

Race, Labor, and Class in Interwar New York

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Black urban politics in New York City blossomed as black migrants found employment in the industrial North during the Great Migration. Publishing its first issue in 1917, the black radical newspaper the Messenger, sought to raise race-and-class consciousness among its readership. Heralding the “New Negro,” the Messenger promoted Socialist politics and encouraged trade unionism. An important interlocutor with other black periodicals, the Messenger argued that racial advancement was predicated on class consciousness and labor organization. Yet the Messenger’s short lifespan reflected the limits of Socialist politics as a vehicle for black political mobilization.

“AS WAGE SLAVES WE HAVE RUN AWAY FROM THE MASTERS IN THE SOUTH, BUT TO BECOME THE WAGE SLAVES OF THE MASTERS OF THE NORTH,” THE MESSENGER, 1919.¹

Black Labor Consciousness: On the Agenda

Black labor relations in New York City during the interwar period reflected tensions between race-based and class-based consciousness, intensifying unionism, and the lure of socialist politics. At the turn of the century, New York was the beneficiary of massive in-migration from the South—part of the nationwide “Great Migration” of blacks from the rural South to rapidly industrializing Northern cities. Since Reconstruction, unions had enforced the color line—denying membership to black laborers while providing support to whites. The Great Migration, which coincided with American participation in World War I (WWI), made union racism salient in Northern cities. The war effort spurred stronger federal government intervention in resolving labor disputes, as labor stability was privileged to the advantage of black workers who could leverage their labor for higher wages.² During the interwar period, black political leaders and social critics debated the status of black workers and their exploitation, and the extent to which race leaders advanced the cause of black laborers. From 1917 through the next decade, these debates took shape on the pages of the *Messenger*, a black radical newspaper based in New York with a circulation reaching about 5,000 readers at its peak.³ Published by Asa Phillip Randolph, a Socialist who, in 1925, organized the first black-led labor union in the country to be recognized by the American Federation of Labor—

the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—the *Messenger* sought to agitate its readership to develop class consciousness.⁴ In the following three sections, I demonstrate how the *Messenger* developed from a small newspaper to an influential voice in black politics. First, I describe the paper’s efforts to raise race and class consciousness in its readers. Second, I turn to black exclusion from labor unions and trace the newspaper’s arguments for biracial unionism—in essence, harnessing both race and class consciousness. Finally, I examine the *Messenger*’s direct participation in promoting Socialist politics, serving as a platform to both endorse candidates and mobilize voters. By publicizing the color line in organized labor, the *Messenger* raised awareness of the poor conditions black workers faced in industrialized cities and challenged preeminent black intellectuals to incorporate both race and class consciousness into their designs for improving black life.

Race and Class Consciousness

As black laborers entered the industrial workforce, they formed a race-and-class consciousness. Frustrations with poor working conditions, long hours, low wages, and other class-based concerns took shape in editorials and articles published in the *Messenger*, a black radical newspaper published in New York City beginning in 1917. The newspaper described its mission as fostering a mass movement through “(a) labor unions; (b) farmers’ protective unions; (c) cooperative business enterprise; (d) and the Socialist party organizations for political action.”⁵ Edited by A. Phillip Randolph, the newspaper often criticized contemporary black intellectuals and leaders, including Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. DuBois, for not forcefully advancing the interests of black workers alongside their anti-lynching campaigns.⁶ In the *Messenger*’s view, these dominant leaders were at fault for failing to promote black labor solidarity in their wide-reaching, public writings; DuBois’ periodical, the *Crisis*, reached an average of 50,000 subscribers in the 1920s.⁷ Signaling its radical political orientation, the *Messenger* expectantly monitored the global advance of Socialism. In the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, writers in the *Messenger* compared racial politics in the United States to Russia; Soviet progress was often used to justify a turn toward socialist politics.⁸ The newspaper was outraged when the New York Legislature, including the sole black Republican legislator, refused to seat five Socialist delegates in January 1920.⁹ The *Messenger* criticized mainstream political parties as inimical to progress, noting: “Neither white nor colored representatives of the old parties have any initiative, independence, or freedom of action. Neither group of the old parties represents the people—white or colored. The only political hope is the Socialist party.”¹⁰ Criticism of mainstream political parties morphed into broader calls for a realignment of black politics that emphasized labor.

