THE FAR HORIZON

THE CRISIS is delighted over the We admit that our delight is schaden- enters, at will, into every man's and Long ago those ancient isolations and freude, meanness, and all that. Never- every woman's kitchen, office, store, bed- barricades began to break down. Long theless, we ask if anyone can read the room, bathroom. Its agents tap the ago the Roman Empire poured them into not feel an inclination to snicker, and perhaps even to whoop. It is from our old friend, the Charleston, South Caro-

frame of mind has been induced upon to watch. them that this menace to their safety and peace has been wholly removed.

this same twenty years the contacts of the federal government with the private affairs and interests of the citizens have been multiplied by ten or twenty. They forgot what might take place when they is a "force bill."

police officers.

Negroes of voting age. If 50,000 of them vote the Republican ticket, they Smith and Robinson. will demand their rewards and will receive them. Some of them will be appointed to office. That statment proves itself. Probably, in Northern cities, are a few Negro prohibition agents now.

In South Carolina there is not a Prohibition Democrat who would be willing for the home of a suspected "wet" to be raided by a Negro agent. Nor would he have white men and white women in searched by colored men.

In Mr. Taft's administration there When, therefore, today you hear a was no federal income tax, no collectors man say, "I hate Jews, Roman Catho-

THE "SOLID IVORY" SOUTH books. There was no Harrison narcotic ing with a belated mind. That man may

In these twenty years laws have been bile, listen over the radio, but his mind political situation in the South. passed whereby the federal government is properly dated about a thousand B. C. painfully conceived editorial below and telephone wires and eavesdrop a con- a melting pot and the Christian church versation at a man's fireside if it is their organized them into a spiritual kingdom. wish. It is their right. The supreme Long ago science, giving us new means

lina, News and Courier: ment seldom touched the average man. that the only way we now can live well The Southern states will vote for A few deputy collectors raided a few is to live well together. Long ago great Smith and Robinson. Whatever the dis- mountain moonshiners, the collector of souls like Dante said, "As for us, the affection, whatever the spirit of resent- the port here had to do with shippers, world is the fatherland," and yet we ment, whatever the pain on the part of and other people would scarcely have still have with us belated minds that devoted prohibitionists, they will sup- known by personal association that there poison our life with prejudice. port the Democratic ticket, because they was a federal government except from How absurd are some of our prej-

or get out of the South ourselves.

the Southern white people have not been come intimate with all of us, having harassed by Republican administrations taken a seat in the family circle, which with appointments of Negroes, and a it did not do formerly, it is for the South

If the whites divide, the Negroes vote.

What they have forgotten is that in of the offices.

Of course the South will vote for

The spectacle of a South Carolina colored gentlemen inspecting a white Colonel's baggage for liquor reduces us darn near to tears.

PREJUDICE

R. HARRY EMERSON FOS-DICK preached a sermon someautomobiles subject to be halted and time ago on Prejudice. Parts of it are worth quoting:

and auditors looking into the citizen's lics, Japanese, Negroes," you are deal-

act, with federal enforcers, in those days. dress like a modern, ride in an automocourt so has decided. of communication and multiplied con-Twenty years ago the federal govern- tacts, tied humanity into one bundle so

must. Their good sense will convince the postoffice. udiced exclusions! When our friend All that is changed now. "Uncle Miss Maude Royden was in this coun-The presence of the Negroes as poten- Sam" walks with us arm in arm. He try, she attended a convention in the tial voters ties the prohibitionists to the crosses his legs under our tables. When South, and somewhat shocked and Democratic party. In South Carolina he is in good humor he is a welcome grieved her hosts by choosing a Negro are now about 875,000 Negroes and guest, but when he is prying he isn't. church in which to preach; but when a about 925,000 whites. The News and Courier has no de- dinner was given in her honor she found The white people cannot divide into light in talking about the Negro question; beside her at the table, in the seat of two parties without letting many Negro its disposition toward the Negroes is second honor, a Eurasian from India. voters into both. If the Negroes are not unkind, but we have got to keep the She laughed about that. It would have used as voters they will be used as office- Negroes out of government in the South seemed dreadful to that company to seat her next a Negro, but it would have Since Mr. Taft took office in 1908, The federal government having be- seemed equally dreadful to some of her friends in England to have been seated next a Eurasian. What fools and blind

This is why International House on Riverside Drive is one of the most stim-If the Negroes vote, they get a share ulating places on this planet-sixtyseven different nations and races under Prohibition agents and income tax one roof. It is a liberal education to deputies are federal officers. breathe the aff. "But," some one says, These officers get closer to us than do "you are dodging the question. You other officers. I am think-The Southern white prohibitionists ing about the ordinary garden variety of ratified the Eighteenth amendment and will turn against national prohibition people. I don't want anything to do with their congressmen voted for the Vol- and vote for a "wet" candidate for presi- niggers, Japs, Dagoes, and Jews." My stead act. They forgot that, one day, dent, pledged to uphold the right of each friend, do you see what you are doing? Negroes might be appointed as federal state to deal with the liquor traffic ques- You are gathering up a great mass of prohibition enforcers. The Volstead act tion in its own way, before they will take human beings and tagging them with an the chance of creating an angry division opprobrious epithet. How do you like Federal prohibition agents are federal of the white people and having the South that when people do it to us Americans? infested with Negro prohibition agents Gandhi is said to have told his fellow In South Carolina are about 200,000 and income tax investigators. Indians that whatever creed we may profess, our God is always money. Do you like that? Do you think it is fair? Would you not want to say, "That is true about some Americans, but we are not all like that. We are not all stamped with the dollar mark." That is, you do not like it when anybody takes us, ties us up in one bundle, and plasters us with an opprobrious label. Well, what about the Golden Rule?

