

THE HUN IN AMERICA



“MAKE AMERICA SAFE FOR THE NEGRO”

15c. per Copy

LIBERTY NUMBER

\$1.50 per Year

100,000 Subscribers in 1919
for
THE MESSENGER

*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 demogogy 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 know that all wishes, desires, hopes—must be realized through the adoption of sound methods. This requires scientific education—a knowledge of the means by which the end aimed at may be attained.

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 our 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.

Test us on any question. Write us letters of 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.

THE MESSENGER PUBLISHING COMPANY

2305 SEVENTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

THE MESSENGER

Published Monthly by THE MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., Inc.
Main Office: 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City
Telephone, Morningside 1996

Vol. II

JULY 1919

No. 7

EDITORS

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH CHANDLER OWEN

VICTOR R. DALY, Business Manager

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

W. A. DOMINGO WILLIAM N. COLSON

CONTENTS:

1. EDITORIALS	Page 5
2. ECONOMICS AND POLITICS	16
3. EDUCATION AND LITERATURE	24
4. WHO'S WHO	31
5. THE OPEN FORUM	33

Are You A Guardian Reader?

This is a harvesting time for race journals and their readers since the world is being reconstructed. There is one point of merit in the Guardian as a Speaking medium for YOU which has not been brought out that is this Journal interprets the wishes of 12,000,000 Colored Americans.

A second point is that this Journal has been pleading seventeen years for Equal Rights for our race. If you want to keep informed upon the race questions YOU MUST BECOME A GUARDIAN READER at once in order to know the whole truth about our race.

Our rates are \$1.00 for six months and \$1.50 for a year's subscription. Send in your subscription NOW.

Send for free sample at once.

THE MESSENGER

FOR SALE in
MILWAUKEE

AT

The New Era Shop
Music Books Stationery
OFFICE SUPPLIES

221 Wells St. Milwaukee, Wis.

MENTION THE MESSENGER

"More Light!"—Goethe's Farewell.

THE MODERNIST

A Monthly Magazine of Modern Arts and Letters.

Edited by James Waldo Fawcett.

Published by The Modernist Association, Organized March 9, 1919.

William Sangar, Vice Chairman; Graham Avery, Treasurer; Rosalie Goodyear, Secretary.

25 East 14th Street, New York City

Radical in policy; international in scope. Devoted to the common cause of toiling peoples.

Opposed to compromise; pledged to truth.

A forum for active minds and vital art. Dedicated to the task of overthrowing old falsehoods and establishing new verities.

Price: 15 cents per copy. \$1.50 per year. Subscribe now.

The deeds that ye do upon the earth, it is for fellowship's sake that ye do them.
— WILLIAM MORRIS.

TWO GREAT NEW WAR BOOKS

A Complete History of the Colored Troops in the Great War

The book contains over 350 pages illustrated with pictures of our boys in action.

Price by Mail — \$1.25

The World's War for Liberty

History of the War of Millions

This book places before the reader a view of the whole scene, with pictures of the countries and nations at war. From the beginning to the end of the war in 1918. It contains over 600 pages, large print, illustrated war pictures, also maps and drawings of all races of mankind. They are handsomely bound. Cloth binding, \$2.75.

Send Post Office money orders always. Agents now making \$10 and \$15 a day off these goods. Apply to

ART PUBLISHING COMPANY

208 WEST 64TH STREET

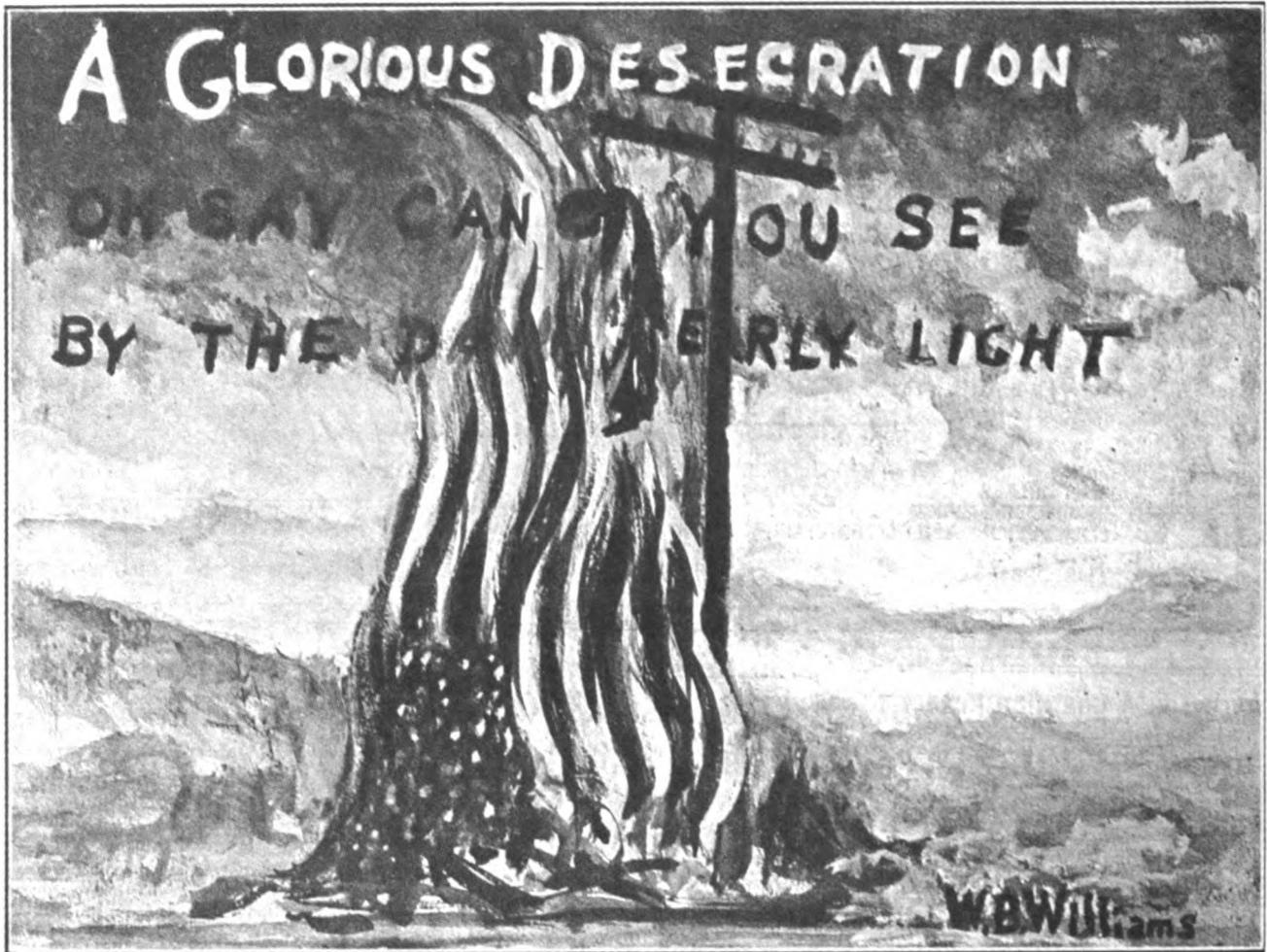
NEW YORK CITY

PHONE MORNINGSID 2056

The CRUSADER

The Magazine Nearly
Every Negro Reads

2299 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

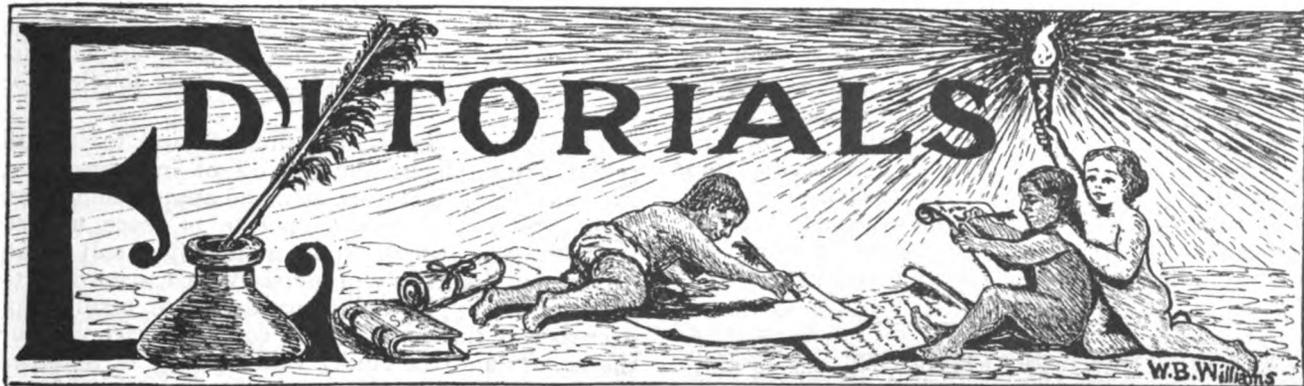


The Mob Victim

And it was in a Christian land,
 With freedom's towers on every hand,
 Where shafts to civic pride arise
 To lift America to the skies.
 And it was on a Sabbath day,
 While men and women went to pray,
 I passed the crowd in humble mode
 In going to my meek abode.
 From out the crowd arose a cry,
 And epithets began to fly;
 And thus like hounds they took my
 track—
 My only crime—my face was black.
 And so this Christian mob did turn
 From prayer to rob, to rack and
 burn.
 A victim helplessly I fell
 To tortures truly kin to hell;
 They bound me fast and strung me
 high,
 Then cut me down lest I should die
 Before their savage zeal was spent
 In torturing to their hearts' content.
 They tore my flesh and broke my
 bones,
 And laughed in triumph at my
 groans;

They chopped my fingers, clipped
 my ears
 And passed them round for souv-
 enirs.
 And then around my quivering
 frame
 They piled the wood, the oil and
 flame;
 And thus their Sabbath sacrifice
 Was wafted upward to the skies.
 A little boy stepped out of the crowd.
 His face was pale, his voice was loud:
 "My ma could not get to the fun,
 And so I came, her youngest son,
 To get the news of what went on."
 He stirred the ashes, found a bone—
 (A bit of flesh was hanging on)
 He bore it off a cherished prize.
 A remnant of the sacrifice.
 Alas! no doubt, the heathen reads
 Of Christian lands of noble deeds
 By men with Christian hardihood
 To shield their race's womanhood;
 And yet around my burning frame,
 Quivering by the scorching flame,
 Their women danced around the
 scene,

And each was christened "heroine."
 They took my flesh as souvenirs,
 And showed their pride with yells
 and cheers.
 And this where men are civilized,
 And idol worship is despised;
 Where nations boast that God hath
 sent
 The angel of enlightenment.
 But while you sing America's pride,
 Where men for liberty have died,
 Compare the strain with double
 stress
 To her reward for harmlessness,
 When burning flesh makes sporty
 time,
 And innocence is greatest crime.
 O heathen minds on heathen strand,
 What think you of a Christian land,
 Where men and boys and women
 turn
 From prayer, to lynch, to rob and
 burn,
 And oft their drowsy minds refresh
 Thru sport in burning human flesh?
 Yet none dare tell who led the
 band;
 And this was in a Christian land.



THE HUN IN AMERICA

The word Hun was made popular use of during the war with a view to breeding, fostering and engendering a fierce and unrelenting hatred against the German people. It has served its purpose well, since the American psychology reacts prejudicially to the very word. The reason for applying the term to the German people was, (according to the rich, who coined over five billions (\$5,000,000,000) of dollars out of the blood and suffering of the war) that it was quite accurately descriptive of the barbarity, atrocity and savagery of the Germans. During a state of war, the grim and inexorable law of necessity had dictated the Germans' use of any means to prosecute the business of wholesale human killing with success. And when an opportunity presented itself, the Allies too showed themselves devoid of the "milk of human kindness."

But, however much, advocates of the cause of the Allies, whose slogans were: "make the world safe for democracy," and "self determination for smaller nationalities," might plead to the contrariwise, and paint gruesome and heart-sickening pictures of the crimes of the Germans; America, the chief ally in the fight for democracy, stands before the world with her garments dripping with blood and covered with shame, as the land of the most criminal HUNS in Christendom. In CIVILIZED AMERICA (?) a boy just blossoming into manhood in the shadow of the Court-house in Waco, Texas, was burned up to the amusement and delight of fifteen thousand white American citizens. Children were permitted to sell the bones as souvenirs. It was a HOLIDAY. In Georgia, the abdomen of a woman, upon the eve of bearing a child, was ripped open, the form emptied upon the ground, while American HUNS buried their heels in its brains. THINK OF IT! The Huns of Germany pale into utter insignificance beside the nameless and indescribable fiendishness of the American HUNS.

This nation employed men and munitions to put down the Hun in Germany. Now, what about the HUNS of Georgia?

The Negroes were conscripted to "make the world safe for democracy" and yet America is not "safe for the Negro."

President Wilson sent his message to Congress, but no word was for the LOYAL Negro. And still there are Negro leaders who preach the doctrine of non-resistance, leaders who piously insist that the Negro should be meek and conservative.

To the Negro, the Huns in America, have made the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States mere "scraps of paper." The agencies of law and order and justice are to the Negro, agencies of lawlessness, disorder and injustice. The flag for which he has fought, mocks and deserts him, while his life and property are taken away. The press and church are stirred more by Bolshevism in Russia than by anarchism and murder in Tennessee. And when the Treaty of Peace is signed, the Huns of Germany will be taken to the bosom of the Huns of America, while the Negro who fought against the Huns of Germany, is lynched. This is how America, the "land of the free and the home of the brave" (?) pays the loyalty of the Negro!

But even America will live to rue the day that she winked and convinced at, condoned and countenanced these damnable deeds of devilry against : people because of color.

A new Negro is rising who will not compromise, surrender or retreat a single step—a Negro with an iron will and an inflexible determination to put down the HUN in America. Law or no law, blood or no blood, lynch-law must go.

————— : o : —————

JEWISH POGROMS

We wish to protest respectfully or otherwise against the pogroms being committed against the Jews in Poland or anywhere else. This species of persecution of the Jewish people has proceeded too long, while its continuance has been winked at and colluded in by the governments of every country except Bolshevik Russia. These pogroms against Jews are little different from the mob violence and lynching perpetrated upon Negroes.

The Jewish people are virile, vigorous and progressive. They stand at the extreme wings of both capitalism and Radicalism. They have a quickness and efficiency for organization which puts to shame almost every other racial group. This efficiency for organization is largely directed toward labor and Socialist organizations. It is against the interests of the capitalists and reactionaries who control all the governments, with a few exceptions, and hence they are desirous of having these pogroms visited upon the Jews. We would readily protest against pogroms, mob violence and lynching of any people, but we confess to a small degree of sentiment when the Jewish people are affected. As a matter of fact, the Jewish people have been fairer and squarer in

their treatment of Negroes, than any other people in the world. They practice less discrimination and segregation against Negroes, even in the South than any other American whites. Every economic, social and political force should be brought to bear upon any country which still persists in perpetrating these wrongs and injustices upon the Jewish people.

We call upon our readers, and especially the class conscious Negro workers, to oppose in every way any prejudice against the Jewish people.

: o :
RENT PROFITEERING

In these halcyon days of profiteering those who hold title to land are, too, taking their turn in rifling the pockets of the Henry Dubbs. The poor landlords are hard pressed by the high cost of living, and the well-to-do workingman who makes such high wages, is implored to consider their plight, to be patriotic and to pay more rent.

But the common people are still reminiscent of the long winter of suffering through which they have just passed last winter when their pleas for heat were met with a cynical smile.

The seeds of suspicion and distrust have been sown among the patient and credulous tenement class. Rent strikes in New York City and elsewhere have been called; tenants have been ejected and their effects dumped on the streets; the so-called courts of "justice" have recognized, protected and upheld the rights of the landlords, as against those of tenants; and tenant leagues have been formed to take the place of landlords and, incidentally, to teach the people that the land and houses will not disappear, if landlords happen to die.

Even our watchful Congress has finally awakened to the seriousness of the situation and is about to appoint a Committee of Investigation to find out for the special information of Congressmen, whether the people really pay rents or not.

Taxation of extortionate rents has been suggested. But, of course, nothing fundamental will be done by legislators whose religion is, "The rights of private property against all the world."

Although the people and not the landlord, (who by the way may be an idiot) create land values, the landlord hogs the value—the unearned increment.

The tenant is ground together between two stones, the owner who wants higher rents, and the agent of the owner, who wants high commissions. The business is simple. The agent agrees to pay the owner a certain rental—a rental which will afford him (the agent) the widest margin of profits possible in the form of commissions. It is obvious that the agent will get all the rent he can from the tenant, since all above the amount demanded by the owner will go to the agent. The agent is the middle man who holds up and collects from both parties, the owner and the tenant.

The competition is between the owner and the agent for the largest possible share of the rent which the tenant pays. The tenant is robbed by both. His interests are opposed to both. Now, then, what is the remedy?

The remedy is not prayer; for as the prayers have ascended, the rents have ascended also. It is not denunciations of landlords in mass meetings; we

have too often met, resolved and adjourned. It is not race loyalty—a black landlord or agent will dispossess a Negro as quickly as a white landlord or agent.

The remedy lies in taxation of land to its full rental value. Take the tax off of improvements, such as houses, factories, etc., and apply a single tax upon land. This would operate to force unused land into use, which would naturally result in an increase in the supply of houses which, according to the law of supply and demand, would result in a decrease in the rents which could be received for the houses and the land. When plenty of potatoes are on the market, the price of potatoes is cheap. So it is with houses and land. Besides when unused land is forced into use, more building is carried on, more labor is required for which more wages are paid. Will unused land be forced into use? You ask. Let us see. A landlord only holds land idle for speculative reasons. He waits for increase in the population or some improvement to send his land up. He knows that the future value will exceed the small tax which he now pays. But if a heavy tax—its full rental value—were levied upon the land, in order to get a revenue with which to pay the high tax, he would be compelled to build a house or sell it to someone who would build, in order to raise the necessary revenue. This is a simple proposition. No one will bear a burden knowingly from which he receives no benefit. No land is valuable where no people live. People create the value. The people should use the government to collect it for them. This is the only fundamental and sound method by which the people will be able to curb the greed, cupidity and avarice of the rent hogs. The rent hogs have neither created the land nor the value of the land. They have secured title to ownership through the manipulation of spurious paper known as deeds. Their ownership rests upon either force or fraud, in most cases, both.

