

Nowwenger

A JOURNAL OF
SCIENTIFIC
RADICALISM

AUGUST, 1921.

15 cents per copy



VACATION NUMBER

THE MESSENGER

15c. per Copy
20c. Outside U. S.

A Journal of Scientific Radicalism

\$1.50 per Year
\$2 Outside U. S.

Published Monthly by the MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., Inc.

Main Office: 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York.

Telephone, Morningside 1996

VOL. III.

AUGUST, 1921.

NO. III.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
COVER—PHOTO FROM LIFE.	
1. EDITORIALS	225
2. ECONOMICS AND POLITICS	230
3. EDUCATION AND LITERATURE	232
4. WHO'S WHO	236
5. OPEN FORUM	236

Entered As Second Class Mail, July 27, 1919.



Editors:

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH CHANDLER OWEN

Contributing Editors:

GEORGE FRAZIER MILLER

W. A. DOMINGO

Phone Connection

J. P. FANNING

Manufacturer of

Fine Havana Cigars

122 West 135th Street,

New York

Try the Old Reliable Duff's Hats

Best Made Hats At Reasonable Prices

Also Harlem Agent for the

John B. Stetson Hats

DUFF'S HAT STORE

136 LENOX AVENUE

(Near 116th Street Subway Station)

STUDY

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIALISM

A Correspondence Course for Beginners
Prepared by David P. Berenberg

Fee \$4.00

THE RAND SCHOOL

Offers This and Five Other Correspondence
Courses in Socialism

For Information

Write to Room 301—7 East 15th St., New York City

Ask for Folder

Education

Put Your Purse in Your Head

¶ We have a full line of appropriate
Books on Socialism, Sociology, History,
Economics, Politics, Labor, Science, Dra-
ma, Music and Fiction. Also Pamphlets.

¶ Come in and look them over.

¶ Mail orders promptly attended to.

SOCIALIST PARTY BOOK ROOM

Room 5, 1325 Arch St., Phila., Pa.

CO-OPERATION

For information on organizing
co-operative societies apply to
CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE OF AMERICA
2 West 13th Street New York

A Book's a Gift that's Never Forgotten

Editorials

JAPAN ON AMERICAN LYNCHING

JAPAN has recently taken a position on American lynchings. The *Asian Review*, speaking editorially, writes of the burning of Henry Lowery at Nordena, Arkansas, as follows:

"It is an indelible stain," the editorial continues, "on the name of America that in this enlightened age such crimes should take place publicly and the offenders go unpunished. It goes to demonstrate the utter callousness of heart of the American public. Lynching is possible in the United States because the spirit of America is in favor of it. If this were not true, this foul crime would never have grown to its present proportions nor would any of the more than three thousand lynchings during the past thirty-two years have taken place."

While we are pleased to see foreign criticism of American atrocities, and we regard it as very wholesome for another nation to hold up to scorn the vices of the United States—we are nevertheless aware of the implications of this new Japanese attitude.

Under normal conditions the international thieves maintain a code of honor (or dishonor) whereby no official criticism of the other is permitted. Especially rigid is this rule with respect to the treatment of colonies, classes or races by the ruling capitalist government or empire. For instance, the United States will not criticise Great Britain's oppression of Ireland, her rape of India, her exploitation of Egypt, her emasculation of China. Great Britain nor the United States will point to Japanese atrocities in Korea. Nor will Japan and Great Britain expose or condemn America's lynching and burning of Negroes, its water-cures in the Phillipines, its rape of Haiti and San Domingo. Even the German Kaiser was the "modern Prince of Peace" until the World War broke out and ten billion dollars loaned to the allies were in danger of being lost. No one of the great capitalist nations can normally afford to criticize the other, lest the other might expose the criticizer as being "not without sin" itself.

When the international thieves begin this kind of thing —*it means war!* And herein lies the only explanation of such unethical action on the part of the official capitalist Japanese press as a resort to criticizing Negro lynchings in the United States. For who does not remember how quickly Rustem Bey, the Turkish Ambassador, was forced to be recalled a few years ago because he compared the Negro lynchings here with Turkish massacres of the Armenians?

War today means preparedness—preparedness not only in munitions, but preparedness in popular opinion. The Japanese people must be made to believe that America aims to subjugate them, segregate them, lynch and burn and mob them because they are colored. Nor is it difficult with such a concrete case

as the burning at stake in broad day light of a Negro citizen!

Again, this type of publicity will serve the Japanese ruling class in a two-fold manner. It will inspire the Japanese masses with the fatalistic determination never to come under the yoke of American imperialism. Next, it will create discontent with America on the part of that portion of the population—the Negroes—which feels most keenly the brunt of color prejudice. Moreover, the Negroes will be the front line trench men against Japan in case of war. (The lowest group of any population always serves as cannon fodder during a war.)

We hardly need to say that we are in favor of exposing American hypocrisy. Nor is it out of place here to expose the utter hypocrisy of Japan which brutalizes the Chinese, oppresses most shamefully the Koreans, crushes and abuses the Japanese working classes, and disfranchises more Japanese—in *Japan*—than the United States disfranchises Negroes in the South.

Still, to point out the significance of the symptoms is imperative.

Within the next few months, let our readers watch the British press. If its official and capitalistic press begins to pretend concern about American Negroes, Haitians, Dominicans, Porto Ricans, lynching, race riots and burnings at the stake in the United States—that means Great Britain has sided with Japan in the deadly struggle now about to be waged between the powerful American empire and world imperialists.

This Japanese eleventh hour concern over Negro lynching in America is a premonition—a symptom of large significance to the student of world politics—a cue fraught with bigness and consequence.

OILY MEXICO

MEXICO remains in the picture. Being rich in oil resources and weak in military and naval forces she has become the object of the tender solicitude of the benevolent and philanthropic oil interests of America.

Just a few days ago, Secretary of the Navy Denby despatched two United States warships to Tampico. "Word was received," he says, "that oil companies had stopped shipment and suspended operations, and labor troubles might be expected. I ordered the two vessels to Tampico merely as a protective measure to avert trouble."

Protective measures for what and for whom?

Mexico is orderly. She has far more law and order than has Oklahoma, Georgia or Texas. She certainly has not burned any human beings alive; nor does she permit the kidnapping of persons, exercising the right of free speech, such as occurred in Twin Falls, Idaho to Kate Richards O'Hare, Socialist lec-

turer. Mexico does not permit of the destruction of property, belonging either to her own citizens or to aliens, such as we recently witnessed in Tulsa, where 44 blocks of Negroes' property were burned to the ground by a mob of civilized (?) white Americans.

We have yet to hear of Mexico jim-crowing or disfranchising her citizens on account of race or color.

In fact, Mexico has the most democratic constitution of any country in the world save Soviet Russia.

This is the trouble. Mexico is too democratic. Her constitution attempts to express the will, aims and interests of the Mexican people. Article 27 protects the sub-soil—the oil resources of Mexico from the imperialists of America and Europe. Mexico, as an independent government, naturally reserves, as does America, the right to tax her exports and imports. Tax upon oil is her chief source of revenue. If no oil is exported, there is little revenue for the running of the government.

May it not be possible that the Standard Oil Company's action in withdrawing its ships from Tampico, is intended to precipitate a crisis in the Obregon government, by cutting off its revenue. In which event, a new revolution will blaze forth. This will afford a splendid moral pretext for America to go into Mexico to establish law and order, and incidentally to tighten the grip of the American oil interests on the revolution-ridden Mexican people. Article 27 of their constitution will be emasculated forthwith, and Mexico will be made safe for Wall Street.

