

President Leonard of the Traction Company may be having his own way so far as the company's end of the strike goes, but there is no denying that, he has things to think about these hot days.

As the summer grows hotter, "What to wear and how to wear it," does not greatly disturb the "summer girl" because she wears so little that it gives her little or no concern as to how and where she wears it.

It is estimated that the products of the extra gardens in this country will amount to \$3,500,000. Now if the trusts will just not make us pay for having raised this amount of stuff, the poor people will be greatly benefitted.

The listed properties of the Labor Temple and its allied companies would, in our opinion, be darn poor security to back a jitney service, which might at any time be sued for twice the amount the Labor Temple offers for a general security. It's simply silly.

Seattle has been at the mercy of the lawyers of the states of Washington, Oregon and British Columbia for the most of the week ending and if the Smith, the Hoge and the Alaska Buildings are still in the city when they are gone then these particular lawyers will not have kept up the reputation of lawyers in general, to take everything in sight.

THE PASSING OF "JIM CROW"

(By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois)

Urged by the Negro's "best friends" in the South, Americans continually assume that he is exceptional and does not respond to the ordinary impulses of human nature or to the ordinary laws of economic change. If he is enslaved, we are assured that he likes slavery and is fitted for nothing else; yet his systematic running away from slavery and attempted revolts precipitated a Civil War in which 200,000 black men fought for freedom. When freedom and education were offered the Negro his neighbors who "knew him best" assured us that he could never become a free workingman and that it was impossible to educate him.

When the Negro became a free worker and reduced his illiteracy two-thirds we were assured by the best opinion of the South that the "second generation" of young Negroes were naught but criminal spendthrifts who must be curbed by peonage, extraordinary vagrancy laws, a rigid caste system, and occasional lynching. When a remarkable accumulation of lands and property, and the rise of black men of ability and insight proved all these dogmas of the white South to be mainly unproven assumptions born of slavery the South doggedly answered by a series of disfranchising and "Jim-Crow" laws.

Under such circumstances what would one expect the Negro to do? Leave the South and Southern conditions? But for years he apparently did not leave and the South cried triumphantly: "He loves the South! He does not want to vote! He knows that he is inferior!"

Was this true? Let us see.

Slavery meant a fixed place of labor and fixed employers. The most effective revolt against slavery was the Underground Railroad for fugitives organized by Negroes and whites in the fifties. This was the first migration of Negroes and it added considerable numbers to the Northern Negro population. The most effective result of Emancipation was to accelerate this movement suddenly and to send the freed men not only northward but to various neighboring states.

In 1880, sixteen per cent of the Negro population, that is, over 1,000,000 persons, were living in states where they were not born; this migrating population increased 100,000 between 1880 and 1890. Between 1890 and 1900 it increased still faster, reaching in the latter year 1,370,000. Between 1900 and 1910 it increased 240,000, so that in 1910 a larger proportion of our

colored population lived in states other than those in which they were born than ever before. This represents a large migratory movement, probably larger than most other groups of ten million in the world can show.

Why did these people move? Despite all efforts to becloud the issue and despite well-known exceptions the grievances of the colored population in the South are perfectly clear and well-understood by them and by their friends. They may be set down as follows:

1. Low wages and mediaeval working conditions.
2. Insecurity of life and limb.
3. Insecurity of property.
4. Disfranchisement.
5. "Jim-Crow" legislation which means persistent public insult in almost every walk of life.

These grievances do not mean that the white South has been wholly stationary or reactionary. The South has moved and moved tremendously in its attitude toward blacks since 1863. Slowly, very slowly, but surely it is coming to realize that lynching is a poor investment for an industrial community; it is beginning to believe that intelligent labor is better than ignorant peons; it knows that the methods of enforcing "Jim-Crow" legislation and caste customs are unjust, disgraceful and dangerous, and it sees in the near future the ousting of political oligarchy by real democracy from which it sees no way to exclude, permanently, Negroes or women.

All this is true and here most American philosophers seem content to rest and sing. But the truth is far more complicated than this indicates. Fast as the white South has moved, the modern world and the Negro have moved faster. The white South with all its increasing liberalism has not begun to keep pace with the advance of modern philanthropic thought or with the expanding power and aspiration of 10,000,000 people of Negro descent. The South still remains, compared with the rest of the land, provincial, lawless and oligarchic.