Embracing race-labor dual consciousness, the *Messenger* used its platform for dialogue to emphasize that politics should achieve racial progress by increasing black representation in public office and organized labor. As a publisher of radical content and a site of interaction between different race leaders, the *Messenger* actively participated in the formation of a new radical politics that prioritized racial advancement and labor consciousness at strategically appropriate times. Articles written by the editor of the *Negro World* (published by the Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association) were published alongside commentaries

on the *Crisis*, the NAACP's mouthpiece. Simultaneously, the magazine's editors published criticisms of the American Federation of Labor and reported the meeting times and locations for newly-formed black labor unions in the city. By selectively deploying race-and-class-based language to incite readers to action, the *Messenger's* writers and editors harnessed the dual consciousness developed by industrial black workers in the North and farmers in the South during the Great Migration. The *Messenger* did not criticize the *Crisis*, but instead aimed to pick up where it left off, advancing a more radical vision of racial advancement.¹¹ The newspaper's rising influence coincided with broader discussions of the "New Negro" and the racial implications of urbanization.¹² The cover of the May 1923 edition of the *Messenger*, which featured Rodin's *The Thinker*, reflected the magazine's acceptance of education and action (enmeshed in new definitions of black masculinity) as crucial in a movement toward racial progress. Once calling itself the "Only Radical Negro Magazine in America," the *Messenger* only relinquished its title when a Communist interlocutor, the *Crusader*, joined the ranks of black radical newspapers.¹⁴ In articulating its vision for the "New Negro," the *Messenger* prompted discussion of black labor consciousness among race leaders.



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The *Messenger* selectively emphasized labor conditions, class, and race, to increase black political participation. Early in its circulation, the *Messenger* published a call to blacks and whites to organize into unions because "[a]s workers, black and white, we all have on common interest, viz., the getting of more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions."¹⁵ At the same time, the *Messenger* often spoke directly to the black experience and the memory of slavery as an enduring example of how the black body can be exploited by white capitalists. The authors noted, "[t]o him [the boss] the worker is but a machine for producing profits, and when you, as a slave who sells himself to the master on the installment plan, become old, or broken in health or strength, or should you be killed while at work, the master merely gets another wage slave on the same terms."¹⁶ By using the imagery of slavery to describe working conditions for black laborers, the authors questioned the progress black workers could make without organizing into unions and criticized the fate of the race under its current leadership. Addressing both its general circulation and specific leaders' competition for support and resources within the black political community, the *Messenger* aspired to recalibrate black politics through its reportage.

The *Messenger* and other Northern black newspapers participated in boosterism that encouraged Southern blacks to migrate to northern industrial centers. *Messenger* editors indicated that migration would not solve Southern blacks' problems, but instead would give them "something to fight about."¹⁷ They argued that, "[w]ith better industrial opportunity the Negroes secure information. They then have light to see how to fight—a lamp for guidance. With the possession of the ballot the Negroes have political power—ammunition.

They then have something to fight with.”¹⁸ While understanding the broader race goals of gaining political power and improving social status, the editors of the *Messenger* viewed labor protections as a linchpin for racial progress. Fusing race and class consciousness, the *Messenger* articulated a vision for a New Negro, along with a New Patriotism. A full-page advertisement for the New Patriotism in March 1919 explained: “[t]he new patriotism is color blind. Flag-blind. Kaiser-blind. It would not lynch, burn, or disfranchise a man because of his race or color. It never sees the color, form, or flaunting of a flag; it is too busy exacting the justice, protection and liberty which that flag should ungrudgingly give.”¹⁹ Laden with a nationalism influenced by the black experience in WWI, the New Patriotism represented a hope for racial justice. In the postwar international context, this patriotism was viewed along labor lines. While *Messenger* proclaimed, “[t]his is the day of the workers, the organized worker. In Russia, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and America,” it offered a call to action.²⁰ It reminded readers that “industrial action [w]as the most effective weapon which the Negro can employ, both in the interest of himself as a worker, and as a race.”²¹ By unionizing, black workers could protect themselves, make their links to white workers more explicit (in opposition to capitalists) and play a significant role in American politics.