During this process, the 100 per centers will wrap the country in flags, deport agitators, suppress free speech, press, and assemblage, in short, give the people back their liberties—liberty to die, to be robbed by high prices at home, and to sing: "My country right or wrong, my country!"

Again the black brother will be coddled and cajoled; for Mexico is hot, you know—and it is perfectly all right to give the black boys the honor of having their bones bleached upon the hot sands of Mexico's barren deserts.

Meantime the Huns of Georgia will teach the Negroes, at home, the lessons of American "democracy."

SANTO DOMINGO PROTESTS

NATURALLY, Santo Domingo is ill at ease under American military occupation. She protests the conditions which have been set up for the election of a new government for the country. For they have sufficient discernment to see that though they are granted nominal independence, by giving over the rule of the country into the hands of the Dominicans they are still dominated, and will be for some time to come, by the American government.

Santo Domingo and Haiti are the Ireland of America. So long as brutal oppression and ruthless exploitation of Haitians and Dominicans continue by American forces of occupation, the "land of the free and the home of the brave" sometimes erroneously paraphrased as the land of the lynching bee and home of the slave, has no right to speak to the motion on the self-determination of smaller nationalities.

The old-adage is: "You must come into court with clean hands." America's hands are incarnadine with

the blood of her black citizens at home and subjects abroad. Least, of all World Powers, can she moralize about international justice. Justice, in America, is a misnomer to both white and black. Of all the nations engaged in the great war, she alone holds her political prisoners in jail. Well might Great Britain sneer at America's vaporings about freedom for the Irish people. So should Soviet Russia chuckle up her sleeve when lectured by Americans upon the subjects of law and order, freedom and justice.

But such is the course of empire. The very nature of American imperialism decrees the domination of Haiti, Santo Domingo, Mexico, and eventually the whole of South and Central America. It is not a question of race or color; it is a question of sugar, tobacco, oil—the raw material needed by industrial capitalists.

Thanks to Mr. Harding, credulous and naive Negroes are gradually becoming disillusioned about the fiction of there being a difference between Democrats and Republicans, either with respect to Negroes or to labor or to Haiti.

THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

THE recent convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Denver, Colorado, was colorless except for a fight for the presidency between Gompers and John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America. The Convention opposed trade with Russia; refused to condemn the unspeakable Ku Klux Klan; ratified Gompers' withdrawal from the Amsterdam Labor International; closed the door in the faces of Negroes and women; re-elected its archaic pilots; then adjourned.

The only hopeful sign was the fight on Gompers; not that Lewis was a whit better but because now the organization is still, dead—and if once you can get it to move, to revive, there is a chance of getting it to move in the right direction.

The American labor movement still lags.

CONFERENCE OF THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

(Held at Highland, Ulster County, N. Y.)

THIS year's Intercollegiate Socialist Society's conference was held at Highland, Ulster Co., near the shores of a beautiful lake, and was marked by a more revolutionary spirit than ever before. I. W. W. songs were sung, and at each session the "International" was played and sung by all the delegates, who seemed to be thoroughly in line with the new aggressive spirit.

Speakers had come from all over the country, and it seemed as though every shade from the most pink to the deepest red, was represented at the gathering. To add to the joy and delight of the younger college members a bomb squad made its appearance early in the game, and was only stopped from causing a riot, by the assurance of the proprietor of the Inn where the conference was held, that the delegates were all good sorts, and probably quite harmless.

The Society has taken on a new lease of life, and the new spirit seems to have invaded all the members: a spirited debate took place over the name, and it will very probably be called the League of Industrial Democracy—which is much more in keeping with the

times than the old name. It bids fair with its new programme, organized along the lines of revolutionary educational campaigning, to bridge the waters that lie between the American intellectuals and the industrial workers, with a new understanding and intelligence of present day economics.

The conference closed with a determination to get in line with the rank and file of the workers, on industrial democracy tactics; the campaigning among the colleges to be carried on with still more vigour and interest, and thus gradually bringing together all those diverse elements which have hitherto been so far apart.

THE CATHOLICS AMONG NEGROES

WE are not Catholics; neither are we Protestants.

To all intents and purposes we are impartial judges where religion is concerned. Our attention has been called to a monthly magazine entitled "Our Board for Missions." It is published by the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People. We appreciate that its purpose is religious. Despite this fact, it covers general problems and faces race and color prejudice with an unusual candor. It has even been discussing social equality, with some of the authors from New Orleans, Mobile, Ala., Savannah, Georgia and Nashville, Tennessee.

The current issue has an editorial which reads in part: "The white race enslaved the colored. Slavery degraded colored womanhood and motherhood. There are five million mulattoes in the United States. The colored man has forgiven slavery. To forgive the degradation of his womanhood is most difficult. Let us help him. The first step will be his confidence. Let us prove that we are interested in his womanhood."

It is refreshing to see this new attitude of the church on race prejudice just as it is reassuring to note the change toward labor and civil liberty. There is much with which we disagree in "Our Colored Missions," but as an advance upon the hypocrisy of most of the Protestant churches, it is an oasis in the Christian desert.

THE SOLDIERS' BONUS

THE Bonus Bill is dead just as we expected. Only a novice in political science would expect a capitalist country to keep its world to the defenders of their country when the defense is completed. If \$30 per month is the maximum the soldier could get Uncle Sam to *peel off his roll* when life and death depend on him; how could any sane student expect that any thing of value would be done when the doughboy's services were no longer needed.

The big overt cue which spelt sure defeat for the bonus was the condemnation of it by the United States Chamber of Commerce. Here was the voice of *big business buzzing* to its Congressmen and President, along with the mild suggestion that Big Business would sting its agents unless they obeyed their principal's will.

Of course, Harding and Congress have served these interests too long for any mistake to be made so their good President for whose election they poured out millions last fall, politely went over to Congress and told the little boys there that they had played with this bonus fire long enough and unless they stopped

they would get burnt. The people are beginning to take the Congressmen and officials at their word; they are demanding action. Patriotism was all right during the war, but through these narrows of national bankruptcy, we must map out some method of having it donated by the boys—free of charge. If a war should come, creating a condition of need for more of the spirit, why then "Big Biz" will give a tip to its press to whoop up the old frenzy, to whip up the fervor, thoroughly, if you please, to inoculate the brainless American public. The churches will again become recruiting stations while Negro and white ministers, sometime of the gospel of peace, for the pressing moment, will become purveyors of the gospel of perdition. The Negro press once more will prate the asinine chaff handed over to it by the government accompanied with consideration. How we can hear them telling the poor black masses: "This is the only country we know," as though all of us had been held within a Chinese wall, both physically and mentally, throughout our life. Others, more respectable and poetic, will enjoin: "Close ranks; let us forget our grievances." Platform lecturers will exhort us to be 100 per cent Americans during the war and promise that we will be 100 percenters after the war. Just what this means we have about ferreted out. This: Just as Negro and poor white soldiers fight 100 per cent for the rights of their bosses during the war,—they will both have to fight 100 per cent strong to secure their (the soldiers') rights from their bosses, after the war.

But to return to the bonus: it is dead—dead at a time, when according to United States Senator Capper, there are six million unemployed persons in the country; dead at a time when the soldiers need it as never before; dead when it might measurably relieve the present depression by circulating a few millions of dollars; embalmed at the behest of *Big Bizzness* speaking through its Congressional and Presidential boys; buried by the former patriotic Senator Harding, now the *patrio-patriotic* President.