Think of it! The working people build houses in which they cannot live. They cultivate land which they do not own and the products of which they cannot enjoy. They have been taught to defend their oppressors and they agree to the legislation of "dispossess." The people may wail, but there is no remedy until they, through the ballot, expropriate their expropriators.

: o :
INDEPENDENCE FOR INDIA

The Peace Conference has been a congeries of inconsistencies. America is the hypocrite on the Negro question. Japan is the hypocrite on the Korean question. Italy is the hypocrite on the Fiume question. And Great Britain—perfidious Albion—is the hypocrite, *par excellence*, on the Irish and Indian questions.

The people of India are oppressed, exploited and abused by Great Britain. She is only interested in getting all she can of profits out of the 300 million people of India. In America the Hindoos do not even find asylum as political refugees, because Great Britain follows them, maintains an espionage system over them, and dominates the American government's policy over respecting these persecuted and abused people.

India should be free. Her people should benefit from the wealth they produce there. In 1901-1902 there were in India 36 million children of school age, while only 3,200,000 were accorded school privileges. The number able to read and write among the males was 103 per thousand, and among females 8 per thousand. And this, notwithstanding the fact that the foreign trade was over \$200,000,000.

The working of these people without giving them any returns by way of schools and sound administration of the law is a complete refutation of Britain's claims of carrying civilization to benighted India. The real crux of the problem is that Great Britain is using India, Africa and other weaker peoples to act as beasts of burden to feed the belly of British capitalism.

The people of India in revolting against British rule are acting in a similar role to that of America in the Revolutionary War of 1776. America should encourage it. All sincere, honest liberty-loving people should lend their efforts in interest of a free and independent India.

----- : o : -----

LYNCHING A DOMESTIC QUESTION

That the above title is not our opinion hardly needs to be stated by men who are internationalists, yet this is the type of chaff which men like James W. Johnson and Fred R. Moore of the New York Age handed out about the time the Peace Conference was beginning. The Crisis and nearly all the other Negro publications repeated this owl-like phrase with little or no knowledge of its meaning. Neither the Jews or the Irish have stood by any such foolhardy program. The Irish were so persistent in presenting their program that they sent a committee abroad and on June 6th, by vote of 60 to 1, the Senate went on record in favor of giving Ireland's claims to independence a hearing before the Peace Conference. The only person who voted against it was John Sharp Williams of Mississippi and no one could expect John Sharp Williams to have any leanings toward independence and democracy for anybody, since his environment is the slave environment of Mississippi. International attention has also been drawn to the Jewish people's pogroms or lynchings. Everywhere it has had a good effect, just as the Abolitionists were able to bring more power to bear against slavery in Europe than could be secured in America. The editors of the MESSENGER have no difficulty in explaining the principle. It is simply this: The beneficiary of a system or institution can never be relied upon voluntarily to overthrow that institution or system. The country, which is responsible for the oppressions of Negroes, for mob violence and lynching, is not going to overthrow that wicked institution from which it benefits. No, lynching is not a domestic question, except in the rather domestic minds of Negro leaders, whose information is highly localized and highly domestic. The problems of the Negroes should be presented to every nation in the world, and this sham democracy, about which Americans prate, should be exposed for what it is,—a sham, a mockery, a rape on decency and a travesty on common sense. When lynching gets to be an international question, it will be the beginning of the end. The sooner the better. On with the dance!

GEORGE E. HAYNES COMPROMISES THE CASE OF THE NEGRO AGAIN

An example of the compromise of the Old School Negro leaders can very well be drawn from the following release from the Department of Negro Economics, U. S. Department of Labor, presided over by George E. Haynes.

A striking tribute to the patriotism of Negroes and to their usefulness in industry is paid them by an executive officer of a large North Carolina tannery where 50 per cent or more of the help is composed of colored employees. The views of the tannery official are thus expressed in a communication sent to Dr. George E. Haynes, director of Negro Economics, Department of Labor:

"To say that the work of the colored men is satisfactory would be putting it mildly. We have always considered their work equal to that of the others and have paid them accordingly.

"Of the 52 employees from this plant who entered the service 22 were colored. Of these a number have returned and the pleasing part of their return was that they immediately came to us and went to work. We have tried not only to make room for those who were in our employ but also for a great number who were not in our employ before entering the service.

"There cannot be too much said of the colored men who stayed with us during the war. We purchased at the tannery \$66,000 in bonds, notes and stamps, and when it is considered that the employees are 50 per cent colored, it is evident that the colored men stood right back of their colored brothers in the service. As we were 90 per cent Government producers, the colored man's work was the foundation of victory and equal credit is due him for his services in the industrial field. His contribution to the Red Cross and other war work drives was very creditable; in the United War Work drive every man in the tannery donated a day's work, and in the Fourth Liberty Loan every man bought a bond."

The colored employees of the plant have recently formed a band which made its first appearance during the Victory Loan drive.

The MESSENGER regards this citation here as mere cheap clap trap. We are not concerned any longer about any loose and meaningless praise of the Negroes part in the war. What we are concerned about is granting the Negroes the rights and privileges to which they are entitled as citizens. Nothing is so obvious to any student of social forces, as that the *loyalty of the oppressed to the oppressor does not result in securing liberty for the oppressed.*

The Negroes were employed in the North Carolina Tannery merely because they were needed. They were paid the lowest wages and worked the longest hours which the tannery could foist upon them. Neither the whites or the colored who worked in that factory were adequately paid. The Negro made great contributions to the Red Cross drives we are told in Haynes' release. The same Red Cross persistently refused Negro women as nurses, while neglecting the Negro soldiers themselves on the ground that white women could not wait upon them. The Negroes bought \$66,000 worth of Liberty Bonds at the tannery we are told. In spite of this, the only thing which he still holds is the bonds; he has not gotten the liberty nor is it anywhere in sight. The Negro will not get his economic, political and social justice until the me-too-boss, hat-in-hand Negroes are forced from public life and eliminated from the public arena where they daily compromise the case of black men and black women upon whose backs the parasites subsist.

THE LIBERTARIAN SCHOOL IDEA

Elsewhere in these columns will be seen an advertisement of a Libertarian School. The Libertarian School referred to is situated at Mill House, Malborough, N. Y., in a beautiful country location, a sort of cloistered retreat, whose cool, sequestered vales, conduce to study and contemplation. But it is not the location which chiefly interests us. It is the new idea. The Libertarian School policy is to educate, together, all races and all sexes. The school will have Negro, Jewish, German, American, Japanese, Chinese, Italian, Hindoo, and all races of children, educated side by side. It will demonstrate more extensively, just as it has demonstrated on a small scale already, that all races may be educated side by side, and quite agreeably, until race prejudice is artificially taught. At some later date, we expect to elaborate more fully upon this idea, but for the present, we simply want to call our reader's attention to the school, its objects and purposes. We will also advise any parent, white or colored, having children whom he desires to educate with modern training, free from this American caste, to write to Mill House, Malborough, N. Y.

We endorse the new libertarian idea of education and extend our appreciation to Martha Gruening and Helen Boardman for initiating it in New York.

—:o:—

WHY NEGROES SHOULD JOIN THE I. W. W.



The I. W. W. is the only labor organization in the United States which draws no race or color line. It deals chiefly, too, with unskilled labor and most Negroes are unskilled laborers. They stand on the principle of industrial unionism, which would necessarily include, in its organization, any Negroes in an industry. For instance, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, has in its organization, the conductors, firemen, engineers and switchmen. Negroes are not permitted to join, notwithstanding the fact that there are 149,000 Negroes engaged in the transportation work. The I. W. W. would include those 149,000 Negroes, who have the power, by stopping their work, to tie up the railroads as completely as the Big Four Brotherhood could. If the Negroes stopped loading the cars, repairing the tracks and producing the materials which are necessary for transportation, the engineers would have nothing to carry, but the Big Four Brotherhoods are so highly American that they are shot through with race prejudice which blinds them to their enlightened self interest.

There is another reason why Negroes should join the I. W. W. The Negro must engage in direct action. He is forced to do this by the government. When the whites speak of direct action, they are told to use their political power. But with the Negro it is different. He has no political power. Three-fourths of the Negroes in the United States are disfranchised. Over two million Negro men pay taxes but cannot vote. Therefore, the only recourse the Negro has is industrial action, and since he must combine with those forces which draw no line against him, it is simply logical for him to throw his lot with the Industrial Workers of the World. Nor do the Negroes need to bother about the abuse heaped on the I. W. W. Most of it is lies, told by their opponents, just as the opponents of the Negroes lie about them. Again it needs to be noted that most of the forces opposed to the I. W. W. are also opposed to Negroes. John Sharp Williams, Vardaman, Hoke Smith, Thomas Dixon, D. W. Griffith, who produced the Birth of a Nation—and practically all the anti-Negro group, are opposed to the I. W. W. Now, as a general proposition and principle, if we found John Sharp Williams, Vardaman, Hoke Smith, Thomas Dixon and D. W. Griffith opposed to anything, we should be inclined to accept it on its face without an examination. And Negroes cannot afford to allow those Southern bourbons and race prejudiced crackers, together with their hand picked Negro leaders, to choose for them the organizations in which they shall go. The editors of the MESSENGER have made a thorough study of the economic and social problems in the United States. We know the history of labor organizations. We know their record on the race question. We have compared them carefully. We know that the American Federation of Labor is a machine for the propagation of race prejudice. We, therefore, urge the Negroes to join their international brothers, The Industrial Workers of the World, the I. W. W.

—:o:—

WHY NEGROES SHOULD BE INTERESTED IN MEXICO

For more than one hundred years the Mexican people have been engaged in a struggle for freedom. They have been exploited and robbed by Spain, France and the United States. The United States has been the chief robber, stealing from them, California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas. The first stealing of the United States in the Texas War of 1836, was for political reasons. The South already had more land than it could use but it desired to extend slave territory with a view to increasing its political representation in Congress. After the Civil War, however, when the Southern Feudalism began to decline, and northern capitalism began to hold sway, economic reasons forced interest in Mexico. Mexico is rich in oil, copper and agricultural products. The United States, Great Britain and France have big investments there. The British now own about 20 per cent. of the proved oil producing properties of Mexico, including the Cowdray and Dutch Shell interests, a recent acquisition. Mr. H. Walter, writing in the N. Y. Call says: "It is beyond question, for instance, that E. L. Doheny, President of the Mexican Petroleum Company, went abroad some months ago as one of the representatives of

the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico, the powerful banking group among which are J. P. Morgan & Co., The Guarantee Trust Co., The First National Bank and the National City Bank. Mr. Doheny spoke officially for the National Association before leaving New York; yet when, in Halifax, on the way over, he said that he was going to Paris to pull off an oil deal, the State Department felt called upon to protest and the interview had to be repudiated. Vice President Sisson of the Guarantee Trust Co., was prepared to advocate an international law of eminent domain in which the interests of society as a whole would have precedence over any integral part thereof; therefore, it is for us to avail ourselves of the natural resources of Mexico."

The above quotation evinces the intention of American oil owners, copper mine investors and ranch owners to extend their tentacles to the wealth of peaceful little Mexico. There is not a particle of humanitarian interest in any part of their agitation. We hear much talk about the protection of life and property, but that is not the issue, for there is ample need for the protection of life and property in America to hold the attention of these exploiting capitalists. Negroes are lynched and burned at the stake every three days. They constitute life, which needs to be protected, hence it is obvious that all this agitation and camouflage about life and property protection is centered upon allowing oil and copper owners to rob the Mexican peons, just as the Texas crackers rob white and Negro peons. With America's entrance into Mexico will also go its chief attribute, race prejudice. As presently organized, Mexico's laws severely punish anyone for discrimination on account of race or color. We take a recent illustration from Gale's Magazine, which is published in Mexico City. The article reads as follows: "Jack" Johnson's fellow-negroes were good enough to go to Europe and be riddled with lead for the sake of "making the world safe for democracy," but 'Jack' wasn't good enough to receive the same treatment as other human beings when he took a seat in the restaurant of Sanborn's Drug Store in this city, the other day. The waitress had orders not to serve him and she didn't until Ex-Governor Breceda of the Federal District and some Mexican soldiers with a sense of justice came in and told the Sanborn's that "this isn't Texas but Mexico." When the management found that there was likely to be trouble if it persisted in trying to put across too much of that brand of "democracy" down here, it yielded more or less gracefully and Mr. Johnson was then given decent treatment.

"All through the war Sanborn's store was plastered with appeals to Americans and others to go to war, to buy liberty bonds and to do various other things to help make the world 'a decent place to live in.' The world has now been made decent for all but black men and women, and such creatures can settle down and prepare to endure the same abuse and discrimination that has always characterized Wilsonian democracy.

"Not long ago Sanborn Bros. paid \$5,000 to the Red Cross as a penalty for having sold a large quantity of drugs at exorbitant prices to German firms during the war. The Sanborn's had no scruples about dealing with rich white people even when they

were Germans, but as for persons, Negroes, 'slack-ers' and the like, oh well, they are only cattle anyhow!"

The above illustration demonstrates the brand of democracy which obtains in Mexico. This is not new to the editors of the MESSENGER, since Mexico has had the most advanced legal and social codes of any country in the world since the days of Juarez. Besides, there is a history to this. The Spanish codes have been among the most enlightened and their administration of laws has been less affected with race prejudice than any other dominating race. In Louisiana, where they held slaves, it was the only state where a daughter could not be sold from a mother, and brothers and sisters could not be separated from one another. Slaves were held to be real estate in Louisiana in contradistinction to chattels personal in other states. Race prejudice does not have sway in Mexico today, but it will have sway so soon as Americans can get control there, just as they carried their pernicious race prejudice to France when black soldiers, by the thousands, were dying to make democracy safe for white men. We say safe for white men, advisedly, for not a whit or iota of that democracy about which so much talk and cheap palaver was carried on, has even been promised, not to say extended, to the Negroes who helped fight, supposedly, to secure it.

Intelligent and class conscious Negroes everywhere must fight for justice and fair play for the Mexican people. The air is freer there for men and women of color than in any state in the United States. We shall run a series of articles on the Mexican people informing both the white and colored people, how sordid and mercenary is the desire on the part of American capitalists to rob those struggling hard toiling Mexican workers of their land, their natural resources and their labor.

—: o :—

NEGRO POLICE CAPTAINS

There is a growing feeling of unrest and uneasiness among Negroes in the United States. They have been so generally deceived and lied to by police officials that now they don't believe anything they hear such officials say. Every nine out of ten Negroes (probably the percentage is greater) firmly believes that no white man can be trusted—that all are hypocritical on the Negro problem. We, of course, know better, but the facts have convinced the average Negro to the contrary. One of the things which has produced this deep seated distrust is the ruthless brutality and the inexcusable beating up of Negroes by policemen. Our intimate contact with all the large Negro centers enables us to know how tense and bitter is the feeling between whites and blacks. All such big Negro communities are *Magazines of Race Prejudice Dynamite*, ready to explode at any moment upon putting the flame to the fuse. Riots are imminent—real race riots—in all such large cities as New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Chicago, Pittsburgh and St. Louis. The arrest of a Negro in such large settlements of Negroes immediately suggests to the other Negroes that the man arrested is being imposed upon by the white officers. Again, most of the police in the above named centers are Irishmen, the race which Negroes as a whole, dislike most.

All of this is unfortunate, but undoubtedly true. It is the product of America's chief commodity—race prejudice. What you ask is the immediate program to adopt in warding off this impending race conflict?

First, the problem of policing needs to be radically changed and reconstructed. In the Negro settlements of New York, Philadelphia, etc., the bulk of policemen should be Negroes and the police captains should be—not Irish heavy-weights—but Negroes. **IT IS A PROBLEM OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY.** The Negro population has only a normal reaction to seeing a Negro policeman arrest a Negro. But when it is a case of whites who are generally hostile to men of color—the feeling is entirely different.

We would also recommend to the Mayors of big cities with large Negro population that they appoint as police captains intelligent, cool, sober men of the Negro race—men who have a common sympathy with their race and yet a high sense of regard for duty. No Negro stool-pigeon editors and politicians should be placed in this position, because it requires tact, intelligence and poise. There are numbers of discharged colored officers who could creditably fill these places. We would heartily support such men as Captain Napoleon B. Marshall of the old New York Fifteenth Regiment or Lieutenant William N. Colson of the 367th Infantry. These are men of intelligence, tact, character and broad sympathy. The first named is not of our political faith either. Such men should be found in all the large cities and there would be nothing amiss about any Mayor's getting the men from any city to hold such a responsible position.

We invite a serious consideration of our proposals on this question. We wonder what Mayor will have the brains, courage and foresight to take the lead. Intelligent police captains will undoubtedly serve them well in the coming race conflicts which bid fair to sweep the country.

————— : o : —————

THE CRISIS OF THE CRISIS

The MESSENGER has frequently pointed out that the editor of the Crisis, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, while possessing more intelligence than most Negro editors, is nevertheless comparatively ignorant of the world problems of sociological and economic significance.

In the June Crisis he enters an apology for the leading editorial in the April Crisis. The June issue's editorial, entitled "I. W. W." reads:

"An editorial in the Easter Crisis (written during the editor's absence) has been misunderstood and was, perhaps, itself partially misleading."

Note this argument, if it may be dignified by that name. The editor of the Crisis attempts to excuse his errors and misstatements on the ground that he was absent from his office. But obviously the editor had no business writing if conditions were such that he did not and could not know the facts.

In the April Crisis, Dr. Du Bois says: "Suppose we had yielded to German propaganda, suppose we had refused to shoulder arms, or had wrought mischief and confusion, patterning ourselves after the I. W. W. and the pro-Germans of this country. How should we hold up our heads?"