Finally and briefly, think of what prejudice does, not simply to ourselves but to the prospects of the race. You see, somehow or other, these nations, races, creeds, and colors must live together. Science has spoken an infallible

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ON THE FENCE

IN this presidential campaign THE Crisis is sitting squarely on the fence, naked and unashamed and without apology. It is certain that either Herbert Hoover or Al Smith is going to be elected President of the United States, and in our humble opinion, it does not matter a tinker's damn which of these gentlemen succeed. With minor exceptions, they stand for exactly the same thing: oligarchy in the South; color caste in national office holding; and recognition of the rule of organized wealth. We do not believe that there is a jot or tittle of difference between these two men in their attitude toward these fundamental matters, and we sincerely advise our readers to vote for neither of them.

On the other hand, we repeat advice which we have given many times before: it is of the utmost importance that Negro voters register and vote for Congressmen who are the friends of Industrial Democracy and who do not believe in the color bar. A Congress filled with men of this sort will do much to curb the Bourbon South led by Al Smith, or entrenched plutocracy represented by Herbert Hoover.

A THIRD PARTY

parties cease to stand for distinct poli- 266 votes among the 395 votes. real difference of aim and principle be- old parties.

failed. The Farmer-Labor movement quishing 136 electoral votes? failed. Many reasons have been ad- Suppose we represent the electoral vanced for these failures, but by com- vote of the United States by the figure mon consent the real effective reason 16, and assume that today this power has seldom been discussed and that rea- is divided almost evenly between son is in the Solid South: the fact is Democrats and Republicans, each with that no party in American politics can 8 votes. To 4 of these votes, cast by disappear if it is sure of 136 electoral the Democrats and representing the

cratic Party is practically sure of in the 12 votes open to liberal appeal. As-Solid South: Virginia, 12; North sume that the principles of the Third Carolina, 12; Tennessee, 12; South Party are so strong and compelling that Carolina, 9; Georgia, 14; Florida, 6; they convince half of those voters; that Alabama, 12; Mississippi, 10; Arkan- is, half of those open to conviction. sas, 9; Louisiana, 10; Oklahoma, 10; What is the result? The result is the

see's 12 votes might now and then be men, and 3 Republicans. This illuscast for the Republican Party and a trates what is bound to take place as still slimmer possibility of Oklahoma's long as there is a Solid South. 10, and North Carolina's 12. For the most part, however, a presidential election in the United States has to do only with 395 of the 531 electoral votes. In order to win an election, a party I paign is not whispers with re-THE political theory of the Third must carry 266 votes. Any Third gard to Smith's private character or Party in a Republican form of Party, therefore, in the United States Hoover's relations with England. It Government is that when the two chief to be successful would have to find its is the intense and dramatic silence in

cies and principles, one of them will It must receive all but 29 of the camps on the Negro vote. The Negro disappear, or the two will coalesce, electoral votes of the North and vote is essential to the victor in this and that a Third Party will arise and West. If it fails to do this, then campaign. Smith has no ghost of a become one of the main contenders it not only fails to carry the election, show unless he can carry it, and any for the popular vote. In this way, it but it throws the election into the large defection of Negroes from is assumed that there will always be a hands of the least liberal of the two Hoover would ruin his chances. Yet

That both represent the rule of or- Party of the North may be stirred by ganized wealth, and neither of them liberal leanings, its very dependence has been willing to take radical ground upon the Solid South compels it to be with regard to the tariff, the farmer, a reactionary party. We might, of labor, or the Negro. course, imagine liberal and radical ele-The efforts, however, to organize a ments among the Democrats making a Third Party movement have not been strong appeal to the party and to the successful. The Populists failed. The nation, but could we imagine any such Socialists failed. The Progressives political leadership voluntarily relin-

Solid South, a Third Party could make This number of votes the Demo- no appeal at all. This would leave Texas, 20. triumph of the Democratic Party by There is a possibility that Tennes- a vote of 7 Democrats, 6 Third Party

WHISPERS

THE real whispering of this camboth the Democratic and Republican neither candidate dares to court this tween the main political parties. It The least liberal party must be the vote or to make any promises, or to was thus that the Republican Party Democratic Party because that party give the slightest indication that he arose and triumphed in the election of must place its main dependence upon cares to have it. Well and good. This Abraham Lincoln. In this way the the Solid South. The Solid South is not a sign of our weakness; it shows English Liberal Party displaced the has the greatest percentage of illiteracy, the weakness of a nation so sold to race Whigs, and the Labor Party now bids the greatest percentage of lynchings hate that it cannot face the truth. The fair to displace the Liberals. and lawlessness, the greatest amount of real sufferers in a campaign of this Many Americans place their hopes religious bigotry, the least liberal laws sort are those American white people of political reform in the United States as to labor of men, women and child- who do not realize the desperate efon the rise of a Third Party which ren, and is, in fine, because of its eco- forts that are being made backstairs, will register the fact that the present nomic history, the most backward part sotto voce and under cover to attract Republican and Democratic parties no of the whole nation. It does not make the franchise of Negro voters. Such longer differ in any essential respect. any difference how far the Democratic cheerful idiots are under the impres-