

THE
MESSENGER

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The Truth About the People's Council

The People's Council movement is more than national. It is a world wide federation of all the forces that are working for peace and real democracy. It is the head and front of the revolt of the peoples of the world against the intolerable conditions which brought about the great war and which are now needlessly continuing it. In Russia, the People's Councils have destroyed the old tyranny and are building the new freedom.

In England, the Council of Workers and Soldiers is working like a leaven throughout the social, political and industrial life of the nation.

Here in America, in less than four months, 126 branches of the People's Council have been formed, mass meetings have been held in all the principal cities from coast to coast, and despite the organized opposition of all the forces of reaction, a national Convention of the Council was held in Chicago on September 1st and 2nd and a permanent organization effected.

The liberal and radical forces of the whole country are with us. We are winning all along the line, because we have a clear and straightforward message to deliver. It is as practical as the Russian peace terms. It is based upon the common sense of the common people. *It draws neither race nor color line.* The People's Council of America stands with the People's Councils of England and Russia for "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

What We Stand For

Liberals and Socialists may differ in theory and practice, but there can be no two opinions as to the necessity of *maintaining free speech, free press and the right to hold public meetings.* One and all, we are agreed

These are days of crisis. We must stand together for peace and real democracy. Take your place with the men and the women who are determined to make a world fit to live in after the war. Be strong and courageous. We are going to win together.

TEAR ALONG THIS LINE AND MAIL TODAY.

To SCOTT NEARING, Chairman,
PEOPLE'S COUNCIL OF AMERICA,
2 West Thirteenth Street,
New York City.

A65

I believe in the work of the People's Council of America for Democracy and Peace. Please enroll my name as an active member and count on me to do all I can to further the objects of the organization.

Name

Address

I enclose \$..... for the support of the Council.

that there must be a speedy and democratic peace; that militarism in all its phases must become a thing of the past; that surplus incomes and excess profits must pay the cost of the war; that special privilege and monopoly must go; that the land must be freed for the people; that industry must be democratized so that the workers may secure the full product of their labor. These are the first things, and liberals of all shades of opinion are uniting in the People's Council to win them.

United Action

The People's Council is not a partisan organization. It aims to have, in every community, a local Council, in every state, a state Council, and for the nation, a national Council, all representing the progressive and labor forces of the country.

The Next Step

We have established a Washington office where we propose to create at the earliest possible moment a strong working group representing the organizations constituting the People's Council. This group will take such steps as may seem advisable for furthering the general objects of the Council.

We must strengthen our relations with the People's Councils of England and Russia.

We must organize local Councils throughout America. At least a thousand of such Councils must be established before the Congressional Election in November, 1918.

We must raise the funds necessary to carry our plans into execution.

THE MESSENGER

The Messenger

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A. PHILIP RANDOLPH,
President.

CHANDLER OWEN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

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"THE CITY FOR THE PEOPLE"
SOCIALIST PARTY



For Mayor
MORRIS HILLQUIT

The people of New York have suffered from two kinds of city administration.

One is the Fusion kind, the Mitchel kind, backed by the big interests. It means high rents, high prices, 10-cent bread, 14-cent milk, hungry school children and a high death rate among the babies of the poor.

Under a Fusion administration poor women went to the City Hall last summer to protest against high prices. They were clubbed by the police while Mayor Mitchel was giving a war talk to millionaires at the Biltmore.

A Tammany administration means the same thing as a Fusion administration. It also means organized vice and organized graft.

A Bennett administration would not differ from a Mitchel administration.

If Morris Hillquit and the city ticket of the Socialist Party are elected, they are pledged to serve the people alone and no other interest.

Mr. Hillquit says: "It is the duty of the city to get decent food to the people at decent prices."

Mr. Hillquit says: "I promise to put the milk profiteers out of business. If I am elected, the city will buy the milk direct from the farmers and sell it to the people without profit." John J. Dillon, State Commissioner of Foods and Markets, has stated that under this plan, milk could be sold from 2c. to 4c. a quart below present prices.

Under a Socialist Party administration, the subways would be run, not for the profit of Mr. Shonts and his associates, but for the people.

To reduce prices a great free market system would be established and strict supervision exercised over the big food distributing companies.

Under-nourished school children would be fed and cared for so that they could grow up strong and healthy.

Morris Hillquit and the Socialist candidates would conduct the city for the people.

For Mayor
MORRIS HILLQUIT

For Comptroller
FRANK A. SIEVERMAN

For Pres. Board of Aldermen
EDWARD F. CASSIDY



Vote Under This
 Emblem

THE RIOTING OF NEGRO SOLDIERS

THE country is all alarmed over the rioting of Negro soldiers. We are not surprised or alarmed at the perfectly human tendency. It was Lester F. Ward who said, in his "Human Dynamic Sociology," "Human nature is uniform. Like causes produce like effects as well in the social as in the physical world."

How true is this! No one seemed to have been surprised, or certainly alarmed, over the rioting of white troops in East St. Louis. Nor have we heard of any of those troops being punished—notwithstanding the fact that they rioted, pillaged, plundered and massacred under the eyes of all the authorities and before tens of thousands of citizens.

Negro troops are just human. Provocations with them have a limit. The facts have not been sifted but every one acquainted with conditions in this country knows that they have restrained themselves well under the taunts, insults and abuses so unsparingly heaped upon them.

We have especially admired the discipline of the Negro troops at Chicago who held off 500 white disturbers in a fine, soldierly discipline, without any unnecessary violence. We do not advocate or condone criminality or lawlessness among Negroes. We condemn it. But we cannot fail to explain it. Extenuating circumstances are always legitimate evidence in minimizing or justifying an act.

The Negro is probably the best and most loyal soldier in the United States. He does his duty in a fine, manly, courageous way. But the Government has failed too often to do its duty by the Negro soldier.

Do not expect the supernatural from the Negro soldier. He has feelings, race pride and ambitions like other men. If you prick him, he bleeds. If you tickle him, he laughs. In a few words, the Negro soldier is just **Human**.

SENATOR ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

SENATOR ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE of Wisconsin is the brains of the United States Senate. He is an independent in fact. No taunting, jeering or hooting can make him veer from the right as he sees it. And he usually sees right!

He is being attacked just now by every reactionary element in the country. Let them attack him. He would not be of much value to the people if his course were approved by the enemies of democratic government. Senator La Follette can wear all of the Roosevelt, Taft and Burnquist attacks as badges of honor. They are unconscious tributes. And the 1918 election will approve the Senator's course by the most decisive vote ever cast in this country. Let the liberal, radical and labor elements continually make clear their approval of La Follette's course. He is their only representative in the Senate.

We want men who are not afraid to stand alone and he has shown that he will stand and fight alone. Neither wealth nor the War Department can intimidate this "noblest Roman of them all."

SCHOOLS OPEN

THE schools have either opened or will be opening in a few days. Every parent should see to it that his child gets in school and stays there. It is a crime for a child to be denied an education in this century. The Negro can compete with the new, scientific world only by arming the future generation with scientific information. Every young man and woman should attend either day or night school. Learn to do something for which there is a demand. Study some science. Study what somebody knows, not what somebody guesses. The educated children of to-day are the hope of the next generation.

When the school doors open, close them by the army of children rushing in conquest of knowledge.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE NEGRO

WOMAN suffrage is coming.

Some women want it, and some women don't want it.

Women are taxpayers, producers and consumers just the same as men are, and they are justly entitled to vote.

The sentimental and puritanical objections advanced by the squeamish moralists won't stand. Sex is no bar to woman's participating in the industrial world and it should be none to her participating in the political world.

Negro men should realize their responsibility and duty in the coming election on the question of woman suffrage. Remember that if the right to vote benefits the Negro man, the right to vote will also benefit the Negro woman.

If white women ought to have the right to vote, then colored women ought to have the right to vote. If it will be beneficial to one, it will be beneficial to the other. Colored women are taxpayers, producers and consumers and they have a right to express their sentiment as regards the school systems, sanitation, the high cost of living, war, and everything which affects the general public. Of course, there are some colored women who will speak against woman suffrage, just as there are some white women who will speak for it. There were some Negro slaves who were opposed to freedom. Such kinks in the mind of the common people are not unusual.

Of course, when they are seen among the aristocracy, the reason is not difficult to see. Throughout history the few have attempted to keep the many in economic and political slavery.

But the great sweep of democracy moves on. The artificial standards of sex or race should not stand against it.

All peoples, regardless of race, creed or sex will be drawn into the vortex of world democracy.

Just as there could not be any union while some men were slaves and some men were free, so there can be no democracy while white men vote and white women, colored women and colored men in the South don't vote.

Mr. Negro Voter, do your "bit."

WORKMEN'S COUNCIL

WE welcome the formation of the Workmen's Council as one of the most timely, and most needed, agencies in the industrial field. Its purpose is to democratize the labor forces in the country; to take them from under the ruthless and reactionary heel of the American Federation of Labor. The Workmen's Council ought to live long since it has a noble, valuable and laudable mission to perform in revivifying, consolidating and mobilizing the powers of labor for labor's final and complete emancipation.

The Workmen's Council must steer clear of the shoals of race prejudice upon which the American Federation of Labor, led by Mr. Gompers, has foundered.

Its primary tenet must be to help all labor without regard to race, creed or color. It is growing. It will win. All hail to the Workmen's Council!

PEACE

THE real issue of this country is peace. That would seem to be the issue of every country now — both warring and neutral. The people in every country have been bled to death, in warfare or starved to death by the shortage of food and the high cost of living.

Each day the condition grows worse. Men are dying on the battlefield. Women are in poverty at home. Children are starving. Their music is the bitter cry of the children, the wailing of women, the groaning of wounded men. Over the smoldering ruins of cities and villages, over lost treasures of civilization men in trenches, women clad in black habiliments of woe, children emaciated and hungry, cry out in one loud, reverberating note for—Peace.

One writer has said: "Blessed are the peacemakers." But those peacemakers are not now to be found in control of governments. Governments are "war makers."

Longfellow has well said:

"Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and Courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error
There were no need of arsenals and forts."

If only one-half of the billions which have been expended in this war had been expended on real education men would not now be killing one another because they were born on a different strip of land. Peace would be nearer at hand, and we want peace.

THE MOONEY CASE

THE President has shown a high sense of justice and fair-play in calling for an investigation in the Mooney case. These are times when the interests of labor are likely to receive but scant attention. Capitalism is mad, desperate and despotic, because it feels its firm hand upon the reins of social leadership being pried loose by the crow-bar of militant labor forces and clear-eyed Socialism.

Let justice be done in the Mooney case. May the insidious and corrupt forces of capital be shamelessly denounced and repudiated for its dastardly distortion and subversion of evidence.

We shall also call the attention of the President to no less wanton miscarriages of justice to the Negro throughout the land—the Negro who, too, is fighting to "make the world safe for democracy."

GERMANY AND THE SCHOOLS

WE are being deluged with much talk about cutting out the teaching of German and all things German in the schools. It makes no difference how "germane" the thing taught may be to the subject under consideration.

This silly and inane request on the part of many school principals and teachers simply explains how mediocre is the material to whom the training and education of the future generation are entrusted.

Cut out the teaching of German. German is autocratic! It makes no difference how many sciences are extensively developed by German authors. Down with Mozart, Beethoven, Wagner, Tannhauser. They were not musicians, sure enough. They belonged to the tom-tom age of music! Away with Erlich! That Erlich-Harta's "606"—the only specific for syphilis—is a fraud of medical quacks. No more study of Immanuel Kant's categorical imperative or his Critique of Pure Reason. Those books are not real philosophy. Alexander Humboldt's Cosmos was a poor production, as was Haeckel's "Riddle of the Universe." Weisman's works on heredity were elusive attempts to build up fine German soldiers to murder the world. He was no biologist. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were conniving little rascals who foresaw how to sow the seeds of sedition in the Socialists, and Senator La Follette, which balks the United States in "making the world safe for Democracy." As a psychologist, why Munsterberg was a joke! He must have bribed Harvard University for his appointment. And Goethe never could write worth a tinker.

This is the type of reasoning which our little mental midgets and intellectual Lilliputians who teach in our schools are advocating. It would be quite as logical to argue that since we have had a war with Great Britain, Huxley, Darwin, Spencer and Dalton will have to be cut out of our schools. "English" should not be taught. Newton's law of gravitation is mere superstition. Adam Smith knew nothing of political economy. Wallace knew nothing of evolution. Buckle's History of Civilization is a crime in one act.

This is the species of reasoning, however, which is now going on in America. It is a disgrace to the intelligence of the teachers or it is a shameful exhibition of financial control of our teachers. Either one is regrettable. Both are disgraceful. The two things show our teachers are either bankrupt in courage and independence or poverty-stricken in information.

WHO SHALL PAY FOR THE WAR

WHO shall pay for the war? This is the question every man and woman called upon to fight; to sacrifice in any way for the prosecution of the war, should ask. But the question should not stay there. The next question should be: who profits from the war? For obviously, those who profit from the war ought to pay for it. But these questions

must be followed with a third question, viz.: How can profits be made out of the war? The answer to this question is: by selling to the government those things which are needed to keep the war going; for instance, food and clothing for soldiers, steel for battleships, submarines, aeroplanes, coal for transports, etc., money to lend to the government.

Now, Mr. Common-man, do you own any of these things? If you don't, then you cannot profit from the war.

Then you ought to see to it that the government confiscates all profits made out of this war to carry on this war. Let the government take 100 per cent. and peace will come.

THE FRIENDS OF IRISH FREEDOM

HERE is a new problem that has come to the fore in our American life.

The Irish in America are making a militant fight for the freedom of Ireland. They are giving forceful and determined utterance to the ideals of Casement and O'Connell, those martyrs of the Sinn Fein revolution.

The Irish are calling for Great Britain to make good her claim of "fighting for the smaller nationalities" by lifting her imperial heel from off the tired neck of Ireland. For 800 years Great Britain has withheld "Home Rule" from Ireland. Irishmen remember the bitter days of the potato famine. And the Friends of Irish Freedom are calling for an accounting. They have Great Britain on the hip and they are going to feed fat the grudge they bear her.

The radicals must thank these brave souls for standing firm for free-speech. They are doing their "bit" in keeping what democracy we have in the world.

ORGANIZING THE NEGRO ACTOR

THE Negro has entered a new field of service—the field of acting. All hail to this most remarkable transition into the dramatic field. Here he is showing splendid effort. He is proving that he has histrionic ability to show forth the body of the times through voice and gesture.

The Negro should make a signal success in this field where a Niagara of passion, feeling and emotion come into play, as well as a mine of mind. We commend the young men and women of the race aspiring to stand behind the footlights, to get equipment, to study and to master the English language and to get an education of general literature.

We want to see them competent to discuss as well as to perform their act. The average man and woman need to realize that there is a very little genius for doing anything in the world today. Much that goes by the name of genius is nothing more than the power for sustained application. One must have merit, ability, the power to give the public a quid pro quo.

But ability, merit and efficiency are not all that the Negro actor needs. He needs, today, organization. The reason for this is plain. Theatrical managers will exploit you, just as any other employer will exploit a workingman. Remember that you are a wage-earner and as such you want the highest wages possible and the best possible conditions

under which to work. Your employer—the theatrical manager—on the other hand, wants to get your services for the lowest possible wage. Why? Because by paying you low wages the profits of the company increase and all business enterprises are run for profits—and nothing else. Now, then, since that is true; it logically follows that in order to get a living wage you must devise some means of preventing the employer from robbing you of your wages. Evidently, so long as the manager of the theatre can secure talent to replace you when you ask for more wages your case is hopeless.

