The Iowa Bystander: A history of the second 25 years (1920-1945)

by

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DEDICATION

This master's thesis is dedicated to my family: my parents James and Grace; my sisters Kendra, Sharon, Carolyn and family, Ruby and family, Dorothy and family; and my brothers Antonio, Charles, Larry and family, and James Edward and family, whose love, encouragement, guidance and never failing confidence in me was with me throughout my education. At this point I would like to thank them for their many motivating phone calls and for believing in me. Thank you just for being a terrific family. I love you, and may God bless you as He keeps each of you in His care.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

America, referred to by some as the great land of opportunity, has been accused by others of not living up to the Constitution of the United States, as far as citizenship is concerned. The attempts to acquire basic civil rights have been long and tedious. To help combat the injustice, demand changes, and let others know of the frustrations, the black* press was born. Spawned out of necessity, reared in oppression, and matured with hope for the future, the black press continuously served as a forum for expression and as a champion against bigotry. The black press generally has been noted as an organ serving blacks who have been victims of racial discrimination, hatred and alienation.

During most of the nineteenth century, blacks were often denied the opportunity to express their views in the white's media. When stories did appear about blacks, the white press favored whites over blacks and adjusted the news to fit publication prejudices. The white press and news services earned the suspicion of blacks because they could not be trusted to tell the truth about the Afro-

*"Black press" refers to a medium primarily operated by a black publisher, editor and staff, producing a publication for the black community.

American race.[1]

During the three decades prior to the Civil War, a number of blacks published newspapers, all of which focused their primary attention on the abolitionist movement.[2] The black press in the United States has often been called "protest" newspapering.[3] The newspapers were often published by free blacks living in the North, and were read as much by white supporters of the movement as by blacks. At least thirty newspapers are known to have been published for a short period during the Antebellum period.[4] The black press in the United States is heir to a great, largely unheralded tradition.[5] The first black newspaper, Freedom's Journal, edited and published by John B. Ruswurn and Samuel Cornish, appeared in New York City on March 16, 1827. During the three year survival of the Freedom's Journal, it pleaded the case of blacks before the American public. The best known paper during the Antebellum period was The North Star, the newspaper of abolitionist Frederick Douglass. It appeared in Rochester, New York on December 3, 1847. Much like the Freedom's Journal, The North Star was a mouthpiece for blacks. The paper was later renamed Frederick Douglass.[6] Virtually all black newspapers that began before 1860 lasted only a few years, primarily because of financial problems. In that respect, they set a pattern that

characterized their successors until as late as the beginning of World War I.[7]

Although the black press failed to flourish during the Civil War, blacks gained freedom and a renewed hope of becoming full participants in American society with the advent of Reconstruction. But, the promises of hope of Reconstruction were not fulfilled. From Reconstruction to World War I, when integration into the total community seemed at best a distant dream, blacks displayed much concern for group uplift and cohesion. Emphasis by black leaders was placed on institutions that could create racial solidarity such as the church, the lodge, and the press. Eventually all three groups helped to provide structure within the black community and an outlet for individual newspapers. Black journalism also experienced a rapid growth during this period.[8]

During the early twentieth century, the black newspaper had become primarily a business venture--though a hazardous one. It became difficult for editors to obtain advertising, and they could not afford to deny those of doubtful propriety. Because black presses had to accept all advertisements, they often advertised useless patent medicines and other panaceas.

The loyalty of the blacks to the Republican party (until the 1930s) made this source more lucrative in the

two-party North and in the one party South. Such sources of income became all important to the Afro-American press, which did not have access to the Associated Press Wire Service and to the "boiler plate,"[9] both of which were invaluable to white weeklies as a source of both news and income.[10]

Hundreds of black newspapers began publication during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Only a few became successful business ventures. The average life span of a black newspaper has been nine years.[11] Black weeklies in operation in 1914 included: none founded before 1880, nine founded in the 1890s. The tendency of black newspapers to grow in numbers, and for each to disappear soon after its birth, was shared with the white weeklies of the period. Black newspapers, however, showed a more rapid rate of demise.[12]

Booker T. Washington, the dominant black figure at the turn of the century, freely gave financial support to black newspapers that supported him and his viewpoints. He often manipulated those who opposed his doctrine by refusing them financial support. When Washington did assist, the financial support came mainly from white groups and individuals with whom he had influence. This reflected both the desperate financial circumstances of many black editors and the great prestige and power of

Washington. The Republican National Committee also contributed funds in support of his programs and subsidies.[13]

The second decade of the twentieth century brought about major changes in the black community. According to the census of 1910, 90 percent of all blacks still lived in eleven southern states. In the following decade, a large scale migration, primarily to border and northern cities, reduced that figure to 80 percent. This migration had a great impact on the character of the black community in northern states. Blacks now sought freedoms and opportunities previously denied to them.[14]

Black migration and militancy intensified with the coming of World War I. In the segregated U.S. Armed Forces, black soldiers traveled and associated with whites as never before. During this period, the demand for war equipment and material made employment readily available to blacks at home who would have otherwise been excluded in a more crowded job market.[15]

The changes had a large impact on the black press. Seventy percent of the black newspapers organized before 1910 had been located in the South. Fifty-two percent of all black papers were published in northern cities by 1945. In Chicago, two journalists led the way in making the black press more comparable to the white press. The

Chicago Defender, founded by Robert S. Abbott in 1905, became one of the most successful black newspapers in the North. His success was credited to the use of sensationalism in both content and format.[16]

In 1919, Claude A. Barnett, another Chicago journalist, organized the Associated Negro Press (ANP). Barnett's news service was more amateurish than the Associated Press, which had served for several decades, but it did facilitate news reporting. Every newspaper that received ANP services acted as a local bureau in its community to provide news to the national organization. The ANP didn't have any reporters of its own until World War II. The news service provided national coverage to the black press which in the past had been unavailable, although even after the ANP was available, blacks continued to obtain most of their stories through volunteer reporters.[17]

The black press has been credited with making the northward migration into a protest movement. The majority of northern black editors were descendants of families that had lived in the North for more than a generation. The black editors consisted of men who migrated from the South, and who were prepared to offer militant leadership to those who followed them. The editors demanded complete social equality in all areas of jobs, housing and the law.

Many editors suggested a frank admiration for the New Bolshevik Regime in Russia, and for Marcus Garvey's Black Nationalism, often criticizing other blacks who were more cautious than they were.[18]

Nationwide, lynching of blacks and discriminating "Jim Crow" laws received much attention from the black press.[19] The second decade of the century opened with a revival of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and closed with race riots triggered by the tension of World War I. For the next two decades the black press gave major attention to the cruel treatment of blacks in every part of the country. Every such case provoked strong editorials against lynching in support of law and order and often demanded a Federal antilynching bill. When a decline in lynching was reported in the 1940s, the black press credited itself with the decrease.[20]

In the decades following World War I, the black press acquired an interest in international affairs. While this reflected the broadened horizons of some editors, it also suggested they conceived of racial issues in a broader context. They felt the problems of black people in all parts of the world were their own. Many black newspapers also spoke out about American race relations and the nation's image abroad.[21]

The decade from 1937 to 1947 produced another

important change with black newspapers. Although the Great Depression of the early 1930s had temporarily slowed the growth of the black press, the decade after 1937 brought them to a peak of circulation and sophistication. During that ten year period of time, the combined circulation of black newspapers throughout the United States doubled to two million readers. The black press, like its white counterpart, became big business. Although the appearance of the small paper still remained distinctly inferior, the larger black papers began to resemble major white weeklies.[22]

In the late 1930s and 1940s, the black press continued to speak out for the rights of its race. The editors directed their efforts towards acquiring increased job opportunities. They spoke out against the discrimination by industries during World War II, saying that a moral victory must be won at home, as well as on the overseas battlefronts, if American military triumph was to be really meaningful.[23] Many of the black newspapers did not regard America's involvement in World War II as a sufficient reason to relax their vigilance, especially when the Armed Force's determination to continue segregation became apparent. Some editors accused commanders of refusing to accept black troops except in menial roles. They also believed that blacks

were victims of injustice on military bases and in nearby communities in many parts of the South. The government threatened editors of about twenty black papers with sedition charges in 1942 and many black papers found it difficult to obtain newsprint. The black papers agreed to monitor their criticism and were able to obtain essential supplies, after the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) negotiated an unofficial settlement.[24]

Over three thousand black newspapers have appeared in the United States since the organization of Freedom's Journal in 1827. According to Henry LaBrie, a research specialist of the black press, 213 newspapers were being published in the United States in 1974, of which only eleven had been founded before 1900, as compared to ninety founded since 1960.[25]

Because of the small number of blacks in the North in the early 1800s, the black press did not start in Iowa until 1883. According to the census of 1840, not more than 188 blacks, 16 of whom were listed as slaves, lived in the Territory of Iowa.[26] The black population of Iowa more than tripled from 1850 to 1860. It increased from 333 to 1,069. The total black population from 1860-1940 never equaled one percent of Iowa's total population. The highest percentage was noted in 1920, when it reached

19,005--or nine-tenths of one percent according to Bergmann (see Appendix A).[27]

As the black population in Iowa increased in the mid 1800s, the number of newspaper items in the white press devoted to their affairs decreased. News that did appear were usually sensationalized stories of blacks committing crimes or humorous racial degradations. This kind of coverage reinforced the public's view of blacks in negative aspects. By the late 1880s and 1890s, the white press' infrequent reports concerning blacks were nearly always found on the page devoted to crime, thievery, murder or rape. When blacks engaged in worthwhile or social projects, newspaper readers were almost never made aware of the fact.[28] In order to counteract this negative image and to let people know what other blacks were doing, the black press in Iowa began in the late 1800s.

The first black newspaper appeared in Iowa under the name Rising Sun in 1883. Its location like many of the early newspapers has been lost in the shuffle. This weekly ethnic newspaper survived until 1885. Four years later, The Weekly Avalanche appeared under the editorship of A. S. Barnett. The Iowa Bystander founded in Des Moines in June, 1894, under the editorship of Charles and Thaddeus Ruff was next, and the fourth black publication to appear in the state was the Iowa Baptist Standard on

May 21, 1897. Between 1901 and 1905 (definite date unknown) the Buxton Eagle in Monroe County was established mainly because of the concentration of blacks in the area working in mines. It is speculated that the Buxton Eagle was renamed the Buxton Gazette. The Iowa Colored Woman, a monthly magazine of Buxton, is believed to have been published and edited by Mrs. A. L. DeMond from 1907-1910. Publication dates for the Des Moines Colored Woman are also 1907-1910, which indicates that these last two publications could have been the same one. In 1908, three publications were organized: The Western Level, a periodical in Des Moines edited by Julius Dean Pettigrew; The Afro American Advance, 1908-1912, a weekly in Sioux City; and the Vindicator, which also originated in Buxton, 1908-date unknown. It is not known whether the Vindicator was a magazine or newspaper. From 1914-1916, the Buxton Bulletin served as the Progressive Political Party official, serving black Republicans as a weekly. The Iowa Observer was founded in 1936 and survived until 1954. The Iowa Sepia News, believed to have survived from 1951-1952, was a weekly under the editorship of Attorney M. Greenlee.

The New Iowa Bystander is the only surviving black newspaper in the state of Iowa today.[29] The Bystander, founded in 1894, is listed as one of the five oldest black newspapers in existence in the United States. It has

escaped the fate that many black newspapers have suffered due mainly to its ability to hold on to advertising support and to find and keep trained personnel. The Bystander distributes over four thousand copies every Friday to homes, libraries, businesses and schools.[30] The Bystander has helped blacks to make educated decisions and to work their way into deserved and legitimate positions in American society. Through the years the Bystander has scolded and lectured, cautioned and humored, while keeping a vigilant eye on the status of the black community in Iowa and the nation.[31] While providing a perspective on local, national and world events, it has encouraged black political involvement.[32] The Bystander has often taken the "middle ground" and has not gone overboard as a radical or conservative newspaper. The Bystander has been described as "Republican in politics, Independent in religion and designed to elevate the social race and promote better race relations."[33]

The first twenty-five years of the Bystander's life have been reviewed in a master's thesis by Sally Steves Cotton. Her analysis of the Bystander was carried on through the first world war. This study will focus upon the next quarter of a century from 1920-1945. It will describe the operations of the paper and how its stance on a variety of political, economic and social issues

affected the lives of blacks in Des Moines and central Iowa. The study, above all, will focus on the resourcefulness and determination of the editors as they attempted to bring blacks to a fuller appreciation of their own power and potential to support the early Civil Rights movement.

Notes

[1] Ronald E. Wolsely, The Black Press, USA (Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1971), p. 8.

