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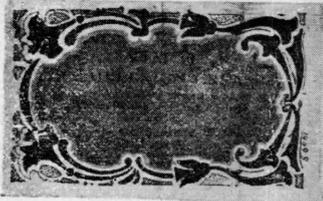
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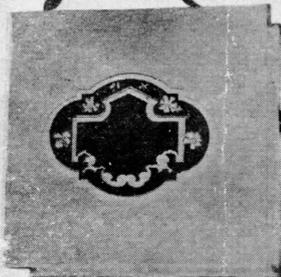
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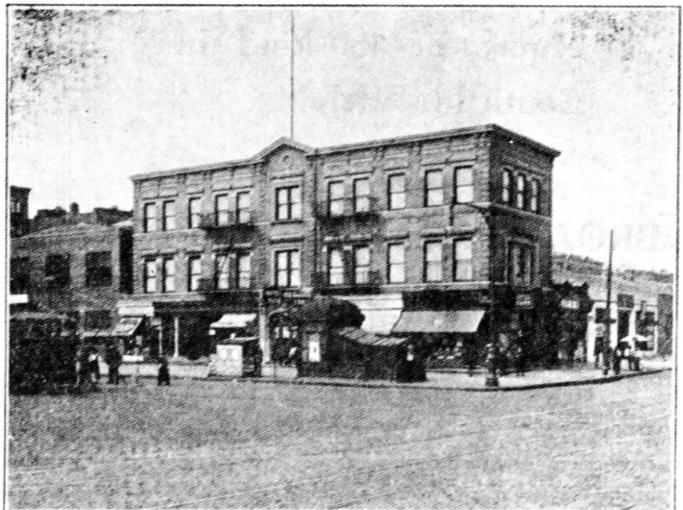
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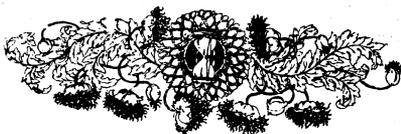
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Entered As Second Class Mail, July 27, 1919.

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W. A. DOMINGO

Editorials

THE DYER ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

ANYTHING that focuses public attention on lynching, helps. So will the Dyer bill, which purports to make lynching a Federal Crime, tend to mold public sentiment against this crime of crimes. As we surmised, Republicans, along with their stalwart Democratic allies are sparing no pains either through open opposition or subtle silence in doing their darndest to kill the bill. It simply confirms our charge that there is no difference between the two old parties, except name, and the difference which might arise between any two Democratic or Republicans in their efforts to get political jobs, or the right and privilege to represent their masters—Wall Street. We don't expect the bill to pass; and if by some hook or crook it does pass the house, it is bound to hit a snag in the American House of Lords—the Senate; and if a poignant sense of shame should compel the "rich men's club" to sanction it, then we may count upon it that His Judicial Fatness—Mr. Taft—will solemnly declare that the said bill constitutes a grave and unconstitutional invasion of the sacred doctrine of "States Rights." Hence, it is a hundred-to-one shot that the Dyer Bill will die ere it sees the light of constitutionality.

The Constitution is a fetish in America. Even the Negroes who have suffered more from its hands than any other class in America, except, perhaps, labor, think that the Constitution is the citadel of all liberties, although it has afforded him only the liberty to be lynched, jim-crowed and disfranchised.

In support of this Constitution fetishism, the *New York World*, which generally strikes upon the right note of most public questions, goes awry, and writes some inexcusably superficial editorials against the bill. However, it is in keeping with the *World's* bankrupt doctrine of liberalism.

In order to keep a doctrine intact, it is sometimes necessary to become absurd and ridiculous. Such is the case with the *New York World*.

The veriest political tyro knows that with the march of the centralization of economic and political power that the doctrine of "States Rights" is nothing but a fiction.

What about the Income Tax Law and States Right; not to mention Woman's Suffrage and Prohibition? Furthermore, to maintain that the law will not be enforced is to commit the logical and obvious error of predicating of a Federal law against lynching that which is injurious to that law what is true of all laws. Even the *New York World* would not maintain that all laws against burglary and murder should be repealed on the grounds that they are enforced so as to prevent burglary and murder.

Of course, we know that a Federal law against lynching wont stop lynching; but that's no valid or sound argument against it. The Dyer Bill, at least, is a beginner, in that, it seeks to make lynching unprofitable, by penalizing the State. The basic remedy is to socialize industries. Make it unprofitable to business to keep black and white workers fighting over the bone of race prejudice. Educate both the black and white people of the South alike. Give both races the ballot. When this is done there will be no need for such political parasites and intellectual lilliputians as Pat Harrison, Cole Blease, John Sharp Williams and Tom Watson in public life.

FORD STOPS ATTACK ON JEWS

LO, and behold! The incomparable Flivver King has relented and decided not to exterminate the Jewish evil. The reason, did you ask? Well, its the "nickle under the foot." His Honor, avers, and who is so bold, so rash, as to challenge his Olympian Highness, that, for the nonce, he must reform finance before he reforms the Jews. For of course, you know the Jews will always be with us; but finance—well, those infernal Bolsheviks are all pretty live dead ones, and God only knows what they wont do before they finish. Be it remembered that this business of socializing social capital for use, and not for profit, might extend to the American Flivver institution; for after all, despite much parlaver about the social welfare of the Ford workers, it is generally admitted that they are robbed, too.

However, it all goes on to show how race, religion and nationality doffs their chapeau to the god of Finance. While all was going well in the world of shekels, Mr. Ford strutted up and down the stage of propaganda with his little "Still-born Dependent" mental midget under his arm, hurling anathemas upon the impious heads of the long suffering Children of Israel. But, then, being long on inspiration and short on economic information, he was unable to see the gathering industrial and financial storm. To him it appeared that Flivvers would fly high forever. But things are not always as they seem. During periods of industrial depression, even a Ford may find it hazardous in fording the financial stream. And, so it is. Mr. Henry F. has dreamed of the great and incalculable wealth possibilities that lie in the muscles of the workers providing he can land them on Muscle Shoals.