Thus, in order to secure the wages you ought to have, it is necessary for you to organize into a union and to force every person who can scab upon you into the union. When you have organized a union so as to be able to control the available supply of Negro actors you will be prepared to make demands upon the management for higher wages, and without a doubt, you will win.

Understand, Mr. Negro Actor, the theatres are not being run for charity, for your special benefit; to make thespian stars out of you, to make you Mansfields and Ellen Terrys—but they are being run to make money. And when you fail to make money for the management, out of the back door you will go.

Now, there is a whole lot of tommy-rot, piffle and sheer nonsense rife among Negroes, to the effect that: white people who hire Negroes to act are highly philanthropic. It is the same as saying that the landlord who gives a Negro a job as elevator runner is kind, charitable and philanthropic. The fact is, all are seeking to make profits out of the workingman, whether he be white or black.

To set up the argument that Negroes are being made actors is puerile, inane and assinine.

The landlord might as logically contend that he is making Negroes elevator runners, which helps them to earn a livelihood.

The stock-company brand of acting done by most Negro actors is not the result of any special training. Most any individual with the faculty for ordinary speech, who possesses a presentable appearance and a fair knowledge of pronunciation, without any previous training, could within a week equip himself to play in the stock companies.

Thus, the Negro actor does not owe any one anything for his being on the stage in drama.

The fact that Negroes have potential dramatic ability and the fact that there was a market or a demand for Negro dramatic artists, explain the reason for his transition into the drama.

The Negro actor needs a union with which to get long-term contracts from the theatrical management. Otherwise your job may depend upon the whims and caprices of some petty, pilfering profiteer.

When you have a union the individual no longer makes a contract for a position but the union, through its representative, bargains collectively with the management for work and wages. When an individual approaches an employer for more wages he is both refused and fired. But when the entire company makes a demand upon pain of striking and closing the theatre by picketing and preventing any one else from taking their jobs the management will sit up and take notice.

Now is your time to unionize. You have become

an important factor in the theatrical world. You are needed and wanted and your bosses know it.

Realize your power and use it to get more wages and better working conditions. THE MESSENGER is with you.

MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY

MAKING the world safe for democracy is a big task. But since our President has announced the purpose of the war we are willing and anxious to "do our bit." The only thing about us is that we favor a clean job of it. We don't want to be affected by what Lester F. Ward calls "the illusion of the near." By that he meant a person is so near to a thing at times that he cannot see it in its proper perspective. Burns also understood it with a sort of poetic vision when he wrote:

"O wad some power the Giftie gie us,
To see oursel's as ithers see us!"

President Wilson has a keen appreciation of the principle which he aptly expressed in the last campaign, in referring to Elihu Root's dissertations on democratic government at the New York State Constitutional Convention. Mr. Wilson, in exposing Root's insincerity, said: "He condemns invisible government but through all his life he has counselled, aided and abetted it. *It is an attempt to avert suspicion by condemning the thing you are doing yourself.*"

The National Negro League, in annual convention, August 15th to 18th, shot a sharp shaft of incisive logic in the following arraignment:

"We most respectfully urge that consistency demands that as we preach democracy, we shall practice it at home. We cannot make the world safe for democracy unless our country is safe for democracy. Unless every man in America shall have a man's chance, America's plea for world democracy shall, because of our inconsistency, be the occasion of our humiliation."

"The seas must not only be safe for democracy, but likewise every by-path in America."

This resolution is remarkable when it is remembered that the National Negro Business League was founded by Dr. Booker T. Washington, an organization of which he was President until his death. And no radical utterance ever emanated from that leader. But a younger, more discontented type of "new Negro" has gotten into those conventions. Their feelings will not down by prayers of patriotism. Their gospel of obey and trust has been replaced by one of rebel and demand. The deep, bitter injustices perpetrated upon their black brothers and sisters wells up in their bosoms like bitter root and gall. They really mean that this world must be made safe for them. Until then it is not safe for democracy.

It is unfortunate that no Negro has been able to carry his mind to Germany *yet*—so insistent are the demands upon his efforts to *make the world safe for democracy in that part of the world known as the United States.*

CATTEL—DANA—BEARD!

EVERY practical lover of free speech will be pleased to learn of the recent action of Professor Charles A. Beard of Columbia University in tendering his resignation. Not that any democratic

and liberal thinker desires to see a man of Professor Beard's intellectual stature go. Not at all. But because it will have a tremendous national and international influence in establishing academic freedom; in awakening the people to the plutocratic control of education in our country. The influence will be greater because of the great tolerance shown by Professor Beard. He is a staunch proponent of the war "to make the world safe for democracy," but he does not believe democracy can be established abroad by introducing autocracy at home.

Moreover, Professor Beard gave a caustic, but a true, estimate or appraisal of the trustees of Columbia University in these words: "They are without any standing in the world of education, reactionary and visionless in politics, narrow and medieval in religion."

It is this type of men which has tried to intimidate Professors Scott Nearing, Lindley Keasby, Henry W. L. Dana and James McKeen Cattel.

Professor Beard has sounded the warning to stop this domination and suppression of academic free speech. It is a warning as much to Yale and Pennsylvania as it is to Columbia. It is notice on the country that a gigantic combination of money and manufacturers have leagued together to make free serfs of the American people by controlling their thinking.

"The power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will." These financiers pay the salaries of the professors, and consequently they control and determine what shall be taught. Professor Beard has given a tremendous impetus to the growing demand for control of the schools by the people. Let the slogan now be pressed: "Popular control of the schools—both public schools and universities."

In the meantime we wish to extend congratulations to Professor Beard, educator, scholar, true patriot and manly man.

THE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL.

THE People's Council for Democracy and Terms of Peace after being buffeted around and shunted from place to place, finally was able to effect permanent organization in Chicago. The disgraceful spectacle of the autocratic denial of free speech and free assemblage in the various states must surely make the people feel that fighting to make the world safe for democracy is needed. And many of them must have decided that the place to make democracy safe is right here in the United States.

Phillip Brooks said, "Anything which will not bear investigation, let it crack!" And it was the good old Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll who said, "Any creed which will not bear examination is not a fit tenant for the mind of man."

We wish to add one more: "Any policy which will not bear discussion in the country of its adoption is not a fit tenant for the nation."

The People's Council has rendered a public service to the nation. It has put the nation on its guard. Every reasonable man must feel that the nation is not playing its cards on the table. He must feel that those who make and administer the laws are afraid to turn the light on their deeds.

But their stupidity was typical of a man in des-

peration. Many who formerly opposed the People's Council will become its allies now. They will feel that it did not get a square deal. They will feel that the Council was about to throw a brick and the dog which would have been hit, howled in advance.

The Council, however, should send a check to Governor Burnquist for its advertisement. We think the Council pays its advertising bills and no advertisement it has had was so effective and far-reaching.

Forward with the good work, People's Council!

People's Council Invites Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph to Present Problem of Negroes at Convention.

New York City, Aug. 29, 1917.

CHANDLER OWEN,

436 Lenox Ave., N. Y.:

Very anxious indeed to have you and Mr. Randolph present problem of Negroes at People's Council Convention. Convention will be held in some Western state in spite of Minnesota governor.

Train leaves New York 2:30 Thursday. Telephone or wire immediately if you can go.

(Signed) LELA FAYE SECOR.

September 8, 1917.

MISS LELA FAYE SECOR,

2 West 13th Street,

New York City.

Dear Miss Secor:

Your telegram inviting Mr. Randolph and me to present the problem of Negroes at the People's Council Convention was duly received. We appreciated the invitation and would have attended the Convention had it not been for the uncertainty as to the place where it could be held.

Our hearts followed the brave band of delegates who unswervingly and unfalteringly performed their high duties, despite the scorning and buffeting and the being shunted from place to place by the high-handed autocracies of the different states. That they finally were able to effect permanent organization through the determination of Mayor Hale Thompson of Chicago to preserve the fundamental rights of free speech and free assemblage—is a tribute to their efficiency in doing work well and quickly and a lasting honor to that Mayor who does not regard the constitution or his oath as "a scrap of paper."

The Negroes throughout this country are in substantial harmony with your principles of "no forcible annexations; no punitive indemnities; free development of all nationalities." It is possible for the People's Council to electrify their imaginations, to secure their confidence and support by a constant, unflagging application of this logic without regard to race or color.

Government by the consent of the governed must be accorded to all peoples whether white or black or brown. Africa, India, China, the Islands held by the United States and Great Britain, as well as the colonies held by all the nations—by France, Germany, Italy, Belgium—must be accorded this right. This only is political democracy.

The first consideration of a good government belongs to the people it rules. Africa should exist largely for the Africans. The peoples of those colonies cannot be considered as mere chattel property to be shifted from pillar to post wherever one nation is willing to sell, or when another nation is able to take by conquest.

So long as African territory is the object of unstinted avarice, greed and robbery, while its people with dark skins are considered as just objects of exploitation—now here and now there in slavery, enforced labor, peonage and wage slavery—just so long will the conditions smoulder and brew which needs must be prolific in the production of war.

The real bone of contention in this war is darker peoples for cheap labor and darker people's rich lands. Africa alone is rich in gold, coal, copper, rubber, cocoa oil, dates and diamonds. India produces great stores of cotton and foodstuffs. The islands of the United States are rich—indeed prolific—in the production of sugar, coffee and tobacco. China has extensive coal mines and oil wells.

Not only is a great wealth of natural resources to be had in these countries. These countries have an abundant supply of labor. These are the tools of the capitalist—undeveloped resources and undeveloped peoples—cheap lands and cheap labor.

Most liberal and radical movements have failed to secure the support of Negroes because they generally break down at that point of contact. The Negro problem has been the shoals, the Scylla and Charybdis on which the radical movements have foundered.

To wage international organization for the maintenance of world peace is another one of your tenets with which we are in hearty accord. In a little booklet published by us entitled, "Terms of Peace and the Darker Races," we have advocated that an International Council on the Conditions of Darker Races be formed. Its functions would be the internationalization of scientific education and the setting up of suffrage standards to be rigidly adhered to by all the nations who now plunder and exploit these darker peoples.

A proportion of the wealth taken from these countries should be heavily taxed for the administration of the educational system.

To induce our government to state concretely the terms upon which it is willing to make peace—is a request so reasonable, just and necessary that it hardly admits of argument. We note that the People's Council accepts the President's reply to the Pope as such an expression. We sincerely hope, however, that the People's Council will call attention to the fact that the demand which the President makes of Germany with respect to her people's having a voice in their government—is denied to over two million Negroes in the United States because of color.

The People's Council might properly introduce this tenet:

"To induce our government to square its practice with its profession."

To work for the repeal of the conscription law is certainly the desire of all Negroes except the "so-called leaders." Here the Negroes and the whites converge—meet on common ground.

White and Negro leaders are lightly pledging lives and loyalty of the led to-day, but any expression afforded on the part of the "black or white led" would be so overwhelming a repudiation of both sets of

leaders that they would have to resign from their places too long misused and badly abused.

In New York City Negro leaders address white people at Union Square about enlistment, but no one of them would dare go into a Negro locality and make such an address. No violence threatens them, but a sally of questions and shafts of logic would drive them from the stump. Moreover about the same number of Negroes claimed exemption as did whites in the South, as well as the North and West.

In the State of Mississippi 59,000 out of 74,000 Negroes claimed exemption.

To safeguard labor standards is the difficult work in all wars. There is a spurious attempt to appeal to the patriotism of the laborer to work for less while the capitalist and employer continue to raise the prices of their commodities. The Negro is in peonage in peace times—to a great extent, so to reduce his standard in war time puts him back into actual—if not nominal slavery. White and black laborers must recognize their common interest in industry, in politics, in society, in peace. They should join hands not from any abstract altruistic motive, but for their mutual advantages. Neither should allow a horde of scabs and strike-breakers outside of the union when it is possible to have them within the union. Besides, so long as the white dog and the black dog—laborers—fight over the bone, the third capitalist dog will surely run away with it while the contention ensues.

The last tenet of the People's Council—"To preserve and extend democracy and liberty within the United States"—is at the very heart of every Negro in this country.

The National Negro Business League, which was founded by Dr. Booker T. Washington and of which he was the President till his death, has just adopted at its annual convention the following resolutions:

"We must respectfully urge that consistency demands that as we preach democracy we shall practice it *at home*. We cannot make the world safe for democ-

racy unless our country is safe for democracy. Unless every man in America shall have a man's chance, America's plea for world democracy shall, because of our inconsistency be the occasion of our humiliation."

"The seas must not only be made safe for travel, but likewise every by-path in America."

This is part of the resolutions of the strongest and greatest Negro organization in the world. It is a serious arraignment of our government. And the sad part of it all is that it is a true indictment.

Negroes are lynched—one every four days. Two million Negroes are disfranchised, denied that voice in their government which they are asked to help the German people obtain. Twelve million Negroes are discriminated against in places of public accommodation—Jim-Crowed on railroads and street cars—set apart in the government service as though they were lepers.

Leaders may pledge their loyalty and satisfaction, but the deep, bitter feeling of injustice done them will not down, but every fresh utterance of democracy makes the discontent well up, as twelve million black souls cry out: "Democracy begins at home." "How can I hear what you say when what you are is continually thundering in my ears?"

The People's Council has a great future before it. We hope it will face the race problem without soft concealments. Its future work will be stormy but triumphant, if it keeps the faith. The demagogues and yellow journalists of the future are likely to appeal from the newer and higher to older and lower instincts of race prejudice. Even now they flaunt Japan and the yellow peril.

May the People's Council live long and fight vigorously to wash away the dikes of our false civilization, to sweep on in its course the slimy and poisonous germs of race prejudice, and to erect upon the ruins thereof a new civilization, a new patriotism, a new democracy.

(Signed) { CHANDLER OWEN,
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH.

Economics and Politics

Business and War

By Dr. Scott Nearing

To the Editor New York *Times*:

"In the letter which I wrote to you on September 22 I asked why you, and the interests which you represent, did not try to do your part toward ending the world agony by insisting that peace negotiations should begin at once. I pointed out that the peoples of all the countries are eager for a cessation of hostilities, and urged the danger of letting the war go through another winter. Then I suggested that perhaps you were not urging negotiations because you wished the war to go on until ten billions more of war contracts had been placed by the Government.

"Since you did not see fit to pub-

lish that letter, I have decided to follow it up. I want to show that the business autocrats of America have used this crisis in the world's affairs to make money. I want the people to see them for what they are—unsuccessful, venal administrators of the world's affairs. Let me formulate the matter in this way.

"1. I accuse the American business interests of using the world crisis as an occasion for making money.

"2. I accuse the American business interests of making profits out of the United States government since this country entered the war.

"3. I accuse the American business interests of using the war as an excuse for a great drive to stran-

gle the effective part of the American labor movement.

"4. I charge that the plutocrats of America have failed on their job, because they worked for profit instead of working for service.

"5. I conclude that it is time for the people of the United States to consign the plutocracy to the limbo of forgotten dreams.

"In this letter I want to make good my accusation that the American business interests used the world crisis as an occasion for making money—that the plutocrats of America coined the blood of the nations into profits.