[2] Augustus Low and Virgil A. Cliff, Encyclopedia of Black America (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981), p. 637.

[3] Moses J. Newsome, "The Black Press in America," Newman's Report 29 (Spring 1975): 15.

[4] Low and Cliff, p. 638.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Wolsely, p. 18.

[7] Low and Cliff, p. 638.

[8] Ibid.

[9] "Boiler plate" is syndicated material supplied especially to newspapers in Matrix or plate form.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Warren Agee and Edwin Emery, Introduction to Mass Communication, 6th ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), p. 71.

[12] Low and CLiff, p. 639.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Low and Cliff, p. 640.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] When "Jim Crow" was first used in connection with segregation, the term was applied to public transportation, first in the North before the Civil War and later in the South in the twentieth century. "Jim

Crow" is defined as the entire system of racial proscription, based on white belief of supremacy.

[20] Low and Cliff, p. 640.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Harry A. Ploski and James Williams, The Negro Almanac: A Reference Work on the Afro American: New York, N.Y.: John Wiley and Sons, 1983), p. 1213.

[25] Freda Darlene Lewis, "The Jackson Advocate: The Rise and Eclipse of a Leading Black Newspaper in Mississippi, 1939-1964" Master's Thesis: Iowa State University, 1984, p. 5.

[26] Leola Nelson Bergmann, The Negro in Iowa (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1969), p. 11.

[27] Bergmann, p. 16.

[28] Bergmann, p. 34.

[29] The paper began as the Iowa State Bystander, June 8, 1894 in Des Moines, Iowa. On January 21, 1916, it became the Bystander and from 1927 to February 24, 1972, the New Iowa Bystander. Papers are missing from 1922-1926. Hereafter cited as the Bystander.

[30] The Bystander uses "Negroes," and "racemen," in reference to blacks. "Blacks" will be the standard reference term in the following chapters of the text.

[31] Sally Steves Cotton, "The Iowa Bystander: A History of the First 25 Years" (Master's Thesis, Iowa State University, 1983), p. 1.

[32] Ibid.

[33] William J. Snorgrass, "America's Ten Oldest Black Newspapers," Negro History Bulletin 36 (January-March 1983): 16.

CHAPTER II. ORIGINS AND EARLY EDITORS

Even though the focus of this thesis is the history of the Bystander from 1920 to 1945, it is necessary to give an overview of the former publishers and editors in order to understand the philosophy and position of the Bystander.

The Bystander was incorporated when ten black leaders of Des Moines put in ten dollars each to raise the $100 quota for the first payment. This money gave the newly born Bystander a home downtown, located at Fifth and Locust streets.[1] All ten men served in some sort of capacity at the Bystander. William Coalson was president; James E. Todd, treasurer; B. J. Holmes, vice president; John L. Thompson, editor; J. H. Shepard, business manager; John D. Reeler, secretary; and William Coalson, Benjamin Holmes, Jefferson Logan, Edward T. Banks and T. E. Barton all served as directors.[2]

The Bystander encountered financial problems during infancy. Six months after the paper was started, a friend of the owners published a letter telling readers the paper was too young to die, and not to worry or lose any sleep over the matter. He said the men who organized the Bystander had means of support before they started the paper.[3] In December, 1895, the editors of the Bystander acknowledged that the founders had often contributed from

their personal accounts to keep the paper alive. Many people doubted the survival of a black newspaper, but the owners had "pluck, perseverance and money," and nothing daunted them.[4]

The first edition of the Bystander appeared June 8, 1894, but only fragments of it exist. The Bystander was named for a column written by Albion Tourgee, a Republican and former judge from North Carolina, who for many years was a loyal friend to blacks. Tourgee protested against the ill treatment of blacks in a column of the black newspaper, the Chicago Inter-Ocean called "Bystander Notes." The editors adopted the name because they believed in Tourgee and his principles and were willing to accept his doctrines, even from a distance.[5]

The purposes of the Bystander were to combat the black criminal news in local white media and circulate news among black people. The owners of the Bystander also wanted to inspire black journalists. In 1894, if blacks were interested in journalism, they had to organize a paper or find other outlets for their energies and talents since white papers employed very few black journalists. The owners of the Bystander were eager for young blacks to be given a chance to learn the newspaper occupation.[6]

Charles Ruff was named editor, and his brother Thaddeus Ruff became the associate editor. Prior to

working for the Bystander, Charles had been employed by the Bulletin Journal and was labeled as a man of ability, a first class citizen and a hard worker. He was employed on the Iowa State Register for eight or nine years. Thaddeus Ruff graduated from the public school of Atlantic and was a typesetter for the Iowa State Register, where he learned the printer's trade. He rode a bicycle and a pony to collect news items for the Bystander.[7]

Although both editors had previous printing experience, the owners of the Bystander had never been employed "by a newspaper and knew little about operating one." The Bystander did not own a press for over a year, but enough help and pointers were received from the employees where the paper was printed to get the newspaper headed in the right direction. Negotiations were begun immediately for a well equipped printing office in order that the Bystander might employ as many young blacks as possible.[8]

The first editors of the Bystander were loyal Republicans and espoused these political views when the Bystander first went to press in 1894. The Ruffs referred to the Democrats as "jack-asses," and the Populists as "putrids," while they generously praised the Republican party and their policies.[9]

Throughout the early years, the Bystander

consistently printed articles on the outrages perpetrated upon blacks in the South. In the third issue of the Bystander, the Ruffs condemned the churches and religious press for not taking a stronger position against mob violence, just as they had not taken a strong stand against slave-holding. The religious press was also accused of evading the lynching problem, saying that if the majority of the victims of violence had been Catholic, the religious press in America "would have been afflamed* with indignant protests against wrongs done to the colored citizens." Blacks were often urged to attend society meetings although the editors reminded them that it was impossible for blacks to rise in the North while other blacks were suffering in the South.[10]

The Ruff brothers admired Booker T. Washington and commended him as being one of the most level headed men in the country. For his part, Washington used black editors, including the Ruffs, to mold black American public opinion on issues and to develop an atmosphere favorable to his leadership. Washington was well aware of the contributions the black press made to his program. Moreover, most of the editors automatically agreed with Washington's philosophy. Being self-made businessmen

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*Original syntax and spelling in quotes are used throughout this thesis.

themselves, the editors believed in the concept of self-help. Washington once said "no race can prosper until it learns there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem."[11]

Many suggestions for "race improvements" were offered by the editors of the Bystander. Blacks were urged to practice good hygiene and "wear neat and clean clothing." They were urged to buy homes, even if on a low scale of wages. Recommendations to only buy necessities and not luxuries were expressed in the Bystander.[12] Blacks in the state were urged to do business only with stores that did not discriminate.[13]

The Ruff brothers felt a great need to provide black families with some rules and regulations. Parents were encouraged to watch their children and not let them congregate in the streets. The young blacks were rendered many sermons by the editors about remaining quiet and acting dignified at all times. Even though the editors preached to blacks in their articles, they often asked the readers for suggestions on race improvements.[14]

Charles and Thaddeus Ruff guided blacks until a controlling interest in the Bystander was purchased by John Lay Thompson in July, 1896. Thompson was a twenty-six year old state government employee and part-time law student when he became editor and owner of the Bystander.

The Ruffs praised Thompson in their final editorial by saying:

> We have been superseded by a young man of integrity, honesty and ability, and by the intelligent cooperations of those associated with him and the hearty support of patrons he cannot fail.[15]

Besides being the sole owner of the Bystander for twenty years and a practicing attorney, Thompson owned two hotels, engaged in the real estate business and served as a public school teacher.[16]

Thompson believed the Bystander would become "the greatest newspaper west of the Mississippi." He wrote:

> Located as we are, in the center of Iowa, the brightest star under the blue dome of heaven; the first state to wipe the black laws from her statue books; our great common school system that is second to none; our vast rich and undulating prairies that lie within the heart of Mississippi Valley, with beautiful clear rivers and prosperous towns.[17]

Thompson's Republican views were reflected in the Bystander, as were his interests in sound money, protection and fair counts in every election.[18] At one point in 1912, Thompson became very annoyed with the Republicans over what he saw as their unwillingness to appoint blacks to public office. As a result he bolted to the Progressive party. But his switch was short-lived and the Bystander soon realigned itself squarely behind Republican ideals.[19]

Like the Ruffs, Thompson admired Booker T. Washington. During Thompson's years as editor of the Bystander he made numerous references to Washington's doctrine. He argued constantly for recognition of the "new colored man of the Booker T. Washington type."[20]

He had visions of blacks elevating themselves to the white middle class status. For over twenty years, Thompson guided blacks citizens in their victories and advised them to flow into the main stream of society.[21] Thompson sent black soldiers into two wars. He often praised their accomplishments.[22] Thompson was a righteous and just man who, to the best of his ability, addressed each issue of the Bystander with honesty and forethought.[23]

Thompson sold the Bystander in October, 1919, primarily because of business commitments and for personal reasons. In his farewell editorial, Thompson warned that the United States must grant justice and equality for all, or else reap a bitter harvest from "the seed of wrong and injustice, hardship and segregation discrimination that she sows."[24]

The Bystander floundered for nearly three years until it was purchased by James B. Morris. Morris was born in Atlanta, Georgia on November 15, 1890. He said he had printer's ink in his blood at a very early age. At

twelve, he began working in a little print shop in Covington, a suburb of Atlanta.[25]

After finishing grammar school in Atlanta, Morris moved to Baltimore where he attended high school and then majored in printing at Hampton Institute. Morris graduated in printing in 1911 and he immediately entered the academic program for another year. He then enrolled in the Howard University Law School after graduating from Hampton in 1912.[26] Of all of Morris' extra curricular activities at Howard, he most enjoyed the debating society. Senator William E. Borah, a Republican from Idaho who was a guest speaker for the debating society, told Morris of the great opportunities for young black lawyers in the West. Borah's suggestion was the main reason Morris initially went to Des Moines, where another Howard graduate had established a prominent law practice. On June 5, 1917, only eight days before Morris was scheduled to enter the United States Army, he passed the Iowa State Bar Examination. He was stationed at Fort Dodge, Des Moines, where he was commissioned as a second lieutenant and married Georgine Crowe who was a dressmaker in Des Moines.

Morris saw combat in France with the Iowa 366th Infantry and was wounded in the leg. He was sent back to Fort Des Moines and was later discharged on July 7,

1919.[27]

Shortly after Morris was discharged from the Army, a close friend of Morris' was running for Polk County Treasurer and promised Morris that if he could deliver the black vote, one of his first actions as County Treasurer would be to appoint a Negro deputy. Morris delivered and shortly afterwards was appointed as Deputy County Treasurer. He held the position until January, 1924.[28]

During this time Morris struggled without much success to establish his law practice, but confessed, "there really wasn't much business for a Negro lawyer in those days." On November 1922, he purchased the Bystander from Lawrence Jones, and continued his appointment as Deputy County Treasurer. At the same time Morris experienced increased activity in his law practice. He was now both a lawyer and a journalist.[29]

In 1931, Morris, along with George Woodson, S. Joe Brown, Charles Howard, and Mrs. Gertrude Rush, helped to found the National Bar Association in Des Moines. The five regrouped what was left of the older Negro Bar Association in an effort to provide a professional organization for black lawyers. At this time, blacks were not admitted into the ranks of the American Bar Association.[30]

In addition to practicing law for over fifty years, a

number of other achievements were accredited to Morris. In 1920 and 1921 he served as president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and in 1955 and 1956, he was a member of the National Civil Rights Commission. In 1970, the City of Des Moines appointed Morris to its Human Rights Commission.[31]

When Morris bought the Bystander in 1922, the circulation was three thousand. During Morris' ownership of the Bystander, the circulation fluctuated up and down, never falling below 2,000 or exceeding 4,200, except when it reached 10,000 during the onset of the second world war.

Based in Des Moines, the Bystander was published every Thursday, by the Iowa Bystander Publishing Company. The office was located over 612-614 Mulberry Street.

The format of the Bystander was a four page broadsheet, weekly edition that cost $1.75 for a yearly subscription and $.05 an issue. In 1934, it changed to a publication averaging six pages.

From 1894 to January, 1969, the Bystander was produced by means of a letter press. During the entire span of the Bystander there was only one time that the paper was not job-lotted to a local printer. This exception was in 1938-39 when Morris bought a Linotype machine and attempted to print the paper himself. (It is

not clear whether or not he also bought a press and did the printing.) He said "we only used that machine two or two and a half hours a week and that's far from enough to make a Linotype profitable."[32]

Unlike many black editors of the early 1920s, Morris kept records of his years as editor, although copies of the Bystander from 1922-1926 are missing. No one is sure what happened to those copies; there is speculation that the Ku Klux Klan destroyed the missing newspapers. According to William S. Morris, grandson of James Morris, the KKK were very active in Iowa during that period and made no secret of their ill feelings towards the paper.[33]

Notes

[1] Bystander, June 22, 1939.