Now, in order to get Muscle Shoals, one must have much cash or credit, and not a little pull with Congress, and it has been conceded by the *Auto Wizzard* himself that the Jews have both. Hence, it might not be the worst stroke of strategy to lay off that anti-Jewish stuff for a while. You, doubtless, recall the

witticism that "there is many a slip between the cup and the lip?" Well, carrying this horse-sense over into the realm of big ventures, it is good, approved, Fordian Wisdom to assume that there is many a shoal between the Flivver Kingdom and Muscle Shoals. Thus the sudden reversal on the anti-Semite propaganda. Of course, it is deucedly unkind to intimate that a leopard can't change his spots. What's a leopard to the Flivver Houdini? Besides, the Jews are such persistent and revengeful cusses. They have both the brains and the money to compete, together with the disposition to boycott the Wonder Worker's "honk, honk." However, let us congratulate Mr. Ford upon his belated but sensible decision to stop Jew-baiting and pogrom-making in America.

Hereafter, perhaps, he will find it more profitable to "remain silent and be considered a fool than to speak and remove all doubt."

RUSSIAN FAMINE

BELATEDLY, the United States of intelligent and democratic Americans has decided to recognize that a famine exists in Russia. Mr. Herbert Hoover requested, and Congress appropriated, twenty million dollars for relief, upon the agreement of the Soviet Government to employ its ten million gold fund secured from the old Czaristic regime, in purchasing goods in the American market for the same purpose—feeding the starving Russians. This, of course, is a cold business matter. Thirty millions spent for American goods, in this period of acute industrial depression, is a powerful accelerator of liquidation, which must, according to the laws of capitalist economics, run its appointed course, ere the revival of business sets in. Thus, the apparent philanthropy of American Business in helping starving Russia, is, incidentally, helping itself. Needless to say, however, that we heartily welcome this action of Congress. We are also glad to note the work of the American workers, liberals and radicals in sending relief to the first workers' republic. The workers of all countries, races and religions should work a day in every month for the relief of famine-stricken Russia; for in saving Russia, they are saving themselves. The MESSENGER urges all of its readers to give liberally to the different Russian Relief Funds, and especially to the Friends of Soviet Russia, 210 W. 13th St., New York City.

DEBS FREE

DEBS is free. To the utter horror of the hysterical American bourgeoisie, forced by public opinion to release him, Debs' spirit is unbroken; his mouth is unmuffled, as he stands forth as the unconquerable and incomparable champion of the disinherited, oppressed and exploited of all races, nationalities and religions. Noble Gene! We welcome you to the fold of militant workers, heroically struggling to achieve their historic mission, the building of a new society—a society of equals. We welcome you back to help awaken giant labor; to unify and solidify labor's struggles to the herculean task of freeing mankind.

Long live Eugene V. Debs!

Long live the Workers' Champion!

THE FIGHTING CLOAKMAKERS

THE Cloakmakers' strike is now in its ninth week, with this writing. The strike was forced upon the workers by the abrogation of an agreement by the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association. Unless the cloak bosses are made to respect and abide by this agreement, the 60,000 members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers will be driven back to the old, slave sweatshop, the savage piece-work system and starvation wages. Against this nameless fate, the fighting Cloak Makers, composed of all races, creeds and nationalities, stand like a granite wall. Even the capitalist press, struck by the workers' stonewall determination, iron-like discipline and scintillating enthusiasm, has been forced, ever and anon, to remark upon the unwisdom of violating contracts even with workers. But the Cloakmakers are not fighting along the picket line alone, they have secured two master minds of law, Hillquit and Untermeyer, to go into the courts to enjoin the cloak manufacturers from violating the agreement. They have succeeded. This is a signal victory for the Cloak Makers. Of course, injunctions can't win strikes; nor can they break them; but they may prove of some value to the workers. If they are useful to the employers, why shouldn't they be useful to the employees. At least the employment of injunctions by the workers may operate to discourage the bosses from using them so wantonly, in the future. We congratulate the International Ladies Garment Workers upon the splendid fight they have made. And in passing, it might not be amiss to note that, in this fight, six or more thousand of Negro girls are fighting too. Workers of all races are uniting. And why not? All workers are robbed and exploited; all need food, clothing, and shelter.

Cloakmakers! Forward, Onward, Upward!

Victory is near!

DISARMING THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

A CONFERENCE by any other name would disarm as quickly. True, it is disarming, but unfortunately, not armament. It is disarming the credulous, the naive—that queer and peculiar gentry who feed fat upon the pabalum of the "founding fathers," and our more modern aggregation of 100 per centers, who most adroitly employ language to deceive the people. "To disarm or not to disarm is not the question," and no Hamlet on earth can convince us to the contrary. Think of a thief disarming himself when he is intent upon stealing a purse or burglarizing! Of course, a sensible thief might disarm himself of worthless tools that no longer serve him effectively in jimmying locks. Nor is he going to encumber himself with more tools than he needs. Such is the case with America, England, France, Japan, Italy, etc. These imperialist powers are disarming themselves of useless armament, such as capital ships. But of capital airships, of capital submarines and poison gas, which are adjudged by the experts as being more modern, more efficient and more destructive, there is no disarming. These weapons will remain in vogue until war

is recognized as being a profitless pastime; then, disarmament, in very truth will begin, except sufficient to crush proletarian revolutions.

LET THE I. W. W.S GO!

THESE workers are in jail for their opinions just as Debs was in jail for his. Upon no different evidence or principle were the I. W. W.'s convicted from that upon which the strict political prisoners were convicted. An alleged violation of the Espionage Act, the Selective Service Act, and war time laws was the reason for the wholesale arrest of political and economic radicals. Still, from numerous utterances on the part of Administration officials, it would appear that an entirely different construction from that placed on political prisoners is to be conjured up against the class war prisoners. Their cases are not to be considered upon their merits. Their philosophy is to be tried. Even this would not be so bad, if the I. W. W.s were actually permitted to present their philosophy and their philosophy was considered for what it is, and not for what it is supposed to be according to the lurid imagination of some political and economic tyro.

The records of the I. W. W. since its birth in 1905, show that its strikes have grown out of economic and social injustice, and were directed to the end of correcting serious abuses, such as low wages, long hours, bad working conditions and the brutal persecution of the wobblies.

Of strikes, Government statistics show that I.W.W. strikes fell off in number 75 per cent from 1917 to 1918, while the total number of strikes, in the whole country, fell off only 25 per cent. In 1918, only 69 strikes were charged up against the I.W.W. as against 3232 set up against other labor organizations, of which latter, no conspiracy to obstruct the war was charged.