The “New Negro” invoked by the *Messenger* editors symbolized a division within the African American community about whether blacks should overcome discrimination in America or move to Africa to begin anew, as Marcus Garvey advocated. Marcus Garvey, a race leader trained in Booker T. Washington’s Tuskegee Institute, asserted that black Americans, deprived of their rights in the United States, should return to Africa, the “motherland,” instead of focusing their energies on obtaining rights and equal treatment in American society.²² Conversely, the *Messenger* advocated for using education and organization to achieve radical changes to the treatment and quality of life for African-Americans. Emphasizing racial uplift through class consciousness raising and the agitation of black workers against capitalist domination, editors of the *Messenger* regarded Garvey and his message of escapism as toxic to racial progress. In 1922, the *Messenger* appraised Garvey as “[a] menace to sound, democratic racial relations, a race baiter and a race traitor, Garvey must go. The sooner the better.”²³ Importantly, the language deployed by the *Messenger* to address readers featured labor-based language. The same author wrote, “it is time for all decent, self-respecting Negroes to league together for the purpose of driving out that Negro.”²⁴ The *Messenger*’s language intended to promote the recognition of a common interest and the association of people who share this common interest; the *Messenger* promoted a unionization strategy for all black readers, not just workers, to mobilize against race discrimination. As the *Messenger* characterized it, Garvey’s desire to “return” to Africa aligned him with the Ku Klux Klan.²⁵ More than bickering between two race leaders, the exchange between the *Messenger* and Garvey represented how strategies for racial uplift could be contested within a milieu shaped by labor relations.

The *Messenger* provided a platform for race leaders to develop and critique each other’s positions on how to improve black social, political, and economic conditions. An exchange of letters between Garvey and William Pickens, an essayist who worked for the NAACP,

demonstrated how Garvey was distanced from “mainstream” race leaders in the black press. Garvey invited Pickens to receive an award from his organization, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1922. In response, Pickens declined the invitation and accused Garvey of, “conceding the justice of its [the Ku Klux Klan’s] aim to crush and repress colored Americans.”²⁶ Pickens continued:

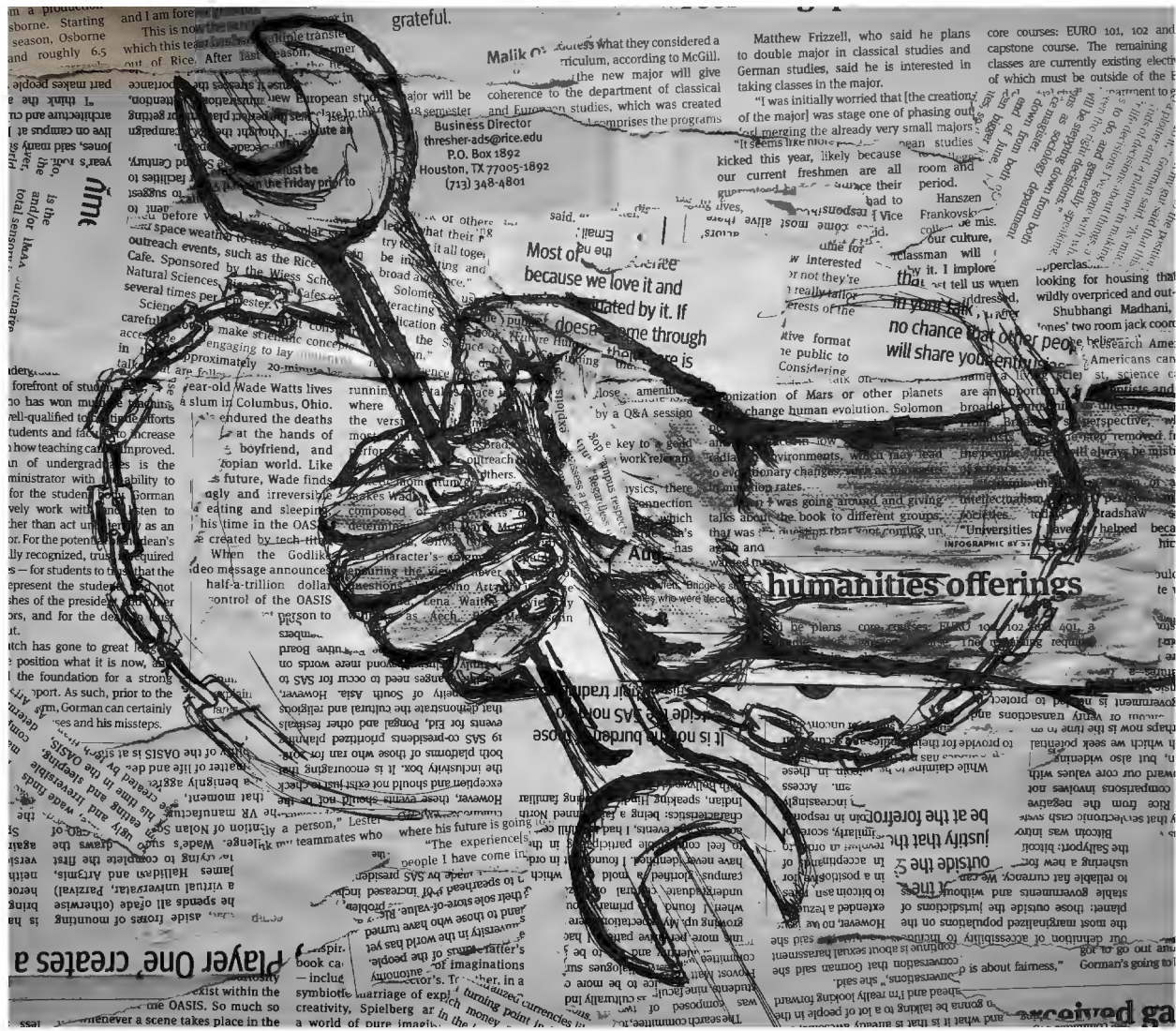
You say in effect to the Ku Klux Klan: All right! Give us Africa and we in turn concede you America as a ‘white man’s country.’ In that you make a poor deal: for twelve million people you give up EVERYTHING and in exchange you get—NOTHING. *For the Klan has nothing to “give up” in Africa....* But the Negro American citizen has everything to give up in America.... We will give up our homes, our rights, our lives, our past and our future in our native land, provided the Klan will give us a free and undisputed title to the moon.’ In fact, the Klan can give you a much less troublesome title to the moon today than it can give you to Africa. The moon is, of course, a little further away, but so much the better for protection against the long-range guns of England, France, and Portugal.²⁷