"I do not refer to the fact that there were a number of American business firms engaged in the ghastly work of manufacturing for financial gain weapons to be used in

slaughtering men. The profiteers who are getting rich from the sale of powder, cannon, torpedoes and shrapnel will stand before the bar of the future as the black memories of a particularly dark age—as the ghouls that stripped clothing from the dead bodies after the highway-men had finished their work.

"I do not refer to the great industrial and financial interests whose representatives prated about the allies 'as a matter of principle,' at the same time that they were extracting from the allies the uttermost farthing by boosting prices and lowering quality.

"There is nothing surprising about the fact that the American profiteers were willing to make moneys out of the bitter necessities of their fellow-men. Big money usually drips from the many little fellows whose lives are being crushed out against the wall. It was, however, intensely disgusting to hear the business men talking 'principle' and 'justice' and 'humanity' with their mouths while they went through the victims' pockets with their fingers.

"American big business—the dominating force in American life—used the first three years of the European war to make about \$3,000,000,000 of excess 'war profits'; so rank did the situation become that one New York financial paper referred to the plundering as 'piracy.'

"The increased earnings which the war brought to American industry almost exceeds belief. Never in modern times has so much money been made in so short a time. Take these illustrations: The Republic Iron and Steel Company made an average profit in 1911, 1912 and 1913 of \$2,500,000; in 1916 this profit was \$14,789,163. The American Sugar Refining Company made an average profit for the three pre-war years of \$6,000,000; in 1916 this profit was \$63,500,000. The profits of the Central Leather Company were \$3,500,000 for the three years before the war and \$15,500,000 for 1916. The General Chemical Company made profits of \$2,500,000 for the three years before the war and \$12,286,826 in 1916. The profits of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company were nearly \$12,000,000 during the three pre-war years; in 1916 they were \$57,941,834. The United States Steel Corporation showed for the profits for the three years preceding the war \$63,500,000; in 1916 the profits

were \$271,531,730. The profits of the Bethlehem Steel Company jumped from an average of \$3,000,000 to \$43,593,968, and the International Nickel Company showed an increase of profits from an average of \$45,000,000 to \$73,500,000.

"These are but a few of the many illustrations that might be cited of the war profits that have come to American industries.

"What do you suppose Kidder, Peabody & Co., Bonbright & Co., Spencer, Trask & Co., Hartshorne & Battelle, R. M. Grant & Co., Freeman & Co., W. J. Wollman & Co., Harris, Forbes & Co., and A. L. Pilkin & Co. had in mind when they 'contributed' space on page 16 of your issue of October 3 to the liberty loan committee of the second federal reserve district for a liberty loan ad. headed 'Make the World Safe for Business.'

"What does that mean—'Make the World Safe for Business'?

"It means huge, red war profits.

"It means broken bodies, weeping women, wailing children, hungry old men, shattered homes, desolate villages, disease, famine, death. It means hell on earth, kept going so that American business men can 'get theirs.' They have made \$3,000,000,000 in the last three years. As things look now they will make \$3,000,000,000 more in the next year.

"That is what I have in mind when I accuse the American business interests of using the world crisis as an occasion for making money."

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To our Readers:

The editors of THE MESSENGER shall be pleased at any time to write upon any subject—economic, political or sociological, relative to municipal, state, national or international affairs at the suggestion of the readers of the magazine.

The editors also request the readers to send into the office various clippings of importance.

THE MESSENGER's forum is open to its readers.

All letters must be short and to the point.

Manuscripts of articles, poems and short stories are solicited.

No manuscripts will be returned unless accompanied with the required postage.

The editors, of course, can not publish all matter sent them.

THE EDITORS.

Gentlemen: Find enclosed \$1.50 for which send me THE MESSENGER for one year.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT THE NEGRO CANDIDATES

All of black New York is aglow with enthusiasm and jubilant over the nomination of two Negro candidates for Assemblyman and alderman respectively, in the Republican primaries.

This comes as the consummation of several years of hard, constant and assiduous agitation on the part of the United Civic League and the Independent Political Council for Negro elective representation in the city, state and nation.

For a long time the old-line Negro politician, eating out of the hand of his white Republican political masters, were content with the crumbs of appointment. This, they have done for fifty years, in the face of palpable and transparent deception and fraud. The intellectually decrepit Negro leaders have seemed to have had some vague, religious reliance upon the "goodness" of all white Republicans, and they have not been able to appreciate the fact that they have been mere pawns upon the political chess boards for conniving, wire-pulling unscrupulous Republican tricksters.

However, today, among Negroes as among white people, there is a wild-eyed discontent abroad in the land. Negroes are becoming disenchanted, quickened, aroused, awakened by the jolts of radicalism. They have not accepted the radical message in toto, but it is evident from nascent intellectual and political movements, that the principles of economic and political emancipation are sweeping through his mind. He is awaking like a mighty titan, throwing off the chains of party loyalty; looking with disdain upon his Republican traducers, eyeing with suspicion the flirtations of designing Democratic peddlers of promises; he is now taking stock of his own power to achieve his political emancipation.

This is why our colored candidates won in the Republican primaries. They appealed to the Negro voters and not to the political bosses. Of course, some white men voted for the colored candidates. Doubtless, on account of their ignorance of the fact that they were colored men. Now, we don't hold that white men will not vote for colored men; because it is not true. If a colored man got on the Socialist ticket, white Socialists would vote for him because of the principles of the party for which he stands.

The Negro candidates have their own people to thank for their nomination. This triumph should hearten the black electorate of New York to undertake greater and bigger political tasks.

Here we are in the midst of victory. But lo! it is not complete victory; for the hardest job is yet to come—the job of electing the nominees to office.

All Negroes eligible to vote, must vote if they would do their "bit" to elect their own to office.

Only one-third of the eligible Negro voters register and vote ordinarily; but these are extraordinary times that require extraordinary things.

Negroes must go to the poles and vote if they would elect their alderman and assemblyman.

Mr. Negro voter, here is a challenge to your loyalty. How are you going to meet it?

Vote your men into office! Vote them on to victory!

Make E. A. Johnson your next assemblyman.

Make James C. Thomas, Jr., your next alderman.

On to the fight!

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BREAD!

Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, the supposed savior of the stomachs of the ordinary man, is in the saddle. Food has been high, too high, for the common workingman to reach, and food is still high. Yet, we understand that we have a sufficient supply to cheapen the price of foods.

Mr. Hoover's only slogan and remedy seems to be that of economy on the part of the housewife. Now, in view of the fact that the average housewife has not had enough food for the family before the war, when prices were low, how are they going to econ-

omize during the war, when prices are high?

However, the people are called upon to perform some strange things these days of storm and stress.

We must pay twice as much for a pound loaf of bread in America as the people pay in England and France. If it isn't twice as much, the difference is inconsequential.

Those who control the food supply, had better learn that the stomach is a peculiar thing. It never listens to logic, philosophy, nor even to patriotism when it is empty. The stomach will not act upon the principle of postponement. Every minute it must consume. It must consume today. Tomorrow is unknown to king stomach. The stomach must have food and it will have food.

Let not the rulers of the world be deceived that whether they say: "Let the people eat grass" or the "public be damned" it is not material, so long as conditions make them eat grass and damn their children.

The cry of the French people in 1789 was for bread. In autocratic Russia, too, the people were crying for bread.

Those, indeed, are sinister times when human, hungry wolves, prowl the streets of a city crying for bread!

Hunger knows no law. Its only code is the code of satisfaction.

Here, then, is Mr. Hoover's task, putting food within the reach of the people. Getting bread is the biggest problem of the American man and woman. All other questions pale into utter insignificance beside this momentous and grave problem. And an unsatisfied stomach is well nigh as dangerous as an empty one. For being not yet delirious, it can more calmly plan destruction. However, this is a fine lesson for Mr. Common Man.

He has produced food which he cannot eat. He has made clothes which he cannot wear. He has built houses in which he cannot live. And, why? Because he has permitted a few weak men to own the railroads, the steamships, oil mines, coal mines, land, in short, the resources and means of production and exchange.

He sowed the wind and he is reaping the whirlwind. He has

got to beg for the food he produces.

Mr. Common Man, the next time you have an opportunity to vote, think of these times.

Why should you ask and appeal for bread when your labor is the source of all bread?

Why should you eat corn when you produce wheat? Why should you wear cotton in winter when you produce wool?

Why should you pay high rents when you build the houses?

Your Republican and Democratic leaders say, that you are extravagant.

Might not you well ask: Extravagant with what?

Perhaps, with starvation wages. Perhaps you eat too much. You see too many operas. You go joy-riding in automobiles too often.

You buy too many fine clothes for your wife. You send your children to too many movie shows.

Of course, you can not do these things on your wages and be "somebody." No, not at all. If you get \$10 per week and it costs you \$11 per week to eat and sleep and to go in rags, you must put away \$2 for rainy days, for rainy days will surely come.

Now, then, this business of putting away something for rainy days and at this same time putting away something in a talking stomach, is, indeed, a problem, to say the least, in these days when everything is in the air—food, the government and the people.

We must confess that we cannot solve it.

Mr. Common Man, before you can put away something for rainy days, you have got to put away those who bring you rainy days.

No, No, we don't mean for you to do anything rash.

But you have got to stop electing men who want the war profiteers to keep their profits. You have got to run your government yourself and you have got to run it for service—not for profits. As long as we vote as we do, "To eat or not to eat," that will be the question.

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THE UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF ELEVATOR AND SWITCHBOARD OPERATORS OF NEW YORK

On the 4th of August, the United Brotherhood of Elevator

and Switchboard Operators was organized.

In the course of three weeks the organization increased its membership to 600 or more members.

The main officers of the organization have been elected.

The main working committees have been appointed and detailed to work.

The Brotherhood has planned to hold a monster mass meeting on the 21st of October, Sunday, evening, at 3 P. M., at the Palace Casino, 135th Street and Madison Avenue. At this meeting Hon. Jacob Panken, Chairman of the Workmen's Council; A. I. Ship-lacoff, Assemblyman; Hubert H. Harrison, Editor of the Voice, E. A. Johnson, candidate for Assemblyman; James C. Thomas, Jr., candidate for Alderman; A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, general organizers, will speak. The Manhattan Military Band and the Martin-Smith Music School volunteered to furnish the music.

A very interesting report was made on the Negro preachers' stand on Unionism, which showed a lamentable incapacity on the part of Negro Apostles of Christ to appreciate the most elementary phases of the question, and their disinclination to look kindly upon the working class of the Negroes receiving more wages.

Let our so-called ministers of human suffering take note. Poverty is the most appalling kind of suffering. Low wages produce poverty. The Union is the only remedy for low wages.

A representative of the House Janitors' and Superintendents' Union called upon the Brotherhood and assured the men that they were desirous of co-operating with the elevator men to secure more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions.

The representative of the House Janitors' and Superintendents' Union pointed out that if the men from the United Brotherhood of Elevator and Switchboard operators will refuse to work with any janitor or superintendent who is not a union man, they will refuse to hire an elevator man who is not a member of the United Brotherhood of Elevator and Switchboard Operators.

This will force all elevator

operators and superintendents into their respective unions.

As a result of the move to organize the men into a union, considerable unrest is abroad in the city.

Reporters from the World, Herald, Tribune, Journal and the New York Call have called upon the Union to report the proceedings of the union.

Men and women engaged in any kind of apartment house or loft building work may join.

Since most colored men when they are out of work seek an elevator job, any colored man, working at anything may join, because this will strengthen the union and every man that joins lessens the number of men who may be used as scabs upon the men of the union when they go on strike for more wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions.

The reasons why colored men and women should join the United Brotherhood of Elevator and Switchboard Operators are plain:

- (1) Immigration has stopped.
- (2) Labor is scarce. You are wanted in munitions factories, where wages are \$3.00 and \$4.00 a day.

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NEGRO ELECTIVE REPRESENTATION

By A. Philip Randolph

Elective representation is the essence of political democracy. Throughout the entire history of mankind the struggle for elective representation in the law-making bodies of the land has been strenuous and fierce, unrelenting and determined. Each class has asserted its claim to the right of participation in government. The king expressed his will, the lords and barons wrung from King John, in 1215, some political concessions, and, lastly, the third estate, or the common people, gradually won the right of suffrage. This process has gone on in all of the European countries. Political democracy became a fact with the white race. Of course, it is true that in some countries property qualifications disfranchise some white men. It is also true that our present economic system practically nullifies the vote of the working white man.

Again, the three-class electoral system of Germany is a potent case of political autocracy. White

men in all capitalistically developed countries are the victims of politico-economic maladjustments. But, white men have constitutional rights to participate in the governments of western Europe and the Americas.

The Negro, then, is the only race that is without the pale of political democracy. That is to say, none of the countries which has achieved democracy accord to the black man political justice. This, then, is the real reason why Negroes have no elective representation in any of the great nations of the world. I have reference not only to the local burghs, but also to the national assemblies. It is true that in some of the cities above the Mason and Dixon line Negroes have an alderman or an assemblyman. But as a race we are, practically, without elective representation. There are other contributory causes for this political backwardness of the Negro. One of the most prominent of which is his slavish and foolish worship of the Republican Party, which has pursued a policy of giving "big Negro leaders" the proverbial "job."

The fact that the Republican Party, every four years, gives 10,000,000 Negroes a registrar of the treasury, a collector of revenue, sealed the mouths and closed the eyes of his leaders to the fact that the rank and file have no voice in the government.

It is a true saying that half loaves given to the common people prevent their taking measures to get the whole loaf. The Negro has not realized that, while a few leaders rode into jobs by pledging the support of the Negro voter to cunning, conniving, deceptive and reactionary Republican politicians, the masses of colored voters and people were without civil protection and that they were growing lean and hungry, while the little Negro peanut politicians grew sleek and fat. These Negro Republican, political palliators, acquiescers and compromisers, naturally, would not, as they could not, speak out for political opportunity when they were paid with a half-sized job in a big-sized nation, to keep silent. So that the greatest handicap, set-back and curse of the Negro in America has been "political jobs." The policy of appointing Negroes to jobs has made the Negro indifferent, apa-

thetic and unconcerned about elective representation. White politicians don't want any competition with Negroes for elective offices and consequently they either "grease the bit" of small Negro political ward-heelers to buy bad booze for the "boys," or land a solo-plexus blow on the race by giving a big Negro leader a crum from the political dinner table. And with hat in hand he slinks off, sermonizes, prates and yapps about the grand, old Republican Party being the "ship and all else the sea." But what else is he to do? The servant always obeys his master. He who pays the fiddler will call the tunes. The Negroes have not given their leaders their places and consequently they cannot control them. The same thing is no less true with the white politicians—they are the servants of the moneyed interests in the country and they serve them, while, at the same time, preaching noble sermons and writing high-sounding editorials on "justice to the common man." This, of course, is for the consumption of the under-dog, the well-meaning but misguided workingman. Now, as respects the Negro, he is the servant of the white political servant. That is to say, those white politicians who do the bidding of the financial kings of the country are the bosses of our big Negro leaders. So that you can readily appreciate how the big Negro political leaders (who, by the way, are mighty little Negroes in the eyesight of the white politicians) cannot secure any material political preference—any elective representation for the race, as long as the big and little white politicians are struggling to keep what they have and to get more. Servants usually fight each other most bitterly when they desire to secure the same thing. And since the white political lackeys are more intelligent than the Negro political lackeys, they naturally dupe and prey upon the credulity and ignorance of their black brothers. Now, the lower end—the so-called base of the black world—is beginning to seeth and ferment with discontent, and the political future, fortunes, loyalty, promises, honor and worth of their leaders, are being weighed in the balance, challenged and questioned. And the New Negro

is calling for elective representation. The old, archaic, fossilized Negro political parasites are being discarded, repudiated and relegated to the scrap-heap of political derelicts. There is a dawn of a new day. The New Negro does not only demand appointment but he, primarily, demands a place in the law-making bodies of the city, state and nation. He demands the right to determine the kind and amount of taxation. He demands better and more schools for his children. He demands cleaner streets. He demands police protection. In short, he demands every privilege and right accorded to citizens and men under the constitution.