We take Du Bois to task here for two reasons: first, the statement of fact, and, second, his erroneous interpretation. A Negro alleged professor of sociology and economics doesn't understand the difference between the I. W. W. and pro-Germans. The I. W. W. is the only national organization of labor unions which does not discriminate against Negroes. A Negro, therefore, should be the last person to try to cast aspersion upon the I. W. W.

Again, the Negro has gotten absolutely nothing from his *shouldering arms and failing to produce mischief and confusion. He has been most loyal, but in turn, as his deserts, he is most lynched, most Jim-Crowed, most segregated, most discriminated against, most disfranchised.* The Germans were alleged to be the enemy. But Germans are not lynched, while Negroes are. Germans can ride in any part of the car in any state in the Union. The Negro is confined to the Jim-Crow car in the South. Negroes are disfranchised. Germans are not. Negroes cannot enter most places of public accommodation and amusement free and unhindered. Germans can enter any place of public accommodation and amusement in any part of the United States. (Lest we should be misunderstood, we wish to state that we do not think that any bar should be set up against the Germans. We only call attention to this discrepancy to expose the hypocrisy of the United States government on the one hand and the venality and ignorance of Negro leaders on the other.)

In the April Crisis the editorial continues, "We are not by nature traitors." This statement does not sound like the Du Bois of old. It partakes more of the old, me-too-Boss, hat-in-hand Negro generally represented by Robert Russa Moton of Tuskegee. Of all the fool-hardy claims made by the Negro, not one is so silly and asinine as "we are not by nature traitors." The vice of being traitorous depends entirely upon what one is traitorous to. *Treason of the slave to his master is a virtue. Loyalty of a slave to his master is a vice.* Liberty and justice have advanced in the world in proportion as people have been traitorous to their tyrants and oppressors. George Washington was a traitor—to British tyranny. Wendell Philips, William Lloyd Garrison, Lovejoy and Lincoln were traitors—to the slave autocracy of the United States. John Brown, upon whom the same Du Bois writes a worthless rhetorical book—was a traitor to old slave holding Virginia. The 200,000 Negroes who fought on the Union side to free themselves and their brothers from chattel slavery—were traitors to the slaveholders. It was treason beyond doubt for any slave to attempt his emancipation. But the actual character and type of the treason and the traitor depends entirely upon what that treason is to. The Russian people were largely traitors—traitors to the Czar, the proper kind of traitors. *The Negro will never gain his just rights until the great masses, 12 million strong, become thoroughly permeated, saturated and shot through with treason to the institutions of Jim-Crowism, lynching, race discrimination, segregation, disfranchisement, and to every instrument which maintains, perpetuates and fosters these pernicious institutions.*

The Crisis continues; "The Crisis did not say or intend to say that no Negroes belong to the Industrial Workers of the World, nor did it intend to con-

demn that organization. On the contrary, we respect it as one of the social and political movements in modern times that draws no color line. We sought to say that we do not believe that the methods of the I. W. W. are today feasible or advisable, and too, we believe the Socialist Party, wrong in its attitude toward the war, but we raise our hats silently to men like Eugene Debs, who let not even the shadow of public shame close their lips when they think themselves right."

The MESSENGER takes sharp issue with the Crisis on every one of its fundamental propositions both with respect to the questions of fact and the questions of opinion. The Crisis clearly implied that Negroes did not belong to the I. W. W. and spoke disparagingly of it as a Pro-German machine. Not only that. The Crisis representatives, like William Pickens, constantly speak of I. W. W.'s and Pro-Germans in their speeches as did William Pickens in the recent conference on "Lynching" held in New York. As to the methods of I. W. W., we state advisedly, and with sufficient reservation, that Dr. Du Bois, like most Negro professors, has no more knowledge of them than he has of the Bolsheviki. For his edification, and that of our readers who desire real information, we wish to say that the chief methods of the I. W. W. are industrial unionism. They oppose the principles of pure and simple unionism. They organize by the industry rather than by the trade. To illustrate, in a printing plant where the pressmen are on strike, by the American Federation of Labor pure and simple unionism methods, scab pressmen could be employed side by side with the union linotypers, compositors and others employed in the establishment. The principles of industrial unionism, adopted by the I. W. W. would demand that when the pressmen strike, the compositors, linotypers and all others employed in the shop should lay down their tools and cease from work until the strike is won. This method is both simple and feasible. It is advisable in every respect. Its efficiency and feasibility are shown by the fact that organized labor of the most advanced countries of Europe, Australia, Canada, and South America are rapidly adopting the One-Big-Union principle for their labor organizations. This no doubt is as new to the editor of the Crisis as it is to the average clay eating cracker of Georgia.

With respect to the Socialist Party, we endorse wholeheartedly its position on the war. History will record its position as one of the most courageous, far visioned and intelligent points of view taken by any group in the world. All wars (with exception of Revolutionary Wars like the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution) are against the interest of the people. This the Socialist Party knew and stated. That it has been against the interests of the Negroes, is hardly open to question. Lynching has increased. Race prejudice has been augmented. Discrimination is rampant. Unemployment and poverty stare the great masses of Negroes in the face, while the high prices of living continue to ascend with the rhythmic regularity of a funeral dirge. All other countries have been making slight concessions (some of them big concessions) by way of the extension of suffrage to the male and female electorates. But on account of the ignorance and spinelessness of the Negro leaders (?) not a

single state has even discussed the extension of the franchise to Negroes in the South. And why should they? Why should the states think of extending to Negroes that for which no Negro leader has had the temerity, even to ask? We reiterate then, that the Negro has received nothing by virtue of his participation in the war, but has lost much—much which he will be a long time regaining, despite the Crisis' unwarranted assertion to the contrary.

The Crisis editorial for June continues: "We believe that the crushing of the monstrous pretensions of the military caste of Germany was a duty so pressing and tremendous that it called for the efforts of every thoughtful American. But we recognize that some people did not agree with us and these folks we honor for their honesty, even though we question their reasoning."

With this sentiment the MESSENGER also takes sharp issue. We were not, at any time, interested in this reactionary, militarist government of Germany. We desired to see it crushed, as crushed it would be undoubtedly with the rising tide of German Socialism and German democracy. But as monstrous a task as that was, and as imperative as it was, we did not for one moment regard it as important as crushing the southern bourbon caste system of peonage in the United States. The Huns of Georgia are far more menacing to Negroes than the Huns of Germany. The Huns of Alsace have never threatened the Negroes' life, liberty and property like the Huns of Alabama. The Huns of Lorraine are as shining angels of light compared to the Huns of Louisiana. No barbarians of Turkey could ever be compared with the howling dervish, dancing barbarians of Tennessee. The danger from the Huns of Saxony did not take rank in our minds with the Huns of Mississippi. It is only due to a sort of Negro professor's chronic short-sightedness and usual venality which could for one moment regard the danger from the alleged German Hun as greater than that from the American Hun. To illustrate more pointedly: the three class Prussian electoral system of voting was the criticism upon the German franchise. But three-fourths of the Negroes of the United States, who own more than Seven Hundred Million Dollars worth of property are deprived of the right to vote, right under the nose of the editor of the Crisis. A white man's vote in Mississippi amounts to 13 votes in Kansas. A white man's vote in Alabama is equivalent to 11 votes in Minnesota. The comparison is quite similar with any southern state. Consequently, any Negro professor of economics or sociology, who had any knowledge of political science and the honesty to proclaim it, must have known that the American political system was behind the German political system under the Kaiser. Up to 1910, the highest vote of white men in any southern state was 19 per cent. in the State of Virginia. The average vote of southern white men was less than 17 per cent., showing that there is no political democracy, even for white men, under the political caste of the United States. With respect to economic democracy, Germany had more social legislation and the best administered government of Europe, even under the Kaiser. This is a matter of common knowledge among social students and ought to be known even to an *old school Negro professor of eco-*

nomics and sociology like the editor of the Crisis. With respect to race prejudice, one observation is sufficient. At all times it was possible for a Negro to attend the university of Kaiser Wilhelm, but no Negro could put his foot into President Woodrow Wilson's university—Princeton—which, by the way, is in the United States. Dr. Du Bois honors those of us who disagreed with him for our honesty but he questions our reasoning. Since he has done no reasoning, we deplore his absence of reasoning, and since the facts are so overwhelmingly against his position, we question even his honesty.

The *Crisis* continues: "It is no credit to American Negroes if they had no conscientious objectors. It is tremendously to their credit that the vast majority of them thought straight and fought true in a mighty world crisis."

The answer to the first sentence is that there were plenty of Negro conscientious objectors and there should have been more. Every Negro who went into the army should have been a conscientious objector. He had a right to be the most conscientious, conscientious objector in the United States. Lynched, burned at stake, Jim-Crowed on street cars and railroads, barred from places of public amusement and accommodation, segregated in the army and navy itself, disparaged for his work and underrated for his services, denied an opportunity for employment, except where necessity forced it—the Negro had a right to have been the objector of objectors. A word of information too, for the *Crisis*. The Negroes knew nothing, as a whole, about stating their claims. But so far as their objections to fighting were concerned, they were galore. Almost every Negro with whom you talked would tell you that he wondered what we were fighting for. And as he read the periodical lynchings, almost daily, his opinions were confirmed. *It might be surprising to Dr. Du Bois to know that the masses of Negroes in the United States have no more confidence in his sincerity and judgment, than they have in that of Moton.* The mere fact that the Negro was compelled to fight, is no evidence of his desire to fight or his satisfaction with his enforced lot. It is just like the Jim-Crow car. We go into the South and we are forced to ride in it. We do it sullenly, reluctantly and under the whip of the lash, while our very soul protests against every inch of that cattle travel. We are disfranchised and can't vote. We submit to it. But where would be the manliness of any red blooded Negro who would glory in and exult in his disfranchisement merely because he was forced to submit to it.

In conclusion let us say, that the *Crisis* has reached its crisis. It no longer represents the opinion of the millions of Negroes of the United States who are insisting upon justice without compromise or apology. The *Crisis* does not voice their sentiments any more than the Tuskegee Student. The editor of the *Crisis* lacks (1) intelligence, (2) courage, or (3) he is controlled. In our generosity, we would say that he lacks all three, to a certain degree. He has not had modern training in economics and sociology and his knowledge of political science has not proceeded in economics beyond Adam Smith, and in sociology beyond Auguste Comte. He is essentially a classicist. His emphasis is placed upon music, Latin, Greek, French and

trigonometry, to the disparagement of economics and sociology—the *business of getting a living and improving the standard of living.* In very truth, he lacks intelligence. We recognize, however, that Dr. Du Bois has more intelligence than the *Crisis* manifests, but this is subordinated to his rapidly waning courage. Third and last, he is undoubtedly controlled by the Capitalist Board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. *If he lacks intelligence, he can't lead correctly. If he lacks courage, he dare not lead correctly. If he is controlled, he will not be permitted to lead Negroes, in their own interests.*

The problem of the *Crisis* is the problem of *intelligence, courage and control.* It is the *crisis of the Crisis.* The sooner its influence wanes among Negroes, the sooner will they have begun to pass their crisis. The chief problem of the American Negro today is the ridding himself of misleadership of all kinds, and especially that of so-called organs of public opinion.

— : o : —

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. 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 a 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 asinine.

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 anyone 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 this 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 the 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 anyone 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.

"Yes," some of you say, "unions are for working people. We are actors. Why should we organize like hod-carriers?"

Well, let us see. The white actors and actresses are organized into the Actors' Equity Association. Twenty-five hundred members met only recently in the Hotel Astor and made demands upon the Producing Manager's Association for (1) a week's work of only eight performances and for pay of one-eighth of the week's salary for Sundays and holidays.

Such characters as John Drew, Louis Mann, John Cape, Harry Mestayer, Rose Coghlan, Albert Bruning, E. H. Southern, James O'Neill, George Arliss,

Lillian Russell, Francis Wilson, have awakened to the need of combining and striking for more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. If these artists organize, why not you, Mr. Negro Actor.

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

————— : o : —————

SUGGESTIONS FOR GOOD READING

The civilization of a people can be fairly well judged by the type of periodicals and books they read. We are therefore going to begin to single out certain periodicals and books, which we recommend to Negroes and whites to read. The first set of books which we would advise our readers to peruse thoroughly are most of the books banned by the government during the war. We do not give this advice in any spirit of arrogance, but from our personal knowledge of the merit and worth of the books. For instance, we want to call attention to two books in particular banned by the government, namely, "Frederick C. Howe's 'Why War'" and Scott Nearing's "The Great Madness." The first book gives a thorough going and comprehensive treatment of the causes of all wars, generally and specifically. It is scientific, cool and dispassionate in its presentation. It is well written, scholarly and courageously set forth, with a most painstaking collaboration of facts and figures. It is free from any jingoism or national favoritism. The second book, "The Great Madness," by Dr. Scott Nearing is a comprehensive, concise and succinct statement of the causes of America's entrance into the World War just passed. It is written in a simple style, characteristic of Nearing. It is free from bluster and brag, but permeated with courage and manly presentation. Both books should be read by our readers immediately. "Why War" by Howe, costs \$1.50, while the "Great Madness" is sold for 10 cents. With respect to periodicals and papers, we advise Negroes to read such magazines as The Liberator, The Nation, The Dial, The New Republic and Pearson's magazine. The Liberator and Pearson's are Radical; the Dial, The Nation and the New Republic are Liberal. All of them give an intelligent and courageous discussion of world problems and face the Negro question quite manly. We also wish to mention most favorably Gale's Magazine, published in Mexico. There are certain papers like The New York Call, Milwaukee Leader, The Revolutionary Age, The Proletarian, The New Solidarity, The Rebel Worker, The Eye Opener, the Advance, and the Crucible, which Negroes ought to read regularly.

As for Negro publications, the only other magazine besides the MESSENGER worth reading is the Crusader, elsewhere advertised in the MESSENGER. As for newspapers (Negro newspapers) the only scholarly and scientific editorial column to be found in any Negro newspaper at present is that of the Negro World. The editorials are written by one W. A. Domingo, a Negro scholar who writes fine English, knows history and economics and has the courage to say just what he thinks. Each month hereafter, we shall give a list of books, pamphlets and periodicals which ought to be read by Negroes

in particular and all Americans in general. The cost of these different periodicals and books vary, but we shall be glad, upon inquiry, to give the proper direction and information concerning any particulars of the books and pamphlets mentioned above.

————— : o : —————

NEGRO WORKERS: THE A. F. OF L. OR I. W. W.

The giant, Labor, in all the world is awakening. Labor is slowly but surely beginning to realize that the fabric of civilization rests upon its shoulders. Only ignorance stands between labor and economic freedom. Ignorance is the mother of race prejudice, and prejudice still haunts the trail of labor. White and black workingmen, in the South, still fight over race prejudice, while the rich white plutocrats pick the pockets of both. The official American labor organization—the American Federation of Labor is criminally negligent and recreant to its duty, in either ignoring or opposing Negro workers.

Not only does it ignore Negro workers, however, as a rule it also ignores the unskilled worker and the women.

The American Federation of Labor, is essentially a craft or trades' union organization. The Negro is mostly an unskilled laborer. His interests lie with that group which neither discriminates against workers on account of color, or on account of being unskilled.

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

To the black race, who, but recently, with the assistance of the white men of the northern states, broke their chains of bondage and ended chattel slavery, a prospect of further freedom, of REAL FREEDOM, should be most appealing.

For it is a fact that the Negro worker is no better off under the freedom he has gained than the slavery from which he has escaped. As chattel slaves we were the property of our masters, and, as a piece of valuable property, our masters were considerate of us and careful of our health and welfare. Today, as wage-earners, the boss may work us to death, at the hardest and most hazardous labor, at the longest hours, at the lowest pay; we may quietly starve when out of work and the boss loses nothing by it and has no interest in us. To him the worker is but a machine for producing profits, and when you, as a slave who sells himself to the master on the installment plan, become old, or broken in health or strength, or should you be killed while at work, the master merely gets another wage slave on the same terms.

We who have worked in the South know that conditions in lumber and turpentine camps, in the fields of cane, cotton and tobacco, in the mills and mines of Dixie, are such that workers suffer a more miserable existence than ever prevailed among the chattel slaves before the great Civil War. Thousands of us have come and are coming northward, crossing the Mason and Dixon line seeking better conditions.

As wage slaves we have run away from the masters in the South, but to become the wage slaves of the masters of the North. In the north we find that the hardest work and the poorest pay is our portion. We are driven while on the job and the high cost of living offsets any higher pay we might receive.

The white wage-worker is little, if any, better off. He is a slave the same as we are, and like us he is regarded by the boss only as a means of making profits. The working class as a whole, grows poorer and more miserable year by year, while the employing class, who do not work at all, enjoy wealth and luxury beyond the dreams of titled lords and kings.

As you are both wage-workers, you have a common interest in improving conditions of the wage-working class. Understanding this, the employing class seeks to engender race hatred between the two. He sets the black worker against the white worker and the white worker against the black, and keeps both divided and enslaved. Our change from chattel slaves to wage slaves has benefited no one but the masters of industry. They have used us as wage slaves to beat down the wages of the white wage slaves, and by a continual talk of "race problems," "negro questions," "segregation," etc., make an artificial race hatred and division by poisoning the minds of both whites and blacks in an effort to stop any movement of labor that threatens the dividends of the industrial kings. Race prejudice has no place in a labor organization. As Abraham Lincoln has said, "The strongest bond that should bind man to man in human society is that between the working people of all races and of all nations."

The only problem then, which the colored worker should consider, as a worker, is the problem of organizing with other working men in the labor organization that best expresses the interests of the whole working class against the slavery and oppression of the whole capitalist class. Such an organization is the I. W. W., the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, the only labor union that has never, IN THEORY OR PRACTICE, since its beginning twelve years ago, barred the workers of any race or nation from membership. The following has stood as a principle of the I. W. W., embodied in its official constitution since its formation in 1905:

"By-Laws—Article 1. Section 1. No working man or woman shall be excluded from membership in Unions because of creed or color."

If you are a wage-worker you are welcome in the I. W. W. halls, no matter what your color. By this you may see that the I. W. W. is not a white man's union, not a black man's union, not a red or yellow man's union, but a WORKING MAN'S UNION. ALL OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ONE BIG UNION.