In combating the “Back to Africa” movement spearheaded by Garvey, Pickens defended the possibility of improved race relations in the United States, which the *Messenger* embraced with its endorsement of unionization and labor agitation.

Black, White, and Biracial Trade Unionism

Confronted by racist policies in white trade unions that restricted membership, black workers often agitated for a liberalization of membership policies in white unions, and sometimes organized themselves into labor unions. White unions in New York City were affiliated with city and state organizations that connected similar unions, attaching local attitudes to national organizing bodies.²⁸ Unions gained new prominence as black migrants entered northern cities. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People’s (NAACP) New York Field Secretary, James Weldon Johnson, observed in 1918, “the Negro comes up against a problem he has never had to face before, and that is union labor. In the North, in almost every field the unions shut him out.”²⁹ Establishment race leaders, like Johnson, viewed labor unions as threatening to black workers’ ability to obtain any employment in the North. The *Messenger*’s editors, by contrast, were concerned by the exploitation of black workers at the hands of capitalists, and thought organizing against the controllers of capital was essential to ensuring black labor was fairly compensated and workers were treated humanely. The following year, in 1919, the *Messenger*’s editors identified common interests of all workers:

There is but one question, which, more than any other, presses upon the mind of the worker today, regardless of whether he be of one race or another, of one color or another—the question how he can improve his conditions, raise his wages, shorten his hours of labor and gain something more of freedom from his master—the owners of the industry wherein he labors.³⁰



Frances Williamson (2018)

The *Messenger's* writing signified an understanding of class politics that transcended racial lines; the challenge for black labor agitators was to gain support from black workers and navigate hostile white labor unions that sought to extend the reach of Jim Crow and segregation to labor organizations.

After first generating class consciousness among readers by identifying how labor exploitation is common to black and white workers, the *Messenger's* editors proposed biracial unionism to protect all workers' interests. An article listing several reasons that biracial unionism would be advantageous to black workers cited bargaining advantages and the threats workers face from non-unionized "scabs."³¹ Much of article's language is not targeted toward black workers so much as it is directed to white labor organizers. The article holds black workers' exclusion from labor unions as "the only reasons why colored workers scab upon white workers or why non-union men scab upon white union men."³²