Get out doughboys! This is no time for patriotism. It might help a little to stimulate it, but 'tis bad for business. We see you starving; we know you have no houses to live in; we observe your getting ragged; we hear your children and wives crying for bread. It is all we can do to stop the gushing tears; grief sticks in our throat; sorrow saps sleep. Nevertheless, tears are cheaper than cash; grief more economical than gold; and sleeplessness from sorrow at the soldiers' unsightly plight less by far than the insomnia from sorrow upon reflections of the emptying war profits chest.

Thus speaks big patriotic business to the helpless soldier of the World War!

Bonus means good. It is good for the getter to get; it is better for the holder to hold. Such is the selfish and sardonic screed of the soulless ruling class of America.

BLUE LAWS AGAIN!

(Special to the N. Y. World)

Washington, July 13.—Active agitation for Nationwide blue laws began here today. It is proposed to procure by legislation the most drastic observance of

the Sabbath that ever has been suggested or known. The proposed bill provides:

"Hereafter it shall be unlawful:

"For any person in the employment of the United States to work or carry on his ordinary vocation on Sunday.

"For any person or corporation to operate on Sunday any freight or passenger train or mail train or any other train or part of a train in the carrying on of interstate commerce, trade or traffic of any kind.

"For any Post Office to be open on Sunday or to deliver mail on Sunday; for any mail to be carried or delivered on Sunday by any employee of the United States, whether in city or country.

"For any newspaper or other paper or publication published or purporting to be published on Sunday to be received, carried or delivered as mail by any agency of the United States, in any Post Office, or over any route under the jurisdiction of the United States.

The above quotation is part of the draft of a blue law proposed by the Southern Methodist Conference and presented to the President as well as all the members of Congress. It is not the first whicker which we have heard from the original horse, but the Southern ass has just begun to bray.

Why you ask is all this clamor about desecrating the Sabbath? Whence this recrudescence of "ancient days?" Why are the echoes getting so much louder and so continuous? Who is being hurt by this brighter Sabbath to such an extent that he wants a blue Sabbath? And do the people not have it blue enough every day without voluntarily, deliberately and designedly imposing upon them a "bluest of the blue" *Blue Day*?

We believe these questions require an answer and that the answer is to be found in somebody's pocket book being hit! Bless your soul, that is just it! We were travelling for the last few years and everywhere we went—a *preachers' trust* was found. They wanted a monopoly on the shekels one day in the week—not that they don't rake in the coin nearly every week night, but on Sunday God gave them the only, exclusive, sole right of collections.

Competition is always hated. It brings on war even from the ecclesiastical princes of *peace*, if somebody else is trying to get a *piece* of the Sabbath pie. As we travelled on we came to a Moving Picture Trust. This trust had become very popular with the people. Members of the church congregation were frequently to be seen slipping into some arcade which wound up inside a movie house. There is no objection *per se* to this, except that these *back-sliders* (that is just what they are) pay admission to these movies, and in these hard times, they cannot or will not pay two fees—one their movie ticket, and the other their church dues. Hence the sacerdotal tax gatherers are for stoppage at the source—stoppage of that thing which takes the very money which the peddlers of piety want.

The people also have begun to go to beaches, seashores, and mountains on Sunday. If the trains run, they will go, so the preachers' trust says, "cut out the trains." In the event one has an automobile he does not have to ride on the train but may joy ride in

his car, so the preachers trust would require all vocations or avocations stopped on this day. For what good would it be to stop the railroad trust if the van, bus, taxi and auto trust were permitted to carry the people just the same? In either case they would not give any church collection.

Not even a letter must be carried on Sunday, lest the people read mail from their loved ones all day and stay away from the sacred meeting temples.

Of course, no newspaper can be published on Sunday—not even dated. Who does not know that these wicked sinners already look at the funny sheets, fashion pages, magazine sections, Mutt & Jeff columns and the like—*especially* on Sunday?

Another set of these wicked cusses neglect their church collections to go sit in the bleachers, to hurrah and raise "merry hell" over hits and strikes at baseball. They pay high fees for it too. Besides, the men who play are employed at their regular vocations. If these blue laws are passed—it's all up for this Sunday baseball.

There is hard sledding ahead for this ministerial trust, for the "would like to have a preachers' monopoly on taking up collections" Day, for the sacerdotal tax gatherers, for the ecclesiastical syndicate, for the profiteering peddlers of piety.

Of course we like to keep our readers well informed, but rest assured the screen photo and movie trusts, the railroad trust, the automobile trust, the baseball trust, the "not all fools" trust, is too powerful for these preachers whose intellectual caliber is too low to hold the people in their congregations without a law to prevent them from going anywhere else. These Southern Methodists have method in their madness. It is the method though of that braying animal with long ears.

They will have many blue days before the world will give them once more just one blue Sunday. Such legislation would carry us back to medieval days from which social evolution has happily vouchsafed us.

SINCERE BUT MISLED WHITE FRIENDS OF THE NEGRO—A REPLY TO ROGER BALDWIN

To the Editor, THE MESSENGER,

From time to time you have had articles and editorial paragraphs criticizing the National Urban League for its alleged subservience to moneyed contributors. As you have referred to my connection with the League as a member of its national Executive Board, I take the liberty of making the following observations.

1st. The National Urban League is an association for promoting opportunities for Negroes in every line of community life. It does an intensely practical work of daily service all over the country. It does this among private social service agencies as well as the welfare departments of government, among employers as well as among labor unions, among white associations and among colored.

2nd. Such a service need take no side in the class struggle,—not yet, anyhow. If the Urban League did

help break strikes, or oppose unions, or take a stand against any working-class or radical cause, I would sever my connections at once,—and so would others on the Committee who are like-minded. You are entirely in error in your assumption that rich contributors among the employing class directly or indirectly control the policies of the League. I know they do not. The work is a practical service that appeals to persons of opposite views on economics. It is the kind of service which will have to be continued as long as race feeling exists. No economic revolution will remove its necessity, though it would doubtless greatly reduce the problem's size.

3rd. As a matter of fact, the Urban League has increasing contacts with working-class and farmer organizations among Negroes. This is a difficult field to cultivate, largely because of the opposition or indifference of the whites who control the larger organizations with which they are affiliated. Mr. Abraham Lefkowitz of the Teachers' Union, who is on the Executive Committee, has a very considerable program of operations on hand within the A. F. of L.

In a general way, let me say that you would be fairer to judge the Urban League by its actual achievements, than by its list of contributors. That is true of all organizations which depend on varied appeals to quite different groups. The I. W. W. Defense Fund, for instance, bears the names of many bourgeois contributors, some of whom are sympathizers, some mere sentimentalists, some concerned with getting them a fair trial, and some who have been roped in by others, ignorant of what they were really giving to. That's how most lists of contributors are made up. They are poor evidence of policies.

Let me say in conclusion, that I am not always in agreement with the officers or Executive Committee, and certainly must often differ with the local activities, particularly of the militarist character you mention in your issue of December last. But disagreement on such matters is no reason for quitting a work whose main activities are sound. If you ask that degree of consistency in organization work, where will you find one measuring that mark?

THE MESSENGER has too valuable a service in hand to attack movements for so slight a reason as it attacks the Urban League. The League is out of the current of the class-struggle. And there are many activities out of that current worth encouraging.

Very truly yours,

ROGER BALDWIN.

NOT long ago we received the preceding letter from Mr. Roger Baldwin. We did not publish it immediately because we desired to give it the wider circulation which the MESSENGER through its grant of second class mail privileges now enjoys.

In many respects it is a unique opportunity to give the public a much needed lesson, for when we use the term "white friend of the Negro," in this case, we are not writing sarcastically. Our candid opinion is that Mr. Baldwin is entirely conscientious in whatever he does. He is a man broad and liberal in both sympathy and education; he will make sacrifices for causes he believes to be right; he is a good organizer, an indefatigable worker, a radical thinker; we have

worked and are now working with him, having had considerable personal contact. We believe him devoid of any race prejudice.