This, then, is the salient and paramount reason why the Negro should support Negro candidates for offices.

No man is good enough to rule another man without that other man's consent. No white man is just or good enough to rule black men without their consent. And it is pretty well ascertained that it is unsafe for one class to leave its fortunes, political or economic to another class. Men usually look after their interest first and leave the other fellows to "root hog or die pig." This is particularly true when their interests clash. We never heard such a howl about lynching from white men in this country until Leo Frank was lynched. And, again, that section of the white people cried loudest which was affected most—the Jewish. Even the *New York Call*, that fearless champion of the rights of the workingman and the cause of democracy, was practically silent until Frank Little was lynched.

Women are the hardest fighters for woman suffrage. Since this is true, it seems utterly useless to run the gamut of an extended discussion to show the Negro that it is indispensable, necessary and imperative for him to have his own representatives in the aldermanic board, the state assembly and the national congress, to watch the course of the legislative currents. In very truth, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Ex-Senator Foraker might, during his spare moments, exclaim that "a man's a man" and the mighty Teddy might hurl incendiary invectives

and pronounce scathing imprecations upon the heads of the lynchers of East St. Louis, but these sporadic, fitful, ephemeral verbal effusions of vague and questionable platitudes never touch the root cause of the question, never stop the mobs of the Atlanta riot, of Waco and Memphis. No! they have not in the slightest touched the disfranchisement of the Negro in the South.

He who does not pursue his interest will lose his interest. Such has been the case of the Negro. He has been easily honey-fuggled, cajoled and wheedled with a little, specious, spurious and valueless praise and empty honor by insincere, designing and hypocritical white Republican politicians into placing implicit and unquestioned confidence in their honesty and good-will. The result is that Negro political leaders are bought and bossed and the rank and file are ruled and robbed.

This will continue until Negroes put intelligent, honest and fearless men in the various legislative bodies of the country to safeguard their interests. Fleas don't protect dogs, nor will big Negro leaders or white politicians protect the defenceless Negro.

The mayoralty campaign is upon us. The time for independent thinking has come. Political memory is essential. Negroes are running for various offices. White whiskey politicians are angling for your votes. Big Negro leaders are ready to sell you out. Political fly-paper is being set.

Now, Mr. Negro Voter, what are you going to do? This is the question for you to answer. We would suggest and urge, however, that you gird up your loins, unsheath your political sword and run Wilson's man—John Purroy Mitchel—through, and with firm-jawed, stiffened-will, unremitting zeal and consummate valor, march up to the polls as one man and sweep your candidates (Negro aspirants) into office. It will be a sad, sickening and sorrowful sight to see black men failing to appreciate this signal challenge of the times—the challenge to support Negro candidates in the coming campaign. Here is the big reason why our West Indian brother should naturalize and vote. He is fearless and intelligent, and

with his brains, character and vote, leagued with the brains and intelligence of the American Negro, the Negro would become a mighty and powerful political factor in this country in general and in New York in particular.

Men, let us rally around and support our candidates.

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The Messenger's suggestion for good reading.

Economic Interpretation of the Constitution, by Chas. A. Beard.

World Politics, by Walter E. Wage.

Terms of Peace and the Darker Races, by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen.

Stake of Diplomacy, by Walter Lippman.

World Politics, by Paul Reinsch.

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THE NEGROES' INDICTMENT AGAINST MAYOR JOHN PURROY MITCHEL OF NEW YORK CITY

The Prelude of Promises

The mayoralty election of New York City is almost upon us. Various candidates are asking for our votes. Eleventh hour scenes are being staged for popular consumption. Ruses and tricks are being played weekly to catch the unthinking voter. The short political memory of the average voter makes the demagogues feel immune to the political punishment which should be swiftly and surely visited upon them.

All the candidates are promising what they will do. With most of them promises have to be weighed with considerable reserve. With some, promises can be measured in the light of the administration of their offices. Their past deeds may be compared with their past promises. We can actually ascertain how far they have squared their actions with their words. In this class is the present Mayor, John Purroy Mitchel.

Let us judge him by his record. What has he done that he ought not to have done, and what has he left undone that he ought to have done?

These are legitimate, reasonable and proper questions. An answer to them is possible. So

we shall next inquire what that answer is.

Nearly four years ago John Purroy Mitchel was elected Mayor of New York City, supported, on the whole, by 29,000 Negro voters. They believed his profuse and suave promises. They thought he was progressive. They thought he was inspired by that spirit of freedom, liberty and justice which moved his honorable grandfather to give color, form and life to the Irish revolution.

But time brings all things to light! Sooner or later the truth emerges. Three and on-half years have passed and the white light of truth has exposed John Purroy Mitchel in all his naked blackness. Exposed his injustice, exposed his wrong, exposed his race prejudice, exposed his Negrophobia, exposed his unrepresentative attitude toward humble, lowly and poor people everywhere, exposed him at the St. Louis Mayors' Conference going out of his way to make a cruel, unstatesmanlike and vicious attack upon Japan—an attack moved by color prejudice, an attack which stimulated, increased and excited the race feeling which finally culminated in the East St. Louis race riots!

What then is his record? What do we find?

St. Mark's Church

During the campaign of 1913 John Purroy Mitchel came into the St. Mark's M. E. Church of West Fifty-third St. and promised that if he was elected mayor, justice and fair play would be done to the Negro. But pray, what is his conception of fair play!

Mitchel's Prejudice in Motion Picture "Birth of a Nation"

In 1915 a vicious, evil mischievous motion picture entitled "The Birth of a Nation" was put on at the Liberty Theatre of New York. The play was the epitome of mendacity. It fumed with lies. It stigmatized the Negro. It degraded Negro women. It stirred up the scenes which many of us thought were happily being forgotten. Its object was to create race prejudice. It pictured the Negro political leader as a clown. The fact that it was written by Thomas Dixon, author of "The Clansman," who has done more

than any author in this country to change the red blood of the two races into vinegar and bitter root—is sufficient comment upon that picture.

Race prejudice was being increased by it. White men and women looked at it and exclaimed "I hate every 'nigger' in the world." Bitterness and hate were breeding—so bitter and so fast that numbers of respectable citizens appealed to the Mayor to stop the show or to modify its most objectionable features.

A large delegation of white and colored leaders called on Mayor Mitchel. Rabbi Stephen Wise, Frederick C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration; Oswald G. Villard, president of the Evening Post; Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Fred R. Moore, editor of the New York Age; John M. Royall, president of the United Civic League; Dr. William H. Brooks, pastor of the St. Mark's Church under whose roof Mitchel's profuse promises of justice had exuded—all these and many more called on the Mayor and made speeches asking his attention to this play and its stoppage or modification.

But although Mr. Mitchel's administration had stopped plays like "The Wolf," "The Lure" and "The House of Bondage," John Purroy Mitchel claimed he had no power to stop this vicious attack upon us which Rabbi Wise aptly called, at the time, "a loathsome vile and vicious libel upon twelve million Negroes."

Not only that. This very play had been prohibited by mayor after mayor in Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Virginia, and various Southern states—the mayors feeling that it was a vicious creator of race prejudice. State after state passed laws against it. Only about three weeks ago the legislature of Illinois passed a law, because of this very play, against plays designed to stir up race prejudice. And in the great state of Illinois there was only one dissenting vote in the entire legislature. In other words, the play which Mayor Mitchel would not stop was opposed by every man but one in the legislature of Illinois.

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Police Depredations

What next? The second count in the Negro's indictment against

Mitchel is the ruthless, cruel and inhuman beating up of Negroes in Harlem, in San Juan Hill, in Brooklyn and throughout New York City. And while all of this police mischief has proceeded, not a word of reproof, restraint or prohibition has come from our silent Mayor. Negroes have been prohibited from pursuing the innocent pursuits of life, while they go on in white settlements unmolested.

When black women after a hard day's toil have come upon the streets to breathe a breath of fresh air and seek innocent amusement in conversing with their friends, Mayor Mitchel's men of billies—not brains—have set upon them and hauled them to court and branded them as prostitutes.

In other sections of the city men go to their clubs, play cards and the like, free from disturbance. But Mayor Mitchel's espionage system has practically branded every Negro pleasure club as a gambling den. The result is that Negroes are forced to remain, at all times in the suffocating tenement traps for which they pay extortionate rents.

Where respectable Negroes have gathered for a dance in their homes and clubs their parties have been frequently broken up. Their men and women have been hustled to jail and many of them convicted for running dance halls without license.

All of these charges Mayor Mitchel knew were false. Yet through his silence he has winked at, if indeed he did not approve, the ruthless, cruel and inhuman beating up of black men, women and children by a set of American cossacks compared with which the Huns and the Vandals were as shining angels of light! We call upon the Mayor to stop re-echoing Wilson's phrase: "Make the world safe for democracy" and "Make New York City safe for democracy."

Woodrow Wilson's Man

The third count against Mitchel is that he is the very embodiment of Woodrow Wilson in his treatment of the Negro. He was made Collector of the Port of New York by Wilson. He resigned at Wilson's behest and ran for Mayor. Wilson kept Charlie Anderson at the Collector's place

until Mitchel was elected in order to catch the Negro's vote, but removed him after the election.

Wilson never protests against wrongs to Negroes. Neither does Mitchel. Wilson believes in keeping Negroes in inferior places. So does Mitchel. Wilson promised to give justice and fair play to the Negro. So did Mitchel. But Wilson has never given justice and fair play to the Negro. Neither has Mitchel.

Wilson does not appoint Negroes to office. Neither does Mitchel. Wilson does not like Negroes, anyway. Neither does Mitchel.

In short, John Purroy Mitchel is "Wilson's Man" in New York City. If you cannot trust Wilson, then, fellow Negroes, you cannot trust his creature, Mitchel.

Farce Comedies

The fourth count against Mitchel is equally as offensive. He is a great faker.

The Board of Education and the E. P. Roberts comedy explain this. Election is near. The Negroes are flattered by a representative on the New York City Board of Education—Dr. E. P. Roberts was appointed. (And Dr. Roberts is a refined gentleman upon whom we mean to cast no reflection in making this explanation.)

But the New York Legislature has reduced the New York City Board of Education to seven members only two of whom can come from Manhattan. This law takes effect January 1st. Do any of you Negroes think Roberts will be one of those two. It is easy therefore for Mitchel to give this worthless pittance — this meaningless "mess of pottage" to the Negro for the purpose of catching his vote. But in reality it is nothing at all but a farce comedy—and a fleeting farce at that.

And in connection with these farce comedies is the spectacle of one Charles W. Anderson at the French, British and Italian Commissioners' dinners. He was appointed each time by John Purroy Mitchel. This is the sort of political flypaper with which he expects to catch Negro votes.

Moreover a few weeks ago some Negro fireman was to have gotten some medal for bravery. In fact, certain papers reported

that Mitchel awarded it. But we were so used to these farce comedies that we sent our representatives to witness the act. However the papers may report, the fact is that no medal was awarded. So the farce comedies are only to be announced hereafter—and not even acted.

Food Speculation

The Negro also suffers from high prices of food. The food prices are, and have been, higher in the last four years than ever before. State Commissioner John J. Dillon and Commissioner of Weights and Measures Hartigan have made splendid suggestions to Mayor Mitchel for the reduction in prices of food. But in each case the suggestions were thrown into the waste basket, while Negroes continue to grow hungry and starve.

High Rents and Vice

So inefficient has this administration been that taxes have been usurious, excessive, confiscatory. Such taxes are always paid by the rent payers. The Negroes have had to pay such high rents that proper space could not be allotted for habitation. Unfortunate practices have to be resorted to to make the rents. In a word, we find the crass immorality, indecency and vice which are seen in our community, due very largely to the high and inhuman rents charged to Negroes with the tacit approval of the Mitchel administration.

Juggling the School System

The great fight in America has been to keep the public schools out of the hands of plutocrats—from the rich and powerful interests. This has been the one fight to safeguard the interests of the common people. It has been the supreme effort to prevent poisoning the children's minds while in their plastic state. But here in New York City under the administration of Mayor Mitchel, what do we find?

Why, the schools have been turned over to the Rockefeller interests! Under the false and pernicious pretense of "economy" those interests have foisted upon the city a duplicate system known as the Gary system. These hypocritical high priests of a spurious economy and efficiency pretend

that they use this system to save the city's money.

But in education extravagance is economy! Money need not be saved on children's education and wasted on everything else. And especially true is this with these plutes who have increased the city's funded debt within the last three years by over \$203,000,000—while during this administration of Mitchel's profligacy the land speculators have secured over \$800,000,000 of unearned ground rent with the administration's approval.

We want more schools for our black boys and black girls. Away with this Wilson-Mitchel plot to keep the Negroes in ignorance!

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Conclusion

This is a sharp indictment, but a true bill found by 120,000 Negroes of New York City against John Purroy Mitchel. We find him inefficient. We find him unjust. We find him filled with race prejudice. We find him long on promise and short on performance. We find such little performance as he has attempted to be nothing but a congeries of farce comedies.

We find him condoning "The Birth of a Nation." He is by indifference and apathy starving black children. His policies have raised rents so high that tenant problems have been aggravated.

We find him to be "Wilson's Man" in New York carrying out any anti-Negro policy of the Wilson administration.

Mayor Mitchel is a menace to the Negro! His police, who beat up Negroes because they ask for a drink in a saloon, are more barbarous and ruthless than the Huns and Vandals led by and winked at by the inhuman Atilla. We want no Atilla in New York. We want no such mayor.

Negro voters should awake and give Mayor Mitchel the worst political stab he will have ever received. He must be driven to the tall timbers and retired to that obscurity and oblivion from which he ought never to emerge.

Such is the Negroes' indictment against the present reactionary Mayor of New York City. Such is the Negroes' indictment of our fox-trotting, tangoing, turkey-trotting Mayor. He is too busy

dancing, galavantiing and joy-riding with the aristocrats to give any ear or attention to the painful plaints of 120,000 Negroes in New York City.

A Philip Randolph, President of the Independent Political Council.

Chandler Owen, Executive Secretary of the Independent Political Council.

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WHO SHALL BE MAYOR? HILLQUIT, HYLAN, BENNETT, MITCHEL—WHICH FOR THE NEGROES?

Who shall be Mayor? This is the question which every thinking man in New York is asking himself.

But every thinking man is also asking—**WHO SHOULD BE MAYOR?**

And having determined who ought to be mayor, he owes it to himself and his conscience to work with might and main to see that the man who **should be mayor, shall be mayor.**

Hillquit, Hylan, Bennet, Mitchel—Which for the Negroes?

That is the question which all thinking Negroes want answered. And most Negroes are thinking just now a Great Deal.

Who is John Purroy Mitchel?