In the I. W. W. all wage-workers meet on common ground. No matter what language you may speak, whether you were born in Europe, in Asia or in any other part of the world, you will find a welcome as a fellow worker. In the harvest fields, where the I. W. W. controls, last summer saw white men, black men and Japanese working together as union men and raising the pay of all who gathered the grains. In the great strikes which the I. W. W. has conducted at Lawrence, Mass. in the woolen mills, in the iron mine of Minnesota and elsewhere, the I. W. W. has brought the workers of many races,

colors and tongues together in victorious battles for a better life.

Not only does the I. W. W. differ from all organizations in regard to admission of all races, but there is a fundamental difference in form of organization from all other labor unions. You have seen other labor unions organized on craft or trade lines. Craft unionism means that any small section of any industry has a labor union separate from all other sections that cannot act in any concerted movement of labor because of this craft separation. For example, in the railroad industry there are the engineers' union, the conductors' union, the brakemen's union and many others on the road in the shops and yards.

Each union acts for itself and usually has time agreements with the companies for a term of years, each agreement ending at a different time than the others. When one craft union goes on strike at the end of the time agreement, the other craft unions keep at work and by remaining on the job act as scabs and strikebreakers in defeating their fellow workers of the craft on strike.

Thus in 1911 the men in the shops of the Harriman lines went on strike and the trainmen, who belonged to different craft unions, remained at work: the train crews took cars from and delivered cars to the strikebreakers in the shops because they were organized separately and had separate time agreements with the companies. The strike was lost because the railroad workers were organized wrong. The I. W. W. has INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, which means that all crafts in any industry are organized together and act together. Had the I. W. W. been in the place of the craft unions on the Harriman lines in 1911, all workers could have gone out together, not a wheel would have turned, not a train would have moved until the companies would have come to terms with the shopmen. For the I. W. W. makes no TIME AGREEMENTS with any employer and makes AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL. The I. W. W. always leaves its members free to strike when they see an opportunity to better themselves or support their fellow workers.

The foundation of the I. W. W. is INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. ALL workers in any division of any industry are organized into an INDUSTRIAL UNION OF ALL the workers in the ENTIRE INDUSTRY; these INDUSTRIAL UNIONS in turn are organized into INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS of connecting, or kindred industries, while all are brought together in THE GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD—ONE BIG UNION OF ALL THE WORKING CLASS OF THE WORLD. No one but actual wage workers may

join. The working class cannot depend upon anyone but itself to free it from wage slavery. "He who would be free, himself must strike the blow."

When the I. W. W., through this form of INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, has become powerful enough, it will institute an INDUSTRIAL COMMONWEALTH; it will end slavery and oppression forever and in its place will be a world of workers, by the workers and for the workers; a world where there will be no poverty and want among those who feed and clothe and house the world; a world where the words "master" and "slave" shall be forgotten; a world where peace and happiness shall reign and where the children of men shall live as brothers in a world-wide INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

The following is the preamble of the I. W. W. constitution, showing the reason and form of its organization, the aims and purposes of its membership:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system.

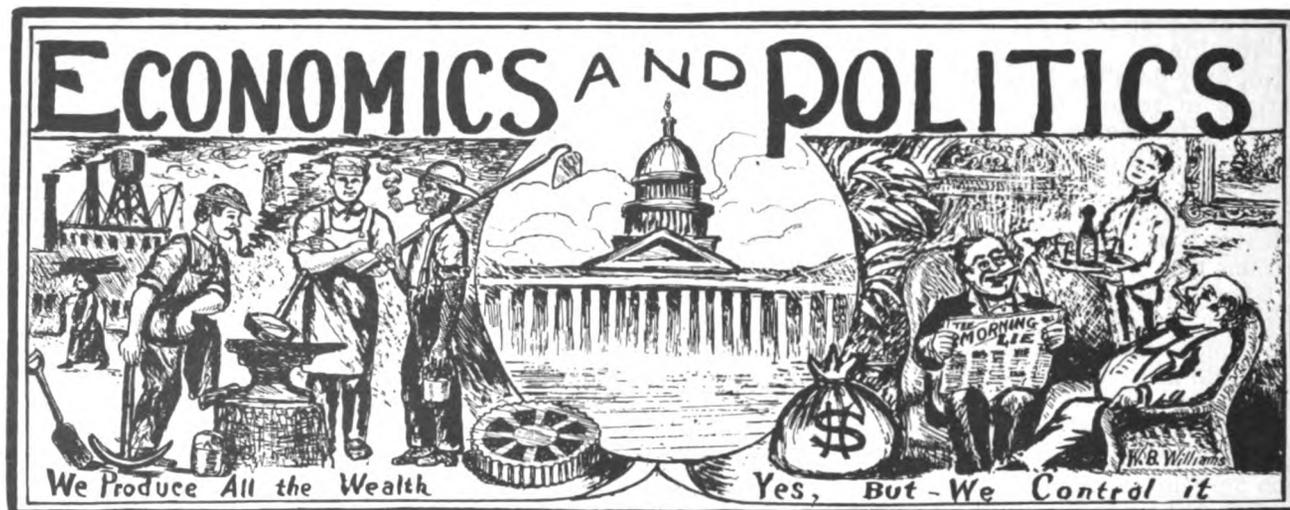
"We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the evergrowing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the workers have interests in common with their employers.

"These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

"Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system.'

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized not only for the every day struggle with capitalists, but to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

Subscribe to "The Messenger"



The Negro In Politics

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

The Negro has had a pathetic and unpromising history in American politics.

His eventful and hapless career began under the shadows of the institution of slavery, from which he had just emerged. He was played upon by two forces, viz., the open opposition from his former masters, on the one hand, and the fraud and deception of the white carpet-baggers, who swarmed South, like vultures, to pray upon his ignorance and credulity.

Reconstruction Period

We have but to take a glimpse into the history of the Reconstruction period, to witness his tragical fight, wrought by a paradoxical combination of his Northern Republican friends and his Southern Democratic enemies.

During this period the Negro was a political football between his former slave masters and Northern political adventurers. The economic basis of this contest was the power to tax: to float bonds; to award franchises: in short, to gain control over the financial resources of the newly organized States. These were big stakes for which to contend. Hence, the carpet-baggers used the enfranchised Negro to assist them in securing control over the Southern State governments and the Southern politicians fought the Negro viciously to prevent this Carpet-bagger-Negro political ascendancy.

This period of storm and stress gave birth to two significant social organizations, the Union of Loyal League of Negroes and the Klu Klux Klan, which attempted to protect the political interests of the Negroes and Southern whites, respectively.

They only served, however, to engender bitterness: to breed and to foster suspicion and hate between the races, which resulted in lawlessness, crime and general social anarchy. These too, were natural, political and social consequences of the Reconstruction policy. The inordinate lust for power, overwhelming ambition to rule, the instinct to secure an advantage, impels individuals and social groups to adopt the policy of force, the policy of fraud, or the method of education: whichever policy is available, and is recognized as likely to secure the more permanent results.

Such were the political vicissitudes of the Negro in the South. The Klu Klux Klan and the tissue ballot were social and political inventions of intimidation to discourage the Negroes' participation in politics. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution, the Federal army and the Carpet-Baggers were designed to protect the Negroes' suffrage, in order that the Negro might entrench, reenforce and fortify the Republican party's control over Congress. The lessons of this period had

been hard, bitter and disappointing to the Negro. The army, the arm of protection of the Federal Government, had been withdrawn. The Negro office holders and their Republican supporters had been hurled from power. The Reconstruction legislation had been emasculated from the statute books. The Southern States had begun a systematic and organized campaign of nullification of the freedom and enfranchisement of the Negro. In fact, the Negro had been reduced to serfdom. And in 1876, the last vestige of Reconstruction governments had disappeared. And it cannot be maintained by the sober and dispassionate historian that the Negro had legislated and administered the State governments wisely and well. As he had ignorantly fought with and tilled the fields for his former masters to maintain slavery, he had also voted to strengthen his Republican political masters, to dominate the government, only to be forsaken, neglected, naked to his enemies. No Negro, with a genius for leadership, had arisen in this period. So much for our Reconstruction history.

Subsequent Political Course

What has been the subsequent political course of the Negro?

The complete scheme of the Negroes' disfranchisement was in process of development in the South. The South and resented and ignored the fourteenth

amendment which had demanded a reduction in representation in Congress, if the Negroes' suffrage was restricted. Intermittant cries against this political brigandage were heard but finally subsided. The South continued to weave a fabric of law, the "Grandfather clauses," which gave legal sanction to an already general custom of Negro disfranchisement. The Republican Party, pretended friend and defender, had assented. Yet the Negro remained a Republican. Why? First, the Reconstruction legislation of the Republican party had forged the "Solid South." The Solid South was dominated by the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party had striven to maintain slavery. It had been the father of the "Fugitive Slave Law," the nullification of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and Chief Justice Taney had handed down the famous Dred Scott's decision, which gave constitutional sanction to the extension of slavery into new territory.

On the other hand, the Republican Party had been the party of the North, the refuge of the fugitive slave, the home of the abolitionists, Wendell Philips, Garrison, Lovejoy and Sumner was in power when freedom came. It had used the Negro as an office holder and continued to distribute political crumbs in the form of collectors of internal revenue, deputy collectors, registrars of the Treasury, Ministers to Hayti, Liberia and such places, that required no legislative ability, no intelligent understanding of the methods, objects and principles of government. In truth, the Negro office-holders were mainly of the "rubber stamp" variety. But it was sufficient that the Republican Party had awarded jobs, to secure the indiscriminating and unquestioning devotion of the Negro. Thus, the Negro became as staunch a Republican as the Irish a Democrat. It was considered race treason for a Negro to profess any other political faith.

Here and there an eccentric Negro had claimed to be a Democrat, but his claim was considered lightly. It is true that in New York City a tiny fraction of Negroes had bolted the Republican ranks and joined Tammany Hall, seeking political jobs.

There had also arisen among

the Negroes a political scism, namely a belief in the virtue of dividing the vote. In support of this political heresy, it was maintained that by dividing the vote the Negro would be able to secure the good will of both parties: it was further maintained that it would create fear in the Republican Party which would result in its giving the Negro a fairer consideration, and that the Negro would be sure of political preferment, regardless of which party was in power. And in 1912 and in 1916 a few Negro leaders had professed sympathy for Woodrow Wilson as the Democratic presidential nominee.

The formation of the Progressive Party of 1912, had marked another important rift in the Negro Republican voters. The love for Roosevelt, the expectation of jobs and the general dissatisfaction with President Taft's attitude towards Negro job-holders in the South, had produced this alienation.

In the mayoralty election of New York City in 1917, occurred another change in the Negroes' political course. This change resulted in 25 per cent. of the Negroes voting the Socialist ticket. This vote, too, it might be observed, was achieved despite the fact that heretofore there had been no Socialist vote among Negroes of New York State.

These movements have had their leaders. Who were they and what did they stand for?

Types of Negro Political Leaders Evolved

During the Reconstruction period the Negro leaders were unschooled, credulous, gullible. They had been led by the Republican agents from the North, the carpet-baggers.

Ex-Governor Pinchback, Lynch, Moses, etc., had been accomplices of the most shameless raids upon the funds of the States destructive legislation and issuance of spurious, inflamed paper.

In Congress White and Bruce had done one thing, they had been loyal to the Republican Party. During the long years from the passing of Negro representatives in Congress, no Negro of large vision and intelligent grasp of the forces in politics had arisen.

Booker T. Washington had become prominent in the industrial development of the Negro, but

had counselled the "let alone policy."

Bishop Walters, W. E. B. DuBois, James Monroe Trotter and Rev. James Milton Waldron—Negroes of national standing and prominence—had turned Democratic. Their object was to make the Republican Party repentant. These men had a vision of the rise of a Radical Negro; they had recognized the failure of the Republican Party: they had not caught the message of Socialism and they were still ruled by the belief that the test of the political progress of the Negroes was the number of jobs he held. They had not realized that out of 12,000,000 Negroes but a tiny fraction could become job-holders. The value of workmen's compensation legislation, widow's pensions, social insurance legislation, measures reducing the cost of living, shortening hours of toil and increasing the wages of the masses, had escaped them.

In the Republican Party, Charles W. Anderson, Ralph Tyler, W. T. Vernon and W. H. Lewis are figures of national proportions. These are men of the old school who make much over what they style as "playing the game of politics," which in other words simply means getting next to "campaign slush funds" and landing a rubber stamp job. Their positions rest upon their ability to echo the will of the masters through flamboyant oratory and their unquestioning obedience to the Republican machine.

Even the generous student of politics cannot accord to them any fundamental understanding of the relation between politics and the business of getting a living, the social purpose and economic basis of modern legislation and the scientific methods of administrative government.

They with the ward-heeler-politician identify their personal prosperity with that of the race and insist that their holding of a government job is an unmistakable sign of the Negroes' political progress.

Negro leaders, generally, have been creatures of the Republican or Democratic parties, which hold them in leash and prevent them from initiating anything fundamental in the interest of the Negroes. This brings us to the

\$25,000 - MESSENGER DRIVE - \$25,000

Only Radical Magazine in the World Published by Negroes

For sixty days, beginning May 1st, the Messenger Publishing Company Inc., will place on the market five thousand shares of stock at \$5.00 per share — the same to be disposed of to make the MESSENGER the most powerful organ of public opinion in the world in giving out sound economic, political and social education among Negroes in particular and the American public in general.

There are 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States — nearly one-ninth of the population. They have little information about themselves and the whites have less. This is as true of the white classes as it is of the masses. The Negro problem is seldom presented in a cool and dispassionate manner. It is presented with prejudice, pro or con-Negroes claiming too much, as a rule, and the whites too little.

The Negro problem is a great labor problem of America—an economic problem which must be treated with what Lester Ward terms “more light and less heat.” The MESSENGER is the only magazine in the world which gives a scientific, interesting treatment of the Negro problem, interpreting also the inter-related and inter-twined national and international problems.

Its editors are Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph — two young colored men of the school of NEW NEGROES who stand upon principle.

LET THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES:

To the Editor of the Messenger:

I have just been reading the March number of the MESSENGER. Opening it in casual spirit with the idea of glancing at a few of its pages, I found myself reading it through with the greatest interest and care. May I congratulate you upon publishing so admirable a paper? It is handsomely printed, well written, and dominated by that thoroughgoing radical spirit which can alone accomplish anything for truth and righteousness in these chaotic days. I cannot refrain from sending you this word of congratulation and Godspeed.

With all best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

We must congratulate you, for you have produced a journal that any race should be proud of. It is discriminative, justly critical, far seeing and tolerant. In fact we have failed to find one paragraph in the MESSENGER that strikes a false note.

THE CRUCIBLE PUBLISHING COMPANY,
C. D. Raymer, Business Manager,
Bertuccio Dantino, (La Verne F. Wheeler, Sr.) Editor.

“You both write clearly, forcefully, in diction that is fine, and with ample knowledge and grasp of your theme. One may dispute your opinions, but not criticise with much success your presentation.”

THOMAS W. CHURCHILL,
Former President of the New York City Board of Education.

“As a former professor of English, permit me to congratulate you both on the skill and vivacity with which you both write. But far more important to me than the style of your writing is the substance—the courage and significance of what you have to say.”

H. W. L. DANA,

Former professor of English and Comparative Literature for ten years in Columbia University, New York City.

“We wish you great success and are thankful that we have such fearless and able periodicals as the MESSENGER and the LIBERATOR to dare to speak out now when others grow silent and submit to be muffled.”

ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE,

President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Washington, D. C.

I have just read the current copy of your magazine. It has a lot of good stuff in it.

ROGER N. BALDWIN.

“I want to express to you my pleasure at the publication of a magazine, edited by colored men, that makes its cornerstone the solidarity of labor, and the absolute need of the Negro’s recognizing this solidarity. As a Socialist of many years standing, I have looked closely at the young colored men and women, graduates from our colleges, hoping to find some of them imbued with the revolutionary spirit. I have found a few, and I have been especially happy to see, here in New York, two good socialists of college training who are giving up their life to the spread of socialist thought.”

MARY WHITE OVINGTON.

Shares \$5.00 each. On sale for sixty days. Every radical should buy at least one share. Every labor union, every Socialist local should have some of these shares.

I hereby subscribe for.....Share(s) of stock in the Messenger Publishing Company, Inc. Enclosed find.....Dollars. Will pay balance.....1919.

Send all money to

THE MESSENGER PUBLISHING COMPANY, Inc.

2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City

BUY

**A MESSENGER “HUMANITY BOND”
AN ANTI-LYNCHING BOND
AN ANTI-DISCRIMINATION BOND
AN ANTI-PEONAGE BOND
AN ANTI-JIM CROW BOND
A BOND-OF-BROTHERHOOD BOND
THE ONLY REAL BOND WORTH WHILE
A RACE LIBERTY BOND**

consideration of the appointment policy.

Influence of the Appointment Policy

Aptly and truly too, has it been said that the "power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will" or expressed more popularly "he who pays the fiddler will call the tune."

Since Negro leaders have been the appointees of the Republican and Democratic bosses it is but natural that they would obey the voice of their masters. And the Republican and Democratic bosses are servants of the employing or capitalist class which thrives upon low wages and high prices, the ignorance and degradation of the workers of which 12 per cent. are Negroes.

This principal, however, of appointing members of the servant class to positions in the government or to places of race leadership, has been uniformly adopted by the ruling class in all parts of the world. The social experience is that a member of an oppressed class, invested with power by the master-class becomes the brutal oppressor and exploiter of his class. Note the vicious class of foremen, headwaiters, who are recruited from the working class.

Great Britain employs 250,000 natives of India to hold in subjection 300,000,000. She has also applied this same rule in Ireland and successfully exploited these peoples for 800 years.

Hence, it is apparent that the Negro leaders, the hirelings of the Republican and Democratic bosses who are in turn the agents of anti-labor forces, are the worst enemies of the race.