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The activities of major unions, including the AFL and International Workers of the World (IWW), and later the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), signified the different racial policies white labor unions could enforce during the era of mass industrialization. While other labor unions actively attracted black members in the years following Reconstruction, the AFL excluded black workers from joining its ranks up to World War II. Blacks were able to join the Knights of Labor in the 1880s, the IWW began admitting black members in the 1910s, and the CIO notionally admitted members of various skills, races, and genders after it broke away from the AFL in 1935.³³ Recently, scholars have reevaluated the inclusivity of the CIO; though its break from the AFL traced along a racist fault line, the CIO's member unions—especially the United Mine Workers of America—were more open to accommodating black laborers, especially in the South, than the various craft unions affiliated with the AFL.³⁴ Most exclusion of black workers in the CIO actually occurred in the white northern unions; as WWII exerted pressure on the union, it failed to forcefully articulate a vision of racial labor equality.³⁵ In the 1920s before the CIO was formed, however, the AFL was subjected to sustained attacks from the *Messenger's* authors. In 1919, the newspaper appraised the values of the AFL and the IWW to black workers; the AFL was exhorted for being "criminally negligent and recreant to its duty, in either ignoring or opposing Negro workers."³⁶ By contrast, the I.W.W. was celebrated for its "admission of all races" and its goal of achieving "AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL."³⁷ Through the I.W.W.'s progressive practices, *Messenger* writers hoped, it would "end slavery and oppression forever and in its place [would] be a world of workers, by the workers and for the workers; a world where there will be no poverty and want among those who feed and clothe and house the world; a world where the words 'master' and

‘slave’ shall be forgotten.”³⁸ Though the Great Migration represented a path for poor, often rural, blacks in the South to escape Jim Crow laws and agricultural labor, the *Messenger* made clear that true liberation rested on the realization of both race and class consciousness; labor unions like the I.W.W. were necessary to the lasting liberation of blacks in America.

The American Federation of Labor’s Racism, Discussed

Unions were central to developing black Americans’ sense of belonging in a country that had long excluded them from its society. Since its founding in the 1880s, the American Federation of Labor embraced racial discrimination as a strategy to reinforce its reputation for representing real Americans, not foreign immigrants. Unlike the Knights of Labor and other early unions, the AFL used decentralization to insulate racist local union leaders to accommodate the racist attitudes of their localities.³⁹ This discrimination was compounded by the denial of admission of black workers to skilled unions, which enforced a color line across professions to limit black access to higher paying jobs.⁴⁰ The *Messenger’s* editors excoriated the AFL for its failure to reach out to black workers, but some readers advocated reform of the union. In a letter to the editor, one reader suggested, “I believe that if we could concentrate our efforts to that end that we could organize every colored man and woman employed in industry into organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, we can have a strong, formidable force that will drive the reactionary element out of the labor movement altogether.”⁴¹ The *Messenger’s* editor, A. Philip Randolph, joined the ranks of militant labor organizers—including the administrators of Brookwood Labor College in New York—in condemning the practices of the AFL.⁴² By attacking exclusionary labor unions, but promoting the organization of workers and alignment with white radical labor leaders, the *Messenger* offered a vision of politics that used capital, not race, to align interests.

Black workers strategically used their exclusion from unions to gain short-term employment and develop a mass movement toward labor organization. For example, when white unions did choose to strike, their exclusion enabled nonunionized black workers to find employment, meeting the demand of desperate firms in the North seeking labor; black workers used their strikebreaking capability to secure a pathway to stable employment, as in the Great Steel Strike of 1919 for example.⁴³ The Director of the National Urban League’s Department of Industrial Relations, T. Arnold Hill, wrote an open letter to the AFL explaining that while the union enforced racist policies:

Negro workers have been branded as scabs. They were wanted in the union only after they had entered industry as strikebreakers. Denied opportunity to work under normal conditions they have been conscious of opposition from white workers and have resorted to strike-breaking as much to retaliate as to find employment....Thus, whites arrayed against blacks and blacks against whites have kept up a constant warfare to the detriment of labor and the advantage of capital.⁴⁴