[2] Des Moines Register, February 15, 1984.

[3] Bystander, January 1, 1895.

[4] Bystander, December 5, 1895.

[5] Bystander, June 15, 1895.

[6] Henry George LaBrie III, "James B. Morris and The Iowa Bystander," Annals of Iowa 31 (Spring 1974): 316.

[7] Bystander, December 6, 1895.

[8] LaBrie, p. 319.

[9] Bystander, June 15, 1894.

[10] Bystander, June 24, 1894.

[11] Bystander, May 17, 1895.

[12] Augustus Low and Virgil A. Cliff, Encyclopedia of Black America (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981), p. 639.

[13] Bystander, May 17, 1895.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Bystander, August 3, 1894.

[16] Bystander, July 3, 1896.

[17] Sally Steves Cotton, "The Iowa Bystander: A History of the First 25 Years" (Master's Thesis, Iowa State University, 1983).

[18] Bystander, January 14, 1898.

[19] Bystander, July 7, 1899.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Cotton, p. 166.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Bystander, October 31, 1919.

[24] LaBrie, p. 318.

[25] Ibid., p. 317.

[26] Ibid., p. 318.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Bystander, October 7, 1972.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Bystander, February 13, 1934.

[33] William Morris interview, September, 1986.

CHAPTER III. SERVING BLACK IOWA

When James B. Morris started editing, the Bystander was the only black news publication in Iowa. Morris believed he had a mission to serve as a leader and spokesman while providing the black community with news.

The majority of the readers of the Bystander were quiet, anonymous, hard working wage earners. About half of them attended some type of church. Thirty percent had gone through grammar school, 30 percent had attended high school, 6 percent had attended college, and about 2 percent had graduated from college.[1]

Editorials by James Morris appeared on page two and were geared towards seeking fundamental justice and fairness in America, obtaining equitable treatment of blacks and addressing their grievances, and attacking the major problems plaguing blacks in Iowa. In this tone, he set an agenda for discussion for the next fifty years. Initially his editorials were frequently written in a style similar to that of Booker T. Washington and W. E. DuBois. That is, he didn't strongly support Washington's "cast down your bucket where you are" philosophy because he felt that the Tuskegee Institute and many other black institutions offered an education philosophy that was outdated in the industrial period in the United States. Agriculture suffered during this period and again in the

1930s.[2] On the other hand, Morris believed in the doctrine of William Edward Burghardt (W. E. B.) DuBois who stood strongly in favor of agitating for political movement and civil rights, stimulating school construction and an interest in education, opening up new avenues of employment to bring blacks and labor unions into mutual understanding.[3]

DuBois, unlike Washington, considered economic opportunity vital to the advancement of blacks. He placed much value on blacks' rights to work, trade unions, collective bargaining, business, the corporate movement, agriculture and home ownership.[4]

Under the editorship of Morris, the Bystander emerged as the most significant black political paper in Iowa during this period. Morris himself was a conservative and a radical. He took strong positions for black rights, especially for equality, for black suffrage and political participation in Iowa. In Iowa, the status of blacks and relations reached a low point from about 1890 to 1930. Backsliding from the advances achieved during the Civil War and Reconstruction, blacks had become subject to racially inspired social, political and economic sanctions which deflected them further from main stream society.5

James B. Morris took great pride in printing good news about his readers. He said:

> The staff takes pride in playing "up" or giving "write-ups" for the achievement and progress of the race especially local people. Current events, athletics, education, society, churches and business all have their share of publicity with crime news at a minimum.[6]

News about churches, politics, education, sports, social and general situation of blacks in the world and the nation appeared in the Bystander. Interviews, biographies and human interest and achievement stories about blacks in the city were often printed on page one. Black achievement in Iowa was of great interest to the Bystander:

> The unlucky numeral thirteen represents the total sum of Negro students to receive diplomas from various high schools in the June Commencement. Miss Lucille Sarah Baker of Des Moines has been awarded a 1,200 scholarship in the graduate school at Yale University in the division of general studies.[7]

Morris depended on many sources to acquire news about blacks. Press releases included the Scott Newspaper Syndicate, Capital News Services, NAACP Press Services and the Crusader News Agency. About 50 percent of the news in the Bystander was received from white services.

The Bystander was used as a weapon to fight false accusations made about blacks, such as the story headline which read "A Negro--Did It." The story began:

> A frighten cry of a white person who, in the excitement of an apparent crime, had to blame someone and it happen that a colored man was a

> victim. Mrs. Herbert Hemminger, 2125 23rd Street, reported to police that a 'Negro sneak thief' had stolen her coin purse containing $18 while she was seated in the waiting room of the Broadlawn General hospital Sunday night. A special search was made by detectives for the 'Negro described as about 22, with a bandage around his head.' Monday the woman reported to the police that she had not been 'robbed at all; but found the purse with the $18 in it, outside the hospital where she had dropped it from her bag as she alighted from an automobile.'[8]

Morris' outrage over such articles about blacks that often appeared in papers. His response to the above article read:

> The dailies played up a front page story of a "Negro sneak thief who robbed a WPA worker's wife of $18.00." When the mistake was discovered, a small article appeared on the obscure page of the paper.[9]

Like previous Bystander editors, Morris encouraged black citizens to take pride in the area in which they lived. The Bystander scolded citizens when the areas in which they lived had too much rubbish or recieved little maintenance: " . . .nobody likes a dirty neighborhood. Let all see how well their neighborhood can look."[10]

The Bystander continued to served as a watchdog for the black youths in Iowa and tried to persuade parents to watch their children more closely. Parents were encouraged to keep an eye on the youth's behavior, and Morris became outraged over the parents' neglect. Morris argued that too many boys were being held before the Polk

County Juvenile Court charged with crimes which demonstrated that if discipline occurred in the home, such problems would decrease. In most cases the parents were away from home and the boys could go and come as they pleased without any questions regarding their whereabouts, or company. Morris warned readers that these youths often spent nights away from home on the flimsiest excuses, which their parents accepted without an investigation. The Bystander felt too many of these boys were idle, when, if they were employed, they would have less time to engage in crime activities and gain money at the same time.

> It is not enough to care for the sick, dying and aged. Most of them have had their day. The men and women of tomorrow needs to be saved.[11]

Once a year the Bystander would sponsor a contest about famous people, asking readers to submit letters and essays. Prizes would often range from $1.00 to $25.00 (see Appendix B).

At the other extreme, the Bystander provided poetry for its readers. The poetry was usually written by staff writer Viola P. Jones of Des Moines. Below is an example of her work:

THE DAY

I stood at the window at dawning,
Waiting for the day to break;
I could not keep from yawning,
For I was hardly awake.

I wanted to see the sunlight
Come peepin o'er the hill
I wished to enjoy it quietly
While everything was still.

Behold the sky was breaking,
The light came creepin through;
Before I could fathom it,
The whole world shown anew.

'Twas bathed at first, a purplish hue
And then it turned a blue
How wonderful it was to see
What God in Heaven could do.

I looked and saw a brighter light
I knew it was the sun;
It's bright rays raced across the sky,
And said, "the day has come."

Yes said I, the day has come,
The day has come at last;
I've seen it climb up yonder hill
And bring the sunshine past.

The days break o'er us every day,
Its duties never shirked;
It comes to bring us sun or rain
It come to do its work.

"Dear Lord," I cried, "Help me
To do my work as well as day;
With day and I, I'm very sure
We'll make the world gay."[12]

Cartoons were also Morris' way of enlightening the black life. The cartoons usually portrayed two white characters who were referred to as the "Geevum Girls." Another cartoon that appeared consisted of black

characters with the primary focus being on one in particular known as "Aunt Minny." The cartoons were furnished by D. E. Scott newspaper services and did not carry a particular message (see Appendices C and D).[13]

The Bystander provided blacks with trivia questions in a form that would educate them on all subject matters. Blacks were encouraged to submit questions and answers. An example appears below.

QUERRY BOX

1. When was Iowa admitted as a state?
2. What is the meaning of the word Iowa and its origin?
3. What is the altitude of Des Moines above sea level?
4. How many boys out of every hundred in the United States complete the grammar school?
5. About how many professions, trades and vocations are listed in the United States?
6. What great opportunity now confronts Des Moines?[14]

An important element of the Bystander was outlining details of blacks in the community under the headline "Society and Clubs," which usually appeared on page three. For example:

COMMUNITY CENTER WILL ENTERTAIN
THE MID YEAR GRADUATES

On Saturday night, January 29th, the community center will entertain mid year graduates. A very interesting program is planned for that evening. Jack Smith, dramatic reader and son of Mr. and Mrs. Rufus Smith will be the principle entertainer. Anybody that would be interested in an entertainment of this kind is invited to be present. All high and college graduates and those who are now attending high

> school and college are urged to be present. There will be enjoyment for everyone. Come and bring a friend with you.
>
> The solo club will meet with Mrs. Sadie Hammitt, 217 Clark Street, Saturday evening, January 22, at 7:30. Chairman, Mrs. Beatrice Crank.[15]

To enhance interest in the black community, Morris kept track of local blacks throughout Iowa in his column entitled "New From Your Own State and Hometown."

> (WASHINGTON, IOWA)
>
> Rev. P. H. Jackson spent last Sunday in Mt. Pleasant attending his church duties. Mrs. P. H. Jackson is on the sick list. Mr. N. L. Black went to Ottumwa last week. Mr. Walter Williams went to Muscatine for a few days last week. A. P. McLamore returned from Rockford, Illinois, Friday morning. The A. M. E. Sunday School Board met last Friday evening. The report shows that we are progressing very well financially and in good attendance.
>
> (HAYDOCK, IOWA)
>
> Mr. Rob Hart, an old resident died on the 11th and was buried on the 14th. Funeral services were held at Mt. Zion Baptist Church of which he was a member. Rev. I. M. Coggs, the pastor, officiated, assisted by Revs. R. C. Rollings and W. M. Brooks. Mr. Hattie Quinn of Cedar Rapids is in the city attending her mother, Mrs. Louise Rhodes, who has been critical ill, but is better at this time. A. M. Staten is rapidly improving. The Working Bee Club of Tabernacle Baptist Church gave an entertainment last week at church. The alliance program was well attended last Sunday at Mt. Zion Church. Rev. L. G. Garrett, pastor of Mt. Olive Church, Des Moines, Iowa preached the sermon. The junior choir of St. John's Church rendered music and Mr. Wm. Wheels rendered an excellent solo.[16]

A very important feature occurring in the Bystander weekly was the column "Health Talk." Dr. H. H. London's

articles appeared in the Bystander during the early years, but relinquished his duties after suffering from a nervous breakdown. In July 1935, Dr. C. R. Brafford, M.D., physician and surgeon began writing articles for the Bystander concerning all phases of medicine, science, surgery, cures, and so forth. Below is an example of items covered by Brafford:

> Whooping Cough
> "There's nothing to worry about?" say the grandmother. The child has nothing but the Whooping Cough. There is no use in having the doctor. That is usually our grandmother's opinion. What are the facts? Almost ten thousand children die every year from this disease or its complications and that is a conservative estimate. . . . A well developed case taxes the strength of all the adults in the family. This constant vomiting causes a loss of strength and weight thereby causing a lowering of the child's resistance and the body becomes a fertile field for most diseases. Keep in mind all the time your child is seriously ill and should be given the best of care.[17]

The "Observer," a column written by Attorney Charles Howard from Des Moines, often covered political and racial issues. Howard was a strong opponent of segregation and once said:

> I would like to know just what harm would it do a white person to sit in the same row in a theatre with a Negro. As for me I would rather die and go to hell, than to let my children know that by my silence, by my acquiescence, I permitted to grow stronger than the sentiment that they were entitled to absolutely everything that everybody else in this country is entitled to.[18]

The chief source of income for the Bystander was from its advertising. During the early years, advertisements were usually for skin lighteners and hair products. Many local white businesses also purchased advertising space in the Bystander, according to Mrs. Marquitte Corthron. They included Shaw Cleaners, Person's Cafe, Des Moines Light Company, and so forth (see Appendices E and F). In the mid-1930s, more black businesses were purchasing space in the Bystander (see Appendix G).

Readers were often reminded of the large percentage of revenue that came from the advertisers; in order to secure the advertisement, the salesman must be able to assure the advertiser value received from the money he spends. Morris told readers that advertisers spent money with the Bystander because they wanted black business and was not ashamed to say so publicly in a black newspaper.[19]

The Bystander was not intimidated by its advertisers. Morris felt that when a newspaper was operated for the interest of a certain group, it had to speak forcefully in behalf of that group. However, by doing so, others were often offended.