1st. The first paragraph of Mr. Baldwin's letter is a typical social worker's statement—padded, loose, general, vague, foggy, haphazard, meaning anything in general and nothing in particular. It is not entitled to any answer because it merely makes an unfounded claim after the literary habit of the profession—or shall we say the social workers' trade?

2nd. This clause is the crux of the letter. It shows a species of loose thinking which we would not ordinarily have expected from Mr. Baldwin. For instance, "such a service need take no side in the class struggle—not yet, anyhow. . . . You are entirely in error in your assumption that rich contributors among the employing class directly or indirectly control the policies of the League."

Here we must take sharp issue with Mr. Baldwin. A survey of the bulletin of the National League on Urban Conditions of Negroes for 1919 showed among its contributors Rockefeller, \$3,500, Rosenwald, \$2,000, V. Everitt Macy \$1,250, the N. Y. Foundation \$750, Morton D. Hull \$1,250, Arthur Curtis James \$500, A. S. Frissel \$250, Julius Goldman \$250, Diocesan Auxilliary of Cathedral of St. John the Divine \$700, Cleveland H. Dodge \$100, Armour & Co. \$500, Wm. C. Biddle \$500, Burke Foundation \$1,642.73, along with such other contributors as Andrew Carnegie, Paul D. Cravath, National Sugar Refining Company of New Jersey, Mrs. Wm. Church Osborn, James H. Post, Wm. Jay Schieffelin, Mrs. Willard Straight, Hon. Wm. Howard Taft, Mrs. W. K. Vanderbilt, and others too numerous to mention. Does Mr. Baldwin honestly believe that these corporation lawyers, packing, steel, coal, copper, clothing and banking magnates have not a very clear eye on the class struggle phase of the Urban League? Does he imagine for one moment that Ivy Lee, Rockefeller's adviser, would allow him to make a contribution of \$3,500 to some project from which no return by way of propaganda, organization or profit favorable to the Rockefeller interests would result? Does Mr. Baldwin know that big business does not permit the national advertisers to advertise in a radical publication? Is he informed of the arguments and penalties liable to be visited upon a builder in New York who advertises in a radical or labor publication? (Why, in 1918, the fine for the first act was \$1,500!) Again, does Mr. Baldwin think the preceding gentlemen would contribute largely to the support of the Non-partisan League—a liberal organization?

We are strongly inclined to suspect that Julius Goldman is a clothing manufacturer for whom the League was securing Negro scabs. The same is very likely true about Armour & Co. with respect to the stockyards. And whence cometh the interest in Negro welfare (or white people's welfare, for that matter) on the part of the National Sugar Refining Company of New Jersey? What success does Mr. Baldwin consider or surmise would follow an effort to get these public spirited rich contributors to donate to the Civil Liberties Union which by its fight for civil liberty and against mob violence is doing much

to better race relations? Does Mr. Baldwin even believe that the liberal National Association for the Advancement of Colored People could secure a half-hearted support from these rich persons in its effective and foreful fight against race prejudice, discrimination, mob violence, as well as to secure civil rights? The answer, we suppose, is obvious.

When Mr. Baldwin claims the rich contributors do not control the Urban League directly or indirectly, he is simply unable to analyze the situation. What happens is this: The nominal directors of the Urban League are always alert to know what the rich contributors want. They carry out such wishes with faultless precision which makes it unnecessary for the contributors to complain. They use Mr. Baldwin, Lefkowitz and others of their type as window dressing. So long as all goes to the magnates' liking, no complaint will be heard, but, if it is practically possible, let something strongly pro-labor begin, and see how quickly the purse strings are cut.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Baldwin does not state in some sort of matter of fact language what this very practical work of the Urban League is, and secondly, in whose interest the performed work results.

3rd. This clause is another social workers parlance statement except to say that "Mr. Lefkowitz of the Teachers's Union, who is on the Executive Committee, has a very considerable program of operations on hand within the A. F. of L."—which, by the way, bears the same padded and non-specific social workers' style. To this it would be appropriate to reply that Mr. Lefkowitz may hope for about the same success that Mr. Gompers gets by his being on the board of the National Civic Federation.

Mr. Baldwin goes on to argue that it is fairer to judge the league by its actual achievements than by its list of contributors. The answer is that both should be considered carefully.

When Mr. Baldwin goes on to state that "the I. W. W. Defense Fund bears the names of many bourgeois contributors, some of whom are sympathizers, some mere sentimentalist, some concerned with getting them a fair trial, and some who have been roped in by others, ignorant of what they were really giving to"—we think his opinion is erroneous, or he misunderstands the situation. In the first

place, we are sure he has unconsciously exaggerated in stating "many bourgeois contributors" gave to the I. W. W. Defense Fund. Besides, we suspect the amounts contributed were the merest trifle. As for those rich "persons who have been roped in by others, ignorant of what they were really giving to, let it be sufficient to say, it is no longer done that way. Most rich people are definitely advised by persons employed for just such purposes. Few loose, ill considered contributions are made. Ivy Lee and Roger Babson don't do their work in that way. The persons really roped in are men like Mr. Baldwin and Lefkowitz, who feel that they are running the Inter Church World Movement, or some such project, until they start something contrary to the wishes of Gary and his clan. Moreover, some of these rich small contributors are there to spy on or to prostitute the movement, just as Rockefeller organizes his "industrial democracy," or Shonts his "subway union."

Lastly, with respect to militarism, a glance at the board of the Urban League shows the anti-militarists dominant in numbers. Roger N. Baldwin, L. Hollingsworth Wood, President, Abraham Lefkowitz, Mrs. V. G. Simkovitch, John T. Emlen, Vice-Pres., Felix Adler, Mrs. Henry G. Leach, we believe are all anti-militarists—Mr. Baldwin so strongly so that he spent a year in jail for his conviction. Why then can these persons not restrain the militarist tendencies of the League unless the rich contributors restrain them? Will Mr. Baldwin answer? And don't you, Mr. Baldwin, think that Rockefeller's interest in oil, Cleveland Dodge's copper, Armour's meat, the New Jersey Sugar Refining Co.'s sugar, Andrew Carnegie's steel, along with their contributions to "put pep" into their interests are the only answers to this question? These interests always benefit from war, because war increases the demand for their goods.

Lastly, the Urban League represents the heaviest and most powerful phase of the Negro's class struggle outside of Tuskegee and Hampton of which it is an auxilliary. It is the tool of white reaction in America operating among the Negro population. It is the white capitalist financed colored current of the class struggle.

As to whether a movement can be out of that current is worthy of a separate article to which we shall return at a later time.

THE EDITORS.

Economics and Politics

THE UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS

THE crisis of unemployment grips the country. It is variously dubbed as a period of "transition," of "reconstruction," of "readjustment," of "back to normalcy," etc. What ever it may be called, the fact is, it is a period of economic chaos, political maladjustment, indescribable social suffering and distress. In

short, it is an industrial and financial panic. The ground-work of the existing social structure, has been rudely and violently shaken by the titanic economic forces unleashed by the great World War.

During the war the magic word was "produce!" "produce!" Then, the war dogs were yelping for blood, more blood, the blood of the factories and ment, indescribable social suffering and distress. In

economic blood, the entire industrial man and machine power of the nation was mobilized. .