Grant all that may be claimed as to the advancement of the white South, it remains true that no modern white laborer would for a moment submit to the labor conditions under which the mass of Negroes work if he could escape; no modern white laborer would submit to the labor conditions under which the mass of Southern white laborers work if the competition of the Negro's low wage did not compel him.

What is the result? The intelligent black laborer does not propose to submit to present Southern conditions a moment longer than he must.

Whither can he escape?

There have appeared to him several possibilities:

1. To fight his way up in the South.
2. To go to the free land in the West.
3. To go to freer conditions in the North.
4. To emigrate from the country.

His efforts to fight his way up in the South rested on faith that the spiritual and social development of the white South would progress so fast that oppression of the Negro and unbearable caste insults would slowly, perhaps, but certainly disappear. In this thought he has been grievously disappointed. Disfranchisement has increased rather than decreased; lynching has not perceptibly lessened; common school training for blacks is worse today than twenty years ago; industrial legislation to hamper Negroes, segregation ordinances, and discriminating laws have become more numerous.

In spite of this there has arisen a persistent effort, backed by unlimited Northern money and influence, and advocated by certain leading Negroes, insisting that no matter how shamefully the South treats the Negro, the Negro must stay there and that his only salvation is humble submission.

The Negro did not accept this philosophy. He never has accepted it and he never will. Quietly and persistently he has sought to escape from the slave-shadowed South and he is still seeking.

The Negro's effort to migrate West began in the celebrated Kansas "Exodus" in 1879 and culminated in the Texas-Oklahoma rush in 1900-1910. Lack of capital and unfamiliar crops kept most Negroes out of Kansas and the North while savage lynching and unprecedented "Jim-Crow" legislation discouraged them in Texas and Oklahoma.

The effort of Negroes to migrate to Africa and elsewhere is one of the most disreputable chapters of American pseudo-philanthropy and need not take time or space here. This left the North as the one haven of refuge and into the North the Negro has gradually filtered.

Between 1860 and 1910 the Northern Negro population increased from 350,000 to 1,075,000, indicating a migration of at least 200,000 persons in addition to the natural increase. This is a considerable migration but small when one considers all the circumstances. Why did not the black working man rush North faster? Three factors hindered:

1. European immigration.
2. Northern prejudice.
3. Fear on the part of Northern Negroes.

The European migration was the really active competitive factor and it reached over 900,000 a year, 1900-1910, bringing in men and women who bid for precisely the jobs that the average Southern Negro wanted.

Secondly, the Northern racial attitude was sufficiently uncertain to make the Negro immigrants hesitate and this uncertainty was increased by a persistent Southern industrial propaganda in the North decrying Negro labor, and in the South by alleging that the Negro could not get work in the North. Northern labor unions quickly seized this opportunity to close their doors to Southern competition and received here public sanction which they could not get in the case of immigrants.

Finally, the Northern Negroes were bidding for higher places in the industrial machinery and gradually getting them. They feared that wholesale Southern migration would arouse prejudice and dispossess them.

This was the situation when a foreign immigration of over one million a year in 1914 suddenly fell to 300,000 in 1916, and was balanced in that year by at least 150,000 persons returning to Europe. A sharp, new demand for common labor arose and railroads, builders, and various industries turned to the South.

A curious industrial war ensued. Every effort was made by the South to keep knowledge of new opportunities from the Negroes and to prevent them, even by force, from leaving; wholesale arrests were made and "emigrant agents" were taxed as high as \$2500 for the right to operate. Despite this, great corporations like the Pennsylvania Railroad imported Negroes by the thousands and estimates of the total migration run into the hundred thousands.

What does this portend for the future?

The present movement is largely tentative. Perhaps 100,000 permanent Negro immigrants have located in the North during 1916. The future movement depends on the European war, the industrial acumen of Northern business men, and the organizing ability of Negroes.

We often preen ourselves on the keenness of American industrial leaders and our industrial history proves that in many cases we have a right to do this, but certainly in the treatment of Negro labor Americans are peculiarly obtuse. They have today at hand not simply a mass of good-natured laborers who, because of the past, are unusually appreciative of reasonably decent laboring conditions and fair wages, but they also have a growing class of young, intelligent colored men and women capable of doing excellent work in the higher walks of industry, capable even of leading American industry and commerce into parts of the world where the darker races abound and where these same races are increasingly resentful of their treatment by whites. Instead now of our seeing an intelligent movement in America to better the condition of Negro labor, and to