

enforce the laws by expelling foreign priests and closing convents and church schools. This manifesto found an echo in many parts of Mexico. While some bishops have protested their allegiance to the laws of the country, a number have openly and defiantly opposed the Government. Bishop Zarate, of Huejutla, when arraigned on account of his subversive appeals to his flock, declared that civil courts had no right to try him and that he would be subject only to a

church tribunal. Other bishops, including the Bishop of Sonora, and quite a number of dignitaries of the lower ranks, have followed suit, forcing President Calles to address an open letter to Mgr. Mora, Archbishop of Mexico, on June 3, confirming the Government's position and emphasizing his determination rigidly to enforce the laws in regard to the church as long as the church continues to adhere to its policy of opposition and rebellion.

The Negro-Art Hokum

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

NEGRO art "made in America" is as non-existent as the widely advertised profundity of Cal Coolidge, the "seven years of progress" of Mayor Hylan, or the reported sophistication of New Yorkers. Negro art there has been, is, and will be among the numerous black nations of Africa; but to suggest the possibility of any such development among the ten million colored people in this republic is self-evident foolishness. Eager apostles from Greenwich Village, Harlem, and environs proclaimed a great renaissance of Negro art just around the corner waiting to be ushered on the scene by those whose hobby is taking races, nations, peoples, and movements under their wing. New art forms expressing the "peculiar" psychology of the Negro were about to flood the market. In short, the art of Homo Africanus was about to electrify the waiting world. Skeptics patiently waited. They still wait.

True, from dark-skinned sources have come those slave songs based on Protestant hymns and Biblical texts known as the spirituals, work songs and secular songs of sorrow and tough luck known as the blues, that outgrowth of rag-time known as jazz (in the development of which whites have assisted), and the Charleston, an eccentric dance invented by the gamins around the public market-place in Charleston, S. C. No one can or does deny this. But these are contributions of a caste in a certain section of the country. They are foreign to Northern Negroes, West Indian Negroes, and African Negroes. They are no more expressive or characteristic of the Negro race than the music and dancing of the Appalachian highlanders or the Dalmatian peasantry are expressive or characteristic of the Caucasian race. If one wishes to speak of the musical contributions of the peasantry of the South, very well. Any group under similar circumstances would have produced something similar. It is merely a coincidence that this peasant class happens to be of a darker hue than the other inhabitants of the land. One recalls the remarkable likeness of the minor strains of the Russian mujiks to those of the Southern Negro.

As for the literature, painting, and sculpture of Aframericans—such as there is—it is identical in kind with the literature, painting, and sculpture of white Americans: that is, it shows more or less evidence of European influence. In the field of drama little of any merit has been written by and about Negroes that could not have been written by whites. The dean of the Aframerican literati is W. E. B. Du Bois, a product of Harvard and German universities; the foremost Aframerican sculptor is Meta Warwick Fuller, a graduate of leading American art schools and former student of Rodin; while the most noted Aframerican painter, Henry Ossawa Tanner, is dean of Ameri-

can painters in Paris and has been decorated by the French Government. Now the work of these artists is no more "expressive of the Negro soul"—as the gushers put it—than are the scribblings of Octavus Cohen or Hugh Wiley.

This, of course, is easily understood if one stops to realize that the Aframerican is merely a lampblack Anglo-Saxon. If the European immigrant after two or three generations of exposure to our schools, politics, advertising, moral crusades, and restaurants becomes indistinguishable from the mass of Americans of the older stock (despite the influence of the foreign-language press), how much truer must it be of the sons of Ham who have been subjected to what the uplifters call Americanism for the last three hundred years. Aside from his color, which ranges from very dark brown to pink, your American Negro is just plain American. Negroes and whites from the same localities in this country talk, think, and act about the same. Because a few writers with a paucity of themes have seized upon imbecilities of the Negro rustics and clowns and palmed them off as authentic and characteristic Aframerican behavior, the common notion that the black American is so "different" from his white neighbor has gained wide currency. The mere mention of the word "Negro" conjures up in the average white American's mind a composite stereotype of Bert Williams, Aunt Jemima, Uncle Tom, Jack Johnson, Florian Slappey, and the various monstrosities scrawled by the cartoonists. Your average Aframerican no more resembles this stereotype than the average American resembles a composite of Andy Gump, Jim Jeffries, and a cartoon by Rube Goldberg.

Again, the Aframerican is subject to the same economic and social forces that mold the actions and thoughts of the white Americans. He is not living in a different world as some whites and a few Negroes would have us believe. When the jangling of his Connecticut alarm clock gets him out of his Grand Rapids bed to a breakfast similar to that eaten by his white brother across the street; when he toils at the same or similar work in mills, mines, factories, and commerce alongside the descendants of Spartacus, Robin Hood, and Erik the Red; when he wears similar clothing and speaks the same language with the same degree of perfection; when he reads the same Bible and belongs to the Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal, or Catholic church; when his fraternal affiliations also include the Elks, Masons, and Knights of Pythias; when he gets the same or similar schooling, lives in the same kind of houses, owns the same makes of cars (or rides in them), and nightly sees the same Hollywood version of life on the screen; when he smokes the same brands of tobacco and avidly peruses the same puerile periodicals; in short, when