To go back a little—John Purroy Mitchel's father was a Confederate soldier—a volunteer—who volunteered to fight to keep Negroes in slavery. He left the North and went South for the noble purpose of enslaving the Negroes. But that was not enough for Mitchel's father. Mitchel's father owned and published a paper which taught that the **Negro was inferior**; that the Negro was a **beast**; that the Negro was a **natural slave**; that God Almighty made the Negro to be a "hewer of wood and a drawer of water and a picker of cotton for **white men** forever!"

What about the son—John Purroy Mitchel?

He is Woodrow Wilson's man in New York City. Wilson made him Collector of the Port. Wilson kept Charles W. Anderson as internal revenue collector to catch the Negro vote, but removed Mr. Anderson after Mitchel was elected. Mitchel carries out any Wilson policy with respect to the Negro. If you want

Wilson, vote for Mitchel. If you don't want Wilson, don't vote for Mitchel.

Mitchel also has had Negroes beaten up by his police like beasts. A decent arrest of a Negro in Harlem, Columbus Hill, or Brooklyn, is a thing of the past. Defeat Mitchel and stop police clubbing of Negroes.

Every Negro woman, under this administration, is branded as a prostitute and hustled to jail if she stops to speak to a friend on the street. Defeat Mitchel and end this tyranny.

The "Birth of a Nation" was a vicious libel upon the Negro race. It was one big picture lie. Mitchel said it was all right to tell any kind of lie on the Negro and he allowed the picture to continue in spite of the protests of representative Negroes and white friends.

Mitchel is on no ticket. He is what we call in cards a "Single-ton." He is a butter-in, after he failed to secure the nomination, notwithstanding the frauds perpetrated in his interest were the worst the country has known since the days of Van Wyck and Tweed.

Negro baiter, blackman's hater, Woodrow Wilson's Man, police Negro clubber, son of a Confederate soldier, whose spirit he breathes in every act—how can any self-respecting Negro vote for Mayor Mitchel?

His only campaign issue is waving the American flag—the same flag which his father and grandfather did all in their power to shoot to shreds and to tear to pieces, when with all their power of sword and pen, they tried to wreck the Union and keep the **NEGRO A SLAVE!**

Enough for Mitchel.

How about Bennett?

Bennett heads the Republican ticket. That alone is unfortunate, but that is not the worst of it. Passing over the fact that Bennett is a southern man, born in Tennessee, he is the only Republican on his ticket. And his whole ticket is packed with Southern crackers and Southern Democrats.

Let us examine.

There is William Prendergast running for Comptroller, of Mississippi parentage, and a worse

Negro hater than John Purroy Mitchel.

Then there is Robert Adamson on the Republican ticket, running for the big place—President of the New York City Board of Aldermen. Now Robert Adamson comes from Georgia. He is at this moment an enrolled Democrat—and a Georgia Democrat at that.

For many years he was a member of the staff of the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, where as a reporter, he used big headlines, like —“Lynch the Brute,” “Burly Black Nigger Attacks Little White Girl,” “A Subject for the Stake.” “Burn the Big Black Buck.”—All of this did more to create race prejudice and to foster lynching than anything we know of.

Now, if Negroes want Prendergast of Mississippi, Adamson from Georgia, of the Atlanta Constitution staff, Hoke Smith's paper, — vote the Republican ticket. But if you don't want a gang of Southern Democrats strung on the Republican ticket, then don't vote for Bennett and the Republican ticket

Bennett is a southern man, a tool of the Republican party, and in the worst kind of company. He could not, if he would, control those southern Negro haters.

Next, we come to the Democratic ticket. Its nominee is Judge John Hylan.

Of course, we never heard of him before, but that is not so much against him. We know, it is true, that judges are generally reactionary.

But what has Hylan ever done for the Negro, and what does he propose which is of any benefit to the Negro workingman?

We know he promises to help the real estate men, but they are already charging Negroes the highest and most inhuman rents, and if Hylan helps them to get any more rent, the Negroes will have to go to the parks. And that is bad lodging for the winter.

Still, this is not the most serious charge against Hylan.

The big thing against Hylan is that he is Hearst's representative, just as Mitchel is Wilson's man.

Now, what has that to do with it?

Well, Hearst always knows his man, and he is not so particular

about anything as he about **anti-Japanese** and **anti-Negro**.

Look at his newspaper staff. In New York his editor-in-chief, is Arthur Brisbane from Atlanta, Ga. Associated with Brisbane on Hearst's New York papers is John Temple Graves, formerly of Atlanta also, who wrote and talked so mendaciously about the Negro, that Professor Kelly Miller wrote a book in reply to his libel and slander of the Negro.

Dorothy Dix, another member of Hearst's paper staff, wrote so insultingly of Negroes in the Evening Journal, when the murder trial of Mrs. Bailey was going on in Long Island a few years ago, that Rev. Stephen Holder of New York replied to her slander and abuse of “niggers.”

Then there is the Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst on the Hearst staff who said “the Negroes will never be fit for self-government.” So slanderous, libelous, mendacious, abusive and insulting was he that the distinguished Negro scholar, Dr. William A. Sinclair, took him to task in his well-written book, “The Aftermath of Slavery.”

We might review this newspaper staff at length, but every investigation would show that almost the entire Hearst staff is a Southern, Negro-baiting, “Nigger”-hating, anti-Japanese, anti-Negro, anti-colored set of writers. And Hearst never supports anybody else.

One does not have to be born in the South to have race prejudice, and there are plenty of **Northern Crackers!**

If William Randolph Hearst is supporting John Hylan, you bet your last dollar that he knows where Hylan stands on the **Negro question**. And that means Hylan stands **against the Negro**.

Hearst is not supporting Hylan without being sure of that!

Don't vote for John Hylan!

MORRIS HILLQUIT

Who is he? And whom does he represent?

Morris Hillquit represents the working people and 99 per cent. of Negroes are working people.

Morris Hillquit is a Jew, born in Russia. All of us Negroes know that, on the whole, the

Jews are the fairest and most friendly people in the United States in their dealings with the Negroes. Despised and oppressed through centuries, the Jews know what oppression means, and consequently they have always been tender and sympathetic toward the Negroes who have been their companions in drinking the bitter dregs of race prejudice.

The Socialist party which Hillquit represents, does not even hold race prejudice in the South. In Oklahoma, the Socialist party combined with the Negroes and defeated the late grandfather disfranchisement clause.

The party is active in unionist work, but it does not support the Gompers American Federation type of unionism. Consequently Gompers does not support Socialism.

Gompers favors the East St. Louis riots and Gompers supported Wilson and the old wicked southern Democratic party.

The Socialist party condemned the riots and lynching of Negroes in **editorials, special articles and cartoons**, and it repudiated Samuel Gompers.

Hillquit favors free food and free clothing for school children as a matter of right, and **not** as a **matter of charity**.

Hillquit will reduce the high cost of living—reduce the cost of milk which our children must have; reduce the cost of bread which all of us must have; reduce the inhuman and inexcusable high rents which the Negro Republican real estate agents of Harlem impose upon Negro tenants.

Hillquit will establish terminal markets and buy fresh vegetables which will be sold to the people at cost, and this will do away with the food speculators.

Hillquit will build tenements which the people may rent at reasonable rates.

Hillquit favors peace which every sincere Negro, and especially the young men, the mothers, wives and sisters desire.

Hillquit's election will stop the throwing in jail and the beating up of people who discuss the war and peace.

Hillquit believes the war is over the exploitation of the darker peoples—the stealing of their land and labor. He is the only candidate who dares to say so.

Hillquit favors real municipal ownership to reduce the cost of carfare, 'phone, gas and electricity.

Nobody else can favor this because their campaigns are being financed by the street car, subway, telephone and gas interests. And "The power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will."

Vote for Hillquit for lowering the cost of living.

Vote for Hillquit to save our boys from the bloody fields of France.

Vote for Hillquit for free speech, free press and free assemblage.

Vote for Hillquit who understands the problems of an oppressed people and who has always been true to the trust.

Vote for a decent, honest and honorable Mayor.

Hillquit should be mayor. Hillquit shall be mayor.

Vote for Hillquit.

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THE EDITORS' STATEMENT

We are no longer the "Hotel" Messenger.

In the first place the name was too narrow.

In the second place the radical tone of the editors' writings did not set well with the "thought-controller" in the hotel field. We did not always say "nice" things about the head-waiters' attitude toward the side waiters and the inadequate wages paid them. The clothes proposition was also a moot question whose ventilation is not to the taste of the powers that be.

The steady and numerous requests by the intelligent, radical, forward-looking and clear-eyed thinking patrons for the editors to rid themselves of the hindering name, have borne this fruit—The Messenger.

So here we are in the big, broad world of human actions trying to do our "bit" in supplying light and leading.

We shall interpret social, political and economic conditions, municipal, state, national and international, with calm, dispassionate poise.

We shall always strive to eradicate error and to denude hypoc-

risy regardless of the garb in which she happens to be clothed.

The Messenger shall be forward, aggressive, militant, revolutionary.

The Messenger shall ever fight for the economic and intellectual emancipation of the workingman.

It shall ever fight for peace—a durable, permanent and democratic peace.

It shall ever fight the hydra-headed monster—race prejudice.

It shall ever champion the cause of free speech, free press and free assemblage.

Such is our aim. On we go.

Will you support the Messenger, your race and humanity?

The Editors.

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UNITED BROTHERHOOD

(Continued from page 14)

(3) You have a monopoly of the elevator work in New and Brooklyn. If you don't strike now, when war ends, the men in munitions factories and in the army will compete for your jobs. Now five jobs are open to one man; then five men will be competing for one job. If you organize, you can strike; if you strike you can win.

The Brotherhood is making a drive for 8,000 men and women. \$1.00 is the joining fee. The dues are 25 cents a month.

When members are out of work, they report to the Situation Committee. The Brotherhood meets on every Sunday afternoon at 3 P. M., and Friday evening at 8.30 P. M.

All members who have paid the application fee receive a membership card which shows that he or she is a bona fide member.

The Brotherhood is building up a strike fund and solicits the aid of every man and woman.

Send all contributions to the treasurer, Dr. E. Elliot Rawlins.

Rally to the cause—we are bound to win.

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JOIN THE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL!

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THE MESSENGER

IS THE ONLY MAGAZINE OF SCIENTIFIC
RADICALISM IN THE WORLD
PUBLISHED BY NEGROES

It is written in fine style; its matter is logically presented; its interpretations are made calmly and dispassionately—without prejudice in favor of the Negro or against the White Man.

Our aim is to appeal to reason, to lift our pens above the cringing demagogy of the times and above the cheap, peanut politics of the old, reactionary Negro leaders.

Patriotism has no appeal to us; justice has. Party has no weight with us; principle has. Loyalty is meaningless; it depends on what one is loyal to. Prayer is not one of our remedies; it depends on what one is praying for. We consider prayer as nothing more than a fervent wish; consequently the merit and worth of a prayer depend upon what the fervent wish is. Still we never forget that all wishes, desires, hopes—must be realized thru the adoption of sound methods. This requires scientific education—a knowledge of the means by which the end aimed at may be attained.

Test us on any question. Write us letters for comment. Suggest subjects you desire to have us discuss. THE MESSENGER will take a courageous and sound position without regard to race, creed, color, sex or political party.

(Signed) THE EDITORS.

Education and Literature

THE PASSING OF NOVELTY

By Chandler Owen.

There is a law in economics called the law of diminishing returns. It means that the more you use a commodity or good the less you care for it. In a word, a thing has less power to satisfy you the more it is used by you. But this is no more true in economics than in any other field. In common usage, we would call it "the passing of novelty."

To illustrate: You like steak, but if you have steak for every meal you soon get tired of it.

You have a beautiful suit. You have worn it several times. Its quality is not impaired at all, but you want a new one. You are tired of seeing the same one and, more important, you think others are tired of seeing it.

You have a favorite actress or singer. You have no criticism to pass on her but you want to hear and see another—a new one—one with novelty.

Your house is painted beautifully yet you desire to change the color. Its old hue has lost its charm.

Thanhauser's "Evening Star" is sweet, melodious and rapturous. The musician plays it with perfection. But continuous playing of that thrilling production becomes monotonous. Its novelty goes a'flying.

This law of diminishing returns—this passing of novelty—is a most havoc wreaking force in human society. It is the wringing test of matrimony, and upon the shoals of this heartless law monogamy is about to be wrecked.

Talk with the husbands of today; and what is their opinion? Why marriage is a failure. The wife is not the sweetheart of those courtship days. The fire and passion and thrill no longer accompany the caresses which are kept up more by habit or forced formality than by that spontaneous zeal which once made the man dream dreams of

the future. Oh, what a burden it is to go to theatres, dances and card parties with his wife! And how pleasant it is for him to do all those things with some other woman!

And how about the wives? Talk with them and the counter charges are equal quite. The wife is so disappointed with married life. The life that is, is not the life that was to be. All is disappointment. She can tell you how attentive her husband was before he became her husband. He wanted her to go to the theatre tonight; to dance tomorrow, autoing next day; dinner this evening; and tomorrow they would chat and dream and build air castles all alone at home. What thrilling days—and how they have fled! He once brought in a box of candy, a basket of fruit—anything he thought would please her, "But quoth the raven—nevermore!" I have frequently heard wives complain that their husbands will not even caress them, kiss them and fondle them.

Something seems radically wrong about all of this and the question is incessantly asked—What is the matter? It is the same old "law of diminishing returns" at work. It is the passing of novelty. It is the love of, the desire for, the longing and the yearning for variety.

To the husband, I want to say that you cannot expect for your mere presence to satisfy your wife. She gets tired of that. She is not a whit different from the old days. Saying "I will" leaves her humanly and naturally identically as she was; she still loves the dances, the theatres, the joy rides, the boxes of candy and the evening parties. She still loves to flirt as in the days of yore. She still loves the electrifying caress when the cutaneous chills thrill the body and consciousness abdicates for the moment. She still likes the variety. You may go to the club but you must spend some time at home.

To the wife I would say—that old Adam has not changed a whit

either. He still likes his variety. He likes to see your hair attractively arranged as he once saw it. He likes to see that variety, that neatness and novelty of dress characteristic of the olden days. He likes your many sides and one side soon wears out.

To both the husband and wife I would say that this monotony must be met by making yourselves many-sided. You must know as much as possible about everything and fill your lives with variety. At best it will require a great deal of patience, a fund of self-sacrifice, a good bit of toleration. You must remember that happiness is the gratification of desire, and after that desire is satisfied, the happiness ends temporarily. It is these intervals that make life so trying to live. It is here that each of you must try to create new desires in the other and these desires you must strive to and satisfy.

Neither of you has any intrinsic merit, but only so much as will satisfy some wants. For after all, love is nothing but desire—a derivative desire of the reproductive appetite. Like any other desire, when satisfied, the pleasure ends and no more pleasure attaches thereto until some new desire arises to be, and is, satisfied.

So it must be remembered that novelty passes quickly and variety is needed continually to present some new novelty. Nature is perpetually changing and we all like a change. We like light and we like darkness—the sunshine and the shadow. We love life, but we desire death, too. In fact, the great paradox of life is that "we live only as we die." We want dry weather but we want rain also. We want different colors; we want varieties of music. We love new faces, new forms, new souls. We revere the old, but we still admire the new. We love rest, but ennui sets in and we want exercise. Summer is pleasant, but we tire of the heat, and long for the coldness of winter. The quiet life grows weary. The

calm sea is dead. We crave storm and stress—a billowy sea.

