were forbidden to move into the alleys, and the Negroes were forbidden to move out. It was a joker to forbid the whites, in most communities, to move into "black" territory. A law is not undiscriminating simply because its phrases are well-balanced; the conditions of the parties concerned must be taken into account. Else we might pass a law that the intelligent shall not teach the ignorant, and make it "constitutional" by adding that the ignorant are also forbidden to teach the intelligent; or that the rich shall not establish charities for the poor, nor the poor for the rich. Such a law would be no more a mockery than a law forbidding those who have no homes from acquiring homes of those who have them, and then adding that those who have homes are also forbidden to acquire homes from those who have them not.

These ordinances and statutes were so plainly unconstitutional in their purport and effect that an organized effort of colored people, assisted by friendly whites, got the enactments declared unconstitutional by a unanimous decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1917. But the segregationists are taking a new road to the same undesirable destination; they are writing into deeds and other conveyances an agreement or contract never to sell or let said property to colored people. When a colored woman in Washington, D. C., bought a house and lot and was about to move in, she was prevented by court injunction. The enjoiners averred that the party from whom this colored woman acquired the property, had previously entered into an agreement with them not to sell or let during the next twenty-one years to any person of Negro blood (see footnote\*). If not for twenty-one years, why not for ninety-one, with provision for re-extending the exclusion at the expiration of the specified time? Then the upshot would be that private citizens and corporations could use the courts to perpetrate a wrong which these same courts have forbidden any power of government to perpetrate. While the law does not authorize these discriminations based on race and color, still if the courts can be used to enforce these discriminations, then the law becomes a party to the agreement and an accomplice after the fact. Is it any less unconstitutional for the law to en-

\*Court of Appeals, District of Columbia, No. 4059, Corrigan and Curtis vs. Buckley, Page 2: The agreement recites, that the parties for the mutual benefit of the community and neighborhood comprising the said property desired to improve and in any legal way further the interests of the same, and, provides that in consideration of the premises and the sum of five (\$5.00) dollars each to the other paid, the parties thereto "mutually covenant, promise and agree each with the other, and for their respective heirs and assigns, that no part of the land now owned by the parties hereto, a more detailed description of said property being given after the respective signatures hereto, shall ever be used or occupied by, or sold, conveyed, leased, rented or given to Negroes or any other person or persons of the Negro race and blood. This covenant shall run with the land, and bind the respective heirs and assigns of the parties hereto, for the period of twenty-one (21) years from and after the date of these presents."

force a private agreement against public policy than for the law to authorize and then enforce such acts? The government is but the organized citizenry. What the government forbids the organized citizenry to do, because it is a bad thing to do, can this same government, morally or lawfully, help individual citizens and private money-interests to do?—As we write (January, 1925), this case is before the Supreme Court.

There is no disposition to deny the right of white citizens privately to agree not to sell their private property to colored people—and to keep the agreement so long as they can privately do so. But when one or more of them decides to break the agreement and the law can be summoned to enforce the agreement, then the law becomes the really effective power behind the discrimination. It is against the law to make and sell whiskey, and the law could hardly be summoned to enforce a private agreement to make and sell whiskey. Of course, the whiskey prohibition is directed even against private citizens, while the prohibition of discrimination by the 14th and 15th amendments is directed against governments—but would not the government become a party to the discrimination if it enforced the discrimination?

This effort to indirectly institute racial ghettos is as plain a violation of the spirit and intention of the law as was the former effort. It is discrimination against race and color. If effective against the Negro race, it may be used against any race or class. Such agreements enforced by the courts would make law a sham and justice a hollow mockery. To say to colored Americans who are a minority in the nation, and in some localities a very very small minority: "Go and build up an end of the town for yourselves and make your own parks, libraries, schools, playhouses and other community interests," is just as fundamentally wrong as to say the same thing to poor whites. For the fundamental error is to consider men as primarily parts of some handicapped minority instead of as individual members of the general community. The most progressive and forward-coming poor white man ought not to be limited to the status and possibilities of the most unprogressive and backward of the group from which he is emerging. No commonwealth can give a square deal to a segregated minority. We can again appeal to *reductio ad absurdum*: suppose there was but one Negro in our town; we might give him his per capita share of the general public revenues, say \$100, and then bid him: "Go, now, into your own section, and run your own school, park, library, police and fire departments, water system, sanitary and street cleaning organizations and other civic enterprises." The injustice done that individual Negro would only differ in degree from the injustice done by the segregation of a larger minority.

Failure to consider the standpoint and viewpoint of the minority has caused a lot of misunderstanding of the motives of colored Americans. Take, for example, the laws against inter-marriage. All intelligent Negroes are opposed to them, even all of those who are *already married*. And that is a mystery to most white people, until it is explained to them. But the basis of the opposition becomes plain when we consider:

1. That a law tends to create a status for a group, and no such law could ever have any effect against the more powerful and advanced group.

2. The protection of colored women is the chief of all motives behind Negro opposition to intermarriage prohibitions.

This becomes clear when we consider the relative effect of intermarriage laws on the welfare of white and colored women. Practically all interracial cohabitation and miscegenation in America have taken place between the better class of white men (financially speaking) and the more dependent class of Negro women. Black men and white women have had an insignificant and negligible share in it. So that when white men propose to pass laws against interracial marriage, it looks like clothing themselves with immunity and issuing to themselves free licenses for the illegitimate intercourse. Such laws naturally get no sympathy from colored men, because they seem to legalize the raid on colored women by removing the last technical deterrent: the responsibility of the male aggressor for seduction and bastardy. We have said before and we repeat here, that if the real object be to break up miscegenation, then a law *compelling* intermarriage wherever there is a natural relation that calls for it, will prevent more miscegenation in a year than a law forbidding intermarriage can prevent in a thousand years. The more helpless the women of the weaker group, the greater prey are those women. The facts support this doctrine: there was more mixing in slavery than in freedom; there is more in the poverty of colored people than among the well-to-do; and there is more in Georgia and Mississippi, where the law in-

(Continued on page 400)