In 1934, the Des Moines Young Women's Christian Association (YMCA) stopped advertising in the Bystander because Morris criticized it severely on a matter involving the exclusion of black girls from the swimming

pool. Such a stand was taken because the Bystander regarded these actions taken by the YWCA were clearly unfair and unchristian. As much as the newspaper liked to use legitimate advertising that was available, it could not afford to neglect certain matters because advertisers to the newspaper were involved.

> The Bystander has no regrets for the loss of such business, believing that their remains enough fair minded executives and friends who see justice of our cause and are willing to give their support even in the face of criticism in this nature.[20]

In an attempt to keep the Bystander out of financial trouble, Morris often pleaded with the readers to pay their subscriptions:

> If You Are Ambitious Enough
> To Turn The Paper to Read This, We
> are sure you will Be Ambitious
> Enough to Pay Your Subscribtion.[21]

In an attempt to make blacks appreciate the Bystander, Morris assured its readers that a survey conducted on the Bystander revealed that it compared favorably with most of the larger newspapers in metropolitan cities where black publications were many times greater than the entire white population of the whole city of Des Moines.[22]

To make the readers aware of the imperfections of the Bystander, Morris reminded them of the following:

> Mistakes we have made; Mistakes will be made in the future. But the policy will be one of cooperation and helpfulness to every individual in every institution.[23]

An erroneous idea developed among some people in Des Moines relative to the freedom of publication of news in the Bystander. For the benefit of the people, Morris restated the paper's position.

1. The Bystander has never refused to print the news whether it comes from individuals, churches, clubs or other organizations. Of course newspapers don't pretend to print news just as it comes to their office, but reserves the right to rewrite it in newspaper style.
2. Public opinion expressed by any individual will be printed from time to time but the editorial columns are for the editor only.
3. Advertising disguised to propagate organizations, institutions, and occassions will be charged for. Cards of thanks, obituaries, memoriams, and notices will be charged as any other advertising.[24]

Located to the left of the name plate, the logo of the Bystander read: "Published In the Interest of Colored PEOPLE."

Morris dedicated many years of his life to advocating for the rights of blacks. The early editorials appearing on page two dealt primarily with education, social injustice and equality, blacks and the world wars, and black achievement. Morris' editorials were well written and dealt with issues relevant to the black community.

Regardless of the issue presented, Morris always took a stand, "never straddling" the fence.

The Bystander wanted to see blacks and whites on the same level in this country. In order to accomplish this goal, Morris knew he had to address some black concerns to pull his people up.

Notes

[1] Leola Nelson Bergmann, The Negro in Iowa (Iowa City, Ia.: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1969), p. 76.

[2] Interview with William Morris, Des Moines, Iowa September, 1986.

[3] Bernie Jean Morris Blackwell, "Coverage of William Edward Burghardt DuBois and Marcus Garvey in the Negro World and the Crisis: 1920-1930" (Master's Thesis, Iowa State University, 1984).

[4] Ibid., p. 57.

[5] Interview with William Morris, Des Moines, Iowa, September, 1986.

[6] Bystander, February 13, 1934.

[7] Bystander, September 23, 1937.

[8] Bystander, January 21, 1928.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Bystander, April 5, 1930.

[11] Bystander, August 3, 1929.

[12] Bystander, May 21, 1927.

[13] Bystander, January 21, 1928.

[14] Bystander, January 22, 1927.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Bystander, January 19, 1936.

[18] Bystander, April 16, 1927.

[19] Bystander, February 11, 1928.

[20] Bystander, October 5, 1934.

[21] Bystander, February 13, 1931.

[22] Bystander, January 22, 1927.

[23] Bystander, March 10, 1934.

[24] Ibid.

CHAPTER IV. TAKING A STAND FOR EQUALITY

James B. Morris' earliest tasks as editor of the Bystander were to identify problems plaguing blacks in Iowa. The Bystander was also used to promote leadership for black Iowans that would work as a cohesive force to gain equality among blacks and whites. Realizing the Bystander was an asset to the community, Morris made every effort to publish a credible newspaper each week that stated the problems of the period.

The color line was present throughout Iowa. While no segregationist Jim Crow measures became laws, an unofficial color line began to develop as the black population increased. Many restaurants and cafes refused to serve blacks while some theatres limited seating to them.[1]

In the early 1920s when Morris purchased the Bystander, competition for jobs in Iowa was an important factor in the mounting racial tension. Many blacks left Des Moines for such cities as Milwaukee and Chicago in search of better job opportunities.[2]

In 1922, interracial tension reached a peak. A nationwide railroad strike was in progress, but blacks refused to take part since they were not allowed to join the all white unions. The whites usually got revenge on the non-cooperating blacks by destroying their property.[3]

According to a black man from Manly, the white strikers would "gang up" in cars, drive down by the roundhouse and blow their horns until blacks were completely annoyed.[4] The Manly man's wife added, "Later, the Ku Klux Klan burned a cross down there. I was so scared, I wanted to leave Manly." Other black women in Manly who were afraid went as a group to Rock Island officials and asked that their husbands be excused from the roundhouse until the strike ended. The officials honored the women's requests.[5]

Once the strike ended, the KKK remained a strong, active political force in Iowa that was anti-catholic as well as anti-black. Over a dozen KKK members appeared in public downtown wearing hoods and robes. Many whites in Iowa were amused by the fights that broke out between Catholics and the KKK.[6]

Blacks avoided direct confrontation with the KKK. As time progressed, blacks in Manly united against the hooded group, forcing them to burn crosses only at the fringe of the community.[7]

Morris' objection to the KKK violence attracted much attention by the group. By 1924, there were over 3,500 KKKs in Iowa. During that year they tried to persuade Morris to sell the Bystander, but he refused. In 1925, the KKK resorted to intimidation to halt the newspaper's

publication, but Morris did not fold under the pressure and the Bystander survived.[8]

Although the KKK leaders claimed their strict segregation was prompted solely by white fear of black crime, they changed their strategy in the 1930s. During a Christmas program at the New Bethel Church in Manly, several KKK members entered through the back door, marched to the alter, placed a paper bag under the Christmas tree and marched from the church in silence. Fifty dollars was received by blacks and they interpreted the "gift" of money as an attempt to induce blacks not to venture beyond the confines of their own neighborhood.[9] In another incident, Klan members donated fifty dollars to the Des Moines Shiloh Baptist Church building fund.[10]

Despite the "good deed" represented by the KKK, Morris continued to denounce them. He wrote:

> The Bystander does not believe that organizations of the character of the Klan, the black shirts and bunds ought to be allowed to operate in this country. They do more harm than such gansters as the late Dillinger, Floyd, et al., for through their leaders die, the organization goes on.[11]

When the Justice Department sent two government officials to South Carolina to investigate activities of Klansmen against a labor union, the Bystander, quoted below, expressed disappointment over action taken on behalf of one group.

> That's funny. The Klan has been molesting Negroes for sixty years and only recently has the government of South Carolina spoke against a labor the referous organization because it had started an intensive rein of terror against colored people of that state.[12]

Throughout the years of confronting the KKK in the Bystander, Morris kept a very close eye on other prejudicial acts rendered toward blacks, not only as editor of the Bystander, but also as an active member of the NAACP.

Although copies of the Bystander are not available for 1922-1926, the paper's tradition and Morris' attitudes suggest that he would have taken a stand in behalf of anything that contributed to civil rights and fair treatment of his people. Morris was a true advocate of equality throughout his tenure as editor.

The summer of 1923, an important discrimination case stemmed from Des Moines. Blacks were denied the right to swim at the municipal bathing beach in Des Moines. The case was appealed to the city council by the NAACP. A resolution was passed to ban future discriminatory practices at any city bathing beach park.[13]

During Morris' appointment as president of the NAACP and editor of the Bystander, he joined Volney Diltz, a white legislator representing Polk County, and another association member to gain a very important victory in

1923 for black Iowans. In 1884, the state had passed a civil statute granting blacks full and equal enjoyment of facilities such as inns, barbershops and public conveniences such as trolleys. Morris and Diltz agreed that the penalty posed for violating the law was unrealistically severe and thereby made convictions hard to secure. The severeness of the law made it ineffectual. While running for office, Diltz promised that if he won, a bill would be produced to reduce the penalty for civil rights violators. Although the Diltz amendment appeared to suggest unconcern for protecting the rights of blacks, the bill was actually geared towards the interest of blacks. Diltz won the election and authored the bill and passed it in the 1923 General Assembly. Morris said the amendment "put teeth in the law."

> The previous version of the bill stipulated that the accused violator must appear before a grand jury and face indictment before standing trial. Under the Diltz amendment the grand jury procedure was waived, eliminating the necesity of an indictment. Morris intimated that the reason so few people had previously received conviction was because the information had died behind closed doors of the grand jury.[14]

Also during 1923, Dottie Blagburn, a young black woman, refused to sit in the area of a theatre that was designated for blacks. When Ms. Blagburn wouldn't move, ushers forced her to leave. The NAACP agreed to support her in a lawsuit against the owner. Her attorneys

successfully persuaded an all white jury to issue a guilty verdict against the theatre owner, making this the first case in which the state of Iowa actually prosecuted and convicted a white person for racial discrimination.[15]

In 1924, Morris and the NAACP claimed another victory. A Council Bluffs chiropractor wrote the national branch of the NAACP about a pending bill in the state legislature which purported to forbid marriages between races. After receiving the letter, Morris was instructed by the national branch to take measures to defeat the legislation. The bill was defeated and similar bills introduced a few years later also failed.[16] When an interracial couple married in Iowa, Morris was quick to put it in the headlines, "Interracial Marriage Shocks Iowa Small Town." The Bystander also pointed out that the two had the right to choose whomever they pleased as a spouse, and the community had no right to interfere.[17]

The Bystander recognized that blacks had to take a stand against racial discrimination at the police department. For example, in 1934 three black youths were held for investigation by the police for suspicion of purse snatching and robbery. Not able to gather sufficient evidence to justify filing charges against them, the three officers attempted to force confessions out of them by administering the third degree. One of the

boys received a very severe beating. Morris was outraged, reminding readers of how the policemen had in the past been free from third degree tactics and that it was highly important that each officer be disciplined and made it clear that this kind of conduct would not be tolerated. Several weeks later, all three officers were acquitted of charges of beating the three youths. Morris, angered over the outcome said:

> It's funny how certain illegal acts are overlooked when committed by whites against Negroes. We will not be tolerate of such behavior by our policemen.[18]

Another issue which bothered the Bystander was segregated housing. Morris' concern is illustrated by an incident in 1939 when 200 white owners and residents living at Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Clark Streets, as well as Clark Avenue in Des Moines signed an "improvement petition" in 1939. The signers agreed not to sell property in the region to any "undesirable person" or non-white person. The petition became public when it was filed with the County Auditor's office. Morris was confident that the Polk County Board of Supervisors would not be a party to such a ploy because they had no moral or legal right to do so. According to the Bystander, the agreement had no effect on the non-signers, because in time, many would sell their property to the person with

the money, whether he be black or white. Morris was positive that blacks would eventually move into the area.

> The Negro population in Des Moines will grow and some outlet must be provided for the increase. This territory is the natural direction for the west side of growth of the Bystander says to these folk holy "Just wait and see what happens."[19]

While watching the state vigilantly, other situations evolved that affected both whites and blacks. Like most states, Iowa's black population was devastated by the Depression, laying bare the economic insecurities of most blacks in the state. Blacks were forced out of the ranks of semi-skilled and skilled labor, and faced mass unemployment. Out of a total of 14,426 blacks living in Iowa's principal cities in 1930, only slightly more than one-half, 7,931, were gainfully employed. Of those employed in 1930, 1,565 black men, or approximately one-fourth of those employed, worked in domestic or personal service; 1,800 women were employed in these occupations. Even migration reached its lowest point in thirty years during the Depression.[20]

Where black Iowans had made significant economic and occupational progress during World War I, they easily lost it during the late 1920s and 1930s. Blacks in Iowa, as in other states, found themselves in intense competition with whites for jobs. When the New York Stock Market crashed

signaling the Great Depression, blacks suffered severly. During the Depression blacks complained they were the "last to be hired and the first to be fired." The decline in profits and wages resulted in unemployment for many blacks in Iowa.