Unless the I. W. W.s are freed, no unionist is safe. So long as one man is in prison for the opinions he holds, no man is secure out of jail who holds liberal and radical opinions; for sooner or later they will conflict with the powerful oligarchs of finance and industry. This is the strongest argument for the doctrine of unlimited and unrestricted free speech, free press and free assemblage.

There is nothing in the decision handed down in the Chicago, Kansas City and Sacramento cases against the Industrial Workers of the World to indicate that the issue there involved was anything other than a plain, free-speech and political one.

There is no longer any excuse for depriving the I. W. W.s of their liberty. War is over. The war hysteria is fast receding into the background. The workers—everybody, radical, liberal, every lover of human liberty must fight to get back their liberties. The best way to begin is by demanding that the I. W. W.s be set free.

GENOA ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

THE world is still sick. The much heralded Disarmament Conference of Washington has failed to diagnose the ailment, prescribe a remedy or prognosticate the date of recovery. Doctors Hughes and Harding thought that it was a case of armamitis, or too much armament, only to be rudely disillusioned by doctors Lloyd George and Briand. The brilliant and scholarly Europeans of the healing art are not easily fooled by such pretentious gestures as scrapping obsolete capital ships—and a so-called naval holiday. France never took it seriously, so Briand blew it up with one speech on the impossibility of disarmament. Japan has accepted everything in principle, but conceded nothing in fact. Dr. Balfour intimated that Dr. Briand stressed too vigorously the malady of chronic suspicionitis.

From all bulletins issued on the state of the patient, it would appear that the Chinese section is chiefly under the knife. Some irrepressible agitator is unkind enough to hint that a skinning is recommended as the only cure for pecuniary obesity, by the Big Four: America, Great Britain, France, and Italy. The half suppressed shrieks of pain from Mrs. China suggest that the treatment of gagging is being applied. Of course, it must be said, in justice to these methods of politico-economic imperialistic therapeutics that, their merits lie strictly in disregarding the wishes of the patient, on the perfectly plausible grounds that she is suffering from cerebro-arterio-sclerosis, is mentally incapacitated, and consequently, incapable of understanding the cause of her trouble.

Of course, it is not always that the doctors agree as to the sort of treatment to be administered. For instance, Dr. Briand became so enthusiastic about getting at the patient from underneath—a sort of blowing up process, executed with capital submarines, that the pious Dr. Hughes and the metaphysical Dr. Balfour wrung their hands in utter anxiety lest their patient, on account of a certain school of latinic therapeutics, should go by the way of water instead of gas.

Needless to observe here, that the doctors from Japan are essentially interested in the pathologic condition of the Far East. Each of these eminent physicians would dearly love to have the sole right to attend the Far East daily. But it can't be done. Neither will trust either with the Far East, fearing, of course, that inadequate medical counsel, might result in his death. And the will! You see Mr. Far East is very rich, yes very. Dr. Elihu Root says so. Hence, to protect the interests of America, he, with unsurpassable medical wisdom, devised a four-power treaty, a bandage to assuage acute economic bellyache.

Now, that the Washington Conference is fast slipping into innocuous desuetude, the doctors are packing their little black pill bags to reassemble at Cannes, and later at Genoa. At Genoa, it is rumored that an entirely new system of etiology will be invoked. So rapid, stupendous and revolutionary has been the shift in the method of diagnosis that even Dr. Bolshevik has been invited to sit at the bedside, and hold the pulse of Mr. World. It is becoming increasingly clear to the capitalist disciples of Hippocrates, that only Socialist therapeutic will neutralize and over-

come the imperialist toxemia of the victim. We will await with baited breath the bulletins from Genoa where Doctors Lenin and Trotzky will deftly apply a certain proletarian scalpel, calculated to relieve the economic intestinal tract of over production, arising as a result of the profit system. Dame Rumor, the emissary of the hysterical bourgeoisie, insists that Moscow's medical staff has it in for this patient, and like as not, will slip him the little black bottle that will relieve him of his pain and life, too. But this uncharitable view is pooh-poohed by the more sanguine, and, in high diplomatic circles, it is maintained that, in order to show their marvelous skill, as well as establish themselves in the faith of the sanitary priestcraft fraternity and the general public, the Bolshevik doctors will raise the patient and enable him to last a few more years. The patient, according to the latest bulletin, has had a serious relapse which is assigned to fear, which grew out of talk that he overheard about who is to take his place when he is gone.

TOM WATSON

SENATOR Thomas Watson of Georgia has been making sensational charges of brutality against officers in the U. S. Army during the war. So many responses from men like Pershing and Ex-Secretary of War Newton Baker have been heated and bitter that we are inclined to believe that Watson has struck upon a whole lot of truth.

We have a sneaking imagination of how a Southern white officer must have felt to see a Negro soldier with a French girl. And Oh! was it not sweet revenge to have the Negro hanged or shot at sunrise.

Elsewhere in this issue may be seen an article by Karl Hessler on "*The Negro in War Prison Camps.*" Reading between the lines one can imagine much about army brutality in Flanders if our war lords were so inhuman here. In other words, it was worse "Over There" than it was "Over Here" because the danger "over there" was greater than the danger "over here." Besides when Tom Watson charges injustice to Negroes, it's so—you bet it's so!

Economics and Politics

BLACK ZIONISM

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH



IT is barely possible to understand any single problem today without inquiring into the historical background of other contemporary problems that may or may not have certain points of similarity to the problem which you propose studying. An examination of the laws and principles of human association will reveal that the different ethnic, religious and national groups of the world are fundamentally the same. Their aspirations are similar. All mankind consciously or unconsciously struggle for the attainment of human happiness. By happiness, in the main, we mean: avoiding pain and securing pleasure. The march of the physical, and social sciences shows that freedom, or the ability of an individual or group to act in accordance with his desires, in religion, industry and politics, is becoming, more and more, the supreme condition and measure of human happiness. Happiness is the end; freedom the means. Everywhere, among all peoples, in every epoch of human history, this upsurge against bondage, has gone on. The manifestations and expressions of this movement for human freedom, in different lands, among different peoples, have neces-

sarily varied in conformity with the historical, political and economic background of each country and group. For instance, the objective of the Irish, Hindus and Jew is essentially the same, the achievement of independent nationalism; but they differ in methods. The methods of these three world groups were born in the fires of a long, arduous and crucial struggle. Hence, it might not be amiss to survey the strivings of each of these groups against oppression, in order to discover, in what essentials, the Negroes' struggles for freedom are similar or dissimilar.

