

some evil Abou Ben Adhem. It is going to lead all the rest.

If not, the scribes have lost the trick of writing history.

### MIGRATION CONTINUES

WHAT does the persistent migration of Negroes from the South portend? The Malden (Mass.) *News* has a word on this phenomenon:

Capitalists who have built mills in the South with the hope of profiting on cheap labor and long hours find themselves not only threatened with federal labor laws for women and children which will put them on an equal footing in that respect with their northern competitors, but they are also concerned over the fact that thousands of Negroes are leaving the South and seeking better pay in the North. It is pretty hard to build up anything permanent on the misfortune and woe of others. With the doors of our country practically shut against immigration, the semi-skilled labor of the South is being sought. The exodus of labor from the states that have always obtained labor free or at a very low figure not only concerns their industries but also the cotton planters. Things go wrong only about so long. When mankind is at work upon some great problem it generally solves itself and then those at work upon it wonder why they hadn't thought of the solution. The Negro soldier played his part well in the great war and he is entitled to some of that emancipation which came to all labor in the way of better pay and better working conditions which we all trust will remain.

\* \* \*

The Johnstown (Pa.) *Democrat* sees this exodus as the direct result of a restricted immigration policy for "the social and economic conditions that face the Negro in the South are no worse now than they have been for years."

\* \* \*

Lester A. Walton gives 14 reasons in the *New York World*:

- Unjust treatment.
- Failure to secure a square deal in the courts.
- Taxation without representation.
- Denial of the right to vote through the subterfuge of the white primary.
- No legislative representation in the legislative halls of the state and nation.
- Inadequate school facilities in the rural school districts.
- Inequality of pay of Negro teachers doing the same work as white people.
- Poor crops and unjust division of the crops on the tenant plan.
- Farming out of convicts to take the place of free laborers.
- Lynching and burning of men and women on the slightest pretext, with no immediate relief in sight.

Pernicious activity of night riders who terrorize Negro communities.

A longing for free air.

Relatives who have gone before writing South and telling about real freedom in the North.

The offer of living wages made by labor agents from the North.

### MOSLEM OR CHRISTIAN?

BISHOP HARTZELL, a Methodist missionary to Africa, declares that the great question for the future is whether the dark continent is to be Moslem or Christian. The Minneapolis (Minn.) *Journal* says:

Great Britain, France and Portugal divide today the sovereignty of black Africa, that area extending south of the Mediterranean strip. They are the mediums of white civilization and modern science and utility. They have their function, but they will pass. The Negro all over the Continent is learning from them, and he is avid to learn. Moreover, according to the Bishop, he has the capacity to learn and to practice what he learns.

The Bishop, who has had wide experience with African Negroes, perhaps knows as much about their capacity as do anthropologists who have never set foot in Africa. He avers that a great Negro civilization once flourished in Africa, and his opinion is supported somewhat by the newest discoveries. It is a fact that the Negroes never passed through the stone age. Immemorially they seem to have understood the smelting of iron, which abounds in Africa. So that while the European was fighting with stone hatchets and using bone fish hooks, the African was killing wild beasts with iron-barbed spears and using iron vessels in his home.

The African Negro is doubling his numbers every fifty years or so. He numbers already a hundred or a hundred and twenty million souls. He is as prolific as are the Chinese or Japanese. If, already within the Union of South Africa he outnumbers the White Man five to one, before long he will be doing so ten to one. The maintenance of a White Man's colony in Africa the Bishop regards as an ultimate impossibility. And if that cannot be done for South Africa, there is no chance of doing it anywhere else.

\* \* \*

Is Islamism or Christianity to animate all this? Islam is already in the lead:

In our time there has occurred a great Moslem missionary wave that has reached throughout Sudan, as far westward as the sources of the Niger and southward as the Equatorial Lakes. As propaganda, that compares to Christian success as a torrent does to ripples.

Perhaps the psychos of the Negro responds to Islam better than to Christianity. One point in the former's favor is that it regards the Negro convert as equal to

Berber or Arab, Turk or Persian. Islam does not draw the color line. The Prophet of Mecca was in one sense the supreme democrat.