The Growth of the Movement for Negro Elective Representation

The movement is conceived in the idea that those whom the people elect will represent them. But, in the light of the history of government, it cannot logically be maintained that all persons elected by the people will represent the people. For instance, during the Reconstruction period the Negro office-holders and legislators, represented the carpet-baggers and not the people. Today, all legislators are elected by the people but the people suffer most from poverty and ignorance, hence it cannot be maintained that the present government represents the people, if by representation

we mean the enactment of legislation for the relief of human suffering and the improvement of social conditions. The people elect but the capitalists select.

There are three main conditions to a representative's representing those by whom he is elected. First, his chief interests must be identical with those by whom he is elected; second, he must be the member of a party organization which is controlled by his constituents; and, third, he must be sufficiently intelligent to understand his class interests.

To illustrate: If a real estate owner is elected to the legislature from a district composed largely of working people, his tenants: his chief interests would lie with the members of his class—the real estate owners and in opposition to those who elected him—the tenant-class. If a measure was raised to abolish the "law of dispossession," who would wonder as to how the real estate owners would vote, despite the fact, the measure would be palpably in the interests of those whom he was presumed to represent.

Again, suppose the representative's chief interests are identical with those of his constituents, and is also the member of a political organization which is controlled by forces which are opposed to the chief interests of his district. Is it not plain as to how he would vote? The history of politics is clear on this point. The lack of regularity would result in his political death. Note the fate of Ex-Governor Sulzer of New York, who opposed the Tammany machine which created him. Note Roosevelt's plight who bolted the Republican machine in 1912.

Lastly, given that the two foregoing conditions are satisfied, if the representative was not sufficiently intelligent he might be used as the most effective opponent of his own and his constituent's interests.

Thus, it is apparent that the election of a Negro by Negroes, is not enough and does not guarantee Negroes, of whom 99 per cent. are working people, that their chief interests, as working people, will be represented.

Just as the election of a woman, by women does not guarantee that their chief interests will be represented.

Witness Jeannette Rankin, wo-

man representative from Montana, lining up with the Republican and Democratic parties in unquestioning support of the capitalists, despite the fact, women and their children are the chief sufferers from long hours and low wages in factories and mines.

Witness the election of the Negro Assemblyman, E. A. Johnson, from the 21st Assembly District of New York City. Introducing a bill to permit children of the tender age of 12 when they are out of school to be exploited at work. Note, too, that he cited as his main reason for his bill, the recent exodus of Negroes from the South and the likelihood of idle Negro children getting into mischief in the streets of New York. This bill was condemned by the educators and union leaders, on the ground that children are in need of play and recreation as much as they are in need of book learning. Work stunts the bodies and arrests the mental growth of children.

Here, two facts are evident: first, that the Assemblyman was ignorant of the fundamental recreational and educational needs of children; second, that he is part of the Republican machine, which represents the factories and canneries interests which makes millions out of child labor. Here then is the clear case of a Negro being the father of a measure, from which Negro children will be the chief sufferers, being as they are in more need of education and wholesome recreation.

However, I might observe that I am simply predicting of the Negro representatives what is true of all white representatives of the capitalists parties, Republican and Democratic.

Will the entrance of Negro women into politics change the general tenor of things? My answer is no. The history of women in public affairs, black and white, warrant me in taking this position. Their traditions, education and environment, are similar to those of the men and they may be expected to follow the same course of political thinking. They will also be influenced by their male companions.

However, I might observe here, that Negro women, especially, may profit from the political blunders of Negro men. It is admitted by both white and black

that the Negro men have made a mess of politics. It is further admitted that, during his entire political career, he has been nothing else but a Republican, so that the logical deduction is that, to follow in the course of the Negro men is to make a similar mess of politics.

The Rise of Political Radicalism Among Negroes

The political Radicalism of the Negro has been marked by three definite movements: First, the entrance of the Negro into the Democratic Party; second, the transition to the elective idea of representation; third, and the most fundamental and significant of all is, the change from the old parties to Socialism.

The last of these changes has been the result of the rise of a new type of leaders. The old Negro leaders have had the intent to serve the interests of the Negroes, but they have lacked the knowledge as to how they could best serve them. And it is recognized today that the possession of an intent to do good without the knowledge, is more fatal than the possession of knowledge without the intent. To illustrate: History attests that during the early Christian era, Marcus Aurelius was the most savage persecutor of the Christians, yet he was one of the most upright of men and it is maintained that he persecuted them on the ground that he was saving them from the consequences of their folly. His intent was to do good. Even Protestant historians accord to those who maintained the Spanish Inquisition, honest intentions, while they murdered, massacred and outraged the heretics of their day. The suppression of free speech, the freedom of the press and the lynching of Negroes and I. W. W. are based upon the intent to subserve the country's interests. The system which produces these conditions, determines the social consequences of the policies, adopted by both good and bad men. Thus, it is apparent that an individual's power to do social and personal mischief is, in proportion to the intensity of his belief in the rightness of his act and the absence of knowledge as to its social consequences. An ignorant man may take Bichloride of mercury for quinine; the result is death,

though his intent and desire was to live.

The Future of the Negro in American Politics

Thus it is obvious that the hope of the Negro lies, first in the development of Negro leaders with the knowledge of the science of government and economics, scientific history and sociology; and second, in the relegation to the political scrap heap, those Negro leaders whose only qualifications are the desire to lead and the intent to do good.

The old Negro leaders have been factors in producing and perpetuating a patent contradiction in American politics: the alliance of a race of poverty, the Negro, with a party of wealth, the Republican Party.

The Republican Party has been the instrumentality in American politics of abolishing agricultural feudalism of the South for the establishment of industrial capitalism of the North. Industrial slavery has been substituted for human slavery.

But how is the Negro to know which party to support? Before answering this question may I observe that a party is a body of individuals who agree upon a political program and who strive to gain control of the government in order to secure its adoption. Its campaigns are made possible by a fund created by those persons who desire the adoption of its program. It is natural and plain, then that those who supply the funds will control and direct the party.

Now, it is a fact of common knowledge that the Republican and Democratic parties receive their campaign funds from Rockefeller, Morgan, Schwab, Shonts, Ryan, Armour and other capitalists. It is also a fact of common knowledge, that the chief interests of these capitalists are: to make large profits by employing cheap labor and selling their goods at high prices to the public.

Thus, since the chief interests of the workers are more wages, less work, cheaper food, clothing and shelter, it is apparent that their chief interests are opposed to those of their employers—the capitalists which are represented by the Republican and Democratic parties.

Now, since almost all Negroes are workers, live on wages and suffer from the high cost of food, clothing and shelter, it is obvious that the Republican and Democratic parties are opposed to their interests.

But since neither the Republican and Democratic parties represent the Negroes' interests, the question logically arises as to which party in American politics does?

I maintain that since the Socialist Party is supported financially by working men and working women, and since its platform is a demand for the abolition of this class struggle between the employer and the worker, by taking over and democratically managing the sources and machinery of wealth production and exchange, to be operated for social service and not for private profits; and further, since the Socialist Party has always, both in the United States and Europe, opposed all forms of race prejudice, that the Negro should no longer look upon voting the Republican ticket, as accepting the lesser of two evils, but that it is politically, economically, historically and socially logical and sound for him to reject both evils, the Republican and Democratic parties and select a positive good—Socialism.

The Negro, like any other class, should support that party which represents his chief interests. Who could imagine a brewer or saloonkeeper supporting the Prohibition party?

It is like an undertaker seeking the adoption of a law, if possible, to abolish death.

Such is not less ludicrous, however, than that of a Negro, living in virtual poverty, children without education, wife driven to the kitchen or wash-tub: continually dispossessed on account of high rents, eating poor food on account of high cost of food, working 10, 12 and 14 hours a day, and sometimes compelled to become sycophant and clownish for a favor, a "tip," supporting the party of Rockefeller, the party of his employer, whose chief interests are to overwork and underpay him. Let us abolish these contradictions and support our logical party—the Socialist Party.

Socialism The Negroes' Hope

By W. A. DOMINGO

Editor of the Negro World

It is a regrettable and disconcerting anomaly that, despite their situation as the economic, political and social door mat of the world, Negroes do not embrace the philosophy of socialism, and in greater numbers than they now do. It is an anomaly because it is reasonable to expect those who are lowest down to be the ones who would most quickly comprehend the need for a change in their status and welcome any doctrine which holds forth any hope of human elevation. In matters of religion they respond and react logically and naturally enough, for to them, the religion of Christ, the lowly Nazarene, brings definite assurance of surcease from earthly pains and the hope of celestial readjustment of mundane equalities. Their acceptance of the Christian religion with its present day emphasis upon an after-life enjoyment of the good things denied them on the earth is conclusive proof of their dissatisfaction with their present lot, and is an earnest of their susceptibility to Socialism, which intends to do for human beings what Christianity promises to do for them in less material regions.

That they and all oppressed dark peoples will be the greatest beneficiaries in a socialist world has not been sufficiently emphasized by Socialist propaganda among Negroes.

Perhaps this is not clearly understood, but a little examination of the facts will prove this to be the case.

Throughout the world Negroes occupy a position of absolute inferiority to the white race. This is true whether they are black Frenchmen, black Englishmen, black Belgians or black Americans.

As between themselves and the masses of white proletarians their lives are more circumscribed, their ambitions more limited and their opportunities for the enjoyment of liberty and happiness more restricted. White workingmen of England who are Socialists are immeasurably the political and social superiors of the average Negro in the West Indies or Afri-

ca; white workingmen of France, who are Socialists are unquestionably the political and social superiors of Senegalese and Madagascan Negroes; white workingmen of the United States who are Socialists are indisputably the social and political superiors of the millions of Negroes below the Mason and Dixon line; yet despite their relative and absolute superiority these white workers are fighting for a world freed from oppression and exploitation, whilst Negroes who are oppressed cling to past and present economic ideals with the desperation of a drowning man.

Socialism as an economic doctrine is merely the pure Christianity preached by Jesus, and practiced by the early Christians adapted to the more complex conditions of modern life. It makes no distinction as to race, nationality or creed, but like Jesus it says "Come unto me all ye who are weary and heavy laden and I will give you rest." It is to procure that rest that millions of oppressed peoples are flocking to the scarlet banner of international Socialism.

So far, although having greater need for its equalizing principles than white workingmen, Negroes have been slow to realize what has already dawned upon nearly every other oppressed people: That Socialism is their only hope.

The 384,000,000 natives of India groaning under the exploitation of the handful of English manufacturers, merchants and officials who profit out of their labor are turning from Lloyd George and the capitalistic Liberal Party to Robert Smillie, the Socialist and the Independent Labor Party. The 4,000,000 Irish who suffer national strangulation at the hands of British industrialists and militarists have turned to the Socialists of England for relief besides becoming Socialists themselves. The Egyptians who are of Negro admixture being convinced that their only hope for freedom from British exploitation is in international Socialism are uniting forces with British Socialists and organ-

ized labor. In fact, every oppressed group of the world is today turning from Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson to the citadel of Socialism, Moscow. In this they are all in advance of Western Negroes with the exception of little groups in the United States and a relatively well-organized group in the Island of Trinidad, British West Indies.

Because of ignorant and unscrupulous leadership, Negroes are influenced to give their support to those institutions which oppress them, but if they would only do a little independent thinking without the aid of preacher, politician or press they would quickly realize that the very men like Thomas Dixon, author of "The Clansman," Senators Hoke Smith of Georgia and Overman of North Carolina, who are fighting Socialism or as they maliciously call it Bolshevism, are the same men who exhaust every unfair means to villify, oppress and oppose Negroes. If anything should commend Socialism to Negroes, nothing can do so more eloquently than the attitude and opinions of its most influential opponents toward people who are not white.

On the other hand, the foremost exponents of Socialism in Europe and America are characterized by the broadness of their vision towards all oppressed humanity. It was the Socialist Vandervelde of Belgium, who protested against the Congo atrocities practiced upon Negroes; it was the late Keir Hardie and Philip Snowden of England, who condemned British rule in Egypt; and in the United States it was the Socialist, Eugene V. Debs, who refused to speak in Southern halls from which Negroes were excluded. Today, it is the revolutionary Socialist, Lenin, who analyzed the infamous League of Nations and exposed its true character; it is he as leader of the Communist Congress at Moscow, who sent out the proclamation: "Slaves of the colonies in Africa and Asia! The hour of proletarian dictatorship in Europe will be the hour of your release!"

Enslavement Of The Worker

By GEORGE FRAZIER MILLER

Dow, Jones & Co. who function before the American public as the preservatives of Wall Street interests and the special adjusters of capitalistic plunder, discovering, in the individual liberty of choosing or refusing employment to one's personal advantage, and in the right of strike and mass action, the impending destruction of this autocratic and supercilious power they represent, made, in their news issue of April 16th, the vicious suggestion and insidious counsel of "*enforceable legislation that will make the engineer at the locomotive throttle and the telephone employee at the switchboard necessary parts of our national defense and subject to the same rules as other organized bodies set in the national defense lines.*"

That is an adroit and cryptic expression of a plain, but well rooted and resolute propaganda which the artful Wall Street sharks thoroughly understand, and fully aim to put into effect.

The initiate well understand this daring and villainous scheme and will leave no effort untried to translate this "desideratum" into operative and irresistible fact. The point of extraordinary wonder, however, is not the inhuman design of these heartless exploiters of their fellow men, but the pitiful, almost disgusting, blindness of the working class men and women who fail to discover, with all the means of enlightenment at hand, that they are the marked victims of the predatory ends of these evil geniuses.

The New York Call, in commenting upon this Dow, Jones & Co. vision of the capitalistic rascality and plunder, states the inwardness of the plot in plain, straightforward English which the most unsophisticated should not fail to grasp and appreciate to his enduring advantage; "In plain words this means that, while plutocracy does not believe in government ownership of things, it does believe in government ownership of people, and that it looks for and will strive to bring about slavery under government control."

The people whose labor of hand

and brain produces the wealth of the world are to be subjected to the whims, wiles, avarice and cunning of the privileged few—the favored rich—and forfeit their freedom, that the certainty of profits to indolent wealth, through their toil and struggle, be not jeopardized or curtailed in the least degree.

Under the régime of chattel slavery, in this country, in Europe and in all countries, in the days that are past, the state legalized the institution, and safeguarded the "master" in her "property rights"; but according to the new device of Dow, Jones & Co., and the whole crowd of banditti whom they represent, the state is to enslave the worker, and annul completely his divine right of self-determination.

The very idea of slavery is hellish, but when the enslaved or imprisoned was brutalized by an individual tyrant he could entertain a hope, however small, of smashing his trammels and making his way to liberty, or again, of treating his captor in heroic style, but when the state assumes to subject men to the degradation of thralldom, we shall look for a return of the days of despair when men were wont to read: "Ye who enter here leave hope behind."

The engineer at the throttle of the locomotive and the telephone girl at the switchboard are but exponents of an innumerable army of wage workers who are to be reduced to the low mechanism of government automatons. Personality is swept into the abyss of nonentity, and men who labor, and freemen, all, are to be subjected to the degrading depths of Tennyson's Light Brigade:

*"Theirs not to make reply
Theirs not to reason why
Theirs but to do and die."*

When the blood of the telephone girl begins to throb with personal dignity, and she becomes conscious of a growing strength, and, consequently, begins to "dictate," individually, through mass action or collective bargaining, something of her wages and conditions of labor, as we recently saw in the Boston strike, she is to

be lashed back into line, as any recalcitrant slave that resented a master's law; or suffer as any soldier charged with insubordination or dereliction would suffer the dreadful and inexorable sentence of the court-martial. The soldier is a piece of governmental mechanism adjusted to the machinery of which he is a part, and as part of such machinery he is totally bereft of self-direction—a slave of the state. Unto this condition of bestial degradation the workers in field and factory, in mine and lumber camp, in counting house and public mart, are to be brought *for the benefit of society.*

Teachers in the public school system are given to understand when asked by their pupils a question of vital force or a matter of current happening, for an answer they should consult the mental frame of the Board of Education, or the hysterical mind of the populace, not their own knowledge, understanding or mature opinion. A forfeiture of personality is a prerequisite for teachship in the schools of New York, and as New York leads the way, how long will it be before we may look confidently to the day when such will be the *status quo* throughout the length and breadth of the land?

The sacredness of "property"—the possessions of the malefactors of great wealth (thanks to Mr. Roosevelt for the origination of the trenchant phrase); the property of those who "devour widows' houses" (Matt. xxiii:14); "who turn aside the needy from judgment, and take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless" (Is. x:2)—the sacredness of that property must stand inviolate and inviolable, while human life, where the fortunes of the plunderers of the people are in jeopardy, or the license of their exploitations is threatened, is a mere bagatelle—dross of the earth or pawn to be offered in sacrifice upon the field of contest in the service of the "king"—the soulless masters of industry and finance.

Do the working people under-

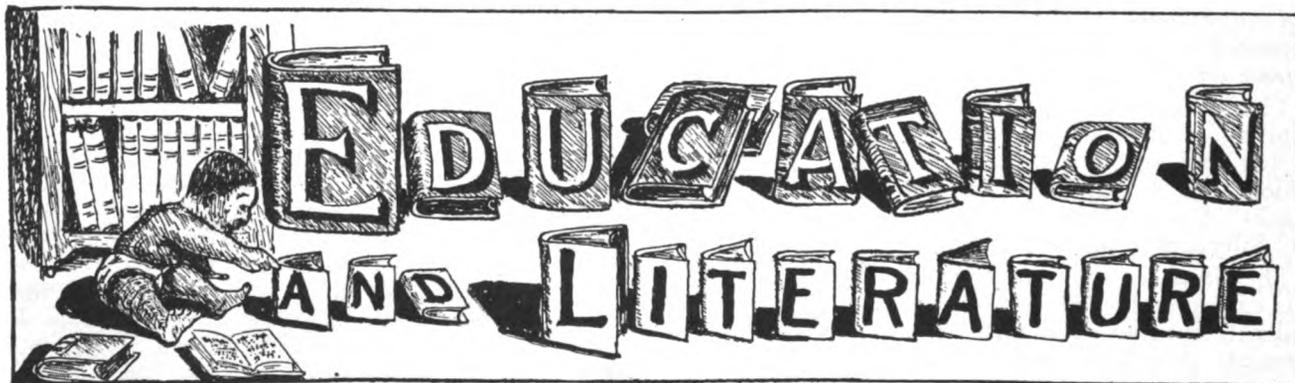
stand and take cognizance of this insidious policy now in operation; a policy that can be staid from its designed effect by no power other than the enlightenment of the people stirred to resolute, vigorous, and determined opposition? The fight is on—the poor and the people of moderate means must unite, combat, conquer this power or be hopelessly and dimly crushed thereby. And let not our professional men, artists, school teachers, and small traders deceive themselves that because their employment is “respectable” and that they can go “dressed” to work that they are of the “aristocracy”—the ruling class; let not the bank teller and the commercial clerk swell with fine conceit that they are of the “upper class.” Let them well understand that in the estimation of the merchant

princes, and the Napoleons of finance, they are all “small fry” to be used or abused, as you will, according to the general pleasure of the “malefactors of great wealth.”