The programme of the Zionist movement was laid down at the first Congress, at Basle, in 1897, and is known as the "Basle Programme." The first article states: "The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law." Of means it indicates: (1) The promotion by appropriate means of the settlement in Palestine of Jewish agriculturists, artisans and manufacturers. (2) The organization and binding together of the whole of Jewry by means of suitable institutions, both local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country. (3) The strengthening of the Jewish national feeling and consciousness. (4) By way of preparation, steps toward obtaining the consent of governments, where necessary, in order to reach the goal of Zionism. Such are the salient aspects of Zionism. In no part of the entire programme, is there suggested a policy of conquest. Palestine is inhabited by more Arabs and Turks than Jews; by peo-



A. Philip Randolph

ples speaking a hundred different languages; yet there is no intimation of expulsion. The keen mentality of the Jew recognizes the suicidal folly of such a policy. Neither their economic power nor man-power would justify the adoption of a policy of antagonism against the present Turkish masters of Palestine, although the Turks are among the weakest of the weak World Powers. The Jews take the unassailable position of attacking the problem of re-establishing a home in Palestine from the angle of greatest promise. They are not warlike, hence they do not talk boastfully about conquest. Nor do the Zionist leaders pretend that a Jewish State will solve all of the economic, political, social, and religious difficulties of the Jews in any of the countries where Jews are oppressed, such as Poland, Roumania, or Russia under the Czar.

Zionism does not attempt to absorb all of the energies and funds of the Jews in the achievement of a New Zion to the exclusion and injury of the vital work of combating the evil of pogroms and other anti-Semitic practices in the different countries of the world. To the Jews, Palestine is a living expression of Jewish character and ideas; a sort of measure and spiritual source, if you will, of Judaism. No more than a small minority of Jews are ever expected to migrate back to Palestine. Zionism is chiefly a cultural movement. It can not solve the problems of the Jewish workers. Under a Jewish State, the same class divisions would reappear that manifest themselves between the Jewish employees and employers in the Western European and American countries. In very truth, wherever the private ownership in the social tools and sources of wealth production and exchange is sanctioned, the irrepressible and irreconcilable conflict, will appear. From the point of Jewish Nationalism, Zionism is severely logical and practical; but from the point of view of the Jewish workers, it is no solvent key. Dr. Ch. Weizmann, the great Jewish leader, points out that, "the economic problems of the Jews must be solved in the countries where they now live."

Of Sinn Feinism and its methods.

The goal of Sinn Feinism is an independent Ireland. It is radical Irish nationalism. Its birth marked the entrance of the Irish question upon a genuinely uncompromising plane which immediately focussed worldwide attention. In the use of methods, the Sinn Feiners were driven to the adoption of tactics similar to those employed by the Ulsterite and Unionist forces—that is, they matched force with force. This, of course, was their only alternative.

It will be interesting, in this connection, to note the attitude of the Irish in America. Their position is, in many respects, similar to that of the Negro. The bulk of them live in the United States, and being of the Catholic faith, they too, in the South, are the victims of a cruel religious prejudice. But I know of no propaganda to ship the Irish in America back to Ireland, either for conquest or to resettle.

The Irish, while being ardently devoted to the ideal of an Irish State, recognize the utter futility of an Independent Ireland effecting a solution of their economic, political, social and religious problems in alien lands. De Valera would be repudiated and laughed out of school were he even to suggest such an idea.

Thus, in the light of their nationalistic struggles, there is much to be said in favor of the soundness of Sinn Feinism. But, needless to say, the freedom of the Irish people from British rule, will not ipso facto, emancipate the Irish workers from the tyranny of their industrial masters. Their economic masters may be changed from British to Irish, but the fact of their economic bondage will persist. To illustrate. The American colonies won independence from Great Britain in 1776, and not only did the slavery of Negroes continue, but the white workers, too, experienced no signal difference in their exploitation under King George the III from their exploitation under their own native masters. Thus we find the American workers, white and black, still struggling for freedom. The march of nationalism has only been of value to the workers throughout the world, to the extent of eliminating the necessity of directing their chief struggle to the overthrow of foreign rule, thereby throwing the class struggle in sharp relief, enabling them to focus their attacks upon class despotism, which arises out of the economic system of capitalism, and not out of the fact of alien rule. Irish employers and Irish employees can not escape the inevitable conflict which will flare forth in the form of strikes, lock-outs, boycotts, etc.

Hence, Sinn Feinism like Zionism, as a purifying cultural idealism, have caught the imagination of their respective followers, but hold no promise of economic freedom for the Irish proletariat.

Now as to Gandhism and its non-co-operative programme as a basis for the freedom of India. It, too, is a nationalist movement. Gandhi has adopted the non-resistance philosophy to combat the bloody heel of British tyranny in India. I seriously question its effectiveness against British imperialism, and yet one would be rash, indeed, to preach a doctrine of violence to an unorganized, unarmed, unintelligent peasant class, against one of the most formidable powers in the world, the British Empire. Gandhism, or the forces it sets in motion, however, may ere long liberate India, after which the problem of the Hindus workers' overthrowing their own Hindus industrial and agricultural masters, will fling itself into the center of the stage. Nationalist, like racial and religious conflicts cut, across class lines and confuse the vision of the workers, making them susceptible to the intrigues and cunning of insincere and unscrupulous demagogues. Such has been the tragic and hapless fate of all of the world's oppressed and disinherited. With the bare exception of a few Jewish, Irish, Hindus, and Negro leaders, the tortured masses are bled white of their funds; lashed into a frenzy of unreasoning hope of a new day by sensational and picturesque demagogues, only to be disillusioned and disenchanted by the costly but effective realism of experience.