In truth, a thing may be ever so charming, ever so attractive, but the charm ceases, the attractions lose their drawing power, and under the corroding tooth of time they wear away and cease to be. The novelty passes and we yearn for something new. The old adage "familiarity breeds contempt" is nothing more than a recognition of the principle of diminishing returns. Familiarity wears out the novelty.

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NEMESIS

PART II.

A Story of Love and Revenge Founded on the American Intervention in Hayti.

By Lovett Fort-Whiteman

Synopsis of Part I.

It is during the summer of 1915; the American Government alleges a necessity of intervening in Hayti, the Black Republic. The proud natives here and there have disputed with desperate valor the inroad of the American marines.

There is a national holiday in Hayti and Port-au-Prince, the capital city, is alive with merriment and patriotic fervor. The ardor and fantasy of tropical life fills the vision. The story begins at the evening hour in the Cafe des Innocents, in the Boulevard de l'Abbe Raynal. The guests are the elite of Haytian society and pleasures are at their height when a group of American marines, mischief bent, saunter in. Through malignant interference on their part, a conflict is developed. The white sergeant kills the son of one of the most distinguished families of Hayti.

There ensued a bloody and exciting struggle between citizens and American marines. Several shots rang out, tables were overturned, glassware crushed and above the din of general excitement came the piercing shrieks of panic-stricken women. The melee shifted to the street

and with added reinforcement to both sides the character of the struggle became more intense. Diminutive shafts of flames shot out from seemingly every corner and crevice. The fight was shifting by degrees from its original scene. The marines were fleeing farther and farther down the palm-bordered avenue, the sounds of revolver shots became fainter and fainter. It was ever shifting and the intervals between shots were decreasing until its sounds were heard no more.

The Chambre des Orientales was in a state of semi-darkness and desolate quietness. The

scattered about, the flame sputtering from the monster's throat was extinguished and the general tone of the chamber was that of tragic loneliness. Suddenly a low and faint sound reached the ear. It was a wail of deep sorrow. One drew nearer and there amid the debris of broken furniture lay the dying Jean d'Hippolyte. And more, the ivy does not cling to ancient walls, the vine to the elm nor light straw to the amber more passionately than the fair woman Lescant clung to the neck of her dying lover. The scene was extremely touching.

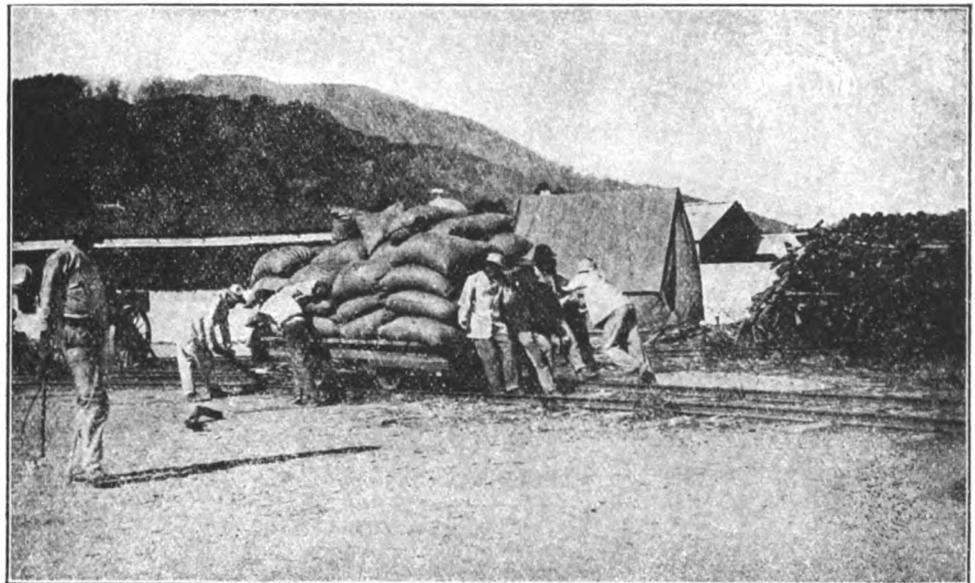
This girl came from La Cha-



HEALTHY HAYTI

guests had all departed and as a result of their tumultuous departure broken glass lay upon the floor, the tables sat topsy-turvy, some chairs were broken and lay

pelle, the last bulwark of the mulatto faction during the days of Rigaud and Toussaint, possessing all the pride of her cast; she was inaccessible to its prejudices



II. THE WEALTH OF HAYTI

Coffee made up more than 75 per cent. of the \$13,000,000 worth of exports from Hayti last year

and living at this time in a society which was yet rancorous against her cast, she was ever true and faithful to him whom she loved and who was a member of that society.

It was about ten days after the affair just related when two men were standing talking before a small coffee house in one of the out-of-way streets of the city.

sleeves denoted him as being a sergeant in rank.

The two were saying something about "niggers." "I am from Georgia, says the big sergeant, "and we do things differently." "Truly," responded the other, "the measures you intimate may at times——"

He did not finish. At this juncture a woman passed. She was

and with words hastily uttered immediately separated. Suffice it to say that a trysting place had been appointed for the evening.

That very evening they met in the Jardin des Plantes. They stood, Yvonne Lescant and the American sergeant of Marines, the murderer of her lover, at the base of the statue of Faustin the Second; even there. In the dripping



PICTURESQUE BUT UNSANITARY

A street in Port-au-Prince in the old regime with its weird conglomeration of sights, sounds and smells.

The men were American marines and the coffee house was a popular rendezvous for idlers and persons of dubious character.

One of the men was short and rugged and bore an air of indifference; the other was a man of large mould, wore a red beard and possessed the vicious look of a ruffian. Red stripes on his

heavily veiled, it was true, but the sergeant had a fine eye for pretty women and when she was at a close approach she affected an obscure sign of flirtation and the eager sergeant followed. With a few hurried steps he was at her side. The belladonna measured her quarry well. They exchanged expressions of mutual good will

moonlight they strolled, arm in arm, through the narrow pathways. The night was calm and the fragrance of bounteous flowers permeated the air.

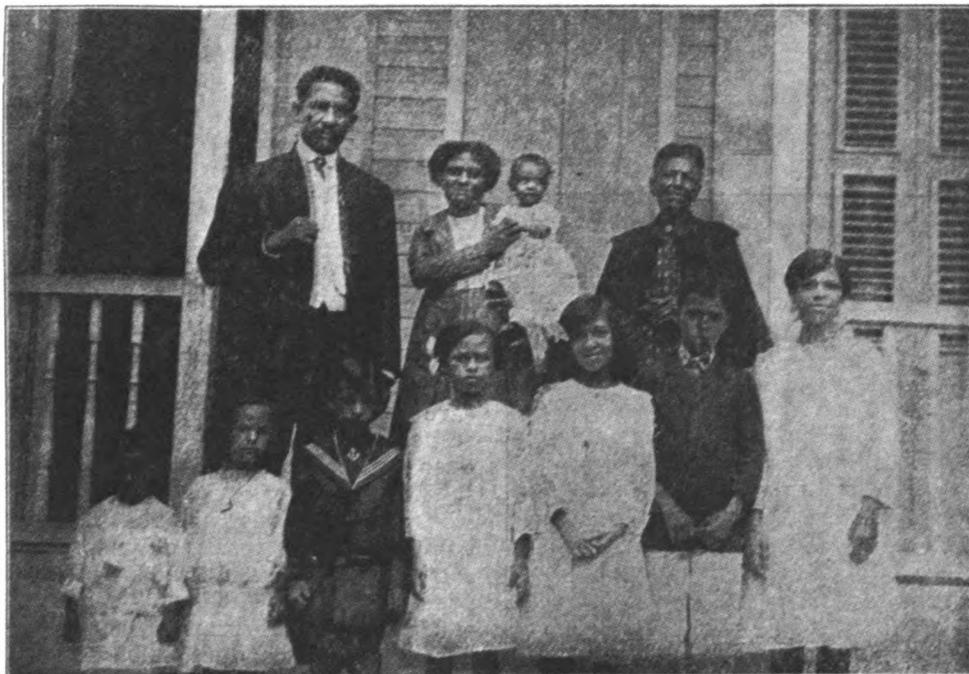
In an obscure corner of this wonderful garden is situated a dilapidated piscatory. The water is deep and limpid, the fishes are yet there, though neglected; en-

circling it is the massy remains of a low concrete wall. Large pieces of masonry lay scattered about, overgrown with moss and other rank verdure. Here the couple seated themselves. Opalis rays of a big moon played upon the surface of the water, the little silver fish playfully darted here

against the water. But on raising his hand and examining it he found it held nothing. The expression on the girl's face had changed from one of love and sweet benignity; it had assumed that of implacable hate and revenge. Again he leaned far out. He was in the act of effecting the

capture of an unwary one when the girl from behind gave him a vigorous push and over he went, head-foremost, into the water. In the next instant the girl had brandished a dagger. The moonlight shed a horrifying lustre upon the threatening steel. With tigress-like quickness she fell upon her knees and struck. The blow fell with force upon his neck. The wretch struggled and emitted a cry of pain and rage. The girl laughed a fiendish laugh. Gathering her energy her arm went out, again she drove the blade deep into his breast, exclaiming with frantic triumph, "Ma patrie, mon amoureux."

The silence of the night was deathly. As the moon glided behind heavy, black clouds its final beams divulged with mocking brilliancy, the little fish dashing through crimson bubbles. A hirondelle in a neighboring tamarind tree fluttered, twittered and settled down in gentle sleep. All was intense silence and darkness. Suddenly, but faintly, came floating through the hollow night the dismal sound of a bugle. It came from the American camp and was announcing the hour of sleep. The American camp knew not, and will never know, that it was the death-knell of one of its own wrapped in eternal sleep, in a grave unknown.



THE NEW REGIME

A type of progressive, up-to-date Haitian family which will aid materially in making a better republic

and there, and they looked like jewels as they passed through the water. The girl marked it and exclaimed, "Oh! How beautiful." The sergeant let slip his arm around her waist, drew her close and tenderly kissed her on the cheek. She would fain have forestalled it and did feebly try to disengage herself, but the sergeant held her tight. "Ah! those fish," she would exclaim, "how beautiful they are." The silver fish were continuing their fantastic caprices and they seemed to fascinate her. "I do wish I had one, just one, and will you try to catch me it?" she requested. "Why certainly," he replied. At this she clapped her little hands with childish glee. The big sergeant arose, stepped forward and, bending low, reached far out over the water, making a deliberate choice he brought his hand down with a quick and vehement grasp



UNMOLESTED HAITI

Before the American occupation the streams were peopled with women eternally occupied with their washing

SOCIAL WORK AMONG NEGROES

By Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes.

Until recently the main social work that has been done among Negroes has been of a religious character. With the exception of activities being conducted by the churches and schools supported by missionary societies, the work has been done without much intelligence and almost absolutely without any definite program. In the case of white organizations interested more or less in Negro welfare, it has taken on the character of material aid given with no special desire to render the recipient independent but to relieve immediate suffering. This is especially true of many southern communities where the Charity Organization Society or the Associated Charities has maintained a list of indigent colored people who have received the weekly basket.

In one city in the South, I remember as a boy that many of the colored families who were in fair circumstances received weekly allotments of coal and groceries from the city—no investigation being made by the city authorities of the needs of the families; the only recommendation for the city's beneficence being the willingness of the colored man or woman to discard a sufficient amount of personal pride to appear at the city coal or wood-yard, or commissary, to receive the allotment of alms.

I recall my first visit to Savannah, Georgia, where the itinerant preachers and gospel singers held street audiences spell-bound with their loud, weird exhortations "to live better and to fear God"; following up these indefinite instructions with an appeal for funds, but without any personal knowledge of the needs of the persons they were advising or the inability of the people to live without an acquaintance with the laws of good health and sanitation; and especially in the case of the children, without any place in which to play or any wholesome supervision while at play.

A new day has dawned for social work among Negroes. Those who would make us better

are beginning to conserve energy and economize in expense. They see that the best way to make a man good is to make him more or less independent of alms. "Not alms but opportunity" is the slogan of a well-known organization which has established business methods in social work. It has seen that a family whose head is efficient industrially, and who can earn a good wage, and can find a good home to rent at a reasonable rate, and who can send his children to school and a neighborhood playground properly supervised, will be forever a good



EUGENE KINCKLE JONES

social unit; contributing at all times something to the community and sharing in wholesome proportion the fruits of good government which it is helping to bring about.

Education is the basis of the larger social program: education of the people of the community as to the sources from which they can secure the benefits of the community: the location of the nearest school; the city departments through which police protection, promotion of health, public education and even a job may be secured; the creation of a high social impulse that will convert a sluggish community into a community with social consciousness

—a consciousness that will frown upon immorality in the neighborhood, street loafing, idleness of the young, high rents imposed by landlords, neglect of the district by civic authorities.

I should like to cite examples of successful social work in New York City where such work has been developed to a high degree among its colored citizens.

The Lincoln Hospital has a social service department and a training school for social nurses.

The Hope Day Nursery and the New York Colored Mission conduct nurseries where children may be left during the day by working mothers.

The Howard Orphanage and the Colored Orphan Asylum at Riverdale care for orphans and dependent colored children.

The Sojourner Truth House and the Empire Friendly Shelter care for delinquent colored girls respectively under sixteen and over sixteen years of age.

The New York Colored Mission, Lincoln House and the Lincoln Settlement in Brooklyn are settlement houses located in colored districts. Although these settlements handle the individual case in need; conduct clubs and classes and hold occasional community gatherings, the main purpose is to develop the community spirit which I described above as being so necessary to wholesome city life. The really successful settlement is an educational institution of the highest character.

The Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations have branches in both New York City and Brooklyn, where work of a preventive nature with the Christian young man and young woman is conducted. This includes educational classes, wholesome amusement and recreation, employment-finding, lodgings and public meetings.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is seeking to secure full manhood rights for Negroes through the elimination of discrimination against Negroes in all public places and justice before the law—including the right of suffrage. It has more than 100 local branches.

The colored people of New York City are also served through milk stations, public and private;

relief organizations, viz.: Charity Organization Society and Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, and the New York News Charity Bureau—the latter organization being a group of intelligent and conscientious women, but working without a trained investigator; visiting nurses from the Henry Street Settlement and the Health Department of the City; a convalescent home for men and women at White Plains, conducted under the auspices of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, and Big Brother and Big Sister Organizations.

New York City can boast of one form of organization that should be in every community where colored people reside in large numbers, viz.: a movement which will conduct investigations to discover the real social needs of the community and then seek

to establish the necessary agencies to meet the needs. This program also involves the finding of good material from which social workers may be moulded to man the new movements created.

The National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, with branches in twenty-two other cities as well as New York, has for nearly seven years followed this program. Its activities include, in addition to those mentioned above, an industrial bureau which seeks to open up new lines of employment for colored people; a housing bureau and the establishment of boys and girls clubs. The Big Brother and Big Sister work for colored children was inaugurated by this organization.

As far as possible efforts should be made to prevent the organization of movements to care **only** for colored people. Where possible, white organiza-

tions should be induced to include Negroes in their programs of work and to employ colored workers to handle their cases.

The Associated Charities in the following cities have colored visitors: Memphis, Tenn.; Columbia, S. C.; Jacksonville, Florida; New York City; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Columbus, Ohio; Charlotte, N. C. (Volunteer, unless worker employed recently); Boston, Mass.