Because of the high unemployment rate, many people found themselves turning to illegal means to survive. The Bystander pointed out that the Depression was causing these actions:

> The unfortunate thing about this condition is that it has driven many people who heretofore have been respectable into illegal pursuits, simple because they have obligations to meet, no work from which to get the funds and see in a little bootlegging and running quiet houses of ill fame and easy chance to make up the difference. Because of the easy manner in which business occur, these people usually escape the police. This condition class of whom we speak they are able to carry on their prevails not only among colored but whites as well; not only in Des Moines but Chicago and other places.[21]

Although the Bystander kept the communities posted on other affairs occurring at this time, Morris kept a close eye on the economic status.

> Economic conditions are getting no better, jobs no more plentiful and the Negro is finding it more difficult each day to get sufficient work to hold body and soul together.[22]

According to Morris, the Great Depression almost killed the Bystander. He said:

> Harvey Ingraham, editor of the Register (Des

> Moines) one of the papers greatest editorial writers and a real friend to the Negro people in our city called me the day after the Bystander had missed its first (and only) issue. When I told him how bad things were, he urged me to continue printing and he suggested that I visit some of the wealthier businessmen in Des Moines to request financial assistance to maintain the newspaper. He told me he would begin the fund himself, with a $100 donation. In a few weeks I was able to solicit more than $700 and we were able to pull the paper through the hard times [1929-1930].[23]

At least one form of relief for hard hit blacks was not supported by the Bystander. This was the movement led by George Baker, commonly known as "Father Devine," who promised his followers a veritable Heaven on Earth. Beginning his crusade in 1919 on Long Island, Father Devine built up a following within the next two decades, amusing some observers while surprising others. Many of his followers left their churches and referred to him as "God"; it was much a social movement. Father Devine was holding open house and feeding thousands in a building that became known as the "heavens" by 1930. His movement had become interracial as early as 1926, and within a few years he had a large number of white members, some of whom were wealthy. Many blacks as well as whites were frustrated over the fact that such a movement could flourish.[24]

The Bystander was a strong opponent of Father Devine. Morris felt that Father Devine, was accumulating money

from people with large estates, with little prejudice because he had the money to pay his own way. The Bystander felt if the money was invested in productive enterprises it would do more good than it presently was at places of worship which created wealth for no one.

> We are not inclined to approve of his willingness to be used as a tool to fight other people's battles as long as these battles do him or his group no good. Yet if the good father has the money to buy these "heavens," why that's his business.[25]

Despite the rising political sophistication of black America, it is doubtful that many of them turned away from the Republican party to support Franklin D. Roosevelt when he was elected as president in 1932.[26]

The Bystander of James Morris, like most blacks and whites in Iowa, continued to support the Republican party. Blacks tended to adhere to the party of Lincoln and Emancipation as they bitterly opposed the racist policies of Southern Bourbon Democrats.[27] Although the black vote actually counted for little, blacks in Iowa proudly declared their Republican loyalties and Morris continually urged the readers to support their party at the polls:

> More than ever before the Republican party is appealing to the Negro on a high plane. It should be understood that eating and sleeping are not the only things in life. People in involuntary servitude get that. What is more important is the full enjoyment of civil, economic and political rights as free men. That is lasting; it is honerable; it makes all other

> advantages secure. The negro was never in such an advantegous position to get the things he wants our of politics: national and local. He ought to use these strategically located blocks of votes to the best interest of all the group than that of some selfish interest.[28]

In the 1930s, however, there was a decline in the commitment of the black press to the Republican party. The old debt of gratitude blacks felt for emancipation had long been paid. Black voters were now encouraged to support parties and candidates only when they were "right" on racial issues. In the early years only Republicans appeared to be "right" but more and more black editors began endorsing Democrats.[29]

The increasing political independence of the black press was derived from both the problem of race and the problem of poverty. Although little was done during the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt for integration, the President did champion Federal actions on behalf of those who were not sharing fully in the rewards of the economy. Since blacks had been the first to lose their jobs when the Depression came, programs to promote employment were especially meaningful to them.[30]

Once Roosevelt was elected to office, he quickly gained much support from blacks and other minority groups. The Bystander, although Republican, rendered some support questions as to how Roosevelt could accomplish certain

things with most of the committees headed by Southern men.

> There are some things we Negroes expect President Roosevelt to do. We expect him to do them because they are easy to do, and in doing them he will merely be properly living up to his oath of office. In addition as working People and citizens, we expect him and his party to initiate policies that will increase the economic security and improve the cultural status of American People. We give thanks now for the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt because of promises made by him in the name of the Democratic party for the reconstruction of the nation and the assisting of the Forgotten Man. But we expect him and his party to make good.[31]

The President did not disappoint Morris. Roosevelt was the first president to appoint Italian Americans and blacks to the Federal bench. In his first year of office, he denounced lynching and mob violence. The President appointed blacks as advisors in several executive departments; it was assured that they were in a position to state the case for the economic and political equality of blacks. The racial segregation that had been established in sectors of the Federal government by the preceding Democratic president, Woodrow Wilson, was abolished by Roosevelt.[32]

Although no civil rights legislation developed during the period of the New Deal, the relief-and-recovery legislation helped improve conditions among blacks as well as the rest of the population. Under such agencies as the Agricultural Administration, the Rural Electrification

Administration and local production credit associations, blacks received benefits--though not equal to their population and needs. Blacks received aid from the Farm Security Administration which prohibited discrimination between white and black farmers. Thousands of young blacks were given employment by the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration. The Work Progress Administration (WPA) was credited for the hiring of more than one million Negroes by 1939. During this period much discrimination still existed against blacks, particularly in the local New Deal Agencies and some areas in the North, although it was weakened to some extent during the New Deal Period.[33]

On October 26, 1939, the Bystander put local WPA. officials on the spot. Morris said even though laws were made in Washington to give blacks justice, the chances of them getting fair play rested in the responsibility of WPA officials:

> When the food office was set up in Des Moines, the Bystander called to attention to the fact that even though most of the employees were WPA workers, certified from the local office, only one a janitor was a negro.[34]

The economic programs of the New Deal Administration of Roosevelt offered hope for many blacks. The New Deal was a system of public relief and social security designed as a support system in times of distress. But all

citizens were not guaranteed public assistance. Although blacks were suffering more than most whites, they received little assistance.[35]

The Bystander was not tolerant of the system which was used to hire blacks in Des Moines in the new Federal government agencies. Most of these people were hired because they qualified politically as Democratic--and the Bystander could accept that rationale. But when qualified black Democrats were not hired, Morris felt there was no valid explanation for such a situation.

> Back of much of the trouble is the fact that the average white man does not have the Negro in mind when matters like this come along. Many will say, "I like colored people; my father fought in the Civil War," and yet if those same persons contemplated hiring five hundred people they would never think of hiring a few Negroes unless a committee appeared on the scene demanding some consideration.[36]

When President Roosevelt spoke of a plan to put three and a half million men to work at fifty dollars per month, the Bystander was quick to point out that that amount would tend to "beat down" the wage scale in many communities. Morris said:

> Like the Negro problem, labor find itself battling against inconsistencies all along. Here in Des Moines we have thousands of men earning less fifty dollars per month. Many earning nothing. Our situation is no different from most other communities. These men would gladly accept these jobs and it is pretty difficult to argue that they should not.[37]

The Bystander accused the Federal Relief Administration headquarters is Des Moines of denying blacks white collar jobs. Once when Morris visited the headquarters, he found there were hundreds of clerks, stenographers, etc., paid out of Federal Treasury money, and not one person in the group was black. Angered over the situation, Morris raised the following questions:

> What is wrong here? Have you Negroes ever applied? Do they or would they hire a Negro? What is their policy with regards to race workers anyway? Are Negroes asleep.[38]

It is a fact that President Roosevelt stated that persons were not to be discriminated against on the basis of race, religion or politics, but the Bystander knew first hand that it would take more than a well meaning declaration to make these things come true. For his part, Morris argued that if blacks were placed in administrative capacities, they would be in a position to watch for unfair practices and prevent them; and that the very presence of blacks in the organization would keep the officials on guard and prevent some of the discrimination that was occurring.

> It is reminded that here in Iowa, in spite of our proposed fairness, we have been deprieved of much we ought to have had simply because no one was present when jobs were being dealt out. Now is the time to look after this problem.[39]

On March 22, 1935, the Bystander made a check of the

number of blacks on relief and emergency relief and statistics indicated 755 families or approximately 2,642 people--fifty percent of the population as indicated by the census of 1930.[40]

Although the Bystander continued to complain about discrimination in the Federal jobs, Morris partially blamed blacks for the situation. Every black man and woman was urged to apply for work. The Bystander stressed that although everyone wouldn't receive jobs, it was essential that they had applications on file and that they were persistent. Morris saw the situation this way:

> There are many people looking for jobs today--and efficient people, too that the authorities give their attention to those who bear down the hardest for what they want.[41]

The New Deal was favorable to labor, although not necessarily to black labor. The Wagner Act of 1935 gave a permanence and strength to the National Labor Relations Board which handled labor disputes and settled strikes, although it did not break the barriers that excluded blacks from unions.[42] As one historian put it:

> For many years, Negro labor has charged wholesale discrimination again them by unions. And even though labor leaders have expressed a desire to include all men in unions, their advice has not been taken by the rank and file of the members. The law defining unfair labor pratices are so broad that they cover everything. However, the penalities are aimed at the employer and not the employees. Deliberate exclusions of a man from a union or the refusal to work beside a man soley

> because he's black constitutes unfair labor pratices of the worst sort. But court action to do so would not get to first base.[43]

It was the so called industrial labor bloc in the American Federation that gave blacks their first real opportunity to organize labor. The Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) was organized by the bloc. The CIO became active in the sphere and sought equal opportunities for blacks through its Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination and its Political Action Committee. Morris was pleased, but also cautious:

> The Bystander held high regards for the CIO: unquestionally the CIO means to play fair with the Negro. Its official pronouncements have so stated, its conduct in recent labor disturbance has proved that. On the other hand the Negro himself has a great responsibility in the matter and unless it carries it properly the progress towards solidifying the group in the rank of labor will make little headway.[44]

Although blacks in Iowa and elsewhere were advancing, their patience grew short waiting for justice through the courts and for equality and at the hands of governmental leaders--including those of the New Deal. They began to fight for their rights.

Notes

[1] Robert Neymeyer, "The Early History of Black Waterloo," Pamlimpsest (Jan/Feb. 1979): 89.

[2] Leola Nelson Bergmann, The Negro in Iowa (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1969).

[3] William J. Maddix, "Blacks and Whites in Manly: An Iowa Town Overcomes Racism," Pamlimpsest (Jan/Feb 1981-1982): 133.

[4] Roundhouses were boxcars, each furnished with a table, two chairs and a few cots. The residents usually carpeted their walls and sometimes hung art work in an effort to make homes out of their boxcars.

[5] Maddix, p. 133.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., p. 134.

[8] Sally Steves Cotton, "The Iowa Bystander: A History of the First 25 Years" (Master's Thesis, Iowa State University, 1983), p. 168.

[9] Maddix, p. 134.

[10] Bystander, March 10, 1934.

[11] Bystander, February 23, 1939.

[12] Bystander, February 2, 1940.

[13] Jack Lufkin, "The Founding and Early Years of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Des Moines, 1915-1930," Annals of Iowa 45 (Summer and Spring 1979-1981): 456.

[14] Ibid., p. 457.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Bystander, February 9, 1934.

[18] Bystander, May 16, 1934.

[19] Bystander, August 17, 1939.

[20] Bergmann, p. 70.

[21] Bystander, February 1, 1930.

[22] Bystander, September 29, 1938.

[23] Henry George LaBrie III, "James B. Morris and The Iowa Bystander," Annals of Iowa 31 (Spring 1974): 322.

[24] Mable M. Smythe, The Black American Reference Book, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1976) p. 60.

[25] Bystander, July 13, 1939.

[26] Smythe, p. 60.

[27] Cotton, p. 36.

[28] Bystander, September 10, 1936.

[29] Augustus Low and Virgil A. Cliff, Encyclopedia of Black America, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981).

[30] Ibid.

[31] Bystander, November 18, 1932.

[32] Smythe, p. 60.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Bystander, October 26, 1939.

[35] Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy. Vol. 2 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944) pp. 399-400.

[36] Bystander, September 7, 1934.

[37] Bystander, January 25, 1935.

[38] Bystander, February 1, 1935.

[39] Bystander, June 5, 1935.

[40] Bystander, November 15, 1935.

[41] Bystander, August 16, 1935.

[42] Smythe, p. 61.

[43] Bystander, February 20, 1941.

[44] Bystander, November 18, 1943.

CHAPTER V. BREAKING THE WALLS OF SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION

In the later 1930s and 1940s the Bystander continued to speak out for the rights of its people. Morris directed his efforts towards eliminating discrimination in the Armed Forces during World War II and throughout America. He believed that a moral victory had to be won at home as well as on the battlefield before America could truly be the land of opportunity for all.