he responds to the same political, social, moral, and economic stimuli in precisely the same manner as his white neighbor, it is sheer nonsense to talk about "racial differences" as between the American black man and the American white man. Glance over a Negro newspaper (it is printed in good Americanese) and you will find the usual quota of crime news, scandal, personals, and uplift to be found in the average white newspaper—which, by the way, is more widely read by the Negroes than is the Negro press. In order to satisfy the cravings of an inferiority complex engendered by the colorphobia of the mob, the readers of the Negro newspapers are given a slight dash of racialistic seasoning. In the homes of the black and white Americans of the same cultural and economic level one finds similar furniture, literature, and conversation. How, then, can the black American be expected to produce art and literature dissimilar to that of the white American?

Consider Coleridge-Taylor, Edward Wilmot Blyden, and Claude McKay, the Englishmen; Pushkin, the Russian; Bridgewater, the Pole; Antar, the Arabian; Latino, the Spaniard; Dumas, *père* and *fils*, the Frenchmen; and Paul Laurence Dunbar, Charles W. Chestnut, and James Weldon Johnson, the Americans. All Negroes; yet their work shows the impress of nationality rather than race. They all reveal the psychology and culture of their environment—their color is incidental. Why should Negro artists of America vary from the national artistic norm when Negro artists in other countries have not done so? If we can foresee what kind of white citizens will inhabit this neck of the

woods in the next generation by studying the sort of education and environment the children are exposed to now, it should not be difficult to reason that the adults of today are what they are because of the education and environment they were exposed to a generation ago. And that education and environment were about the same for blacks and whites. One contemplates the popularity of the Negro-art hokum and murmurs, "How come?"

This nonsense is probably the last stand of the old myth palmed off by Negrophobists for all these many years, and recently rehashed by the sainted Harding, that there are "fundamental, eternal, and inescapable differences" between white and black Americans. That there are Negroes who will lend this myth a helping hand need occasion no surprise. It has been broadcast all over the world by the vociferous scions of slaveholders, "scientists" like Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard, and the patriots who flood the treasury of the Ku Klux Klan; and is believed, even today, by the majority of free, white citizens. On this baseless premise, so flattering to the white mob, that the blackamoor is inferior and fundamentally different, is erected the postulate that he must needs be peculiar; and when he attempts to portray life through the medium of art, it must of necessity be a peculiar art. While such reasoning may seem conclusive to the majority of Americans, it must be rejected with a loud guffaw by intelligent people.

[An opposing view on the subject of Negro art will be presented by Lanston Hughes in next week's issue.]

The British General Strike

By HAROLD J. LASKI

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London, May 19

I HAVE already recorded in your pages the fact that at one o'clock on the morning of May 3 the Baldwin Cabinet broke off negotiations—at a most promising stage—with the Trade Union Council. The occasion was a trumpery and entirely unofficial incident in the office of the *Daily Mail* which the council was given neither opportunity to repudiate nor time to investigate. That day was passed in a conciliatory debate in the House of Commons where everyone made gestures of peace without any attempt being made to abandon points of punctilio and get back to the real problem of the mines. The strike, accordingly, began at midnight on May 3, and continued until the morning of May 12, when it was called off unconditionally in at least a formal sense.

It was astonishingly complete and orderly. The men everywhere responded with magnificent loyalty to the call of their leaders. In general, over 90 per cent of those asked to stop work did so. Not the least difficult task of the council was to keep at work the literally hundreds of thousands who were insistent in their desire actively to stand with their fellows. I saw unceasing deputations of men who had not been called out, who came to headquarters in passionate protest at the order to remain in. As an example of working-class solidarity there has been, on this side, no finer demonstration in English trade-union history.

It was an orderly strike. Every observer, British and foreign, has borne testimony to the peaceful conditions

everywhere prevailing. The strikers were told by their leaders to be law abiding whatever the provocation. I doubt whether the total number of arrests, throughout Great Britain and on every charge, passed the five hundred mark. It was conducted with a sober earnestness which makes one realize the fine reserve of moral strength there is in the workingman. Incidents like the football-match between strikers and police in Plymouth (which the strikers won) are fairly typical of the temper which prevailed. A foreign correspondent who described the incident which did occur as "an extended boat-race night" was not, I think, exaggerating the character of the atmosphere.

It was a complete strike. Train services, outside milk-trains, practically ceased the country over; so did the buses and trams in all but a few cases. The volunteer services arranged by the authorities could not cope with a fraction of the need. The owners of private cars in general remained owners of private cars; even the exceptions left one (in London) with the impression that most owners had little desire to help the average pedestrian. In a walk, for instance, from Kensington to Whitehall (a distance of some three miles) I tried to get a lift vainly from over seventy cars which passed by either empty, or half-empty, of passengers. Outside the two official newspapers, the *British Gazette* from the Government side and the *British Worker* on the trade-union side, our press consisted either of multigraphed sheets of single-leaf broadsides, of four pages, almost void of foreign news, from the *Times* and the *Paris Daily Mail*, which came over by air. One or two provin-