Colored workers are employed in the Juvenile Courts of Pittsburgh; Chicago; Cleveland; Baltimore, Md.; Washington; New York and Brooklyn (supported by volunteer societies); Philadelphia; Birmingham, Ala.; Nashville (supported by volunteer society); Louisville, Ky.; Atlanta, Ga.; Savannah, Ga.; (supported by volunteer societies but officially appointed); Little Rock, Ark. (supported by volunteer societies); St. Louis, Mo.

The Poets' Corner

By Walter Everette Hawkins

TOO MUCH RELIGION.

By Walter Everette Hawkins.

There is too much time for doctrine;
Too much talk of church and creeds;
Far too little time for duty,
And to heal some heart that bleeds.
Too much Sunday Church religion,
Too many stale and bookish prayers;
Too many souls are getting ragged,
Watching what their neighbor wears.

There is too much talk of heaven,
Too much talk of golden streets,
When one can't be sympathetic,
When a needy neighbor meets;
Too much talk about the riches
You expect to get "up there,"
When one will not do his duty
As a decent Christian here.

And you needn't think the angels
Have no other work to do,
But to stitch on fancy garments
To be packed away for you;
For some people live so crooked
Those robes may refuse to fit;
Let us have less talk of heaven
And do right a little bit.

THE BURSTING OF THE CHRYSLIS

Long, long shut in this dismal
shell

I slept, I mused, I dreamed
Of things in brighter worlds that
dwell,

No poet ever themed:
I broke from out the prison cell,
And out on wings I beamed.

—W. E. Hawkins.

HERE AND HEREAFTER.

Now you preach a lot of Heaven,
And you talk a lot of Hell,
But the future never troubles me—
'Tis plain as tongue can tell;
And it's mighty poor religion
That won't keep a man from fear;
For the next place must be Heaven,
Since 'tis Hell I'm having here.

"LOVE'S UNCHANGEABLENESS"

By the Messenger Poet.

The kingdoms of ages have gone,
They crumble and lie with the sod,
Like leaves their rich glories are
strewn—

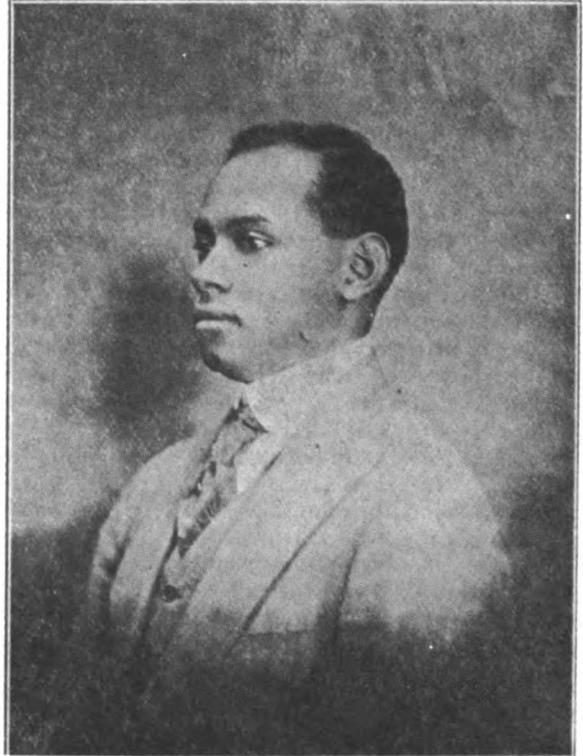
They return to their doom or their God,
And where is the pride of the past,
The glories of earthly domains?
They fall 'neath the withering blast—
And yet, O, yet, Love still remains.

We watch the bright trend of the age,
And gather its wisdom and lore,
Commune with the Savage and Sage,
And snatch from Dame Science her
store;

But wealth and all wisdom may fail,
And Want follow fast in their train,
Still over the wreck and the Pale
The emblem of Love will remain.



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH



CHANDLER OWEN



**Editors and Publishers of The Messenger,
President and Executive Secretary
of The Independent Political
Council respectively:**



**These intelligent, fearless and far-visioned,
young Negro radicals are making a strenuous
fight to elect Morris Hillquit and the
Socialist ticket in New York City.**



By **LOVETT FORT-WHITEMAN**

DRAMATIC EDITOR

ANNOUNCEMENT

Mrs. Hapgood announces that the Negro Players, who last year were the season's sensation on Broadway and at the Garden Theatre, have been incorporated and will give a repetition of their repertoire during the coming season.

—:o:—

LAFAYETTE THEATRE

For the week of Sept. 3 was presented at the Lafayette Theatre "The Man from Mexico," a spicy musical comedy with an interesting theme, witty dialogue and brilliant musical numbers.

Although an old play, and one long ago relegated to the producer's shelf of indifferent keeping, it has been resuscitated, revived, freshened and made as pleasing and delightful as ever.

It was presented by a cast extraordinary for its combination.

THE LINCOLN THEATRE

The sort of entertainment that is now being presented at the Lincoln Theatre cannot but carry tremendous social value. The pictures are the kind that lend aid, suggest and help one in adjusting one's self to society. They expose the pitfalls, the sores in our body social, and bring to our minds a social doctrine that is clean, easy and simple.

The management of the theatre has recently installed an organ, a costly instrument of remarkable tone, volume and sonority. And the compositions that perforce will be played upon it are and shall be of that character necessary to achieve the much needed elevation of musical taste in Harlem. It will and cannot help playing a creditable part in the cultivation of good taste and refined feeling in our community.

The only difference between one race and another is their psychology. Put a Frenchman and a German to arguing as to who started the war in Europe and they might argue from sunrise to sunset, and they would never arrive at a mutual conclusion. Their psychologies are not the same—their feelings are different, their senses of justice are different; therefore, their viewpoints are different. With the Negro, even here in America, there is a marked difference in psychology to that of the white American. What is humorous and a source of laughter on the stage for me does not always strike the white man so, and *vice et versa*. The management of the Lincoln Theatre should know that. I recall some years ago, when in Canada, some English producers were planning to have Mr. Bert Williams make an appearance in one of the English-Canadian theatres. Why, it was preposterous! He would have been an absolute failure. The sense of humor is of inconceivable difference; and somehow at the eventful hour the producers came to realize this.

Give us Negro minstrels, Negro actors; they always suit us best. Let the stage for Negroes be dominated by Negroes.

ON TRAGEDY

According to Aristotle a tragedy is the highest form of literature, the crowning achievement of the human intellect. But the question is: what is tragedy, or rather what is it that affects and moves us when we witness the production of a great tragedy? Superficially regarded, a tragedy is a play with an unhappy ending, generally an ending of death, resulting from a conflict between the human will and Fate, as exemplified in the ancient Greek dramas, or as in Shakespearean tragedies, the triumph of Na-

ture's laws over the human will, or as in the dramas of today, the failure of one to fulfill one's mission in life—in other words, to live one's life according to one's choice. And why is it these matters, which are the essences of tragedy, affect us as they do? Death is not necessarily noble, nor is it always tragic even in real life. Yet we do find death the terminating condition in all great plays, such as "Oedipus the King," "Hamlet," "Cyrano de Bergerac," "The Sunken Bell," "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" (this probably only great in technique), and "Pelleas and Melisande."

In tragedy plays there is something that influences the souls of all men, in all climes and ages. Excluding all minor and mechanical matters, a tragedy of Sophocles or Aeschylus has just as much effect upon our moral natures today as it did upon that of the Athenians two thousand years ago. This proves that there is an abiding, a constant quality in all tragedy, regardless of the varied and multifarious forms in which it may be presented.

Tragedy, to a large extent, depends upon one's sense of the insoluble or strangeness of some bit of life in view. For instance, Ibsen's "Hedda Gabler" is a woman who is unable to adjust herself to her environment. She is imaginative, brilliant and passionate, and in absolute disharmony with the conventional prosaic life of Norway. Her one dominant desire is to control the destiny of some man, a man of brain and masterly character, and this she never achieves, for her little social world has never produced her ideal type of man. And at the end, when she commits suicide, we at once feel that here was one who was a victim of her environment, who might have been somebody—a novelist, the political adviser of some powerful diplomat—had her environment been different; had she lived, say, in

Vienna or Paris. Her death in the end was not altogether necessary for the tragic effect, for her life within itself was tragedy. Here it is mystery and strangeness: why should Hedda Gabler be such? The preceding exemplifies the basic element in all our more or less great modern tragedy: the failure of one to live one's life as one wills.

Yet because certain things in human life are incomprehensible and mystical, it does not necessarily follow that they are tragical. There are certain mysteries in human life that have never been explained and no one troubles one's self about trying to, because these mysteries are undisturbing, their course is normal and they fit in quite harmoniously with our lives.

Still oft-times there is a difference of opinion as to what is tragical. Take, for instance, the character of Ibsen, above mentioned: I doubt if I know a Hedda Gabler, and probably there are but few average men who do. Therefore, the tragic in Hedda Gabler could not be as real and vivid to me as to another who may number such an individual among his or her female acquaintances. Then returning to Aristotle: "A tragedy is an imitation of an action that is serious, complete and of a certain magnitude." And only with the latter part of this definition are we at this instance concerned. It follows, all things being equal, the greatness of a tragedy depends upon its breadth of appeal!

M. Rostand is far from being a great dramatist; the motives of his plays are obscurely and cumbersomely put, yet they are motives supremely strong, "the strongest in the world," and their appeal is universal.

When one witnesses an arousing scene, incident or character of life where virtue and evil, strength and weakness are so inextricably intertwined as in real tragedy, where all, from appearance, might and should turn out well, but, to the contrary, turns out for ill, then we cannot understand intellectually, do not seek to; we simply receive the impression emotionally or spiritually, and as Aristotle says, are seized by a mixture of pity and awe. And that is our feeling for the tragic.

NEGRO PLAYWRIGHTS DEMANDED

In the face of the present impetuous on-flow of Negro revolutionary sentiment, Negro playwrights are still denied the opportunity of having their works produced in the Lafayette Theatre. Why is this? It cannot be said that the management of said theatre is unable to procure Negro plays worthy of production for I have from the lips of Mr. Winn, the statement that numbers of plays, the product of Negro genius, have been brought to the consideration of the Lafayette management, and particularly to the work of one man who has had a play accepted by David Belasco, and produced on Broadway. Comes the same old explanation—the Negro being exploited by the white man for all he is worth. The management, candy-rights all go to the white man, and our actors and actresses overworked, and I am much inclined to say, inadequately paid. We, of the New Negro, demand that if the white man comes into our communities to make a living, he must not altogether be on the taking side. Negroes in Harlem spend more than one hundred and forty thousand dollars a day, and it would be shocking to calculate how much under that they receive in value.

"Fifty-fifty" is all we ask. The Lafayette has never given us more than an ordinary and commonplace grade of drama. With the exception of Eugene Brieux, where are the world-renowned dramatists—Ibsen, Strindberg, Bjørnsen, Pinero, Barrie, Shaw, Rostand, Anatole France, D'Annunzio, Bernstein, Hauptmann, Sudermann, Ichegary and Maurice Maeterlinck?

Not one play from the above named dramatists has ever been produced at the Lafayette Theatre; and these are the world's greatest. The management of Lafayette deludes itself in believing it can give the Harlem public what it (the management) alone wishes it to have. Well, that day is past. Primarily, the theatre-going public desires to see at least occasionally, the work of some Negro playwright produced in the Lafayette Theatre, and daily this desire is becoming more intense. And as an advice to every

Negro of Harlem, I say—demand, kick, agitate, until we get the work of our playwrights produced in the Lafayette Theatre; do not cease, for we must see our society reflected upon the American stage even if we have to call a mass meeting of Harlem's theatre-goers and effect a boycott on the Lafayette Theatre.

—:o:—

"THE SILENT WITNESS" AND "MADAME X."

During the week of Sept. 10 was produced at the Lafayette Theatre "The Silent Witness," a type of play midway between the comedy and tragedy, and which the Germans classify as *Versöhnungs-drama* (reconciliation drama), and we as a mediated tragedy. For the critic there is much interest in comparing the structures and internal developments of the two plays—"Madame X" and "The Silent Witness." The former, a French play, the latter, an American; their plots are the same, save in the sex of the protagonists. But herein lies the difference and relative worth of the two dramatists. M. Boissons, the French dramatist, required three acts to develop a climax in which a mother and son are brought face to face, mutually unknown, the mother, a prisoner and an alleged murderess, the son a lawyer striving in her defense. The technique here is of architectural development and simple grandeur; the movement and conflict of passions are pellucid and unmistakable. A play carrying an universal appeal, and adaptable to any age or country.

"The Silent Witness" is borne by three acts, a play of the Middle West and pronouncedly American. We witness in the last act a father and son face to face, and mutually unknown. The son is a prisoner, an alleged murderer, and the father a lawyer, striving in his defense. The technique is fair, but the development of theme is too complicated, and at moments unintelligible. The truth is, the author requires too many elements to develop his theme—elements that are in their nature external. The truth it carries is an abiding one, but it has been conceived upon a social background that is too narrow for a universal acceptance of the play.

In this play when produced at the Lafayette Theatre, there were three players who showed resplendently—Miss Cleo Desmond, Messrs. Bishop and Muse. I felt no titillation of surprise when I witnessed Miss Cleo Desmond handle with admirable ability a part that demanded most intense breadth of feeling, a lofty emotional state of mind, sustained and unremitting, and the portrayal of that strange tenderness peculiar to a mother's love for her son. Messrs. Bishop and Muse displayed an intellectual vigor and astuteness well fitting their parts. It is indeed a struggle between two types that are virile and honest. In the conflict between Mr. Bishop, as state attorney and Mr. Muse, his assistant, fiery feeling surged and flooded, and one sits agrippled, only awaiting the calamitous, yet inevitable, end.

The week of Sept. 24 brought the English play "The Outcast,"

a typical play of the triangle type—two women and one man. The latter-day play is neither written in poetry nor prose, but in language purely conversational; and here is a play exemplifying the finest colloquial style that has ever been heard in the Lafayette Theatre. A language that is concrete, simple, sympathetic and clear—a language of human beings of a material world and practical age.

The character drawing was found yet of exquisite simplicity; the characters were not spirituelles but men and women of common clay. "The Outcast" cannot but leave an abiding impression for it puts forth a philosophy of a phase of our social life that is simple and obvious: All women in the beginning of their lives were good even if found otherwise; all women fundamentally are good.

One can succeed in sitting by witnessing a production in which

the characters are too big for their parts, but it is well nigh intolerable when one has to sit helplessly by through an entire production and witness an individual struggling and tugging with a part to which he or she is "unequal." I have in mind Miss Susie Sutton. And without being able to say just what class of parts she can best characterize, I can say with assurance that she is certainly an impossibility when assuming a role like Valentine in the "The Out-Cast."

Mr. Townsend's acting was pleasing, showing admirably in the psychology of a man embarrassed by the love of two women.

All that I might here say in regard to Miss Mitchell in the role of Miriam would be incomplete. Her interpretation was convincing—deep and sincere, worldly, and well steeped in the spirit of the social order as it now is.

Messages From the Messenger

Four hundred Negro longshoremen went on strike for more wages in New York City.

Two Negro candidates were nominated on the Republican ticket for assemblyman and alderman respectively in New York City.

E. A. Johnson was the candidate for assemblyman and James C. Thomas, Jr., was candidate for alderman.

Both are practising lawyers in New York.