The national industrial mechanism reached the nth power of production. In obedience to the abnormal demand created by the war, high price levels reigned, stimulating a mad scramble on the part of the financial and industrial capitalists to reap huge profits out of this abnormal situation. Hence, with the aid of the "work or fight" order, the invention of new and more efficient machinery and methods of production, American capitalists carried on. The government of the people (?) guaranteed certain profits to certain business interests. The flag was pawned to the financial oligarchs, and they waved it feverishly mouthing the while, euphemistically such 'balderdash' as: "we are fighting to make the world safe for democracy," "Americanism," "100 per cent patriotism," etc. The pulpit, press and school sang praises to the "God of Production." Capitalists, drunk with the red wine of profits, unloosed their Burelsons, Palmers, Lusks and Stevensons upon him who dared to challenge their holy right to feed the "dogs of war" with men and munitions.

But the orgy of wanton destruction ended, and ended suddenly. The Armistice was signed. The abnormal war demand for munitions and goods ceased to exist. There being no market, production stopped. The mills, factories, mines and farms closed down. Lay-offs accompanied with rehiring at reduced wages began. Suddenly, a false alarm of "more production," "more efficiency," was raised as a pretext for redoubling with a vengeance the campaign of laying off and slashing wages.

Meanwhile the workers pined and whined, protested and cursed. For had they not worked to "make the world safe for democracy; had they not sacrificed and suffered? Had they not refused to strike, making uninterrupted production possible, and incidentally a saturnalia of profiteering, giving rise to a crop of 22 thousand brand new millionaires?

Naturally, memories, on the part of the workers of their privations during the war and of the glittering promises of their payrioteering bosses, soured and embittered them. In their breasts blazed the dangerous fires of hate and revenge against their employers. Nor are these fires of hate and revenge kindled by the "machinations of passionate and malevolent agitators;" but they flare up out of the material conditions of the struggle for a living.

Of course, the workers, well-meaning, but misguided, naive and credulous, did not reckon with the nature of the system under which they lived. They did not realize that business is run for profits and not for the service of the people. They knew nothing about the economics of production and distribution. It never occurred to them that their wages represented but a part of what they were producing and that the remainder went into the coffers of the owners of the mines, mills, factories, farms, railroads, steamships, telephones, traction lines, in short, the means of production and exchange.

Inasmuch then, as the workers produce more than they receive in the form of wages, they can never buy back the entire product of their toil. They are con-

tinuously producing a surplus of commodities—wealth. This wealth seeks investment at the highest rate of interest. Thus foreign loans are made. Concessions of coal, iron, timber and oil resources are sought by the investment bankers of all capitalist nations, thereby creating rivalry and competition which result in a mad race in building huge navies and armies; in diplomatic intrigues, plots and conspiracies; in defensive and offensive alliance, such as cordiales, ententes; and finally, in wars.

The workers are unaware of the fact that they produce a surplus, that this surplus produces rivalry between the different World Powers, and that this rivalry produces wars; that wars are followed by periods of unemployment, due to the lessening of demand for goods, and the existence of large inventories. In very truth, the workers, under the modern capitalist system, produce themselves out of jobs. They produce so much food that they must starve to death; so many clothes that they must go in rags. This is the frightful paradox of capitalism!

Today, it is variously estimated that from five to six million men are unemployed. Of course, I believe there are more. And the worst is yet to come! The peak of the unemployment wave has not yet been reached. Daily, the newspapers report of new lay-offs; of new wage cuts.

Dun's and Bradstreet's report the closing of numerous banks. The "first aid" of soup kitchens grace the big industrial centers. The machinery of credit has well-nigh collapsed. In common parlance, money is "tight."

During periods of this kind two groups suffer most: the petit bourgeoisie, or the small capitalists, and the workers. The former, trying to profit from the existence of high price levels during the war, piled up huge inventories at war prices. Now, that a nation-wide liquidation of wages and prices has set in, the small business man finds that he is caught between the devil and the deep sea. His existence depends upon continuous and rapid turn-overs of his capital. When once his capital becomes frozen, he slides into bankruptcy. For his credit is too small to permit him to adopt the postponement of liquidation, such as the big trusts are able to do. Hence, if the little businesses liquidate, they are bankrupt; and if they don't liquidate, they are bankrupt.

As to the workers, in periods of prosperity wages lag behind prices in the upward trend. In periods of depression, wages precede prices in the downward trend. Such is the case today. Nothing has fallen materially, save eggs. Food, clothes, rent and transportation are still high. But wage deflation marches on. Job deflation precedes wage deflation. Workers are first fired; then they are rehired at slashed wages. The doctors, preachers, and lawyers of the working-class suffer too, for their incomes come from the income of the people who toil.

Only big business benefits from panics. The trusts become bigger trusts. They become veritable empires of capital. Witness the Steel Trust, Coal Trust, Food Trust, Oil Trust, Money Trust, etc. These gigantic combinations of capital, like a mighty octopus, have reached out their long tentacles and drawn under their control the little, independent businesses en-

gaged in their particular industries.

They have done to the so-called independent business man just what the empire of the United States of America has done to Haiti and Santo Domingo; what the British empire has done to Ireland and India; what Japan has done to Korea; what France has done to Morocco—they have destroyed the right of self-determination to the small business man just as the great empires of the world have destroyed the right of self-determination to the smaller nations. The small business is mortgaged to the trusts, as the small nations are mortgaged to the big empires, through loans.

When will it all end, you ask? Will it end when the international rates of exchange: the pound sterling, the franc the lire, the mark and the kronen—reach their pre-war status, which will enable Europe to begin buying again? The answer must be made in the form of a question: When will this happen? Nobody knows. Unemployment is not indigenous to the soil of America. It is indigenous to the soil of capitalism. To-

day it is world wide. We have not only the unemployed but we have also the more alarming phenomenon, the unemployable. It is highly doubtful whether the mechanism of production and distribution will ever again absorb but a very small section of the existing unemployed. Only a war between the United States and Japan or Great Britain can absorb the idle. This, of course, is too great a price to pay for the abolition of unemployment. Waiving aside this contingency, which would be but temporarily, only to be followed by a greater wave of unemployment, there is no complete relief from unemployment, except through the abolition of its cause, the profit system.

For the nonce, palliatives may be applied, such as government employment bureaus; a building boom of houses; the improvement of public highways, work and buildings; unemployment insurance, etc. Needless to say, however, that these doles of charity and make-shift devices to patch up an economic system in collapse, are only superficial.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH.

Education and Literature

PEONAGE, RIOTS AND LYNCHING

SOME months ago, when the bodies of eleven Negroes were found in the Alcovy River or buried in shallow graves on John S. Williams "death farm" in Georgia—a howl of disgust went up. There was denunciation, villification, crimination, condemnation. The South was even shocked.

Shortly afterwards ex-Governor Dorsey of Georgia published his booklet on 135 cases of injustice to Negroes showing the horrible lynching record of that state.

Following fast upon the heels of these two exposures came the Tulsa riot which also shocked the nation.

The trial and conviction of John Williams surprised Negroes and white people—it being not the way of Georgia (or of the South for that matter) to arrest, much less convict, a white man either upon the word of a Negro or because of anything done to a Negro. Negro editors said **the heart of the South** was changing. Sentimental, well-meaning and well-hoping white ministers, editors and public men saw in that conviction a great revolution in Southern ethics.

Naturally we could not be moved by any such superficial thinking so we decided to give a thorough study to the basic causes of these rather unusual symptoms of social change in Dixie.