In the midst of war, when men are summoned peremptorily from their business cares, and the budding youth are summarily snatched from the comforting seclusion of the family hearth to expose themselves in their country's honor, (?) to the indiscriminate rain of shot and shell from the instruments of death in the hands of the adversary, a hue and cry is made upon any suggestion of an “invasion” of property rights. That property need not be, in its essential nature and service, private. Let it be confessedly and peculiarly a public utility, as patently such as the natural resources, and

bitter opposition to its requisitioning for popular use is raised on every hand. It matters not that it is wealth of the public's creation or given in nature as a public necessity, all that an exploiting aristocracy and oligarchy can see is that it is private property, and no amount of argument, plausible or obvious, can be potent enough to admit of an infringement of its peculiar and distinctive separateness. Men might be requisitioned for war or what you will; property is ever sacred. Property is all; life is nothing—especially so when the property is of the masters of state, and the life is the life of the weak and disinherited.

Will the workers, all, awake to a realizing sense of the dangers confronting them?



Propaganda And The American Negro Soldier

By WILLIAM N. COLSON

Formerly an Officer in the 367th Infantry

No class of Americans responded more generally to the call to arms than did the Negro in 1917. In proportion as the whole nation shared in the frenzied spirit of war did the Negro adopt a cult of irrationality which made his conscription and subscription only a matter of time and blind patriotism. The collective bargaining of race ideals and rights was hardly thought of. Negro leaders of both schools like Du Bois and Moton publicly stated that the mere “opportunity to serve was sufficient for the present.” The Negroes’ greatest opportunity since emancipation to bargain collectively was lost.

Before the end of 1917, there were nearly 250,000 Negroes in the United States Army. To

make a good individual soldier one must feel that he is superior to his adversary. Negro men as soldiers gained a certain self-respect. There soon arose persistent rumors that Negroes were unfit for the exigencies of modern European warfare, that they were fit for stevedore labor only, that they were incapable of mastering the technique of artillery and engineering, and that the Negro officer would not succeed. This information set in motion by race-haters blended into belief until it formed a strong presumption throughout the country. About the same time German propagandists began to vilify any nation which used colored troops on the front. American public opinion assented and it was thought for a

while that America would send no Negro fighting men to France. With the South supreme at Washington, the government continued and extended its policy of segregation and of limitation of benefits for Negro troops. War work welfare agencies usually fell in line with the government. A German was convicted for spreading propaganda among Negroes to the effect that German soldiers would cut off the ears and fingers of captured Afro-American soldiers and that the Kaiser would reward Negroes who exhibited signs of Pro-Germanism. When the Negro troops left for France in 1918, some Southern communities were already reviving Klu Klux Klan terrorism for post-bellum use.

Negro patriotism was thus turned from a means into an end. The Negro had been beguiled into thinking that he would gain some great benefit from the war. The United States government employed certain of his leaders to tell him so. A few thoughtful Negro soldiers who had had misgivings from the outset attempted to turn the docility of the mass into constructive backbone. But they were afraid to assert themselves. Negro officers were making higher salaries in the army than in civil life. They feared military authority. Except in a few sporadic instances, their inner feelings were wilfully subdued. There was no semblance of propaganda among Negro American troops before their departure for France. They failed to appreciate the value of this highly legitimate weapon from either within or without, offensively or defensively.

The Negro experienced a new sense of values in France. No part or parcel of these states offers the freedom and liberty of the French Republic. The Americans had hardly arrived overseas before they got actively transplanted in that fair country, their brand of prejudice. The American Army acquiesced and deliberately carried on through official channels and otherwise many flagrant discriminations. The white American began such a pernicious campaign of gossip that the Afro-American soon learned to regard it as proof positive that the visit of any white American to a vicinity meant the sowing of tares in a wheat field. At Regenville in the Vosges, where a battalion of the 367th Infantry was billeted in July, 1918, a French interpreter spent a large portion of his time in telling the once kindly disposed civilian population that Negroes were of a very inferior social status. He was carrying out a general order instigated by the Americans. White soldiers circulated the information that Negroes had tails like our anthropoid ancestors. At Revigny in September, 1918, some Negro soldiers came across the first Foyer du Soldat where there was segregation. Madam..... stated that she had been told to place the colored diners in one room and the white in the other by order of the white American

town mayor. Near Pont-a-Mousson, in October, November, 1918, there were several colored pioneer regiments officered by white men. These officers used anti-race propaganda on their colored troops by telling them that Negro officers were no good but that they (the pioneer infantrymen) were much more superior because they were officered by themselves. Soldiers of these regiments have testified that their white officers, to prove their points, as they did all through France and the United States, grossly exaggerated slight errors and breaks in morale made by 368th and 366th Infantries on battlefield. An analysis of propaganda carried on by white Americans in France would show that it had its roots in American prejudice, that the general rule of social equality in France stimulated that prejudice, and that the white American feared that the Negro would gain too much benefit and credit from his mission abroad. The most destructive propaganda of all was that set in motion by the white regular army officer to discredit the Negro officer and keep him out of the peace time army. Other officers said that Negroes were by nature rapists.

A feeble and indefinite propaganda did spring up among the Negro soldiers in France. In that democratic clime they found themselves. They felt better within themselves because they were fighting for France and for their race rather than for a flag which had no meaning. On one hot day in September, 1918, the Germans sent over at Mere Henri gas shell letters addressed to colored Americans. They clearly and truthfully analyzed race conditions in America and asked the Negro the why and wherefore of his making the supreme sacrifice for Wall Street. This piece of propaganda gave many a man a less content thought. A strange anomaly which helped the American Negro to think in larger terms was that while abroad he became associated with the only class of persons who recognized him as an American citizen, those foreigners who had never been to the United States. During America's part in the war, the German government systematically enlightened their soldiers and civilians as to lynching, Jim-Crowism and Negro proscription in the

United States. Germans felt like Americans do about pogroms in Russia or massacres in America, and were surprised at the blind loyalty of the colored soldiers. The Frenchman was a Frenchman, the Englishman an Englishman, but the white American was presumptively a "peck." Moton and Du Bois came to France. Moton attempted to palliate the unrest among the soldiers and to prepare them for their homecoming, but his methods were poor and his statements often misrepresentations. That Moton did more harm than good—is to put it mildly. Du Bois worked in a narrow, intellectual circle only.

Constructive propaganda could have been used by the Negro to a great advantage in the worldwide conflict. It may be used even yet. As the situation now stands, the Negro, American or African, will get out of this war less than he put into it. The nations are parcelling out Africa in as greedy a fashion as ever before. The American Negro has gained nothing but a glimpse at French democracy and a new but slight appreciation of values. The new politics means the accomplishment of certain ends. No intelligent American Negro is willing to lay down his life for the United States as it now exists. Should another war break out and he had the option after a balancing of interests he would no doubt cast his lot with this country again. But ere he does that, let him hesitate like the Irish before he follows the way of blind patriotism as he did in 1917. Let him not so thoughtlessly part with his men and his Liberty Bonds until this country can insure him an opportunity to develop his best capacities. The concensus of opinion among thinking colored people is that the war ended too soon. They believe that the American Negro would have gotten a status had America been chastised more severely. Indeed they feel toward America much like they feel toward Belgium for her misdeeds in the Congo. There has been a recent discussion among political students as to which is of the greatest political concern: the hidden motives or the overt acts of men. The new Negro has the hidden motive. He must propagate the overt act.

Mill Grindings

By G. F. M.

Follow your leader but watch him close—the moment he turns treacherous, a platoon or a marketable commodity, cast him on the scrap heap and let him rot.

* * * *

Paternalism and patriotism are reciprocal and interdependable: whence, then, the duty of patriotism where there is no sense of paternalism?

“Radical within the law” is a new phrase. Well, anybody can make sure his “Radicalism” is tame enough to save his hide from harm.

A home coming soldier delights in a welcome, but his greater wish is remunerative employment: he will also find it more beneficial.

* * * *

Non-arrest is no proof that those sensible of wrong have not vigorously combatted the wrong, though speech or act led not to the toils of the law.

* * * *

One does not have to play the traitor to show his condemnation of iniquitous conditions he is forced to suffer.

* * * *

One does not have to play the platoon to forestall the charge of nurturing treachery.

Who honestly and sincerely protests against injustice and wrong is little concerned whether he appear treacherous or not.

* * * *

Who puts a quietus upon the wrongs he suffers to support and appease his heartless oppressors is a miserable spectacle lamenting the denial of the good he has no ground to expect.

“Radical grafters,” cries the phony sage, “not one of them can prove his hands are clean!” Yes, but it is only a fool or a knave who would impose on a man the task of proving a negative.

**Next Month's Messenger
will be HOTTER than
RED-HOT** IT WILL BE OUT
ON JULY 21st : :

**33,000
for
August**

And will feature these Articles:

1. AN OPEN LETTER TO NEGROES OF U. S. ON THE IMMEDIATE PROGRAM FOR THE ABOLITION OF LYNCHING.
2. THE FAILURE OF THE NEGRO CHURCH.
3. THE NEGRO RADICALS.

Including a discussion of the Economic, Political and Social policies of W. E. B. Du Bois, James W. Johnson, William Pickens, William Monroe Trotter, Kelly Miller, Archibald Grimke, and George Frazier Miller.

MARRIAGE As IT was, Is, and SHOULD BE. By Annie Besant. A new edition of that intensely interesting Brochure, 25c. A few copies of the Scarlet Review No. 1, 25c. each. **Raymers's Old Book Store** 1330 First Avenue, Seattle, Washington

RED HOT If you want for self or friends a paper that combats all religious dogma. **AGNOSTIC** send \$1.00 for each subscriber and get the hottest paper published. Samples, four different. 10 cents. Not Free.
The CRUCIBLE, 81330 1st Ave. **PAPER**
Seattle Washington

THE STENOGRAPHERS' INSTITUTE
1227 S. 17th St. Philadelphia, Pa.
Shorthand Typewriting Bookkeeping
3 Month and 8 Month Courses
Job work—let us typewrite and multi-graph your letters. One, or several thousand, is easy for us. We duplicate hand writings and drawings.
EDWARD T. DUNCAN, Pres.

Mention The Messenger

Get the World's Best Literature

AT THE

SOCIALIST BOOK STORE

Owned by Local Philadelphia Socialist Party

1330 Arch Street

Philadelphia, Pa.

Bell Phone, Locust 31-21

We also sell THE MESSENGER, the only Radical Magazine in the world, published by Negroes.

PAMPHLETS

BOOKS

PERIODICALS

The Revolutionary Age
The Liberator
The Nation

The Communist
The Proletarian
The One Big Union
Good Morning

SPECIAL RATES ON LARGE ORDERS

Study Socialism This Summer

Three terms of two weeks—July 7th to August 16th. Twenty-six separate courses. Prominent instructors. Ask for Folder 110 a.

- I. Socialism
- II. Public Speaking
- III. Socialist Party Organization
- IV. Literature and Life
- V. Science and Society
- VI. Music and Life
- VII. Contemporary Economic Problems
- VIII. History of Socialism
- IX. Interpretation of Social Statistics

SOME OF THE INSTRUCTORS

Scott Nearing, Dr. H. W. L. Dana, Algernon Lee, Alexander Trachtenberg, David P. Berenberg and others.

Study Socialism by Mail

through the Rand School Correspondence Courses. Courses by Scott Nearing, Algernon Lee, D. P. Berenberg and others. Ask for Folder 205.

Rand School of Social Science

7 East 15th Street, New York City

INDOL PRODUCTS

Indol Laboratories Corporation

2257 SEVENTH AVENUE

LEON E. MERTINS
Business Manager
Sales Department

New York City

PHONE
MORNINGSIDE
" 2754 "

Always Mention

The MESSENGER

Call Off Your Dogs of War

Ho! Uncle Sam! O! Uncle Sam!
Call off your dogs of war!
We do not like the gang you're
with,
Nor what they're fighting for!
You took our boys to fight the
Huns,
A job that fate decreed;
But we object to helping those
Who make poor Russia bleed!

* * *

O, Uncle Sam! 'Tis shame we feel
To think you've sunk so low,
That you would help those ty-
rants forge
More chains to bind in foe
Those Russian slaves who burst
their bonds,
To stand up proud and free;
And who demanded but their
rights
And well earned liberty.

* * *

Now Uncle Sam, this our demand,
Call off your dogs of war!
No longer smear our flag with
blood
In strife that we abhor.
Let FREEDOM now her colors
wave
O'er Russia's broad expanse;
No more assist who fights to
check
Her liberty's advance.

—Bertuccio Dantino.

? HAVE YOU SUBSCRIBED ?

Mention The Messenger

The Alleged And The Real Moens' Case

Professor Moens, the alleged anthropologist was introduced to Negro society by Negro leaders in New York and in Washington. In New York he was vouched for and sponsored for by the Negro leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and by those of the National Urban League. Wined and dined and routed through Negro society in New York at the behest of the Negro leaders, after a brief sojourn there, he left for Washington with letters of introduction from Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois to Prof. Kelly Miller. He was escorted around and introduced to the colored people there; some of the best known colored families entertained him. He was introduced as a professor, and began his racial propaganda by telling the colored people that he proposed to show that white people had as much blood in them as colored people. According to the "Eagle" he was royally entertained at the home of Henry E. Baker, formerly secretary of the defunct Colored Building Association. Among those present at this great social function were Dr. George W. Cabaniss, William H. Harris, Rev. F. I. A. Bennett, Professor Kelly Miller, Robert A. Pelham and others.

Here he established his studio and social connections and secured some of the most prominent Negroes of the female sex to form liaisons with likely subjects for his pretended anthropological investigations. Photographs of nice looking colored girls were made, some of them nude, or partly nude, and revealing unseemly and obscene relations. These photos were eventually detected and put into the hands of the department of Justice, which facts resulted in the indictment of the alleged Professor Moens and his consequent conviction.

The facts brought out in the trial, however, were so revolting that the masses of the people were not appeased merely by his conviction, but sought to remove what they called the deeper causes of the Moens' episode and any participants or accomplices in his crime. Their efforts took definite organization and form in what is

known as the Parents' League. The Parents' League adopted a program—an immediate program.

First, it decided to force out of the Dunbar High School the alleged chief assistant of Prof. Moens—Miss Charlotte Hunter, who resigned shortly after the exposures at the trial of Moens in response to the parents picketing the Dunbar High School.

Second, the Parents' League proposes to force out Roscoe C. Bruce, the colored assistant superintendent of the Washington, D. C. public schools, whom they maintained to be incompetent, not of the proper character and inclined towards favoritism in selection of teachers.

Third, the Parents' League proposes to expose the so-called "higher-up teachers" whose pictures, it is alleged, were withheld by "pull."

This is a brief descriptive statement of the Moens' case and the program of the Parents' League.

THE REAL MOENS CASE

The editors of the MESSENGER have made a painstaking study of the Moens case and we find a difference in the real Moens case and the commonly accepted Moens case. The Moens case is but the culmination of factors whose roots reached back into problems before the advent of Moens. These factors are economic, psychic and social.

The immediate economic factors are the payment of money and fees to the subjects of his pretended investigation. The desire of girls to satisfy their vanity led them to accept offers of money to pose nude or otherwise. This is caused by the inadequate wage earned by the average Negro family and Negro girl. The same thing will and does happen to white girls in similar economic conditions. This fact is recognized nationally, and the meeting of the evil is attempted by Congress in its enactment of the Mann White Slave Law. Girls want dress, style and fashion they see others possess, and in the absence of other means, they will adopt any means to secure same—to secure the means by which to satisfy their desires. All girls will

do this, white or colored. The fault does not lie in the girls, but in the social system.

In response to this, some may answer that some of the teachers alleged to have assisted Prof. Moens held good positions, possessed properties and were not compelled to resort to the business of securing girls for him. But the answer is that the economic stimulus is often very strong even with people who possess property. The more they have, the more they want, and the fact that they were teaching school is evidence that they did desire more money and were working to secure it.

There are also certain definite and powerful psychic factors which act as contributory causes in this affair. First there is flattery and female conceit. Moens selected comely, beautiful and attractive types of girls. He flattered their vanity and appealed to their conceit. All people have conceit, but women have, by virtue of their environment, traditions and conventions, more conceit than the far too conceited male sex.

A second psychological factor is slave psychology. This is a tendency of a race which is dubbed inferior to feel especially honored by the praise or the association of the alleged superior race. This is true of both sexes of the alleged inferior race when its members come in contact with the alleged superior race; and it is especially true of the females of the race alleged to be inferior, an evidence of which is given in the fact that the amalgamation of the Negro and white races, which has produced over 4,000,000 mulattoes in the United States has been almost wholly the result of the association of white males with colored females.