The 15th regiment is guarding the terminals of New York. The terminals are safer than the trenches, and only the Negro leaders will object to their absence from the bloody fields of France. But who cares for leaders now-a-days?

Let Du Bois, Kelly Miller, Pickens, Grimke, etc., volunteer to go to France, if they are so eager to fight to make the world safe for democracy.

We would rather make Georgia safe for the Negro.

Negro leaders are like the white leaders; they want war but they want to let "George do it."

This is no white man's war. Hundreds of thousands of Negroes are fighting either in Europe or in the industrial trenches making it possible for those who bear arms to continue to fight.

Napoleon said, that an army marches on its belly. Since this is true, the Negroes in the South and in Africa are the bone and sinew of the world war.

Socialism in Germany is right, socialism in the United States is wrong.

Peace talk in Germany is proper, peace talk in the United States is treason.

Suppression of free-speech and free-press in Germany is autocracy.

Suppression of free-speech and free-press in the United States is making the world safe for democracy.

A committee on woman suffrage has been created in the House of Representatives.

The Korniloff rebellion fizzled out in Russia notwithstanding the fact that the American press supported it.

The Negroes of the Houston riot will not be shot.

It is well that the Mighty Teddy is not in the chair or we might have another Brownsville.

The Independent Political Council's indictment against John Purroy Mitchel defeated him in the primaries and incidentally elected the colored candidates because the Negro Republican voters did not vote the Mitchel ticket.

The indictment was prepared by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen.

It was such a cogent argument and so clearly presented that the Voice and all of the Bennett speakers used it as their textbook.

ALBERT THOMAS

Albert Thomas is the Lloyd George of France. He is overturning cabinets, but he is still fighting to exterminate the ruthless Teuton. He is also being considered for the premiership.

Albert Thomas has yet to make good his preachments of Socialism. It is true that in posts of the governments, revolutionists become radicals; radicals become liberals and liberals become conservative.

Eternal vigilance is the price of democracy.

KERENSKI

The firm hand of Kerenski has stayed the overthrow of the Provisional Russian government. He has now declared Russia a "republic."

Kerenski is at one time, the object of pity; at another time, the object of praise.

Even Mr. Root has high hopes for the socialistic government over which Kerenski rules. Look out, Mr. Root, if Socialism is good for Russia, it ought to be good for some of our other governments which are no less autocratic.

Long live Kerenski!

Long live Revolutionary Russia!

Long live Socialism!

CARRANZA

The ruler of Mexico has settled down to constructive work. He has successfully buried both the American and Mexican reactionary enemies of good government.

Carranza has planned to take over public utilities and to operate them for the people. The agrarian revolution has triumphed. A firm and intelligent man is in the saddle. Carranza has set a democratic pace for the rulers of the world. All Hail, Carranza!

We are waiting for some good reports from the Negro officers' training camp at Des Moines. What, pray, is the matter?

The Independent Political Council has been carrying on a series of lectures in various parts of the city and has received the plaudits from all sections for the valuable educational work it is doing.

Who's Who

The Independent Political Council has organized the United Brotherhood of Elevator and Switchboard Operators.

This is a real labor union whose purpose is to strike for more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions.

The organizers are Messrs. A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, president and executive-secretary, respectively, of the Independent Political Council.

CLEVELAND MOFFETT

Cleveland Moffett is a vigilant soul. So are all his vigilantes. Since he is an author he usurps authority. Being extra-legal the Friends of Irish Freedom dubbed him a would-be kaiser. They refused to recognize his power. This nearly set him wild, for not to recognize him and his autocratic power thwarts his efforts to "make the world safe for democracy."

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Theodore Roosevelt has become an ex-president and the people will see that his title remains "ex." Never again will he rule the country known as the United States.

Teddy longs to get to Europe. He wants to catch a Krupp by the nape of the neck, throw salt on the tail of a Zeppelin, or lasso a submarine. We believe the Germans could engage his constant attention and we advise the administration to give him a chance with the Germans. We may be perpetually relieved of his nuisance. The Republican party would supply the benediction, the Democratic the doxology and the Socialist party might even be willing to lay him to rest. We'll help all.

CHAS. W. ANDERSON

Charles W. Anderson is a peculiar Republican. He advised Negroes to vote for all Democrats in the recent primaries. Mayor Mitchel is a Democrat and Anderson said Negroes must vote for him. But that is not the brazen part of the advice. He advised Negroes to vote for Robert Adamson for President of the Board of Aldermen. Now, Robert Adamson is not only a Democrat,

but he is from Georgia, i. e., he is a southern Democrat. Are Negroes ready yet to leave their political fortunes to a **southern, Georgia Democrat?** That ought to be all that Negroes should want to know about **Adamson**, and it ought to be all that they need to know about Charles W. Anderson. Incidentally, it ought to be all that they need to know about Rev. Richard M. Bolden. And it is "enough sed" about Charles E. Hughes, who ran for President last year. He is supporting the same Georgia Democrat. Is Charles W. Anderson a Democratic Republican or a Republican Democrat? This would make a splendid editorial for the "**Voice.**"

SENATOR ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

Senator Robert M. La Follette wants to save the lives of our young men. He wants wealth to pay for the war. He wants to settle international dispute by reason and persuasion and not with guns, swords and murder.

Ninety per cent. of the voters do too. Why should a man be afraid to represent 90 per cent. of the voters?

SCOTT NEARING

Prof. Scott Nearing is just now being maligned and abused by every reactionary element in the United States. He is the recently-elected Chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council. An abler, more representative man could not have been placed in the office.

Congratulations and best wishes to Professor Scott Nearing. May he have much success in organizing the radical elements into an efficient instrument of democracy.

LLOYD GEORGE

Lloyd George, the erstwhile liberal, the advocate of political and industrial reform, at one time the most disliked man of England, is now the driving force of militarism.

At one time he was calling for peace in the Boer War; now he is calling for boring the enemy to death with bullets and bayonets.

However, they say that change is the mark of great men. If it be so, then let us hope for him to make another change; and let this change be progressive.

A BOOK REVIEW

BY

HUBERT H. HARRISON

"Terms of Peace and the Darker Races"

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and CHANDLER OWEN

pp. 32, price 15c.

These two brilliant young leaders of the Independent Political Council have given us a pamphlet that is unique. We often find Negroes leaders who are radical—on the subject of their race. But frequently they know so little of anything else that they have no radical attitude, no opinions worth while, on anything else. These two companions-in-arms have knowledge and opinions well worth the getting. Knowledge of modern world-politics and history, economics and finance, and opinions on the twisted tricky course of war-time diplomacy and lying. This knowledge and these opinions are on tap in this little book, and they make good reading. The authors are bold—perhaps too bold for safety's sake—but in these days of cowardly compromise and shifting surrender we cannot find it in our heart to condemn the opposite qualities. The pamphlet brings to the judgment-seat of reason and information the clashing claims of the two groups of combatants in the present world-war. It analyzes their motives and their methods and makes

a bold bid for the President's first demand for "peace without victory." It then goes on to consider the claims of the darker races for the possession of whose lands this war is being waged. And it demands, for their protection an International Council on the Conditions of Darker Races on which their representatives shall sit and in which they shall voice their demands for a democracy big enough to include them; for free scientific education for their boys and girls; for a right to their place in the sun.

For, "so long as African territory is the object of unstinted avarice, greed and robbery, while its people with dark skins are considered as just subjects of exploitation—now here and now there in slavery, enforced labor, peonage and wage-slavery—just so long will the conditions smolder and brew which must inevitably produce future war."

This is a pamphlet well worth reading by both the white and colored peoples—not only of America, but also of the civilized world.

The Independent Political Council

Foreword

The primary, sole and immediate aim of this organization is to fight for a progressive, clean and honest government, in the City, State and Nation, in general, and for a just political status for the colored people in particular.

Its character is absolutely non-partisan.

It draws neither race nor sex lines.

It is an indisputable fact of common experience, that energy, physical, moral or mental, intelligently directed, is productive of certain and inestimable benefits in the social, political and economic scheme of existence of an individual, class or country.

Therefore, we propose to arouse, direct, focus and concentrate the potential energy, mental and ethical, of the city, state and nation, upon disfranchisement, social segregation and iniquitous discriminatory laws in all their variegated disguises and to point out the advisability and indispensable need of seizing the privilege, performing the duty and exercising the right of protesting against the hydra-headed monster "Prejudice," with the mightiest weapon of the ages—the BALLOT.

The means through which we are confident and sanguine of accomplishing this coveted work, are these:

First, to create and crystallize sentiment against the present unrighteous conditions, through an organized educational campaign.

Second, to compile and distribute literature and to conduct public lectures on the vital issues affecting the colored people's economic and political destiny.

Third, to appraise men and measures in public life.

Fourth, to examine, expose and condemn cunning and malicious political marplots in the legislative, judicial and executive departments of the city, state and nation.

Fifth, Fearlessly to criticize and to denounce selfish and self-styled leaders.

Finally, to devote its influence uncompromisingly to the advocacy of all principles, to the endorsement of all men, and to the support of all movements working for justice and progress.

Some Reasons Why Negroes Should Vote the Socialist Ticket

1. Because the Socialist Party is the Party of the workingman.
2. Because 99 per cent. of Negroes are working people.
3. Because the Socialist Party advocates the abolition of high rents by taxing land to its full value.
4. Because the Negroes of New York suffer more than any other people from high rents on account of being segregated and being compelled to live in a special part of the city.
5. Because the Socialist Party advocates the establishment of city markets to sell meat, milk, butter, eggs and vegetables at wholesale prices.
6. Because this market will be run for service and not for profits: it will cut down the present high cost of living.
7. Because the Negroes are the first and hardest hit victims of the high cost of living on account of the starvation wages which they receive.
8. Because the Socialist Party advocates the ownership and operation of the subway, elevated and surface car lines, the electric, gas and telephone companies.
9. Because this will cheapen the price of gas, electric light, telephone service and transportation.
10. (a) In Cleveland, Ohio, the city-owned car lines charge only 3 cents for car fare.
(b) In most European cities, gas, electric light, telephone service and transportation cost much less than in American cities because they are owned and operated by the cities.
(c) Just as the Post Office, which is run for the benefit of the people and not for the benefit of a few rich individuals, carries your letter for 2 cents instead of 5 cents, which was the case when private companies carried the mails, so will you get cheaper light and transportation when the city owns these public utilities and operates them for service and not for profits. * * *
11. Because the Negro young man and young woman of education will be eligible to compete in civil service examinations for positions as clerks, bookkeepers in the offices, ticket sellers and ticket choppers in the subway and elevated stations, conductors and motormen on the subway, elevated and surface car lines; gas and electric light meter inspectors, collectors, etc., in these city-owned enterprises.
12. Because this will open up large avenues of employment for Negroes where they will receive more wages, perform more healthful work and have more leisure.

* * * All Negroes must ride to work.
Negroes must use gas to light their houses.
Negroes must use gas to cook their food.
Negroes must use the telephone to telephone the doctors.
Hence they must be cheap in order that you may be able to use them when you have to.
13. Because the Socialist Party advocates more and better schools for the children.
14. Because this will enable the Negro child to get a better education.
15. Because the Socialist Party advocates free books, free food and free clothing for school children.
16. Because this will enable poor Negro families to keep their children in school.
17. Because the Socialist Party advocates more playgrounds for children.
18. Because this will prevent Negro children who, on account of the lack of playgrounds, play in the street, from being run over and maimed and killed by automobiles.
19. Because the Socialist Party advocates more efficient police system, which will use more brains than billys.
20. Because this protects Negroes from ruthless assaults by policemen.
21. Because the Socialist Party advocates equal industrial and political opportunity to all men and women regardless of race, creed or color.
22. Because the Socialist Party advocates the abolition of our present wage system which overworks and underpays and destroys our bodies and our minds.
23. Because the Socialist Party is the party of economic and political justice.
24. Because the Socialist Party will win.
25. Because the Socialist Party is for peace.

Unless---

Negro Lynching is Stopped!
Negro Disfranchisement is Stopped!

Jim-Crowism is Stopped!

Unless Great Britain, Belgium, France, Italy, Germany and America stop robbing the Darker Races of their land and labor in Africa, India, China, The West Indies, Cuba, Philippines, Porto Rico and Haiti—

The World Cannot Be Made Safe for Democracy.

A Graphic and Scientific Exposure of the White World's Colossal Conspiracy and International Black-hand Movement to steal the Darker Races' wealth and labor by holding them in ignorance, superstition and slavery, has been made in

A Valuable Booklet Entitled:

Terms of Peace and The Darker Races

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and CHANDLER OWEN

This is an historical document that contains facts not found in White Histories.

It may be bought from 513 Lenox Avenue, Lenox Drug Store, New York City.

Every home should have a copy Hand it down to your children

Price - 15 Cents

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LYNCHING MUST GO!!!

Memphis, Waco and East St. Louis must never happen again. *But lynching will never go until you understand its causes, realize its effects and apply the remedy.*

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A Philip Randolph

and

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THE NEW PATRIOTISM



The new patriotism is color-blind, flag-blind, Kaiser-blind.

It would not lynch, burn, Jim-Crow 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.

The new patriotism is Kaiser-blind.

All Kaisers look alike to it, and it yearns and longs with a prurient passion to make every Kaiser in every country abdicate his throne.

The new patriotism is name-blind.

It is always seeking into the substance. The fact that a country is called a democracy or a republic has no influence with the new patriotism.

The new patriotism would immediately investigate whether the practices of such a country square with its profession.

The new patriotism is consistent.

It does not condemn massacres and lynching in Germany and condone them in its own country.

The new patriotism condemns lynching wherever it lifts its serpent head.

The new patriotism sees men deprived of self-government and the franchise in Germany. It condemns that state of affairs unequivocally.

But the new patriotism is not for a moment blind or oblivious to the fact that over two million Negroes in the United States are disfranchised because of color.

The new patriotism believes in democratizing benefits and privileges even as the burdens are democratized.

It sees Negroes pay taxes for schools in the South to which their children cannot go.

It sees the Negro at the front bearing the brunt of almost every war in the country's history.

It sees the Negro forever LOYAL and true.

The new patriotism would not have Negroes bear their full share of burdens without even receiving the rights and privileges of a free citizen and a man.

The new patriotism is tolerant.

It would not stop free speech, free press, or free assemblage.

The new patriotism is not "reactionary and visionless in politics, nor narrow and medieval in religion."

The new patriotism is more interested in living than in dying. It believes the best service which can be rendered is, to make life longer, while at the same time we lessen its miseries and increase its enjoyments.

The new patriotism cannot hate a man because he is born or lives on the other side of a strip of water or an imaginary line.

It may loathe and hate the German Kaiser; but the German, French, English and Russian people all look alike to the new patriotism.

The new patriotism is peering into the poverty, the stark and hideous tragedies which are putting out the light of life.

The new patriotism is peeping behind thrones and hanging up the sign: "Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting."

The new patriotism is suspicious of the huge war profits made by the few upon the suffering of the many.

The new patriotism is watching the high cost of bread, milk and meat.

The new patriotism is determined that economic conditions shall be so adjusted that we shall have a durable and permanent peace and not merely a long and protracted armistice as in the past. To secure this, however, the new patriotism knows that there must be a democratic settlement of the terms of peace.

The new patriotism is the rainbow of future hope upon the cloud of present war.

When the smoke of battle and the waste of war have cleared away, the sun of the New Patriotism shall reign—triumphant and Supreme!