Blacks were tired of being denied rights, even when so much was being said about the protection and support of the disadvantaged elements of the American population. Blacks sought to mobilize their political and intellectual resources for the purpose of pressing for their rights. Although many blacks supported Roosevelt in 1936 and again in 1940, the Bystander stressed their rights to give their support to whatever political organization was most loyal to their needs.[1]

The inability of blacks to become part of the mainstream of the American urban life added to their disillusionment and forced them to develop a negative doctrine. The almost universal discrimination in employment, difficulties in securing adequate housing, and the absence of equality in the the administration of justice contributed significantly to family

disorganization.[2]

Between World War I and World War II, almost 2,000 blacks left Iowa in search of better job opportunities. By 1930, Iowa's black population had decreased by 8.5% from 19,005 in 1920 to 17,380 while the state's white population increased by 66,000. Contrary to the national trend of increased migration, the period between the two wars initiated a counter migration of blacks for Iowa that lasted until World War II.[3]

In a nation geared to the idea of the essential equality of mankind, the education of blacks remained a separate enterprise. Almost nowhere were blacks granted equal educational opportunities. White communities were careful to maintain that such opportunities remained separate. In the South, the law maintained separate schools. In the North, separate schools were maintained in the black ghettos. Through the first half of the twentieth century, a wide disparity existed between the money spent on the education of white children and the money put out for black children. Although separate books were not kept from black students in the North, their buildings, equipment and facilities demonstrated disparity.[4]

Not only was there a disparity in facilities for black students, but black teachers were also almost non-

existent in Des Moines. Between 1930 and 1940, the city had a black population of 1,200 to 1,300, but no black teachers were employed during this time.[5]

In 1932, when Des Moines hosted the State Teacher's Convention, more than ten thousand teachers attended from every part of the country. Iowa did not have a black teacher amongst the crowd and the Bystander did not let this opportunity to criticize the state go by.

> As this large crowd of teachers milled through the streets and in meeting places, not a Negro teacher was to be seen. In fact, as far as the Bystander knows--and it is very well acquainted with the educational system in the state--we have no Negro teachers in the state. Iowa ought to get out of this rut. It ought to throw off this apparent yoke of prejudice and give the young people a chance to work in a system which parents help to maintain a system which will train them for teaching as well as the other professions.[6]

September often marked the opening of schools throughout the country. Many black boys and girls were undecided whether or not to enter, either because of lack of finances, or because of lack of opportunity for employment after making sacrifices to get the necessary training. The Bystander encouraged blacks to seek an education, pointing out that neither obstacle should balk an ambitious student who wanted an education. Morris often told young blacks that America was ahead of other countries where education was concerned. School jobs and aid were available to the students; many were able to work

and save money during the summer, or attend night school. Therefore, Morris found no excuse acceptable of anyone to stop in despair. In any instance, Morris felt sacrifices must be made. He said:

> It is true millions of young people are out of work but generally those best prepared have had the preference when dismissals were in order as well as when hiring was done. Then, too, one can never tell when an opportunity may arise; it is to late to prepare them.[7]

The Bystander often warned blacks of poison propaganda used by the KKK to stop blacks and whites from attending school together. In 1936 the Bystander reprinted this propaganda from the Chicago Defender:

> Do you KNOW THAT YOUR BOYS OR GIRLS Who ATTEND THE PUBIC SCHOOLS ARE COMPELLED
> 1. To sit with Negroes in school
> 2. To eat with Negroes in the school restaurant
> 3. To take swimming lessons in the same pool at the same time
> 4. To play with Negroes in all phases of school life
> 5. To associate with the Negro in all phases of life
> 6. That they are permitted to attend school parties and encouraged to dance together.
> 7. That there are many Negro TEACHERS TEACHING WHITE CHILDREN in the schools.
> 8. The Negro groups have demanded of the school boards to be given more representation in the schools by placing a Negro teacher over a white class.
> 9. The Negro students have attacked white children and teachers in the schools and that these cases are kept quiet by the school principals because it would jeopardize their position.
> 10. There are criminal police records of criminal attacks by Negroes. Your boy or girl who grow up in this atmosphere is being taught to

> disregard racial lines. Eventually they will intermarry with the Negro. DO YOU WANT THIS TO HAPPEN IN YOUR FAMILY? IF NOT HELP THIS MOVE TO SEGREGATE THE NEGROES AND THE WHITES IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.[8]

Reactions received by the Bystander concerning the propaganda indicated that low brow organizations did a lot of harm to many non-suspecting youths who unwittingly joined societies of this character. The actions of these groups made it necessary that groups such as the NAACP and others, whose object was to disseminate propaganda, ask for fair play for blacks.

Complaints were made by some of the public that too many black students were not responding to discipline and instructions as well as they should have been, and that their belligerent attitude was not conducive to the good of the student, nor the program. The finger was pointed at parents by Morris. Much of the difficulty was blamed on the parents for failing to provide their children with home training. The Bystander said:

> Much of this difficulty can be traced directly to home training of these unfortunate young people. Of course, there are exceptions to the rule. But if young people are not taught to respect authority, to conduct themselves so as not to be obnoxious to others that good conduct gets them much further than bad conduct then these unfortunate incidents will not only continue but get tend to increase.[9]

Interested citizens circulated a petition in 1937,

asking the school board to liberalize its attitude toward blacks, including teachers. This was not the first time such a request had been made. In fact, at one time an assistant truant officer was promised to the black group and later when one school administrator feared the election of a group of the board might upset its program, it actually promised to give favorable action on the application of a qualified black teacher.[10]

The time was far gone when any question should arise over securing qualified black teachers.

> There will be question among some over the appointment of Negro teachers and white collar workers but the same thing will be true a hundred years from now. Consequently fair broadminded officials should face the problem NOW. Other towns have done so long ago, and experience has taught that no harmful results come.[11]

Morris encouraged parents to cooperate with teachers to ensure students reach their fullest potential. After investigating the situation, it was essential in the Des Moines schools, that teachers have a clear conception of the aims, aspirations and background of black students, and not in a superficial manner.

> It is equally important that the parent the teacher and what should be expected of the pupil. With a better understanding all around it is easy to secure good results from the children and the teacher too.[12]

Naturally the students argued some excuse for their

misconduct, but Morris did not find it acceptable. At times their explanations had merit, but he advised them not to take disciplinary measures into their own hands or act discourteous by conducting themselves in an indiscreet manner.[13]

In the late 1930s the most significant changes occurred in the school system. Academic achievement by blacks was increasingly reorganized. Social groups became integrated to the extent that black students did not feel compelled to associate only with other blacks.[14]

The education situation did not blind Morris to other concerns. With the emerging second world war, the Bystander reminded people of World War I. Morris said "no sane person ought to want this country to enter war. We hope this is true in Europe, but as the situation stands today no country is immune from becoming controlled in conflict."[15] People who remembered World War I, did not want to enter into another war, but the Bystander faced reality and told them, "War is just what we're heading for if the present European crisis does not ease up quickly."[16] When World War II began, the Armed Services were segmented and discrimination was at a high peak.

> The army in 1940 consisted of some 230,000 enlisted men and officers, of whom less than 5,000 were Negroes. Only four Negro units were in the standing army, the 24th and 25th Infantries and the 9th and 10th Calvalries were up to their full strength. Some other Negro

> units were activated: among them quartermaster regiments, antiaircraft battalions, and corps of engineers.[17]

Maintaining high morals for blacks in the service was very difficult since they were often subjected to indignities and humiliation. For example, a white bus driver in Durham, North Carolina was found not guilty of murder after he left his bus and killed a black soldier with whom he had an argument. In the South, black soldiers were often refused service in places where German prisoners of war were enjoying American services. Three black females of the Women's Auxiliary Corps were beaten by civilian police when they did not move promptly from a white railroad station when asked to do so. Other incidents included a while policeman who gouged out a black soldier's eye in an altercation. Often black soldiers were made to wait until white soldiers boarded the bus, and then, if room was left, they could ride.[18]

With discrimination occurring so freely among black soldiers throughout the United States, Iowa was no exception. In 1940, when a daily paper showed a group of draftees leaving from the Polk County Training Center, the white boys were inside the gate while the blacks stood outside. Morris, angered over the situation, wrote:

> The Bystander has been disappointed with the very indefinite manner in which the Negro is being called upon in this whole defense set up. As a

> matter of fact, except for on paper there is very little done to include him in the various branches of service: there is nothing being done to remove the inhibitions against his employment in defense industries.[19]

Northern blacks assigned to Southern posts were unfamiliar with the resentfulness of the region's racists. They were also surprised by the relative isolation and ill-treatment at the military posts.[20]

The Bystander and other black newspapers energetically tried to upgrade conditions for black soldiers since many blacks were not being treated fairly at many of the training camps.[21]

Morris and other black leaders pleaded with the President to do something about the conditions in which the black soldiers were trained.

> During the [Roosevelt] Campaign we call attention to these things and while no promise was made by Mr. Roosevelt that this unfair practice would be rectified, his friends spoke for him. The defense of our country ought not be a political issue; the opportunity for a man for a chance to defend his country ought not be a political issue. But we do wish some of the high spokesmen in the democratic rank would make an honest effort to see that fair play prevails in the army now.[22]

The war placed an unusual strain on many black soldiers training in the South. Unlike World War I, practically all of the training posts were located in the South. This meant that young black men from northern

states were placed in communities where their enjoyment of the simplest freedoms was denied. It was the Bystander's view that many of the blacks were not accustomed to such treatment and would not tolerate it.[23]

Morris, for the most part, felt that the War Department was not using all efforts to train the blacks properly. The Bystander suggested that accommodations be made so that the environment did not interfere with the recruit's training. At one point, the Bystander even suggested that the War Department should stop sending northern boys to southern camps. These concerns continued for the duration of World War II.[24]

Blacks had been made many promises during World War I that were not honored once the war ended. Morris reminded Iowans of their promises made during that time. He said when reports came back from France during World War I of the splendid accomplishments of black troops, the people at home promised them that nothing was too good for those who returned. Soon after the men returned home, they were once again subjected to ill-treatment. Segregation, mob violence and other injustices were stronger than ever.[25]

It was Morris' belief that if blacks were not treated fairly when they returned from the war, trouble would evolve in the United States. Morris said:

> Remember Uncle Sam, you have been able to count on the Negro. You must remember you have made

> the mistake of admitting thousands of undesirables who have and do hope to see the day when they can stab you in the back. Isn't it just plain self preservation to see these loyal people dealt with just alone the line. The Bystander thinks so.[26]

Many of the black newspapers did not regard American's involvement in World War II as a sufficient reason to relax their vigilance, especially when the Armed Forces' determination to continue segregation became apparent. Some editors accused commanders of refusing to accept black troops except for menial roles. They also felt blacks were victims of injustice on military bases and in nearby communities in many parts of the South.[27]

In the late 1930s, Illinois enacted a law broadening the scope of its civil rights statute, extending provisions that required full and equal enjoyment of accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges to include all citizens--customers in department stores. Like Iowa, the original law was passed many years before blacks began to speak out for their rights, therefore, the statute did not mention these places specifically, and the courts held that discrimination in such institutions constituted a violation of the act.

The Bystander stressed the need to push for civil rights laws, otherwise, there was the danger of letting them go by default. Morris felt the awareness that

discrimination against an individual because of color was not only morally wrong but that it was also a crime, must be maintained.[28]

Consequently, as blacks and whites were fighting the Germans, Italians and Japanese on the road, they were fighting each other at home. In June, 1943, the most serious "world war" of the period broke out in Detroit. Months of racial tension evolved after a fist fight occurred between a black man and a white man. Soon, several hundred persons were fighting in various parts of the city. Nothing effective was done until President Roosevelt declared a state of emergency and sent six thousand troops to patrol the city. After thirty hours of rioting, twenty-five blacks and nine whites had been killed; property valued at several hundred thousand dollars had been destroyed. There were other racial clashes on a smaller scale in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago.[29]

The Bystander called the Detroit riot a disgrace to the nation. Morris said it was proof that we were fighting the Axis powers for doing what we are unwilling to assume responsibility and leadership for ourselves. It was this that enabled the situation to get out of control before stern action was taken.[30]

For months, black leaders had been appealing to the

President and other public officials, arguing that something like the Detroit Riot was going to happen, and all of their pleas had been ignored. The Bystander accused the public officials of neglecting their duties to the people. The Bystander printed: "We have a lot of ignorant foolish people among both races, but we are darn poor folk to let them run our communities."[31]

Although many blacks and whites had a friendly relationship in Iowa, the Bystander cautioned blacks to continue their fight against segregation.

