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# THE MESSENGER

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# Editorials

## ANTI LYNCHING LEGISLATION AND LABOR

**T**HE Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill should interest labor. Out of the four thousand or more persons who have been lynched in this country, it would be difficult, indeed, to name a capitalist. The fury of the mob is spent on the worker, black and white. It's the exception that a capitalist like Leo Frank is victimized. It is invariably the workers, like Frank Little of Butte, Montana. Over a thousand white workers have been lynched in this country since 1883. So thoroughly has the virus of capitalist propaganda seeped through the souls of the workers that they lynch each other and think nothing of it.

This thing must stop, and labor must stop. It is a blow at the very heart of working class solidarity. In the coming workers' conventions in May, June and July, lynching should be roundly and unequivocally condemned, the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill endorsed, resolutions adopted and sent to the Senate and the President, urging them to pass this measure. This will do much toward drawing together, in a bond of brotherhood, the black and white workers. Let the American Federation of Labor, the Industrial Workers of the World and the independent labor organizations show their class-conscious colors by dealing a mortal blow to America's greatest crime—lynching. The Negro workers should urge the necessity of this measure upon their unions.

## STYGIAN TEXAS!

**T**HE *Houston Post*, of March 31st, reminds us that the Governor is on the verge of calling a special session of the legislature "in order that some means might be found whereby the teachers would be paid. It is stated, of course, that the situation in the rural districts is that the teachers have been paid only one month's salary this year."

Texas is a rich oil and cotton state. It is by far the largest state in the Union. Yet these gentlemen, who grow so chivalrous over the protection of white womanhood, allow white women to teach all the year on one month's pay. This means inefficient teachers since no efficient persons will stay under such conditions. It further means poorly equipped children, since the pupils cannot rise far above their teachers.

Is it any wonder that the Ku Klux Klan has such a fertile field in the soil of Texas! Is it a surprise that the hook worm is the king of the rural districts? Once more we see the wisdom of the cynic who declared: "If I owned Hell and Texas, I'd rent out Texas and live in Hell!"

## RUSSIAN CHILDREN STARVING.

**W**HILE the farmers, in the West, use corn for fuel, millions of innocent, helpless Russian children starve. With the warehouses in America literally bursting open with food stuffs, the babies, aged and infirm in the Volga region of Russia, are dying for bread. The American capitalists, led by Herbert Hoover, are doing all within their power to cripple the work of relief agencies trying to carry succor to the stricken Russian people. They yell Communism! to drown the piteous, and bitter cries of famished children. Think of government officials trying to play upon the petty prejudices of a people at the expense of millions of starving babies! This is proof beyond the question of a doubt of the crying need of labor solidarity. With the workers awakened and aroused, the Russian children can be saved. Let all workers rally with their dollars to the Russian relief agencies, especially to the Friends of Soviet Russia. Let every one of us decide to save, at least, our child!

## EMMA GOLDMAN ON BOLSHEVISM.

**W**E read with interest and no surprise Emma Goldman's attack on Soviet Russia. To one conversant with Miss Goldman's philosophy, anarchism, he knows that it was the most natural thing for her to do. No kind of government is admissible to the Anarchist. Thus if Russia had had no Tcheka; if her school system were perfect; the railroads and factories running faultlessly, in short, if she had the best possible of all governments, Emma Goldman would, according to her creed, have damned it. Hence, we need not take her ravings against Soviet Russia seriously. She is old. Besides, she is peeved, and longs to return to America.

## THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE JEWISH DAILY FORWARD

**T**HIS is the largest Jewish daily newspaper in the world. Moreover, it is a Socialist organ, with a circulation of nearly a half million. Twenty-five years ago, amidst the most discouraging beginnings, it struck out in the name of the workers, defending them in their every struggle. It is a veritable Gibraltar to the Jewish workers, valiantly fighting off, with signal success, the savage assaults of frenzied capitalists. But not alone does it fight for the Jewish workers; it fights the cause of all workers, white and black, Jew and Gentile, native and foreign. It has also given hundreds of thousands of dollars to the movements of the workers. We bid it onward, upward and forward. Long live the *Forward*!

### THE SOUTH'S TRIUMPH!

**T**HE South has triumphed! The spirit of Dixie holds the nation in its grip. The slave states have lost nothing since the Civil War. Rather have they gained at every hand.