The South of today is in the grip of three systems of society—part slave, part feudal and part industrial or capitalistic. By slaves, we mean Negroes are still held as property, sold and transferred from one master to the other, **passing title just as in 1850**. This exists absolutely in practice over part of the South along the cotton belt. The larger part of the South is still feudalistic, under the control of the landed

bourbons who hold great estates with both white and black peons, serfs, bound to the soil. Overseers, whipping foremen, veritable slave drivers, exact reluctant labor from these poor wretches who are frequently locked up in stockades at night, guarded as though in jail, while the watchmen intermittently fire guns during the night to instill the fear of God into the hapless slaves' hearts. For the last two decades, however, industrial interests of the North have been developing the South. Florida is a northern resort state transplanted as it were. Georgia, with the industrial development of Atlanta and Savannah, is considered the empire state of the South. The iron and coal mining interests have secured a tenacious hold on Alabama by way of Birmingham. Louisiana has secured titanic importance through the operations of the sugar trust. Texas and Oklahoma contain our richest oil wells. Virginia with its Hampton Roads and Newport News has risen to an herculean position in the ship-building industry. North and South Carolina operate a number of textile mills. This process of industrialization is steadily growing. With northern capital invested in the variously enumerated industries and Southern capital likewise invested in the same industries—the capitalist or industrial system of the South has received tremendous impetus.

What has that to do with peonage, riots and lynchings and the new Southern attitude toward them? This: Capital in investing looks for cheap lands and cheap labor. The labor without land is useless; the land without labor is valueless. Of two essentials neither can be dispensed with. If life and property become too insecure, labor will not remain in the South, and of course capital will not invest, which means no development. In the opening of the Jasper

County Grand Jury sitting, the judge stressed the half-truth—that capital would not invest there—unless they mended their lawless ways. Lynching and mob violence mean insecurity of life and property to an extent, since one must exist in order to enjoy his property. Moreover, if peonage is permitted the principle of property insecurity is again uppermost, since the peon, the worker, laborer, fails to get a sufficient wage to induce any considerable production. In other words, peonage can obtain only under the feudal, large estate, landed, wasteful system of rent bourbonism. The capitalist system of the South is getting almost as strong as the slave-feudal system. Of course, the industrial interests are better organized. In 1860 the industrial system of the Northern part of the United States clashed with the slave system of the South and capitalism triumphed. Today the industrial system of the South itself is clashing with the South's own feudal system. In this struggle feudalism is compelled to go down, and ere long the last vestige of feudalism—peonage in particular—will be wiped out, annihilated, extirpated by the rising tide of industrialism.

Lynching and race riots, too, will be affected. Lynching is peculiarly a rustic child. The pogrom is a product of the rural district. Even when a man is taken from a jail in the city, automobiles are waiting to hie away to the country for the beastly work. The wild beast belongs to the forest, the woods, the country, so the lyncher seeks his natural habitat. It was ever thus. Pogroms against the Jews were committed in the wide rural stretches of East Prussia, Russia, Rumania and Poland.

Another feature of this change of soeial systems in the South is the shift from lynching to race riots. This is inevitable. Caitalism, industrialism, tends to urbanization. The city follows the factory, the mill, the mine. Large groups of people must live where they work. The industrial magnates cannot afford to have them late, so they provide a nearby abode for their wage workers.

As a result of this grouping together, Negroes who usually live in quasi-voluntarily segregated colonies realize that an injury to one is an injury to all. They vaguely discern the danger to one as common to all. John Jones, the poor Negro lynched today, will be followed with mob violence against the Negro banker tomorrow. Hence when trouble starts, intuitive genius whispers: "*We must all hang together or we will hang separately.*"

Herein lies the explanation of what is not generally discerned by the press, the pulpit, the platform; namely, *that lynchings are on the decrease and race riots are on the increase.* Lynchings are reduced to about one third of what they were a decade ago. Up till 1919 there were massacres of Springfield, Illinois and Atlanta, Georgia, but no race riots. East St. Louis was the last of those massacres. Hereafter Race Riots will, as they ought to, be the order of the day. Negroes are going to make their dying a costly investment. No bands will be played. No women and children will be peddling souvenirs. The picnic phase of Negro lynching is drawing to a close. And the camera man will, unless he watches out, be snapped off this world before he snaps the picture.

The system is changing. The Negroes have caught the cue from Tulsa. As much as we may deplore it (?) we fear Negroes have now got fire in their eyes. *Fire is the impartial force of nature which knows no race or color line. It will burn a white man's house just as readily and quickly as a Negro's house.* Besides, it has the magic power of continuing "after you've gone."

This, too, can get some action from the system. Fire and life insurance companies are tremendous financial, industrial, capitalist combines. They are centered in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Philadelphia, London, Paris. When they have to pay for several lives lost and millions of dollars worth of property destroyed—they soon find a way to prevent the cause of their loss, that is, to prevent the loss of life and property for which they have to pay. *These corporations have no soul; they claim no morals; their heart is atrophied; but their pecuniary nervous system is extremely tender and easily touched by a solar plexus in the pocket book, destroying their profits.* They can get Congress busy, not only in passing but enforcing a federal law against lynching, against destruction of property or anything of that type, within a few hours. They can do in a minute what all of us, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people included, would take a half century to do. No States Rights arguments will stay their swift movements when they get started. *The financial corporations have rights in all states.*

We rather suspect this issue will eventually arise in the South *via* race riots. If the insurance companies squeeze out of paying through riot clauses, the condition is equally hopeful, for then the local authorities who are either the tools of, or the dominant business interests themselves, will get busy to see that no riots come—since they cannot get indemnity for their losses.

International investors also will make their voices heard, their influence felt, their cry hearkened unto when fires from race riots become more destructive as they undoubtedly will.

Again, these increasing race riots will arouse the inert lethargic, sleepy, indolent neutral who usually takes no risks himself, but nevertheless doesn't care who kills the "nigger." Walking along, rather innocently, some Negro sniper will shift him into another world one of these race riot days. He constitutes the great bulk of the so-called best white South which never lynch, but just acquiesces and fails to restrain those who do.

Lastly, white men and women are being tarred and feathered, horse whipped, mobbed, lynched. This is all hopeful. Slavery was most cruel between 1850 and 1859. When Louis XVI was approached about the grievances of the people just before the French Revolution, he replied: "Let the people eat grass," Napoleon was notified of the oncoming battle of Waterloo; he answered: "On with the the dance." The nearness of any system to the end of its reign can be judged by severity of the measures to which it resorts, and these cruelties are sure symptoms of the approaching end.

More race riots are coming. More lynchings will stain the American escutcheon. Property will be

burned. Lives will be lost. Black night will brood on the troubled race waters. Black and white labor will be tools of their masters fighting each other for a while longer. Peonage will hang on. Ere long, however, justice will prevail. These black memories will pass. And America—the United States of America—rich, big, rare, a hell now, will be made a fit place to live in, a veritable paradise in which our children's children shall dwell.

CHANDLER OWEN.

THE FORUM OF LOCAL 8

THE meeting was called to order at 8:30 p. m. sharp.

Immediately the gavel sounded, a hall of six or seven hundred eager-eyed workers doffed their hats and sat up erect—a picture of attention, interest and enthusiasm. It was the beginning of an innovation among workers.

It was a conscious and deliberate effort of the Marine Transport Workers to conduct a systematic forum for self-education.

Rumors had been floating in the air about the rise of a dual union. It had been reported that agents of the I. L. A. were operating along the water front, seeking to sow the seeds of discord and dissention among the rank and file of the organization. Alleged Negro leaders masquerading in the guise of race loyalty, had been preaching the nefarious and dangerous doctrine of race segregation to the Negro members of Local 8. Negroes were made all sorts of fictitious and fraudulent promises about their receiving sick and death benefits. To these sugar-coated, empty and unsubstantial pledges, the militant, class-conscious and intelligent Negro workers turned a deaf ear. They meted out to the self-styled and self-appointed I. L. A. saviors of the Negro workers, curses instead of blessings.