Citing the lack of enforcement of anti-discrimination policies among the AFL’s federated unions, Hill noted that in the decade beginning in 1919 the number of unionized black

workers dropped from 169 to 23 as racism thrived in the organization.⁴⁵ Even in the worrisome racial climate of the late interwar period, Hill persisted to suggest that solving labor tensions between whites and blacks could contribute and reinforce the “spirit of interracial goodwill that is moving forward in other circles.”⁴⁶ Hill suggested that black workers engaged in strikebreaking as a retaliatory measure to unions’ racism and called on the AFL to reform its practices. Conversely, the director of the of the AFL called in 1934 for a “constructive attitude” that predicated progress on the “growing acceptance of responsibility on the part of Negro workers.”⁴⁷ Green’s foisting of responsibility on black workers to comply with the goodwill of whites reflected the root challenge of interracial unionism: white union leaders were unwilling to commit resources to achieving integration and equal treatment of workers. An open letter directly responded to Green by exclaiming, “[a]nd yet, how largely your A.F. of L. is responsible for forcing the Negroes to ‘accept substandard conditions,’ by *keeping them out* of the unions of more highly-skilled workers! Your policy of ‘unofficial exclusion,’ ... is harmful to Negroes and the A.F. of L. alike.”⁴⁸ This debate about culpability for the plight of black workers represented the tension between race and class-consciousness within the broader labor movement. Socialist politics, which deployed racial and class-based messages to recruit support, offered an artificial space for race leaders and labor leaders discuss their apprehensions of each other with the explicit aim of achieving better conditions for *workers* (defined by each group differently).



Figure 1. “Why Negroes Should Be Socialists”

Black Participation in Socialist Politics

Once black workers recognized their class and racial interests in organizing against capitalist exploiters, the *Messenger*’s editors represented Socialist politics as a natural home for black political expression. The race and class dimensions of black labor and the

Messenger's consciousness-raising efforts were expressed in a cartoon published in 1920 (Figure 1). The cartoon depicted how white and black workers fought each other for access to employment (represented by a bone) while employers and capitalists—managers who controlled laborers—gained exclusive access to capital (represented by a ham), which was of significant value. Each party was represented as dogs in a fight; a warning from the “agitator dog” read, “Drop that bone and get the ham! You are just working dogs!” The agitator dog, who represents the Socialist party and other labor-based political movements, admonished black and white workers and encouraged them to subordinate a long history of racism to contemporary class conflict, which should unite their interests. The cartoon accompanies a series of articles written by the editors under the header “Why Negroes Should Be Socialists.”⁴⁹ Going beyond publishing advertisements for Socialist candidates, which the *Messenger* did early in its tenure, the series on identifying black citizens’ interest in Socialist Politics represented an endorsement of Socialist Party politics as a departure from a racist past. The shrill caution from the agitator dog suggested that the early 1920s were a crucial moment for moving past bitter race relations toward a class-based society; the *Messenger* did not want to waste time participating in less radical politics that would perpetuate black workers’ subordination to white workers or their exclusion from labor unions.

In discussing the benefits black workers—who confronted restricted labor market access, low wages, and few savings—stood to gain from participating in radical politics, the *Messenger* echoed the Socialist Party agenda of alleviating class-based suffering. The anti-poverty aims of the Socialist Party were articulated in a political advertisement, run in the *Messenger* in 1917, for a black mayoral candidate in New York, Morris Hillquit, who had been nominated by the Socialist Party. Hillquit lost the 1917 campaign but still managed to win nearly 150,000 votes citywide. Hillquit’s performance was certainly an impressive milestone for the Socialist Party of America, and he regarded his vote tally as a sign that the “Socialist Party [w]as an important and permanent factor in the politics of the city.”⁵⁰ His campaign’s messaging emphasized the poverty suffered by many New Yorkers of all races, but specifically resonated with black voters who were exceptionally sensitive to price increases due to low wages and unstable employment. The advertisement in the *Messenger* suggested that his opponents’ victory would mean “high rents, high prices, 10-cent bread, 14-cent milk, hungry school children and a high death rate among the babies of the poor.”⁵¹ Hillquit’s emphasis on the prices of consumer goods and staple items, like bread and milk, reflected the challenges posed by low wages to black life in New York City, as across the nation.⁵² Racism in employment sharpened black class consciousness because limited access to capital made it difficult for black workers to “keep from poverty,” which in turn, “strangles and suffocates the mind.”⁵³ Hoping to reach black readers and their brethren in poverty, the *Messenger* condemned the possibility that mainstream politics could offer material improvement to black voters; the editors cautioned, “Republicans and Democrats support this system that raises property rights above human rights.”⁵⁴ Another article in the series spoke directly to the black experience:

You are suffering from injustices. That's a fact, isn't it? Well, over 3,000 Negroes have been lynched in this country since 1882. You are still denied the right to vote in the South and you are still jim-crowed[sic], segregated and discriminated against....You need a Federal law against lynching. The Republican Party, your friend, has had both the power and the opportunity....Has it done it? Point us to it.⁵⁵

Indeed, the Republican party's leadership under President Teddy Roosevelt reflected his discriminatory attitudes that regarded African Americans as inferior to whites.⁵⁶ Building on these frustrations, the editors condemned Lincoln for only emancipating slaves because he needed to save the Union, and for no other humanitarian or moral compulsion. By asserting that 50 years of racial progress since Reconstruction were built on pragmatism and not a change in attitudes on race, the *Messenger* suggested that capital has the power to change voters' opinions (i.e., the power of class-consciousness). Despite these efforts, a contemporary of the Randolph noted that black readership of the *Messenger* was comparatively low and that the prime audience of his targeted race-specific endorsement of Socialist Party politics were, in fact, "white liberals and radicals."⁵⁷ In his letter to Randolph and the *Messenger*, Eugene V. Debs was sympathetic to "the Negro...[who] was stolen from his home, landed here like an animal, and sold into slavery from the auction block."⁵⁸ Despite his sympathy, Debs also failed to submit an article to the newspaper for circulation in the radical black press. Indeed, the main thrust of Socialist politics into black life was mobilized by the editors of the *Messenger*, not the leaders of the Socialist Party itself. Still, the inability of the *Messenger* to convince black readers to vote for Socialists was reflected by the losses Socialist candidates suffered in subsequent New York City mayoral elections.

Conclusion

The *Messenger* provided a critical platform for the formation of black labor consciousness, growing demands for trade unionism, and black support for Socialist politics in interwar New York. Radical race leaders used the *Messenger* as a mouthpiece to articulate a vision of labor organization that fused race and class consciousness. By seeking to activate the "New Negro," the *Messenger's* editors also sought to catalyze black workers in New York to make common cause with white laborers to form interracial unions. Concerned with improving race relations in the United States via class consciousness, A. Philip Randolph and the editors of the *Messenger* criticized Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement as a concession to white supremacists. At the same time, the *Messenger* was critical of W.E.B. DuBois and other race leaders for failing to advance the cause of black workers, especially in negotiations with the AFL and other vanguard labor organizations. Invoking imagery of slavery and exploitation, the *Messenger* promoted black laborers' economic and political organization. Socialist politics offered an outlet at the intersection of race and class consciousness for race leaders to advocate for a significant shift from usual politics to advance racial progress in America. Seized by the *Messenger* as a path forward in the interwar period, Socialist politics had a limited shelf life for racial progress entrepreneurs. Socialist leaders' cursory treatment of racial discrimination in favor of prioritizing class-consciousness left black labor relations in the hands of race leaders, in the pages of the *Messenger*, instead of in the hands of Socialist Party leaders in nationwide labor organization.

NOTES

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7. Goeser, *Picturing the New Negro*, 59.
8. A. Philip Randolph, "A New Crowd -- A New Negro," *The Messenger*, June 1919, 26–27.
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11. "The Call for a New Organization," *The Messenger* II, no. 3 (March 1920): 11.
12. Clare Corbould, *Becoming African Americans: Black Public Life in Harlem, 1919-1939* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 52-53.
13. Corbould, *Becoming African Americans*, 52-53.
14. "Pickens," *The Messenger* II, no. 2 (March 1920): 11.
15. "Reasons Why White and Black Workers Should Combine in Labor Unions," *The Messenger*, July 1918, First edition in *Black Workers: A Documentary History from Colonial Times to the Present*, ed. Philip S. Foner and Ronald L. Lewis, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 354.
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17. "Migration and Political Power," *The Messenger* II, no. 7 (July 1918): 9.
18. *Ibid.*
19. "The New Patriotism," *The Messenger* III, no. 3 (March 1919).
20. "Organized Labor and Negro Workers," *The Messenger* II, no. III (March 1920): 6.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Corbould, *Becoming African Americans*, 18-19.
23. "Time to Go," *The Messenger* III, no. 8 (August 1922): 457.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. "Marcus Garvey to William Pickens and William Pickens to Marcus Garvey," *The Messenger* III, no. 8 (August 1922): 471.
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28. Andrew Strouthous, *US Labor and Political Action, 1918-24: A Comparison of Independent Political Action in New York, Chicago, and Seattle* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 13.
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DAVID RATNOFF

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