> We here in Des Moines pride ourselves on a generally harminous relationship between races. It is well to re emphasize the conditions of the affairs. There is danger we will lure ourselves to sleep and overlook the ever present effort of some people to shut the Negroes out whenever and wherever possible. The attempts at segregation should be watched. Carefully and dealt with as they arrive.[32]

Legal measures and court decisions often suggested national patterns of discrimination. The famous Supreme Court decision of 1896 validated the separate but equal clause, thus legitimizing and encouraging Jim Crow laws in the South. Iowa, along with some larger cities across the nation, experienced Jim Crow practices, especially in the confines of private businesses as well as public places.[33]

In 1931, the color bar was broken down at Michigan University to the extent that black women were accepted in the dormitories. The action came following a resolution

introduced in the state legislature inquiring into the action of the president and secretary who refused black female applicants for rooms in the school dormitories.

Morris agreed this was how it should be. If black females were able to pay for the best accommodations at school, they should have them. It was questioned why a person with money to pay his way should be forced to live in a boarding house.[34]

The Bystander was informed that blacks were not allowed to stay in dormitories at Iowa State College at Ames, in spite of the fact that it was a state institution and blacks helped to support it. Such actions taken by the state were in violation of the civil rights act. Morris reassured that the same rule should have applied in Iowa as in Michigan. It was a matter that should have been discussed, not with the intention of creating a disturbance, but as a matter of justice. In this spirit, the Bystander argued that:

> After all one of the real tests of democracy is the extent to which Negroes enjoy sleeping and eating accomondations. And while the failure to make an effort to enjoy them may keep peace and dub you "a safe person," it is hard on the race. Michigan citizens have taken the right step. Every northern school, particularly state supported institutions, should do likewise.[35]

White churches in Des Moines were not excused by the Bystander for displaying discrimination. The members of

the church idolized such phrases as "Love thy neighbor as thyself" and "Do unto other as you would have them do unto you." Morris remarked that if Christianity practiced half of what it preached, there would be no race problem and those "'holier than thou' people who preach and accept this doctrine in church in as Christians and repudiate it when it comes to dealing with blacks are liars and hypocrites."[36]

Morris said:

> People need to be taught that Christianity is practically an every day affair and not something far off in the clouds that becomes a part of the human being when the breath leaves the body. Of all places church should not allow such practices.[37]

On another occasion, a casino theatre manager in Des Moines was fined five dollars by the judge in the Municipal Court for disturbing the peace and quiet of a person. James McGee and his son attended the theatre and took seats near the front. The manager promptly went to them and demanded that they sit in the colored section or get out.

Before imposing the fine, the judge said that one of the most despicable ways to disturb a person is to ridicule him in front of his race--even though the charge was not based on the Civil Rights Statute of Iowa. Blacks invited to public places should be disturbed no more than

any other race.

Strange to say the cheapest theatres in Des Moines were the ones practicing discrimination the most. The managers attempted to justify this by saying that usually the poor class white people who attended the cheap theatres made the objection. The Bystander found this to be true and that their objections were not so great that a firm, fair stand by the managers would create an entirely different situation.

> The Bystander has observed that there is less hostility and more fraternity and good will among the laboring white man and the Negro than ever before. Theatres should not attempt to prevent this apparent good feeling and they won't as long as honest, fearless judges like Mershon are one the bench.[38]

Several months later following the theatre incident, the Des Moines YWCA decided that black girls could not swim in the pools while white boys were in the camp. Although the Bystander detected the discrimination being displayed, the camp gave the following reasons:

1. The YWCA failed to cooperate in fixing the period so that Negro boys and girls could go to camp the same period.
2. "Something might happen" which would be very unpleasant should it happen.
3. Des Moines citizens were not prepared for such a mixing of races and that some people might refuse to make contributions to the work should this rule be otherwise.[39]

These reasons triggered negative reactions from the

Bystander. Morris felt that the first reason was beside the point and that the second reason was irrelevant because the girls swam in the pool the previous year and nothing happened. There was always the possibility that something unusual might happen, but if the YMCA and YWCA couldn't supervise their activities to keep "something" at a minimum, then who could?

> The Bystander cannot help but feel that the YMCA has not lived to a Christian in this matter. Of course some people object to being fair with Negroes: some people object to pool tables, bowling alleys and many other features of the Y. They don't throw them out and why? Because most people think them good, wholesome recreations. The Bystander believes that most people want to be fair to the Negro; the only thing needed is a leadership with fair, courageous convictions to point the way.[40]

Racial discrimination was very prevalent in Iowa and continued to increase. When a black group of graduates from Des Moines High School were discriminated against in 1939, the Bystander was angered. The group was invited to attend the annual dance sponsored by Drake University in July. Some students who expected to dance with their graduating classmates came to the dance early. Other black students who arrived later, desiring to dance, were stopped at the door by an attendant who informed them if they entered, they must not dance. When students objected to the attendant's request, the police were called. A representative of Drake University apologized to the

students. Morris, outraged over the police action, said:

> Police assisting private companies to keep order in their private establishments are violating the law themselves when they attempt to force blacks to leave public places of amusement; and this is true even though their employees instruct them to do so.

The Bystander stated:

> As a rule the Des Moines policemen are presently decent, and about whom we have little to complain. But they must not be allowed to violate the law, simply because some prejudice manager for whom he may be working hours want to embarrass Negroes.[41]

In 1940, blacks took a stand against discrimination. A restaurant owner in Des Moines was accused of violating civil rights laws by refusing to serve black patrons and giving gross discrimination to those he did not refuse.

> Judge Charles S. Cooter of the Municipal Court assessed a $100.00 fine against Mr. & Mrs. Paul Wetly, white operators of the Rose and Paul Cafe, after finding them guilty discriminating against a black in serving food in the cafe.[42]

To protest such actions some of the victims appealed to the local branch of the NAACP for advice and help. Charges were filed against the owner and the case was tried in the Municipal Court.

Supporting the actions rendered by the judge, the Bystander stated:

> More of these cases should be prosecuted. More will be prosecuted if witnesses who are wronged will stand up and fight for their rights.[43]

In 1944, the blacks in Des Moines became angered and felt like the fight for civil rights was in vain when Maurice C. Katz, of Katz Drug Company was found "not guilty" of the charge of violation of civil rights for not serving blacks. The charges were brought by Dr. and Mrs. Prince Haggerty after they were refused service at the store's lunch counter.[44] Katz said they had been refused service because the drug store was not equipped to serve black people.[45]

Dr Haggerty testified that he had, the next day after the incident, talked to Katz over the telephone and said that Katz told him it was not a company policy to serve black people. Katz said the Katz Drug Store was "not equipped to serve colored folks" at its lunch counters, booths or soda fountain.

Mr. Katz said he had instructed his white fountainman not to serve black people. The fountain manager said on the evening of September 8th, he did not see Dr. and Mrs. Haggerty enter the store. Upon coming up from the basement, the fountain manager noticed people were looking to the front of the store. He said he ordered the waitress to go back to work at the fountain and then said to Dr. Haggerty, "I am very sorry but we don't serve colored people" and walked away.[45]

Based on the evidence presented on the case, Morris

and many other blacks were disappointed in the jury's decision.

> If they [whites] prepose to be fair to help enforce the laws of this state must adopt a more liberal view on the rights of the Negro. They must not as honest men and women take an oath to follow instruction of the court and return a verdict based on the evidence properly admitted by the court without meaning what they said. This the jury did not do in the Haggerty case; they violated their oath.[46]

Despite the verdict ruling in the Haggerty case, Morris continued to fight for civil rights and tried to convince his readers that the fight must continue. The Bystander believed that decent, fair minded citizens, white and black, should not be deterred by the scandalous verdict in the Katz case. It did not believe that a chain store had any right to come into Iowa and pursue a policy contrary to the laws of the state.[47]

There were people who insisted that blacks should wait until after the war to seek better enjoyment of their rights in America. Morris interpreted this gesture as asking blacks to be satisfied with the situation and forget about any improvement even after the war. Morris stressed that sensible people who wanted to be fair about the matter recognized that it was the height of hypocracy to tell the Axis powers about their mistreatment of other people and at the same time do just the opposite ourselves. Morris said:

> The Bystander has taken the position that nothing short of every privilege and right, enjoyed by white people in America should be accorded to the Negro. Others in Iowa take the same view. As a result of much careful work upon the part of many of our citizens, both black and white, we see some progress.[48]

After World War II, the Bystander continued its fight for civil liberties that would cause the wall of discrimination to collapse in Iowa and throughout the country. Other black publications that continued to fight for civil liberties were criticized and accused of being leftist and even communist. The accusations were not enough to deter or rob them of equality.[49]

Notes

[1] Mable M. Smythe, The Black American Reference Book, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1976), p. 63

[2] Smythe, p. 62.

[3] Leola Nelson Bergmann, The Negro in Iowa (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1969), p. 69.

[4] Smythe, p. 70.

[5] Bergmann, p. 75.

[6] Bystander, November 8, 1932.

[7] Bystander, September 7, 1936.

[8] Bystander, June 12, 1936.

[9] Bystander, November 25, 1937.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Bystander, September 8, 1937.

[12] Bystander, September 11, 1931.

[13] Bystander, November 25, 1937.

[14] William J. Maddix, "Blacks and Whites in Manly: An Iowa Town Overcomes Racism," Pamlimpsest 62 (Jan.-Feb. 1979): 137.

[15] Bystander, April 13, 1939.

[16] Bystander, April 21, 1939.

[17] Smythe, p. 65.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Bystander, December 12, 1940.

[20] John Skates, A History of Mississippi. Vol 2, World War II and Its Effects, 1940-1948 (Hattiesburg, Miss.: University of College Press of Mississippi, 1973), p. 125.

[21] Bystander, August 17, 1941.

[22] Bystander, December 12, 1940.

[23] Bystander, August 17, 1941.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Bystander, August 1, 1940.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Smythe, p. 68.

[28] Bystander, July 29, 1937.

[29] Smythe, p. 69.

[30] Bystander, June 24, 1943.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Bystander, August 17, 1939.

[33] Jack Lufkin, "The Founding and Early Years of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Des Moines, 1915-1930," Annals of Iowa 45 (Summer and Spring 1979-1981): 457.

[34] Bystander, September 25, 1931.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Bystander, September 25, 1931.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Bystander, February 25, 1937.

[39] Bystander, February 23, 1934.

[40] Bystander, June 23, 1934.

[41] Bystander, July 13, 1939.

[42] Bystander, September 6, 1940.

[43] Bystander, October 3, 1940.

[44] Bystander, December 7, 1944.

[45] Bystander, September 30, 1943.

[46] Bystander, December 14, 1944.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Bystander, September 30, 1943.

[49] Ronald E. Wolsely, The Black Press, USA (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1971).

CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION

The Bystander repeatedly argued throughout the years for the cause of racial equality for all mankind. Morris, who was well educated and a man of his time, did not think he would live to see the changes that have come about in race relations.[1] During Morris' fifty years as editor of the Bystander 1920-1972, he experienced some good times as well as some difficult ones. The Bystander did not grow as much as Morris had hoped for, although it was still published regularly. Through it all, blacks and whites continuously appreciated the presence of the black newspaper and subscribed to it, advertised in it, and gave the moral support that every business must have in order to succeed.[2]

A business that operated as long as the Bystander did under the editorship of Morris inevitably acquired a place in the hearts of the people and produced some satisfaction to those who had, in any way, a part in the niche of the community.[3]

Morris took a strong position for civil rights and equal opportunity in employment, arguing that unless those people for whose benefit primarily the paper was being operated could make money, the Bystander would not survive.[4]

The black population in Iowa had reached 19,692 by

1950, causing an intense Civil Rights Movement. In the 1950s, civil and human rights activities and the landmark decision of Brown vs. the Board of Education in 1954 were often found on the front page of the Bystander.

The Bystander lost many of its trained employees in 1960 to white newspapers who were integrating their newsrooms in compliance with the Civil Rights Movement. Morris was saddened by the turmoil and violence caused by the militant action of a few.[6] Morris said:

> I have always supported an orderly process of change. The Constitution, while viewed by many as our greatest drawback, has actually upheld many rights of the Negro, rights that would have never been written down. We have a lot to thank the Constitution for and I hope we can work through it and not against it.[7]

Morris, at the age of 82, sold the Bystander in 1972 after serving in the capacity of editor for over fifty years. From 1972 through 1976 he served as editor emeritus. Morris continued with his law practice until the time of his death in October, 1977.[8]

Black businessman Carl Williams purchased the Bystander from Morris, but sold it again after he experienced enormous financial problems that almost destroyed the newspaper.