Already in one of the biggest movements ever launched among Negroes, the Universal Negro Improvement Association, disintegrating forces are at work, set in motion by the recognition, on the part of an increasingly growing number of its members, that the operation of a Black Star Line and the conquering of Africa are not the work of mere phrases. Thus, Garveyism, with its impossible goal of building an African Empire, in a world of ruthless imperialism,



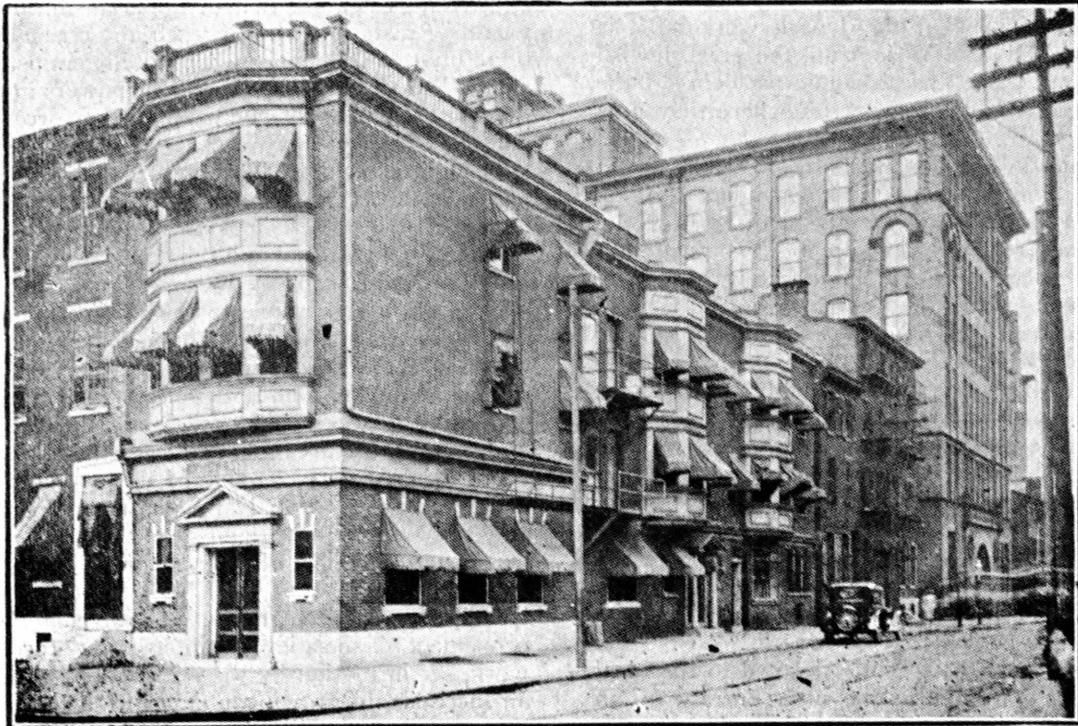
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The organization of the BROWN-STEVENs BANK AND TRUST COMPANY, with a capital of \$500,000, is a result of the idea to be of even greater service to the community, which we have served so successfully during the past six years.

The history of Trust Companies in this country almost parallels the history of the Nation. As early as 1822 the Farmers' Insurance and Loan Company, which was later known as the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, was organized in New York City by an act of Legislature, and it was through this organization that a great deal of service was rendered the Nation and financiers of post-colonial times. The trust company, per se, as a financial institution of the Nation, has developed side by side with other great institutions of service, until today no community of any size is without a modern trust company, serving the needs of the people. Surely, our race in this community is in sad need of an institution of this kind—a Modern Trust Company. Our group is a community within a community, an integral part of the main economic body of the city, without the vital forces that make for the greatest success. So, besides the idea of being of even greater service to our patrons and the race in general, there is a definite need that is evidenced on every hand. Therefore, the organization of BROWN-STEVENs BANK AND TRUST COMPANY is an economic and financial necessity for the best interests of our racial group in this community.

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is losing its lustre and magic appeal to the awakening masses of Negroes.

The project of the Negroes' building an African Empire smacks of the romantic and infantile excursions of Don Quixote. Unlike the Irish, Hindus and Jews whose countries are dominated by only one foreign power, Great Britain, Africa is parcelled up by Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Italy and Spain, who control every inch of land in Africa save 390 thousand square miles of territory which is in the hands of Abyssinia and Liberia. Hence to establish an empire in Africa, is to conquer the armies and navies of the aforementioned countries. For it is to the interest of all to prevent a successful rising of African natives against either of the Powers; as the success of a rising of natives against France would stimulate, hearten and encourage African subjects in the British region to rise against British rule. Hence, it ought to be apparent to even the most ardent and superficial Garveyite that the interest of one Power in preventing the establishment of an African State is the interest of all of the Powers; and if all of the Powers are interested in maintaining the status quo in Africa, that the redemption of Africa by Negroes who are unarmed, unorganized, uneducated, a minority in numbers to their oppressors, divided, both in and out of Africa by languages, custom, history, and habits, is a will-o'-wisp, an iridescent dream which could only be born in the head of an irresponsible enthusiast.

Let us take China for example and her struggle for freedom. It is clear to a cursory reader of the news on the Armament Conference that China, though an alleged independent nation, with an army and navy, is doomed to be shackled by the chains of financial imperialism, through a consortium of British, American, French and Japanese bankers, even more than she was ere she made her advent into the Conference. Now if such is the fate of a country which is recognized, in diplomatic parlance, as an independent nation, what hope is there of Africa, which is completely prostrate before world imperialism, building up an African State. It is recognized by all students of world politics that even Liberia and Abyssinia are independent nations in name only. European and American bankers are the real masters in Liberia, Abyssinia, Haiti, Mexico, in most South American countries, also India, China and Germany. No small nation can accept a loan from one of the great powers, and remain independent, and when the small countries, rich in raw material, desired by the great Powers, refuse to borrow, then they, like a lamb before a lion, are gobbled up.

Add to the opposition by the great Powers to any plan to oust them from Africa, the problem of conquering the African natives, with their varied tongues and customs, and the stubborn and forbidding aspect of nature in Africa, and you face a obstacle which only a mad man would suggest attacking today, by way of conquest.

But, let us grant for the sake of argument that an African Empire can be established, can it, as is contended by Mr. Garvey, protect Negroes in foreign

lands? We need not go far afield for an explanation. It is at hand in the case of China, Haiti, Germany, Liberia, Abyssinia, and Mexico.