It was to reinforce and fortify the brains of Local 8 that this forum was organized. Only those men of the organization were deceived by the notorious misrepresentation of the paid agents of the bosses who were "strong in the back and weak in the head." But always alert, active and conscious of its class interests, Local 8 proceeded to formulate plans to break down the insidious, anti-labor solidarity propaganda of the I. L. A.

The subject of the lecture of the first meeting was "The Relation of Organized Labor to Race Riots."

The speaker attempted to show that inasmuch as labor fights race riots just as it fights the wars between nations, only labor could stop race riots. He pointed out that just as the bosses of the workers profit from national wars, so the bosses of the workers profit from race wars; that it was to the interest of the capitalists to keep the workers divided upon race lines so that they could rob them more easily and successfully. He stated that: "*If the white and black working dogs are kept fighting over the bone of race prejudice, the artful, hypocritical yellow capitalist dog will steal up and grab the meat of profit.*"

It was explained how race riots served the interests of the employers of labor, by keeping the workers divided, at daggers points. He indicated how the I. L. A. was serving the interests of the Stevedores and Shipping Interests by preaching a *race-riot doctrine of segregation*.

Brief, pointed and enthusiastic questions and discussions followed the lecture.

There was an evident passion to talk among the fellow workers. The forum afforded them an ideal opportunity to vent their grievances against the I.L.A. and the entire tribe of anti-labor forces in the country.

Although the verbs and nouns seldom lay down in harmony and peace, the clear economic thinking of the fellow workers was marvelous and evident to any one.

Each speaker deplored and condemned the Tulsa race riot in Oklahoma. With a sound working-class instinct they laid the cause of the Tulsa massacres at the door of the labor-hating, profiteering, conscienceless Ku Klux Klan, predatory business interests of the South.

Here, too, was a living example of the ability of white and black people to work, live and conduct their common affairs side by side. There were black and white men and black and white women in this meeting. No rapes, no lynchings, no race riots occurred! Isn't it wonderful! Let the Southern press together with its northern, eastern and western journalistic kith and kin, bent upon their base, corrupt, wicked and hateful mission of poisoning the wells of public opinion with the virulent spleen of race prejudice, take note!

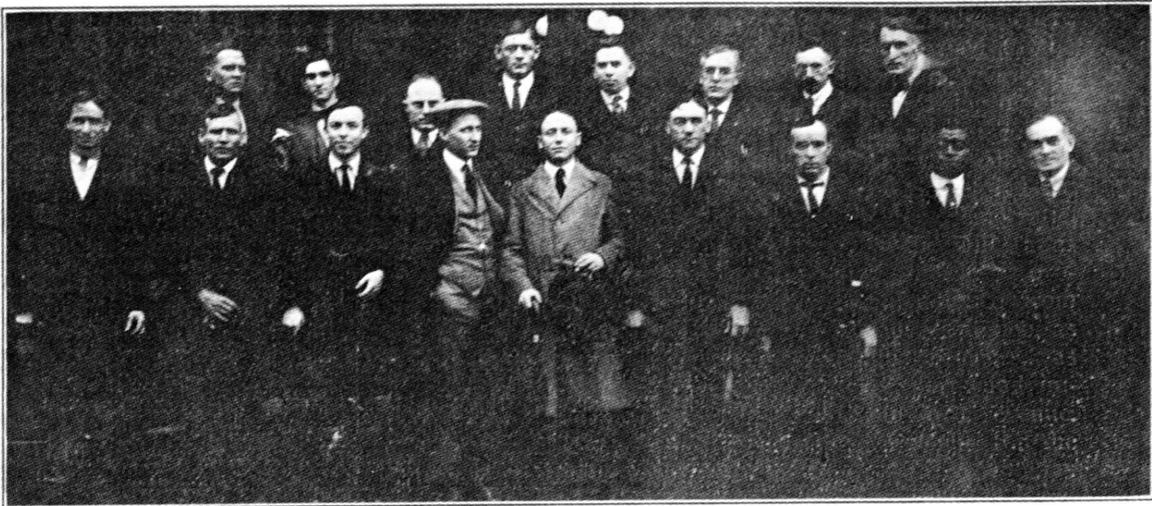
The second forum meeting discussed the interesting subject of "Labor Preparedness for the Next War." "Industrial Unionism, the Only Hope of the Workers" provided an enthusiastic and lively discussion. John Barleycorn wormed his way into the stomach of one fellow and upset his head, thereby necessitating a discussion of the "Relation of Liquor to the Labor Movement." Searching and discerning questions on the economics of the Prohibition Movement were hurled at the speaker. "Was the abolition of the liquor industry which increased unemployment to the interest of the workers?" was asked. The speaker answered that, "there was no more reason for advocating the sale of liquor, a recognized poison, on the ground that it afforded employment to workers than there was to advocate war, or the building of houses of prostitution on the grounds that such would afford employment to the workers."

This meeting was followed by a lecture on the "Open Shop Campaign—the Remedy: Trades or Industrial Unionism."

The Forum meets every Friday evening in Philadelphia.

Here the workers are trying to democratize knowledge, for they, too, are learning that knowledge is power and that if the capitalists control all the knowledge, they will also control the world.

**Subscribe for THE MESSENGER MAGAZINE, \$1.50
per year (domestic)—\$2.00 foreign
2305 Seventh Ave., N. Y. City**



A GROUP OF I. W. W. CLASS WAR PRISONERS

Picture taken just before they returned to Leavenworth Penitentiary.

Top row, left to right:—Ralph Chaplin, Wm. Weyh, Joe Gordon, Walter T. Nef, J. Graber, Francis Miller, E. F. Doree, Thomas McKinnon.

Bottom row, left to right:—Jack Walsh, Wm. Lewis, Harrison George, Jack Law, Chas. Ashleigh, John M. Foss, Pietro Nigra, Ben Fletcher, M. J. Smith.

Do these men look like bomb throwers? Look into their faces. See what an intelligent, serious group they are. Their only crime was the organization of their fellow-workers with a view to raising their standard of living and finally ushering in peacefully a new order of society.

No race or color line is recognized by these men. Note the face of darker hue; it is Ben Fletcher, a cool, intelligent and able Negro organizer.

Let every man who reads this sit right down and write your Congressman and Senator to "Let our people go!" Wont you?

Who's Who

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

RECENTLY President Harding appointed William Howard Taft Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court to succeed the late Chief Justice E. D. White. What will be his attitude toward labor? What will be his position on the Negro? These questions chiefly concern us inasmuch as we are interested in both.

It would seem logical to expect Taft to pursue on the Supreme Court Bench the course he pursued on the Federal Court bench with respect to labor. The same is true with respect to the Negro. As a Federal judge he issued an injunction against calling the A. R. U. strike in 1894 for the violation of which Eugene V. Debs was sent to jail six months. As president his course was consistently against labor and in favor of the corporations. Recently as contributing editor of the Philadelphia Public Ledger he has opposed amnesty for political and class war prisoners. He even went out of his way in opposing the release of Debs, the grand old man of life and love and literature—in striking contrast with his solicitude, when president, for pardoning Morse, the ice king, shipping magnate and capitalist, who had been sent to Atlanta for a heinous felony. Morse being rich and influential in money circles, Taft discovered the prison life as dangerous to his health and that an immediate release was essential for saving his life.