A third psychological factor is novelty. Prohibition of an act creates the desire to perform that act. In the United States we have laws, written or unwritten, which almost wholly prohibit the intermarriage and association of the races. In the South we see it in the Jim-crow car, separate schools, segregation in places of public accommodation, laws

against intermarriage and the prohibition against Negroes having access to such public places as hotels, theatres, etc., provided for whites. We don't have such written laws in the North, East and West, but conventions and customs produce almost the same result so far as the contact of races is concerned. Negroes cannot get orchestra tickets in theatres in the North, even though Civil Rights laws prohibit and penalize such denials. Most large restaurants in the North will not serve Negroes any more readily than they will in the South. Hotel accommodations can be secured about as easily in Pensacola, Fla., as they can in Philadelphia, Pa. At dances, public baths, parks and places of general recreation, there is little or no contact between Negroes and whites even though they secure admission to the public convenience. All of this creates a prurient and tingling desire to secure the thing which is customarily denied. The very novelty of it is the most compelling force of attraction. The human mind is given to experiments. Moreover, the intensity of desire upon experiment is increased by the fact that the experiment desired is denied by the enemy of the prospective experimenter. Therefore, it is perfectly natural for a colored girl to be overwhelmed with this species of sex novelty, just as it would be perfectly natural for white girls to be overwhelmed by the novelty of contact with colored men.

Fourth, color and form are recognized attributes of beauty. And under our present capitalist conception, fairness in skin color has long been considered more beautiful than darker skin color as well as a mark of the leisure class. This spirit is instilled by every force of capitalist society. A Negro child is first presented with a picture of a white Christ. He only sees white characters in the moving pictures. He is taught to honor and celebrate the life of Washington and Lincoln. He reads books that display and depict the glories of white men only. He knows nothing about such fine Negro characters as Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Gabriel, Toussaint L'Overture and Dessalines. Immediately a Negro child is born, a white doll is placed into its arms and it is taught to fondle

and coddle it, to deify its blue eyes and to worship its flaxen hair. It is perfectly natural therefore that having seen their parents carefully select their toy babies for them and all of them being white the girls would judge that their parents had selected the best thing for them. So the psychology of emulating color and hair of white peoples or worshipping all their qualities, early formed by colored children in general and girls in particular, is the fault of Negro parents themselves. Consequently, when a white man, who has been entertained and introduced into Negro society by the most prominent Negro leaders tells a colored girl that she has a beautiful form, a pretty face and white blood in her veins, it is not reasonable to expect her to be able to resist the flattery which alleged Negro scholars have not been able to resist.

Fifth, all people like exclusiveness in possessing desirable and laudable things. For instance, no one wants to be the only fool or the only criminal in a place, but he considers it an honor to be called the only composer, the only artist, the most beautiful girl in a city. It satisfies what Prof. William James of Harvard University calls "the social me." All persons like to be such exceptions.

The social factors in the Moens case are, first, the morals of children. It is unquestionably necessary to surround the growing child, whose mind is impressionable, with an environment which is wholesome and clean—an atmosphere of decency.

Second, the character of the school heads is important because the child has a strong imitative instinct and the persons who are placed before children should be characters who are worthy of emulation. They should teach by precept and example.

Third, it is charged that favoritism obtains in the Washington schools. If this is true, it will continue so long as the school heads are not responsible to the people whom they are supposed to serve.

Fourth, the most important social factor which we have discovered is the social caste. The truth is, that the chief fight in Washington is waged around this question. An examination will reveal that the teachers constitute

what in Europe would be called "the intelligentsia" who live upon the bourgeoisie, and who would be known among Negroes as quasi bourgeoisie. They receive higher wages than the average parent. They work shorter hours. Their work is less laborious and they have more leisure for recreation and education. This creates a psychology of superiority both in the teachers themselves and in the parents whose children they teach. But with the present trend of Bolshevism and democratic urge, any slight suggestion of superiority is immediately met with resentment and indignation from the masses, whether that suggestion grows out of the very condition itself or is heralded by others. This is the tendency of the world mind at the present time. In Europe, caste is being overthrown. In Russia the Romanoffs have gone. In Austria the Hapsburgs have been expelled. In Germany the Hohenzollerns are in exile. Those rulers are truly men without a country. The same spirit is shaking the whole world. Every nationality, every race, every class and people is responding to it. It could be no different with Negroes, and here in Washington where the spirit has long been smouldering and the magazine loaded, only a spark was awaited to set off the explosion. The Moens case supplied that spark.

The fifth factor in the real Moens case, is Negro leadership. The editors of the MESSENGER met Moens in 1914 in New York City. He was being wine and dined by New York society, coddled, deified and apotheosized by the heads of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League. He was being introduced by the Negro leaders as an anthropologist. When we met him we talked to him for about five minutes and then we immediately stepped aside and stated that Moens was a fraud. He knew nothing of sociology or economics, of biology or anthropology. We wondered then how Dr. Du Bois, who claims to be a sociologist himself, could be so gullible, credulous and easily deceived by such a palpable charlatan, quack and fake. We began to tell others that Moens was a fraud, the names of which notable

persons and witnesses may be secured from us upon the asking. The heads of the N. A. A. C. P. and the National Urban League thought that we were entirely too critical and presumptuous in criticising this pseudo scientific faker. But it needs simply to be observed here that the only reason why any scholar could be deceived by Moens was because he had no knowledge of the fundamental principles of anthropology and sociology, or that he was under the influence of slave psychology. The head of a family is responsible for those whom he introduces to his family. He is supposed to exercise judgment, choice and selection of persons so introduced. The same is true of a leader, white or black. He ought to introduce only genuine products to Negro society, and if he has no knowledge of the product he should refrain from taking a favorable position on the same until he secures the requisite information. Hence, it is not the colored girls in the schools in Washington who are chiefly responsible for Moens' sinuous penetration into their social life, but the responsibility of the Negro leaders generally and especially the fault of Du Bois and Kelly Miller, alleged professors of sociology in leading Negro colleges and who vouched for the genuineness of Moens' science and the salutariness of his association in Negro society. This is undeniable.

A word next on anthropology and biology in connection with the Moens case. In Moens' testimony, the facts were brought out that he had no male specimens at all, and only light complexioned and beautiful colored girls for his pretended study. An anthropologist though would be interested in all sexes, and in all types, regardless of complexion, form or hair. The testimony further revealed that Moens confined his examination to the genital organs and insisted upon kissing all over the body as being most effective in intensifying the passions. This too, has no scientific sanction since the most important organs to be examined by an anthropologist are the head and the gums, and this is only elementary. With respect to sex effects and intensifying the passions, there are what are known as rectile tissues (the

tissues which are subject to sex passion) which while distributed all over the body are highly localized in certain points such as the lips, the mammary glands, the tongue, the neck and of course the genital organs. This explains why people kiss each others' lips instead of their feet or backs or legs.

Lastly, we are confronted with the methods to be adopted in dealing with the problems out of which the Moens case has grown. As usual the first remedy and the most important one too, is economic. The school system would be greatly improved by making equal appropriation for all children white or black. At the present time, the children of Washington constitute 31 per cent. of the school attendance, but only 10 per cent. of the school appropriation for equipment is expended on colored children. *Parents should demand equal expenditure.* This is fundamental.

Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, in an open letter speaking on the Moens case states that "The parents want a man with red blood in his veins, whose spirit will send new life to the very finger tips of the school system, and the teachers will shake off the fear under which they live and work, year in and year out. The teachers are dumb, because they are conscious that the sword of Damocles hangs over their heads and that blind favoritism, like the iron flail of Talus, crushes all freedom of speech. Teachers get into their little grooves and are afraid to breathe. No teacher, however competent, can do best under such conditions. The people have decided to see that the whole system is not developed into a group of spinelsss sycophants."

But the MESSENGER would note that this is a superficial observation. The sword of Damocles does not only hang over the head of the teachers. It hangs more sharply and eminently over the head of Roscoe C. Bruce and his white superior. THE CAPITAL TRACTION COMPANY in Washington, dominates the policy of the Board of Education. Bruce could not change the system if he desired to. And any other man put in Bruce's place will have to act just as Bruce acts. The system controls the superintendent

and not the superintendent the system. We are not making any defense for Mr. Bruce; we are simply explaining the system under which he works. The editors have never seen Mr. Bruce and know nothing of him personally. What we want the parents to do, is to change the system so that they can regulate the schools themselves.

But the question naturally arises as to how this is to be done. This involves political methods. The first of these is to get the vote. The people of the District of Columbia, should control their institutions and laws just as the people of any other state. There is no reason why Congress, which is composed of representatives from every section except Washington, D. C. should make laws for and govern the District of Columbia. On the contrary, there is every reason why Congress should not govern Washington. The representatives don't live there. Most of them have no property there. And above all, their constituents don't live in Washington. They are not responsible to any of the people whom they are governing in Washington. They are not elected by the people of the District of Columbia and they cannot be removed by the people of the District, however unsatisfactory their administration may be. Hence, the first step is to enfranchise the people of Washington.

Second, when the people of Washington get the vote, they must select and elect the School Board. This would make the School Board responsible to the people, so that whenever a Superintendent failed to do the will of the people, the Board would remove him or face a peril of being removed themselves.

Third, educational methods must be changed. The curriculum or what is being taught in the schools must be reorganized and reconstructed. Science should be taught on a large scale. Sex hygiene, scientifically taught, would have enabled any child twelve years of age to have known that Moens was a fraud. Again real history must be taught—history of everybody. You cannot continue to teach children only of the virtues of white men, and only of the slavery of Negroes and then expect them not to feel

persons and witnesses may be secured from us upon the asking. The heads of the N. A. A. C. P. and the National Urban League thought that we were entirely too critical and presumptuous in criticising this pseudo scientific faker. But it needs simply to be observed here that the only reason why any scholar could be deceived by Moens was because he had no knowledge of the fundamental principles of anthropology and sociology, or that he was under the influence of slave psychology. The head of a family is responsible for those whom he introduces to his family. He is supposed to exercise judgment, choice and selection of persons so introduced. The same is true of a leader, white or black. He ought to introduce only genuine products to Negro society, and if he has no knowledge of the product he should refrain from taking a favorable position on the same until he secures the requisite information. Hence, it is not the colored girls in the schools in Washington who are chiefly responsible for Moens' sinuous penetration into their social life, but the responsibility of the Negro leaders generally and especially the fault of Du Bois and Kelly Miller, alleged professors of sociology in leading Negro colleges and who vouched for the genuineness of Moens' science and the salutariness of his association in Negro society. This is undeniable.

A word next on anthropology and biology in connection with the Moens case. In Moens' testimony, the facts were brought out that he had no male specimens at all, and only light complexioned and beautiful colored girls for his pretended study. An anthropologist though would be interested in all sexes, and in all types, regardless of complexion, form or hair. The testimony further revealed that Moens confined his examination to the genital organs and insisted upon kissing all over the body as being most effective in intensifying the passions. This too, has no scientific sanction since the most important organs to be examined by an anthropologist are the head and the gums, and this is only elementary. With respect to sex effects and intensifying the passions, there are what are known as rectile tissues (the

tissues which are subject to sex passion) which while distributed all over the body are highly localized in certain points such as the lips, the mammary glands, the tongue, the neck and of course the genital organs. This explains why people kiss each others' lips instead of their feet or backs or legs.

Lastly, we are confronted with the methods to be adopted in dealing with the problems out of which the Moens case has grown. As usual the first remedy and the most important one too, is economic. The school system would be greatly improved by making equal appropriation for all children white or black. At the present time, the children of Washington constitute 31 per cent. of the school attendance, but only 10 per cent. of the school appropriation for equipment is expended on colored children. *Parents should demand equal expenditure.* This is fundamental.

Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, in an open letter speaking on the Moens case states that "The parents want a man with red blood in his veins, whose spirit will send new life to the very finger tips of the school system, and the teachers will shake off the fear under which they live and work, year in and year out. The teachers are dumb, because they are conscious that the sword of Damocles hangs over their heads and that blind favoritism, like the iron flail of Talus, crushes all freedom of speech. Teachers get into their little grooves and are afraid to breathe. No teacher, however competent, can do best under such conditions. The people have decided to see that the whole system is not developed into a group of spinelsss sycophants."

But the MESSENGER would note that this is a superficial observation. The sword of Damocles does not only hang over the head of the teachers. It hangs more sharply and eminently over the head of Roscoe C. Bruce and his white superior. THE CAPITAL TRACTION COMPANY in Washington, dominates the policy of the Board of Education. Bruce could not change the system if he desired to. And any other man put in Bruce's place will have to act just as Bruce acts. The system controls the superintendent

and not the superintendent the system. We are not making any defense for Mr. Bruce; we are simply explaining the system under which he works. The editors have never seen Mr. Bruce and know nothing of him personally. What we want the parents to do, is to change the system so that they can regulate the schools themselves.

But the question naturally arises as to how this is to be done. This involves political methods. The first of these is to get the vote. The people of the District of Columbia, should control their institutions and laws just as the people of any other state. There is no reason why Congress, which is composed of representatives from every section except Washington, D. C. should make laws for and govern the District of Columbia. On the contrary, there is every reason why Congress should not govern Washington. The representatives don't live there. Most of them have no property there. And above all, their constituents don't live in Washington. They are not responsible to any of the people whom they are governing in Washington. They are not elected by the people of the District of Columbia and they cannot be removed by the people of the District, however unsatisfactory their administration may be. Hence, the first step is to enfranchise the people of Washington.

Second, when the people of Washington get the vote, they must select and elect the School Board. This would make the School Board responsible to the people, so that whenever a Superintendent failed to do the will of the people, the Board would remove him or face a peril of being removed themselves.

Third, educational methods must be changed. The curriculum or what is being taught in the schools must be reorganized and reconstructed. Science should be taught on a large scale. Sex hygiene, scientifically taught, would have enabled any child twelve years of age to have known that Moens was a fraud. Again real history must be taught—history of everybody. You cannot continue to teach children only of the virtues of white men, and only of the slavery of Negroes and then expect them not to feel

that white people are superior. Teach the history of the progress of Negroes as well as the whites—and history too, written by courageous Negro scholars, and not that by Giles Jackson and E. A. Johnson, which is written in the shadow of Cole Blease and Vardaman.

Next, higher salaries for teachers. In order to get the best teachers, good salaries must be paid—salaries that will permit them to attend summer schools, purchase periodicals and to keep abreast in the latest developments in the field of education.

Fourth, academic freedom must be permitted to all teachers. A teacher should be permitted to tell Negro children that the Russian Bolsheviki is the only government in the world with a Negro in its Cabinet. That cannot be taught now in Washington, without the teacher losing her job.

In conclusion, we have surveyed and explained the basic causes of the Moens case. It is not a problem for excitement or hysteria. It is not a reflection upon the race. It is a perfectly normal occurrence which takes place and is taking place among

white people all over the country. We have been caught in the psychology of accepting evil as being peculiar to ourselves when in truth they are common to all peoples everywhere. The Moens case is such a case. We need no longer be heart rent or soul stirred. We need not hang our heads in shame. We need only to address ourselves to the causes of this phenomenon and we may rest assured that desirable results will rapidly ensue upon the adoption of the sound methods outlined in this treatise.



Robert Russa Moton

The leader of Tuskegee is set up and considered by the white ruling class as a leader of the Negro. This is, indeed, regrettable, in view of the fact that this hand-picked Negro leader does not express or typify the needs and desires of the masses, nor is he allowed to do so. He must obey the orders of those who pay his salary, and those who pay his salary are opposed to the interests of those whom Moton is supposed to lead. The worst capitalist and labor haters and exploiters in the country control the Board of Directors of Tuskegee, and 99 per cent of Negroes live off their labor. For instance, such men as Clarence H. Kelsey, President of N. Y. Title Guaranty Trust Company, which profits from big rent out of Negroes of New York—is one of the Trustees. It is unnecessary to mention Rosenwald, Carnegie and Seth Low, all of whom have investments in rail-

roads and big business in the South, which pay Negro laborers the lowest wages and work them the longest hours. It is commonplace to hear Moton telling Negroes to get more work, but never do you see where he has told them to get more wages. The reason for this is, that those who hire Moton cannot get big profits if they pay Negro or white workers high wages. The profits of the trustees of Tuskegee depend upon the low wages paid to Negro workers and white workers.

Again, Moton has neither the courage, education or the opportunity to do anything fundamental in the interest of the Negro. He counsels satisfaction, not intelligent discontent; he is ignorant of the fact that progress has taken place among any people in proportion as they have become discontented with their position and adopted methods to change that position. Moton has no

knowledge of political science, of economics or sociology. He is entirely ignorant of the problems of labor and capital, and in fact Negro leaders have never known anything of these sciences, because they have not been required to know anything about them. They simply represent those who do know something about them, and Negro leaders are required to do certain specific work, such as, to counsel satisfaction and contentment; to urge Negroes not to join labor unions; to advise them to vote the Republican ticket or some simple mechanical work of the mouth or the hand.

In the event, however, that leaders like Moton, desire to do anything in the interest of the Negroes, or if they even have the intelligence, they would not be permitted to perform that service. Why? Negroes don't pay Moton. He is paid by Rosenwald, Rockefeller, Carnegie, Schiff, Morgan

and other capitalists. Now the power of a man's subsistence is the power over his will. He who pays the fiddler will call the tune. He who pays will control him whom he pays. Moton is employed by white people (the white capitalists) to keep the Negro workers slouthfully sleeping. Tuskegee is a scab factory for producing a sufficient supply of Negro scab labor, so as to inculcate race prejudice between whites and blacks, break the strikes which occur and to instill in the minds of Negro young men and women the spirit of sycophancy and servility. It is obvious, therefore, that Moton is controlled, body and soul, by the Trustee Board of white capitalists of Tuskegee Institute. There is a mortgage upon his mind and his brain is in pawn. His hands are tied, his feet are chained, his lips are sealed. He must be a me-too-boss, hat-in-hand nigger to please the Southern white folks. He was given orders to go to Europe to tell Negro young men, many of whom had seen their comrades ground in the red mud, upon the fields of Flanders—"to be modest and unassuming"—when they get back home. Think of telling men who have been giving their lives for white democracy, to be "modest and unassuming" when they get back home. On the contrary, a real leader would have urged them to be arrogant, bold, aggressive, assuming, uncompromising, courageous and manly. The Negro has been counselled too long to bow and kow-tow. He needs to get a backbone where most of his leaders now have a wishbone.