Japan is an empire, and a powerful one at that; yet no Japanese will contend that he has not wrongs to redress which are inflicted upon him on American soil. When we examine the record of lynchings in America, Mexican after Mexican is numbered among the victims. It simply proves that mere allegiance to a nation does not automatically insure the safety of one in foreign lands, and it is certainly not reasonable to believe that an African State would become a full-fledged great world power comparable with Japan or Germany in the course of a generation. Hence it is either sheer ignorance or absolute insincerity to present as a reason for Negroes joining a movement to redeem Africa, the hope and assurance of Negroes in America being protected from injustices, insults and lynchings.

Besides the uncertain fortunes of an African State upon a raging sea of imperialism, the class division of Negro worker and Negro employer, will assert itself. A Negro Emperor would be no less ruthless, brutal and despotic to Negro subjects than was Czar Nicholas to the Russian Moujiks, which finally resulted in the Russian Revolution. Just as the Kaiser has been retired to private life and political oblivion by his own white native Germany, so a Negro ruler would also face the hazards of an imperial course.

Thus, it is obvious to the clear thinking that an African Empire is visionary, and that even granting the possibility of its establishment, it would neither be secure from other more powerful States, nor from the revolutionary movements formented and nurtured by Negroes from within.

What then is the hope of the African, the American and West Indian Negro, you ask? The answer is that the liberation of Africa can only come by allying the Negro liberation movement with the movements for the liberation of all of the world's enslaved of all races, creeds and color. Imperialism is at the bottom of African bondage. Only the abolition of imperialism can free Africa. We can not abolish white and yellow imperialism by raising black imperialism any more than you can abolish war by building battleships, or crime by cultivating criminals. First, the black workers in America and the West Indies must change their own social systems. They must raise the workers to power. The workers have no interest in holding colonies in subjection; for they reap no profits. Imperialism is the child of the capitalist system—and, as long as it continues, imperialism will rob, and exploit Africa, India, China, Mexico, and Haiti. Thus, to the end of achieving this goal, Negroes of the world must turn their faces toward the radical international labor and socialist forces of the world. For with the present stages of African economic, political and social development, only a world-wide proletarian revolution can achieve her liberation. An imperialist African state is impossible today. Even Germany began empire building too late, and her ruin was

wrought by her rival powers. But Afghanistan, Persia and Russian China were broken away from their Romanoff masters by the revolutionary upsurge of the Russian workers and peasants.

Garveyism will not only not liberate Africa, but it will set back the clock of Negro progress by cutting

the Negro workers away from the proletarian liberation movement expressed in the workers' efforts, political and economic to effect solidarity, class-consciousness, by setting them against instead of joining them with the white workers struggle for freedom. Herein lies the chief menace of Garveyism.

Education and Literature

NEGROES IN MILITARY PRISONS

By Carl Haessler

THE military stockade of Camp Sheridan, near Mobile, Alabama, was also used during the war as a place of detention for alleged draft evaders, among whom colored men outnumbered the whites for obvious reasons. The colored population was greater, the draft boards—composed exclusively of white men—were more lenient with whites, and sheriff's deputies found it easier to collect \$50 reward for bringing in a Negro who had been declared exempt from service than to treat a white in that manner.

The uncalled-for shooting by a guard of a Negro through arm and leg one night subdued the colored prisoners to unimaginable submission. When, therefore, the principle of democracy supposed to penetrate our war endeavor trickled down to the camp stockade one evening, the result was inevitable. The prison officer lined up all the colored alleged draft evaders and made a speech telling them that they need not fight unless they really wanted to. If they volunteered to go, they would probably have pleasant work on the docks in Virginia. If they refused, he could not tell what would happen to them, but nobody would be compelled to go, at present. Then with martial air he commanded those who refused to step out of line and go to their tents. One luckless Negro stepped out. His audacity drew a prolonged gasp from his fellows. When they were dismissed for the night, they crowded about him full of the most ominous forebodings. The poor insurgent was aghast at his own folly. He asked for advice. Finally he begged permission to see the prison officer, announced that he had misunderstood the circumstances and that he was immensely eager to fight. Thus was democracy justified of its prison officers.

The Negroes in the Alabama stockade were far more docile than many imprisoned in Ft. Leavenworth. Inquiry usually showed that the difference was geographical. The independent self-respecting Negro prisoner was of northern domicile and so was the troublesome, quarrelsome Negro of whom there were a few both at Ft. Leavenworth and at Alcatraz in San Francisco Bay.

But there were many more troublesome, quarrelsome whites of northern domicile as well as of southern domicile, and the unnatural conditions of prison life bore fruit in a development of race friction that was bound to break out in mass violence. The officers

did nothing to prevent the coming outbreak. The officer in actual charge was a southerner, Welton Modisette.

Then began an organized vendetta. All the white roughs, yeggs, sluggers and gangsters whose violent tendencies had been suppressed thus far in prison, combined to hunt down every Negro within the walls. No one was killed, but several Negroes had bones broken. Scores were laid up in the hospital. The whites came off better, fighting in gangs against single Negroes who were disarmed, thrown to the ground and then attacked with billies, clubs, and pieces of iron. The most serious injury was two arms broken and a fractured skull. After the riot had raged for two days, the Negroes were segregated and then the great general strike of January, 1919, gave the prisoners something else to think about. All the inmates combined to win the strike. After it was over, the Negroes were allotted a cantonment in the barbed wire cantonment just outside the walls, originally erected as an internment camp for war objectors. Here the Negro colony led a comparatively happy life with its baths and barber shop, its own amusements and its own government.

Major Modisette was transferred to another post the first day or two of the strike. He was a fiery little man, apparently inspired with a desire to rule his fellows by personality, like Napoleon. One day in his office he dramatically told me that if any prisoner attempted to touch him he would kill him on the spot. Four days later I was again in his office and he sat there scarcely able to talk coherently and nervously jerking about in his swivel chair. He had been roundly beaten up in the interval by a Negro in an altercation. The Negro lived and continued to live. The major explained that the assault was the act of a man of unsound mind.

At the prison entertainments Negroes were very popular because of their exceptional clog dancing, jiggling, singing and playing of banjo and mandolin. One Negro was a capable violinist. The Negro colony was led by two prisoners of intelligence and administrative ability who smoothed out all internal troubles and skilfully conducted the negotiations with the authorities.

The reign of self-government won by the strike was too good to last in a military prison. After several months the officers determined to recover their authority. The prisoners who had acted as leaders, those

having publicity connections with the outside world, those who had shown qualities obnoxious to the designs of the officers, were suddenly kidnapped and bundled across the continent to Alcatraz.