When Taft's attitude toward the Negro is reviewed we find him taking an active part against the Negro soldiers at Brownsville, Texas; catering to the bloody shirt of the South when in his inaugural address he promised to appoint no Negro to places in that section unless such appointments met with the approval of the

Dixie bourbons. It is hardly necessary to say that if as president Taft declined to enforce the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the constitution (notwithstanding his oath as President to see that the laws are faithfully executed) he can hardly be expected to take a more advanced and impartial position upon the bench. Again, Taft's appointment met with the almost unanimous approval of the Southern Senators and the Southern press. Why? Because the South knows his position (1) on the Negro question, and (2) on the labor question—this section being the worst exploiter of labor, both white and black, in the United States.

A word now as to the wholesome fears of labor and the Negro. There is nothing to be alarmed about. The appointment does not improve the court from your point of view; neither does it aggravate it. Taft is no more reactionary than ex-Chief Justice White. The court was composed of nine old men, and Taft can qualify here. The court formerly represented capital and the corporations; so does Taft. The court has consistently stood on a caste status for the Negro; Taft concurs with it. The 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments have not been enforced by the Court previously (except insofar as their enforcement benefited the corporations.) Negroes need not expect their enforcement now.

Opposed to Negro labor, opposed to white labor, opposed to every semblance of modern, enlightened civil, political and economic democracy—the new Chief Justice Taft enters upon his duties to serve the interests of bourbon reaction as has been customary all his life. And habit acts with dangerous accuracy.

Open Forum

Dear Randolph and Owen:

Many congratulations on the last number of the MESSENGER, which is one of the best I have seen since first I began to take it. It measures up in every way to a first class radical journal with a masterly grasp not only on our particular Negro problem but on world problems as well. Keep the good work up.

Ever cordially yours,

ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE.

Editors, the MESSENGER,

Sirs:

I concur with all that is cited in the July number of your peerless magazine under the caption: "What lead-

ing thinkers say about the MESSENGER."

Everybody knows that its editors have deep and decided views on all the burning questions of the hour. But everybody *doesn't* know that the MESSENGER has a multitude of the ablest and most implacable enemies to face and fight, both in and out of the White House,—likewise within the race, because of these views. The attitude and aim of the editors place the MESSENGER in a field by itself—a field whose soil is scarcely scratched by the editorial pen of Negro journalism.

So enclosed please find renewed subscription for another twelve months.

Your for the unlimited freedom of all mankind,

GRANVILLE H. MARTIN.

NEGRO REPUBLICAN LEADERS

PRESS account indicate that Negro Republican leaders are becoming very resentful because of their treatment by the Harding administration. It is said that up to date not a single colored man has been appointed to office by the President or by any member of his cabinet. Negro journals of the Republican type are also resentful of this attitude.

While we support the claims of the Negro masses to a complete share in the general ideals of working class emancipation we decline to share the indignation of these Negro Republican politicians. They become resentful because they have not secured the appointments which they believe are their due because of serving as decoy ducks in capitalist politics.

The lot of the mass of Negroes is no more advanced by appointments received by these Negro politicians than is the lot of the organized workers when a "labor politician" receives an appointment from a Tammany Hall administration. In fact, the mass of Negroes and the mass of organized workers are in both instances sacrificed for the pecuniary gains of leading Judases. The only reason these gentlemen have ever received any such appointments at all is because they have contributed to the betrayal of their race or their class. That is their only function in politics aside from the nice salaries they pull down as the price of their betrayal.

The Republican machine is apparently preparing to kick the whole mass of the Negro voters in the face by changing the basis of representation of Southern states in Republican conventions, a change that will acquiesce in the exclusion of Negroes from the suffrage in the South. We do not doubt that the Negro Republican leaders would manage to accept this Southern exclusion if the administration passes out some plums to these Judas leaders.

If the Republican national committee carries out the policy that is recommended it will at least have the merit of opening the eyes of masses of Negro workers that their interests are bound up with the interests of the white workers and not with these Negro leaders. The latter will then be out of a job and will have to seek other fields for their work.—*New York Call.*

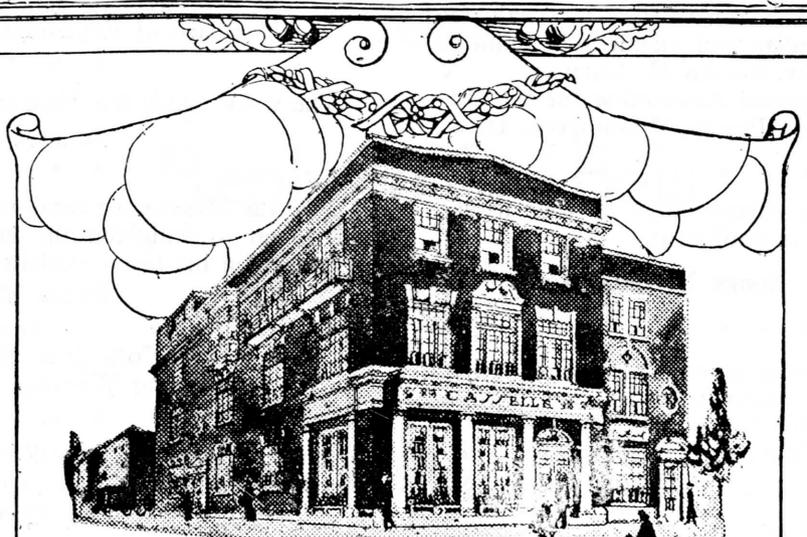
Dixie Sweets

2283 SEVENTH AVENUE
Bet. 134th and 135th Sts.
Manufactured

Home made Candies and Ice Cream

Modern, Sanitary
and
Fully Equipped
With all Up-To-Date
Methods

Member of Philadelphia
Chamber of Commerce



New Building of
WALTER H. CASELLE
Undertaker and Embalmer
913-15-17 S. 17th St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

LARGEST
NEGRO
ESTABLISHMENT
OF ITS KIND
IN THE WORLD

5,500 Feet of
Floor Space

What Leading Thinkers Say About The Messenger

The MESSENGER is of exceptionally high standard. That it marks the entrance of the Negro problem upon a wholly new period of development, is not altogether unlikely.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

* * *

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.

* * *

A large group of young colored people are beginning to realize these economic truths, and have a brilliant mouthpiece in the MESSENGER.

OSWALD G. VILLARD,

Editor, *The Nation*.

* * *

We rely upon the MESSENGER for light on the Negro question.

P. FONTANA.

French Minister of Education.

* * *

I've been intending to write you for some months expressing my appreciation of the thoughtful and vigorous work you are doing and of the help I have derived from your paper in understanding the Negro and his problems.

Part of a letter from PROF. WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD, of the University of Wisconsin.

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.

MARY WHITE OVERTON.

* * *

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.

BERTUCCIO DANTINO,

Editor, *The Crucible*.

* * *

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 criticize with much success your presentation.

THOMAS W. CHURCHILL,

Former President of the New York City Board of Education.

* * *

The work which the MESSENGER is doing is vital.

SCOTT NEARING.

* * *

May the MESSENGER continue the noble work it has undertaken to enlighten the colored worker in this country upon his being exploited by the master class.

PETER MONAT,

Secretary-Treasurer,

New York Joint Board of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

* * *

It is edited by two as well read, well educated and competent Negroes as there are in the United States.

THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

* * *

"THE MESSENGER, the monthly magazine published in New York, is by long odds the most able and most dangerous of all the Negro publications."—*Report of U. S. Department of Justice to U. S. Senate.*

I regard the MESSENGER as a good publication.

WILLIAM BROSS LLOYD.

* * *

I am all admiration of the unique style and high standard of your magazine. Every Negro who appreciates clean journalism should be proud of it.

CLAUDE MCKAY.