The Bystander almost died after Williams, who had badly managed it, "submerged under a wave of creditors and blew town."[9]

Triple S. Production, a white firm in Des Moines, purchased the paper in 1973 from Williamson. Circulation decreased the following ten years, but advertising kept the Bystander alive. During this time, there was a succession of five editors. In 1983, the Bystander was purchased by FNCO, another white corporation based in San Diego, California, which owns approximately one hundred other newspapers.[10]

Robert V. Morris, a grandson of J. B. Morris, Sr. was editor of the Bystander from 1980 to 1984. He thought black papers should be owned by blacks and that white ownership of the Bystander was necessary to keep it publishing. Morris praised the efforts rendered by the Triple S. Production for taking measures to save the publication; something he felt most white businesses would not have done.[11]

The black press today faces some obstacles that could lead to the downfall of many. William S. Morris, a grandson of James B. Morris and former editor said, "When the old guard dies out, there's no one to pick up the baton."[12]

The Morris family negotiated for the return of the Bystander, but refused the $50,000 deal offered by FNCO.[13]

In 1985, the FNCO Corporation sold the paper to Morris Garrison, who has published it on an irregular

basis to this date.[14]

The Bystander, competing with white and electronic media, is experiencing problems. Garrison predicts the Bystander will continue to serve in the capacity of the guidelines established by its founders and predicts that the black communities of Iowa can expect to receive the service of the Bystander for many years to come.[15]

William Morris is not as optimistic as Garrison, and sees the Bystander as headed for trouble. He explains, "The only way the Bystander can return as leader for the black community in state and region coverage, it has to become a part of a bigger chain." He believes with the reading levels going down in the black community, people are not reading newspapers like they used to, which creates an economic fact of life and a difficult financial proposition for the black press.[16]

Garrison, who has little experience in operating a newspaper has had many problems. Circulation of the Bystander is currently less than two thousand.[17]

Despite accusations made that the Bystander will not survive the next decade, Garrison feels that the "Bystander will remain the community leader."

Notes

[1] Bystander, April 12, 1974.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Bystander, August 14, 1975.

[5] Sally Steves Cotton, "The Iowa Bystander: A History of the First 25 Years" (Master's Thesis, Iowa State University, 1983), p. 169.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Bystander, May 26, 1983.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Cotton, p. 170.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] William S. Morris, personal interview held in Des Moines, Iowa, September, 1986.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Marshall Garrison, personal interview held in Ames, Iowa, March, 1986.

[16] William Morris, interview, September, 1986.

[17] Ibid.

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APPENDIX A

Black population of Iowa from 1860-1940

Negro Population of Iowa

from 1860-1940

1860	1,069
1870	5,762
1880	9,516
1890	10,685
1900	12,693
1910	14,973
1920	19,005
1930	17,380
1940	16,694

Number of Blacks in Counties with the Largest Negro Population Between 1870 and 1940

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Appanoose	35	74	145	368	486	426	341	280
Black Hawk	18	37	12	22	29	856	1,234	1,528
Boone	11	251	93	235	105	142	49	39
Cerro Gordo	4	23	9	58	148	361	322	341
Clinton	129	187	209	182	436	338	233	172
Dallas	25	53	37	23	131	207	409	249
Decatur	41	129	56	58	34	6	3	1
Des Moines	227	425	381	428	429	337	386	265
Dubuque	167	156	133	118	96	75	89	65
Fayette	70	122	75	89	107	106	104	71
Hardin	23	111	80	55	46	72	120	56
Henry	465	509	411	367	264	212	135	126
Jasper	69	121	104	190	182	144	99	54
Johnson	98	105	58	62	65	68	112	89
Lee	1,563	1,679	1,666	1,632	1,471	1,417	1,353	1,211
Linn	48	207	234	258	258	704	765	677
Lucas	31	40	319	194	83	46	45	16
Mahaska	150	524	1,592	1,737	677	352	211	166
Marion	36	44	38	44	93	122	146	123
Marshall	37	97	136	167	148	264	351	333
Monroe	49	258	202	553	2,371	1,652	355	202
Montgomery	13	113	38	51	48	54	58	44
Muscatine	163	179	177	146	137	107	66	81
Page	153	247	234	232	262	250	225	199
Polk	303	672	1,194	2,041	3,591	5,837	5,713	6,637
Pottawattamie	163	614	327	271	353	612	684	545
Scott	246	266	274	496	572	745	865	884
Taylor	101	130	96	74	61	34	19	12
Van Buren	211	123	130	102	60	49	44	13
Wapello	193	460	658	793	624	571	447	485
Washington	53	95	75	69	104	108	52	42
Webster	9	8	43	115	84	399	320	204
Woodbury	44	178	366	292	317	1,147	1,078	875

APPENDIX B

Bystander yearly contest

He Fought All of His Life for You!

He Braved Death for His Race.

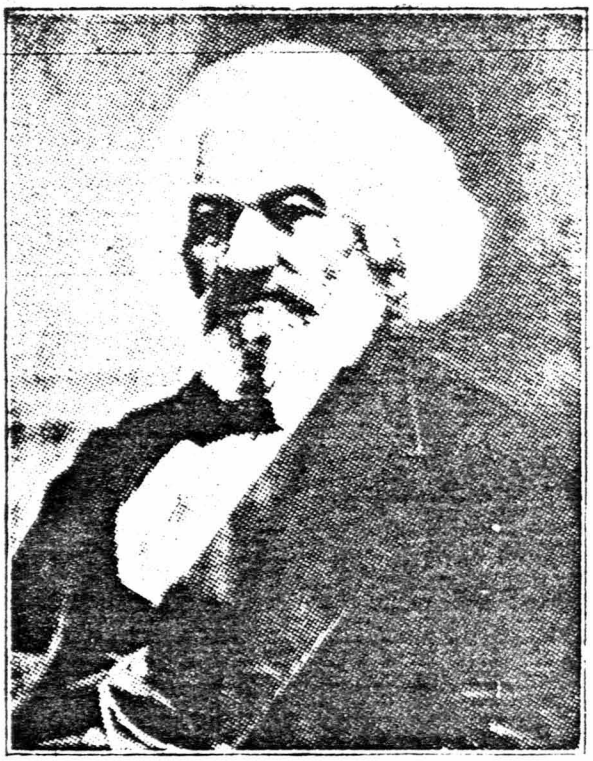
He Never Compromised With Jim-Crowism.

He Practiced What He Preached.

He Was Always a MAN!

Can You Tell Us "What the Race Owes to Frederick Douglass?"

Young and old, male and female, can enter this contest!



FREDERICK DOUGLASS
Orator, Abolitionist and Diplomat

The Illustrated Feature Section

Offers Twenty-five Dollars ($25) in Prizes for the 4 Best Letters on

"What the Race Owes to Frederick Douglass"

PRIZES

First Prize	$10.00
Second Prize	$7.00
Third Prize	$5.00
Fourth Prize	$3.00

APPENDIX C

Cartoon of the Geevum Girls


THE GEEVUM GIRLS
GOOD NIGHT, GIRLS! -- I'VE SPENT A MOST ENJOYABLE AND PROFITABLE EVENING!
COME AGAIN SOON MR. MONEYBAGS
HE CERTAINLY IS A NUT, BUT YOU'VE GOTTA HAND IT TO HIM! -- HE'S A MILLIONAIRE!
MILLIONAIRE! SAY! WHERE D'YOU GET THAT NOISE?
WY, HE TOLD ME HIMSELF THAT HE ONLY LACKED $15.00 OF HAVING A MILLION DOLLARS AND—
SO I LOANED HIM THE DIFFERENCE FOR A FEW DAYS!
SPLASH!
Tim Eppy

APPENDIX D

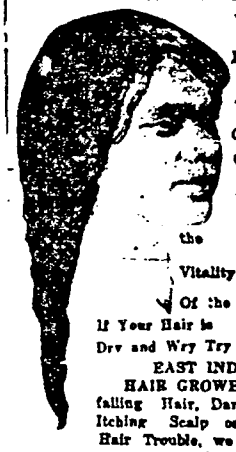
Cartoon of Aunt Minny


HASN'T THAT YOUNG MAN PROPOSED TO YOU YET? I MUST KNOW HIS INTENTIONS
OH! AUNT MIMY, DON'T 'USH HIM
GOOD EVENING, AUNT MIMY
I RETURN THE COMPLIMENT
NOW, YOUNG MAN, I WANT TO KNOW (NOW AN HERE) DO YOU PROPOSE TO 'POSE TO THAT YOUNG LADY. SAY YES OR NO! WHAT'S YOUR ANSWER?
YES, AN' GOOD MORNIN' TOO, YOU TIME KILLER.
GOOD NIGHT! THAT'S MY ANSWER

APPENDIX E

Hair product advertising

THE EAST INDIAN HAIR GROWER



Will Promote A full Growth Of hair Restore the Vitality Of the Hair

If Your Hair is Dry and Wry Try

EAST INDIA HAIR GROWER

falling Hair, Dandruff, Itching Scalp or any Hair Trouble, we want you to try a jar of East India Hair Grower. The remedy contains medical properties that go to the roots of the Hair stimulate the skin, help Nature to do its work. Leaves the silky, Perfumed with a balm of a thousand flowers. The best known Black Eye-Brows, also restores Gray Hair to its Natural Color. Can be used with Hot Iron for Straightening. Price sent by Mail 50c, 10 cents extra for postage.

S. D. LYONS
316 N. Central Ave.
Oklahoma City, Okla.

BEFORE AND AFTER USING

Chisolm's Fairy Queen Restorer Hair Dye

LET'S GET ACQUAINTED!

STOP—Don't use another drop of Hair Dye, just cut this ad out and send it with a P. O. for a trial order of FAIRY QUEEN RESTORER HAIR DYE, Box of SATIN TOP PRESSING OIL, and a box of Vanishing SKIN WHITENER. Satisfaction Guaranteed or Money refunded. Address D. C. Chisolm, SKIN and HAIR SPECIALIST, Box 1288, Wichita, Kansas. Dept. Y

READ THIS!

2171 E. 49th St. Cleveland, May 12th, 1918

Dear Robert:

Hope you're well. Everything O. K. in Cleveland. Say, Bob, I notice all the girls and boys of Cleveland have such beautiful hair. Their hair just won't quit looking so good. I asked the night clerk at the Majestic Hotel what everybody in Cleveland is using on their hair and he shouted "PELLO!" He told me to go across the street to Barjeo's Drug Store and buy a jar of PELLO. Well, Bob, you should see my hair today. I just finished an application of PELLO. First I washed my hair with cuticle soap, and while it was wet I rubbed PELLO into my hair. Bob you remember how kinky and unruly my hair was, but say, brushing PELLO made my hair so soft, shiny and glossy, that I let it down—and I don't mean maybe. Bob, I'm mailing you a jar. Try it out and tell me about it. Love,

Your buddy, CHAS. LEWIS.

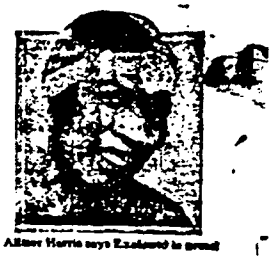
P. S. All the good looking girls with their new "Bunch Bob" haircut are using PELLO. Tell Sis to try PELLO. It won't . . . don't!

Be the Envy of your Circle with beautiful, silky hair. Very first application of PELLO will amaze you. Don't wait another day. No acid; no grease; no chemicals. Does not turn hair red. Ask your druggist or barber today for PELLO. If he hasn't stocked it yet, send money order for $1.10 to

PELLO LABORATORIES 2318 E. 55th St., Cleveland, O.

Agents Wanted Everywhere With order be sure to ask for our money-making Agent's proposition. It's BIG!

Stage Favorite Praises Exelento



Allene Harris says Exelento is grand

Allene Harris, one of the country's outstanding actresses, says she owes her beautiful, silky hair to the regular use of

EXELENTO QUININE POMADE

You, too, can have just as pretty hair by using Exelento. It goes to the roots of the hair, eliminates the scurf and before you realize it, your hair is two-per and more luxuriant than ever before.

Beauty experts recommend Exelento because it is the original quinine pomade. They also endorse Exelento for keeping the skin smooth, velvety and free from pimples and other blemishes.

In confident are we that you will be pleased with these remarkable preparations and use them regularly that we will send you, free of charge, a generous sample of each. We will also send you, absolutely free, a valuable book of beauty secrets prepared by specialists in the care of the hair and skin.

Attractive proposition open. If you will show and recommend our preparations to your friends.

EXELENTO MEDICINE COMPANY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
AGENTS WANTED EVERYWHERE
Write For Particulars.

APPENDIX F

Local business advertising

APPENDIX G

Local black advertising