In the group of 34 undesirables were also the Negro leaders. Alcatraz was a smaller prison, holding hardly more than 600 inmates and it was more easily and efficiently controlled by the officers in charge. The incipient race feuds were quelled at the start, but not always before a sanguinary duel with fists and billies or loaded socks and handkerchiefs had been fought. Prison opinion was against gang activities and the Negro had comparative peace.

The principal sufferer from the notorious barbarities to which Alcatraz subjected war objectors was, after the ill-fated Hofer brothers, a Negro named Robert Simmons. He was a quiet, inoffensive religious objector who had already gone through a series of horrors in American camps in France. He was thrown into the underground dungeon on a bread and water diet for two weeks at a time until the use of the dungeon was stopped. Then he was ordered to go to work but refused because of conscientious objection to submitting to military orders. Each morning he was carried to a dump cart, swung into the air and thrown in a heap into the cart, transported to the place of work and thrown to the ground where he lay until he was hauled back at noon. This was repeated in the afternoon. Then he was put in solitary confinement in a dark cell for two weeks. Since that did not succeed, he was placed in one of the newly constructed iron man cages, like coffins placed on end in which a man could not change from the enforced erect position. The commandant told Simmons he would have to stand there for the whole of his ten-year sentence unless he yielded and went to work. Simmons smiled and stayed there. Finally he was released from the cage and from prison, the

last of the religious objectors at Alcatraz to be freed. But his gentle sturdiness had gained for him the respect of inmates and guards alike. The commandant and other officers believed him crazy.

The Negroes in the military prisons ranged from religious objectors through the whole gamut of military and criminal offenders, but the larger number were guilty of desertion, as was the case also with the whites.

They made a better social impression on the average than did the whites, there being fewer desperadoes and fewer sharpers among them. Their good nature reached uncontrollable hilarity when an unexpected release order happened to come in for them.

The white political objectors made some efforts to spread radical principles among the colored prisoners. There seemed to be a fair degree of success, except among the confirmed gamblers who were immune to all stimuli except dice or cards. Copies of THE MESSENGER smuggled into prison were eagerly read by both races. THE MESSENGER was the most effective propaganda material. "The Liberator" was a favorite. Pamphlets about Russia excited interest also.

Once converted to radicalism, the northern Negro appeared more steadfast in the faith than the more pliable southerner whose docility made him more subject to the next whiff of counter-propaganda.

No prisoner has an enviable lot, but the Negro in prison is the first to suffer when discipline lets up. He is usually in a minority and is the first target for the pent-up violence of the criminally-minded white prisoner. He is the last to gain the ear and the support of the authorities. But the American Negro demonstrated at Ft. Leavenworth his ability to live in a self-governing community under rather trying conditions. He showed that he could freely submit to leaders of his choice and his leaders proved their capacity. The unpremeditated experiment in Communism should be an omen for the future.

Who's Who

LUTHER BODDY

BY this time everybody who reads or hears knows of Luther Boddy. He is commonly known as the Negro desperado who recently shot and instantly killed two New York detectives. His retention of a gun on his person, after being searched by two detectives; his sudden, "sure death" shots almost within the doors of the station house; his dramatic escape in a woman's attire; his commandeering of a taxi-cab in the city of Newark, New Jersey, and forcing the chauffeur to drive him almost to Philadelphia at the point of a gun—climaxed by his breaking through not only the entire New York police and detective forces, but also the New Jersey Constabulary and the Pennsylvania and Philadelphia detective and police forces—reads like one of Hart's detective stories scintillated and augmented by a stern reality.

It is not the dramatic phase of Luther Boddy which interests us. We do not know him, never heard of him before, have no personal interest in him. Of the detectives whom he is alleged to have killed we know nothing personally either. There is, however, a principle which has been brought to the light by the "Boddy" tragedy which we propose to discuss frankly and courageously, after the well known policy of this publication.

For the last eight years, to our own knowledge, we have been constantly apprised of the brutality practised by the 135th Street police precinct of New York. This is the police precinct in the heart of the Negro settlement of New York. When a man is arrested, he is seldom brutalized on the street—*because the crowd of Negroes which follows would not permit it!* Nevertheless, after the man is taken inside it is charged—

and we believe it is absolutely true—that for hours at a time a man is beat up, sometimes ruptured or fractured. At the very time Boddy was arrested, another Negro whose name was "Cain," we learn, was also arrested. He was so badly beaten that he had to be lodged in the Harlem Hospital. A few days later rumor had it that he was dead. Diligent search fails to reveal this man's discharge from the hospital, —*though he is no longer there*—nor is it possible to find a burial permit which should have been issued in the event of his death. Now "*there is something rotten in Denmark*" about this and we propose to run it down.

We have digressed a little to establish what Boddy charged as being customary at the 135th Street Police Precinct. He says that he had been arrested about a dozen times—that every time he was carried to the precinct the police beat him so badly that he had to spend a week in bed or in the hospital. Whether this is technically true or not does not matter. If it is substantially true—that is, that he was beat up—the charge of Boddy is sufficient to condemn the system of arrests in this Negro section.

The business of the police and detectives is to arrest persons believed or known to have committed or to be about to commit crimes. If the prisoner resists, every reasonable method of reducing that resistance should be used, and clubbing or physical force resorted to only with the most refractory and recalcitrant prisoner—and then only the least amount possible. Certainly *there can be no excuse whatever for touching a prisoner after he has gotten in the station house*. Nothing then should be done except detain him subject to going to court or securing bond. It is not the business of the police to meet out punishment.

Boddy says he feared the awful beating which he knew would be given him. We can imagine the lurid imagination which must have actuated a man who had experienced such beatings before. In his heat of temper and his justified fears—nothing could have been so effective in producing temporary insanity—he is alleged to have shot the detectives.

And who knows but what these same detectives were the very men who had beat this Negro boy many times before!

The question then is, not whether Boddy killed detectives Buckley and Miller. It is not one of vindicating the law. It is not one of revenge for the police force of New York. It is not one of racial prejudice. It is the question of destroying the brutal police system which justly creates the feeling that instead of protectors of the law the police are the chief violators of the law.