\* \* \*

Arnold Toynbee confirms this in the *Asia Magazine*:

Color is a point on which we "Anglo-Saxons" are still particularly intransigent and Moslems from the beginning particularly liberal. I remember being first struck by this in an English educational institution with which I was connected, at which we had two Egyptian students. One of them, who was physically indistinguishable from an Italian or a southern Frenchman, was a commoner in his own country and bore himself with corresponding modesty. The other, who was at least seven-eighths Negro, was a grandee, and you could see by his bearing that he was accustomed to deference and consideration. Since then, I have repeatedly come across examples of this Islamic color-franchise in the East itself—colored Turkish sergeants marching at the head of white Turkish private soldiers, or the coal-black major-domo of an English consul associating with the white notables of a Turkish city. The difference between the Islamic and the "Anglo-Saxon" attitude in this respect is indeed notorious, and the "Latin" variety of westerners, though more liberal than we are, are far from reaching the Moslem standard. The results of this difference are already visible in tropical Africa, which has been opened up during the past 40 years by western initiative, endurance, armaments and manufacturers—but not for Christendom. The majority of the black race in Africa is showing itself cold to the religion of its conquerors and is turning to Islam, whose militant adventurers in central Africa were easily defeated by the European pioneers in the early stages of the competition. Why can the Moslem beat the Christian missionary, when the Christian has beaten the Moslem soldier, merchant and administrator? Confessedly because the Moslem takes the colored convert to his bosom, while the Christian keeps him at arm's length and imparts his creed without opening the doors of his home. If this result, towards which present developments in Africa are tending, does in fact occur, the verdict of unprejudiced observers will be that, at any rate in this instance, it was in virtue of a moral superiority, a more genuine humanism that Islam gained her victory. No doubt this will be a hard doctrine for "Anglo-Saxons" to swallow. Our prejudices are all the other way, and latterly we have been reinforcing these prejudices by theories about the fixity and the fundamental importance of physical race characteristics. We will to believe that mankind is divided into a number of breeds which are unmixed, unmixable and poles asunder in spiritual endowment. Personally, I believe such theories to be unscientific, and I know them to be contrary to historical facts. I am certain that the

"Anglo-Saxon" attitude leads toward catastrophe and the Islamic towards salvation.

### THE SUPREME COURT AND ARKANSAS

THE decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Arkansas Peonage cases revives among the Southern States the old bogey of more or less continuous federal supervision. The Louisville, Ky., *Courier-Journal* says dubiously:

The decision constitutes, virtually, the chastening of a State by the Federal Government in a case in which there is reason to believe that the State's courts did not deal fairly with defendants charged with murder. . . .

The contention of the State was that its exercise of its police power was not subject to review by the Federal courts, inasmuch as a State in this Union is possessed of sovereignty.

The decision of the Supreme Court, that the contention of the State of Arkansas is untenable, directs the District Federal Court to decide whether the defendants were tried fairly. This amounts to a review of a State court trial by a Federal court, much like a review of a Circuit Court case by a State Court of Appeals to determine whether the record contains error prejudicial to the rights of a convicted defendant.

The principle that the Federal Government may constitute itself a reviewer of the decisions of the criminal courts of States, overruling the authority of State courts of last resort, will, if established, constitute a change hardly less than revolutionary.

The Federal Constitution says that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. But it has been considered that "due process of law" means process of State laws in cases in which dependants are tried for violating State laws.

Doubtless the promoters of the Dyer anti-lynching bill will find consolation in so radical a departure from the rule that the police powers of States is absolute.

\* \* \*

The St. Louis, Mo. *Post-Dispatch* says more bravely:

We dissent from the doctrine of Federal interference in state cases, but there is some ground for satisfaction in the action of the United States Supreme Court, which remanded the cases of Negroes convicted of participation in the Elaine (Ark.) riots. The ground for remanding was that the Negroes were not given a fair hearing.

Fourteen Negroes and five white persons were killed in the rioting, which, by nearly all accounts, was started by the whites. The Arkansas formula seems to consist in hanging the Negroes who escape the bullets.