As a Negro leader, Moton is rapidly getting to be a leader without followers. Ere long, we expect to see the white capitalists remove him from his place, on the ground that he cannot deliver the goods. There is no mercy, sympathy or pity among Moton's bosses. When he fails longer to hold sway over the masses of Negroes, as did his predecessor, Booker Washington, he will be cast aside as a child abandons a toy which no longer delights it. And when he passes, he will go unwept, unhonored and unsung. Moton should be retired to that oblivion and obscurity from which he ought never to emerge.

A CALL TO YOUNG RADICALS

While the Elder Statesmen sit in Versailles trying to patch up the old order that has come crashing down in ruins, an organization of live young people in this country is launching a campaign for a peacetime mobilization of youth, in order that YOUTH, which bears the brunt of war and toil, may bring its idealism, its vision, and its daring into the struggle against inertia, reaction, and greed. A National Conference will be held at the Seaside House, Seaside Station, Rockaway Beach, N. Y., on June 20, 21, and 22, by THE YOUNG DEMOCRACY, an organization of young people with headquarters at 51 Greenwich Avenue, New York. Details regarding the program, etc., may be secured from this address.

"What we want," declares the Call to Young People heralding the Conference, "is a new future, not a patched-up hand-me-down from the past, but a future that will (1) by Industrial Democracy guarantee the young worker control of the system which now crushes him; (2) by Educational Democracy give teachers and students control over the institutions and processes of learning, that they may freely seek the truth; (3) by Political Democracy afford the people a real control over their government in order that it may be accurately, immediately, and effectively responsive to their will; (4) by International Democracy unite the progressive young people of all races and countries. It is especially hoped that a considerable number of young Negro radicals will bring to the Conference the help of their ideas and their support.

"OUR MR. FORTUNE"

T. THOMAS FORTUNE

"Our Mr. Fortune" is dying, if needed, he is not dead. He is still walking around to save the undertaker's expenses, but his brain has ceased to operate. An article in last month's MESSENGER entitled, "A New Crowd—A New Negro" so infuriated unfortunate Fortune, that for the last four weeks The Amsterdam News, has had some topics to editorialize on. It is unfortunate that having a topic our Mr. Fortune has no ability to write anything upon the topic. Fortune first takes The MESSENGER

to task for not respecting gray hairs and age. To this, we wish to reply, that the only thing gray we respect is gray matter, most of which seems to have gone from the inside of Fortune's head and formed gray hair on the outside of his head. We know many gray haired men, whom we respect highly, but we respect them not because their hair is gray, but because they are able to grow gray hair without using up all the gray matter beneath their hair.

The MESSENGER reiterates its allegation that nearly all the old crowd leaders are ignorant, incompetent, controlled and corrupt. All of them bear some of these vices, and most of them, all. They have truly been weighed in the balance by the New Crowd leaders and found sadly wanting. Fortune is concerned about the Old Crowd leaders being within the law. Westand by the law, when the law stands by us, and when the law does not stand by us, we stand by such principals as those of Gabriel, Denmark, Vesey, Nat Turner and John Brown, about whom Fortune used to write commendably before his mind escaped from the cranium. It might be expecting too much, however, to look for a nomadic editor to have much information and courage. In earlier days, we have read where Fortune said, "A rolling stone gathers no moss." It may be that a rolling, roaming, nomadic editor gathers no information. Fortune maintains that the Old Crowd leaders have accomplished what the Negroes have obtained in the United States. The New Crowd leaders reply that what the Negroes have in the United States has been obtained in spite of the Old Crowd leaders, nor have the Negroes very much about which the Old Crowd Negroes may brag. We submit to an unprejudiced public the following facts:

For fifty years the Old Crowd leaders have held sway. At the end of it, what have we? Economically, Negroes are in peonage. Politically, three-fourths of them are disfranchised. They have no representative in Congress. They have about 95 per cent. less political power now than when the Old Crowd leaders began to work for them. Socially, Jim-Crow laws, segregation in places of public accommodation, lynching and

insult have been augmented. The Jim-Crow car is very modern, not more than ten years old in some states like Virginia. In 1823, the Negroes were better off for transportation facilities than they are today after 50 years of work of the old Negro leaders. In 1814, the Central Railroad of Georgia had sleepers for Negroes, all of which has been swept away since Fortune's advocacy of compromise, sycophancy and servility.

With respect to Fortune's editorial in the issue of June 4th, Amsterdam News, it is so poorly written, and the logic is so unfortunate, that it does not merit a decorous reply. Of course, Fortune knows nothing about political science, about economics and

sociology. They are new sciences, not old ones. We do not mean, however, that Fortune knows anything about the old sciences. However, unfortunate that may be, it is our Mr. Fortune's misfor-

tune. The New Crowd will not cease to work until all the old moribund derelicts, like Fortune, are strewn on the highway of social progress, and the people freed from the misfortune of their misinformed minds.

What we are urging the Negro young men and women to do, is to bury the old crowd. They are dead, already, but like most dead bodies, when putrefaction sets in, disease germs emanate therefrom, more rapidly than during life. The chief fortune which Fortune will tender, both to the race and to himself, will be when the hand of death touches his tired body as it has long since touched his tired, inert and inactive brain.

WANTED

A good hustler, man or woman, to act as agent for THE MESSENGER in every city in the world. JOIN THE MESSENGER STAFF today. Send for as many copies as you wish, and make your spare time valuable.

THEY GO LIKE WILD-FIRE



The Messenger Drive

VICTOR R. DALY

The end of the first thirty days of THE MESSENGER drive finds the Messenger Publishing Company, Incorporated, with a paid-in capital of \$17,000, leaving only \$8,000 to be sold in the remaining thirty days of the campaign. It is needless to state that the success of the drive is now assured. So great is the demand for stock in the corporation that plans are already under way to increase the capitalization to \$50,000, thereby affording all of our subscribers and readers the opportunity to become stockholders in the Company. In the event of an increase in the capital stock, although no actual campaign will be conducted, shares in the corporation may be purchased until the 31st of

July, by corresponding with the business office.

The management has met with little or no difficulty in the disposal of the 3,400 shares that have already been sold. In fact, it has not even been necessary to advertise the drive. The magazine is an advertisement in itself, for any thinking person, upon reading the MESSENGER for the first time, can imagine what a demand there is for such a publication—and big business is only the scientific supply of a demand. The greater part of the campaign has been conducted through the mail, by merely presenting our stock in the form of circular letters to persons of both races whom we felt sure should be interested in a move-

ment of this kind. Through the hearty co-operation of several of our friends, we have had access to the mailing lists of several liberal organizations, unions and societies, such as the Civil Liberties Bureau, the Workmen's Circle and others. The response has been wonderful; not only have we been able to dispose of \$17,000 worth of stock, but we have driven up our circulation above the 20,000 mark, which is almost 8,000 more copies than last month's issue.

Labor organizations throughout the length and breadth of the country, realizing the importance of the MESSENGER in the promotion of labor unionism among Negroes, have surpassed even our most op-

timistic hopes in the purchase of our shares. The National Convention of the Workmen's Circle, the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, the Ladies' Cloak and Suit Makers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have all purchased whole blocks of stock, ranging all the way from \$100.00 to \$500.00.

Among the colored people, too, the results of the first thirty days' campaign have been most encouraging. Whatever doubts that there might have been as to the willingness of Negroes to invest money in corporation stock, were

quickly dispelled when money orders and checks came pouring in from all parts of the country for purchases of stock as high as 100 shares. The results are particularly good among the Negroes in the South, where they regard the MESSENGER as a God-send—the people there are keenly alive to the issues and problems of the day and they are only too glad to invest their money in a business that will be of double help to them—financially, and at the same time working for their interests in the abolition of lynching, disfranchisement and segregation.

Before the appearance of the August number of the MESSENGER, the drive will have closed. In fact, there are only a very few days left now, and we strongly urge every one of our readers and friends, who has not already done so, to take advantage of the opportunity at once, to become a stockholder in the corporation. The field of Negro journalism is a virgin soil in the land of opportunity. The MESSENGER is a commodity for which the demand is greater than the supply. Let us hear from you at once. A few more days may be too late.

OWEN & PAUL :: Custom Tailors

DESIGNERS and BUILDERS of MEN'S SUITS

ELEVEN SKILLED COLORED TAILORS IN THE SHOP

===== **FIRST CLASS COAT MAKERS** =====

ATTENTION TO MAIL ORDERS. :: SUITS MADE TO MEASUREMENTS OF ANY FIRST CLASS TAILOR :: :: :: **WRITE OR CALL AT**

1123 Washington Street - Columbia, South Carolina

It Pays To Advertise In The Messenger

*A Country School for
Colored Children
and Others*

MILL HOUSE

*A Libertarian
International
School*

All Elementary Branches and Modern Languages, Music, Art, Dancing and Physical Culture Will Be Taught.

For further particulars apply to

HELEN BOARDMAN or MARTHA GRUENING

MILL HOUSE

MARLBOROUGH

NEW YORK

**THE
PACE & HANDY
MUSIC CO., Inc.**

Announce to the Readers of
THE MESSENGER the fol-
lowing numbers from their
catalogue to be had in:

PLAYER ROLLS
PHONOGRAPH RECORDS
SHEET MUSIC

Also Band and Orchestra
Music

LATEST SONG SUCCESSES:

- "A GOOD MAN IS HARD TO FIND"
- "REMEMBER AND BE CAREFUL EVERY DAY"
- "RINGTAIL BLUES"
- "I'M DYING WITH THE WORRIED BLUES"
- "SHAKE, RATTLE AND ROLL"
- "OH DEATH WHERE IS THY STING"

ADVANCE LIST OF RECORDS
COMING OUT IN JULY:

- "ST. LOUIS BLUES"—
Aeolian record No. A1214.
- "A GOOD MAN IS HARD TO FIND"—Columbia record No. 2721.
- "BEALE STREET BLUES"—
Edison Disc record No. 50536.
- "ST. LOUIS BLUES"—
Edison record No. 50523.
- "SATAN, I'M HERE"—
Edison Amberol record No. 3746.
- "SHAKE, RATTLE AND ROLL"—
Emerson record No. 7503.

THE PACE & HANDY MUSIC CO., Inc., is a Negro enterprise but is getting wonderful co-operation from every player roll manufacturer and every phonograph company in America.

Members of the race will show their appreciation by asking for Pace & Handy numbers and especially all "BLUES" written by W. C. Handy and purchasing from those who have helped us in the past.

"A GOOD MAN IS HARD TO FIND" may be had on the Emerson, Victor, Columbia, Edison, Pathe and other phonographs.

"ST. LOUIS BLUES" may be had on Okeh, Operaphone, Gennett and on all makes of phonographs.

The numbers in this list may be bought wherever sheet music is sold and from Woolworth, Kress, Kresge, McCrory and all ten cent counters.

TO HEAR PACE & HANDY MUSIC COMPANY'S MUSIC AS IT SHOULD BE PLAYED WE WOULD ASK THAT YOU ATTEND THE JUNE ENTERTAINMENT given by the "MEMPHIS BLUES BAND, INC." at the MANHATTAN CASINO, Thursday Evening, June 19, 1919. Price of admission is 50 cents.

Box seats holding 8 persons. \$5.00.
For Further Information Address:

**PACE & HANDY MUSIC
COMPANY, Inc.**

"Home of the Blues"

1547 Broadway, New York
(Gaiety Theatre Building)

**What Is Your
Bank Balance?**

You may think this question easily answered, that it is only a matter of referring to the stubs of your check book and subtracting the total amount of checks drawn from the total amount deposited.

But are you certain the result is correct?

Can you be certain that none of the checks you have given out since your account was balanced by the bank have not been raised?

You may have sent them to responsible people only, but are you certain that they reached the party or parties intended and did not fall into the hands of someone who, with either a few easy pen strokes raised the amount you had written to a much greater amount or by using a simple acid had wiped out the amount you had written and replaced it with an amount much more to his liking.

Last year over 47 million dollars were lost in the United States alone in this manner, as against only Five Thousand Dollars in 1900. THIS CRIME IS INCREASING DAILY AND YOU CANNOT AFFORD TO TAKE ONE MORE CHANCE. NO MATTER HOW LARGE OR HOW SMALL MAY BE YOUR BANK ACCOUNT.

The NEW ERA CHECK WRITER sold under the guarantee of a man famed the world over for business integrity and ability, Mr. Robt. H. Ingersoll, assures you 100% protection for a lifetime, and at a cost within the reach of all.

Fill in and mail the coupon below and full information regarding 100% protection will be sent you.

NEW ERA MFG. CO., Dept. T
450 Fourth Avenue,
New York City.

Please send me full information regarding 100% protection for my bank account.

(X) Name _____
Street _____
City _____

NEW ERA MFG. CO.

Robt. H. Ingersoll, Pres.
450 Fourth Avenue New York City

Advertise in The Messenger

GALE'S MAGAZINE

JOURNAL OF THE NEW CIVILIZATION

Linn A. E. Gale, editor and publisher of GALE'S MAGAZINE, is known from coast to coast of the North American continent as one of the most brilliant writers of the age. It has been said he writes "words that burn in letters that blister."

His articles on international affairs, the passing of capitalism and the coming of Socialism, tear the mask of deceit from the flesh of Truth. His articles on psychic science and occultism throw a blaze of knowledge on hidden things and interpret with prophetic accuracy the great world changes of the time.

A MAGAZINE THAT TELLS OF THE WORLD THAT IS TO BE.
\$2.00 a Year \$1.00 for 6 Months
20c. a Copy NO FREE SAMPLES

GALE'S MAGAZINE
Apartado 518
Mexico City, D. F., Mexico.

Enclosed find money order (or draft) for \$ _____ for which please send me GALE'S MAGAZINE for _____ years.

Name _____
Address _____

Mention The Messenger

**COLORED
PEOPLE**

You who are lynched, tortured, m o b b e d, persecuted and discriminated against in the boasted "Land of Liberty," the United States.

**OWN A HOME
IN MEXICO**

Where one man is as good as another and it is not your nationality that counts, but simply you!

Rich, fertile land, only a few miles from Mexico City, the capital of the Republic, is now for sale for \$5.00 an acre and up. Practically every advantage obtainable in improved suburban sections of the United States, is offered here, — excellent roads, many of them macadamized; telephone lines; electric lights; and numerous trolley lines. The soil is very productive and the climate is the best in the world, neither too warm nor too cold, and with no sudden change of temperature. Beautiful scenery enchants the lover of nature and Mt. Popocatepetl and other huge mountains can be seen in the distance. Mexico City with its million inhabitants, is rapidly becoming one of the first cities of the world, and you are thus able to live in a beautiful country and near a fine modern city at the same time.

Best of all there is no "race prejudice" in Mexico, and in fact, severe punishment is meted out to those who discriminate against a man because of his color or race. Neither is there censorship, espionage nor conscription.

If you are interested, write us, telling how much land you want to buy, how much you want to pay and whether you want to pay cash or buy on time.

**"JACK" JOHNSON'S LAND
COMPANY**

CALLE DONCELES No. 59
MEXICO CITY, D. F., MEXICO

Mme C. J. Walker's

PREPARATIONS for the HAIR

*Worth more
than it Costs*



The culmination of the genius of Mme C. J. Walker is her wonderful Hair Grower and in itself is a wonderful creation for dandruff and falling hair. In fact, it invigorates dry and lifeless hair, stimulates circulation, thereby causing a new growth.

Mme C. J. Walker's Preparations

For a Beautiful Complexion Use Madam C. J. Walker's Cleansing Cream at Night, and then Vanishing Cream in the Morning, followed by Superfine Face Powder (Brown, Rose, Flesh, White) (The kind that suits the most delicate skin and stays on in the hottest days.) Madam Walker recommends her Witch Hazel Jelly for all cases of Sunburn.

Vegetable Shampoo A splendid food and thorough cleanser for the scalp and hair. Has a healing effect on a sore scalp in fact is excellent for removing dandruff.



ALL Mme C. J. WALKER'S Inventions are reliable because they restore and beautify the hair without injury to the scalp and is used and endorsed by thousands of Hair Dressers, Scalp Specialists, throughout the country, known as the Walker Hair Dressers, having a diploma from the Lelia College of Hair Culture which signifies Mme. C. J. Walker's system.



Lelia College and Walker Hair Parlor
110 W. 136th St., New York

HERE is nothing imaginary about the World-Wide Fame of Mme. C. J. Walker's Ultra-Quality Preparations. None genuine without Mme. C. J. Walker's seal and signature.

Madam C. J. Walker has made 30,000 Ambitious Young Women Independent

For Special Offer Write Today. Address Dept. A-11

For Mail Orders and Information Address

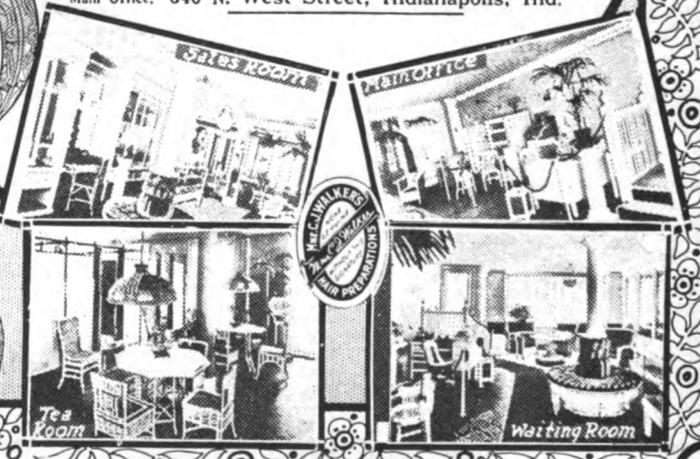
Mme. C. J. Walker M'fg Co.,
Main Office, 640 N. West Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

Tetter Salve One of the best known cures for dandruff, tetter and eczema makes a friend once used if afflicted with this skin disease. Scientific Thorough and Practical.



Temple Grower Recommended by those who have used it for growing hair in the temples or bald spots. Endorsed by thousands of hair dressers throughout U.S.A.

Glossine Only to be used in dressing the Hair and it is to make short harsh kinky hair become soft and stay in place if used as directed and the sun's rays impart a beautiful gloss to the hair.



You do not have to experiment when you use Madam C. J. Walker's Preparations.