We cannot emphasize this fact too strongly. It is the system that needs overhauling. Prof. William Pickens has written that the problem calls for Negro police because it would remove the race issue. The race issue might be so removed yet the problem would still be untouched. Why do we say so? This; white police brutalize white prisoners. The recent trial of Hoey revealed just what Boddy had charged. Here a white murderer charged the police with indescrib-

able brutality. And the Palmer regime under Woodrow Wilson reeks with detective and police brutality of white men upon white men. How about Negroes in Harlem—the Negro section of New York? *We are informed by people, who certainly wish it were not true, that the Negro police of New York are just as brutal and inhuman in their arrests of and dealings with Negro prisoners as the whites*. Nor is the reason far to find. Negroes, like whites, desire advancement. If they are in a system which rewards brutality and penalizes gentleness—then naturally they will, like the whites, follow the course which leads to advancement. For this reason, we look beyond the non-fundamental demand for Negro police only, and demand a complete change in *the police system—a reform which recognizes and enforces the police system to make reasonable arrests and to detain the subjects for further disposition by the courts of law*.

On subjects of this kind no consideration should be given to George Harris of the *New York News*, Thomas Fortune of the *Amsterdam News*, Fred Moore of the *New York Age*, nor to any of the superficial, well meaning but uninformed men whose only qualification for writing is *desire*, and who persist in writing because books and papers have no power to protest against their authors. Then, too, there is a group of old crowd Negro politicians playing to the gallery for jobs. Luther Boddy's life would be a small price for them to pay for a \$1200 per year job! But this old crowd knows nothing about anything—not to mention such nice and new sciences as criminology. (We, of course, do not refer to Prof. Pickens in this classification, as he is both courageous and intelligent.)

For Luther Boddy we hold the deepest sympathy. He is just a young man who has been unfortunate in life. He has been made a criminal by the police, to a great extent. He has raised to the public attention of New York's population what a hell of injustice the police system of this city is generally—and *we can imagine what that hell is when augmented by race prejudice*.

It is hardly necessary for us to reaffirm that we hold no race prejudice. We make the same demands for white prisoners that we do for Luther Boddy and other Negroes. Yet we must be quite outspoken here in consideration of that race prejudice which has raised its ugly head. *For instance, with the jails full of alleged white murderers and other criminals—why is it necessary to rush Luther Boddy to trial in a week?* The answer is obvious.

We appeal to all friends of justice and fair play to give attention to the ugly system of police injustice which, instead of abating, is increasing criminality and vice. Let not your vision be blinded by the fact that the principal who has raised the issue is dark and of a despised race. More than casual consideration must be given to an alleged murderer who, when asked what he desired to read, called for Milton's *Paradise Lost*!

The Editors.

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MEDICAL UNIT FOR SERVICE IN RUSSIA

The First Medical Unit of American physicians to leave for Typhus-fighting in Russia is receiving cordial support from many prominent persons, among them medical men of high standing. The most recent addition to the National Advisory Committee of scientific men is Dr. Richard Clark Cabot of Boston. Dr. Cabot, who for years has been at the head of the Medical Profession in America, at present holds the Chair of Social Ethics at Harvard College, and is advising physician to the Massachusetts General Hospital. He has been lecturer in medicine and philosophy, respectively, at Harvard, and came into broad prominence during the War as Major in the U. S. Medical Reserve. His connection with Civic and Philanthropic undertakings makes his name carry weight throughout the country. Dr. Cabot writes as follows to the Committee on the Medical Unit:

"Yes, I shall be glad to have my name used as one of those interested in the Medical Unit for Russia, provided, as I understand is the case, the Unit is neutral, politically, neither for nor against Communism.

"Of course the Unit must co-operate with the Soviet Government in order to get admission, transportation, etc.

"The Friends' neutrality is what I want to see copied. That as I understand it, is the basis of the Medical Unit."

Among the many plans proposed for the near future in connection with the Medical Unit is a conference of medical and scientific men on Medical Relief to Russia. Several prominent physicians will sign the call.

The officers of the Medical Unit Committee are:
Mrs. Henry Villard, Chairman, Arthur S. Leeds,

Treasurer, Frances Witherspoon, Secretary. The Committee is composed of the following: Dr. John L. Elliott, Mr. B. W. Huebsch, Mr. Sidney Hillman, Prof. Arthur Russel Moore, Mr. Frank D. Halsey, Mrs. Ralph Walker, Mr. Albert Rhys Williams, Dr. Gertrude U. Light, Dr. Joshua Rossett, Alderman B. C. Vladeck, Dr. Judah L. Magnes, Frederick C. Howe, Dr. Richard Clark Cabot, Dr. Michael Michailovsky, Dr. George Bachs, and Bishop Paul Jones.

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S. C. GARRISON,

Montpelier, Ind.
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Editors of THE MESSENGER:

Enclosed is my check for \$1.50, my subscription to the MESSENGER Magazine.

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Your very respectfully,

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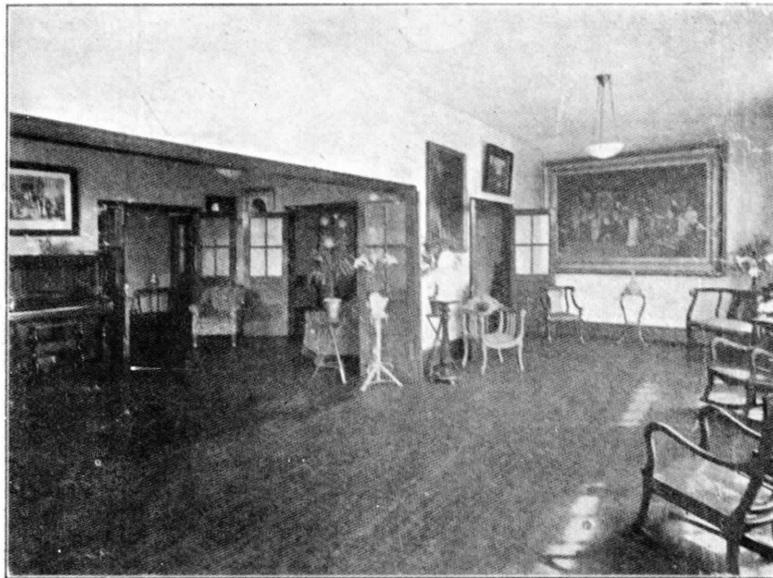
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