If a Northerner goes South, he returns with the Southern point of view on the Negro question. If a Southerner goes North, he innoculates the Northerners with the Southern point of view.

The author is ending nearly nine thousand miles of travel over Northern and Western States. He has spent from three to twenty-two days in such cities as Chicago, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, Sacramento, California, Tacoma, Seattle and Spokane, Washington, St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota. In practically all these cities the Ku Klux Klan has openly advertised organizations and offices about which the papers write daily.

What are the signs of such influences? Echoes of separate schools could be heard throughout Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Colorado, California, Oregon, Washington and Minnesota.

In none of these places can Negroes get service freely in white restaurants. Practically all the theatres either refuse Negroes orchestra seats, or if they sell them seats anywhere, they are Jim-Crowed. By that we mean, through a sort of *premeditated coincidence*, when one gets inside the theatre, he finds all the Negroes have bought tickets together. So they could be with their friends, *doncha know?* Portland, Oregon, at the instance of the Mayor, has recently passed resolutions against whites and Negroes intermingling at dances. (By the way, the Ku Klux Klan has a strong organization in Portland.)

Throughout parts of the state of California the Ku Klux Klan is operating as freely as in Texas. The Kluxers are going into churches and taking out white ministers, are tarring and feathering white people right in the Golden Gate. This is almost a daily occurrence in Taft, Fresno and Bakersfield, California. All of these places, too, are north of Los Angeles, where the spirit of Texas seems to be manouversing into position.

*The boldness of the kidnappers, the unmitigated effrontery of the tar and feather fraternity, the unspeakable arrogance of the Ku Klux Klansmen—while the whole nation slothfully sleeps with an indescribable apathy, an unspeakable lethargy, an unimaginable inertia—shatter belief!*

The South is ever alert. It is actively propagating race prejudice through such screens as the Birth of a Nation; by such lecturers as the late unlamented Ben Tillman, Pat Harrison, James K. Vardaman, Hoke Smith, Tom Watson and Thomas Dixon; through Southern provocateur professors; through Southern societies in universities like Columbia, and through similar societies in the various cities; by papers like *Kalamity's Harpoon*, *Vardaman's Weekly*, *The Pitchfork*; through books like "The Leopard Spots," "The Clansman," "The Rising Tide of Color."

What the South lost in the Civil War on the military field it has richly recovered on the propaganda field. Dixie has almost regained its lost Paradise. Unless the nation stops its ante-bellum encroachments, a great

Civil War may again be made necessary to save the Union from the menace of the old South triumphant.

### RUSSIA AT GENOA.

**A**T last the Genoa Economic Conference was called, and Soviet Russia was invited as an equal. Poincaré fumed and Barthou shrieked furiously; but to no avail. The wily little Welshman, as usual, went over the top with his bag of schemes and makeshifts for patching up a well-nigh shattered Europe. Whatever might be said of Lloyd George's superficial opportunism, it must be admitted that he is possessed with an inimitable faculty for sensing the trend of things.

With an unstable ministry; his Irish Free State gamble facing fortuitous days under the relentless hammering of De Valera; and India rearing aloft an ugly head of revolt, Lloyd George saw in Genoa another prop for his crumbling cabinet, on the one hand, and collapsing Europe, on the other. Thus, willy-nilly, he went to it. We view the whole thing doubtfully; for the crux of Europe's illness, debts, reparations, the Versailles Treaty, is camouflaged, evaded, fearing lest France and the United States stir uneasily. However, the Conference is not uninteresting, since Russia and Germany, for the first time since the war, are invited to gather around the green board to talk things over. So far, so good.

Of course, harmony was not expected to reign any longer than the Russian and French delegations faced each other. And sure enough it didn't. Barthou, the leader of the French delegation, proceeded to object to everything about the Russian group, seeking to reduce them to virtual nonentities in the Conference. But, fortunately, he reckoned without knowing the mettle of his opponents. With singular brilliancy, the astute Chicherin countered and blocked the sulking Frenchman. But these little tilts over procedure and formalities were mere trifles to the thunder-bolt which was shot at Rapollo in the signing of a treaty between Germany and Russia. To the smug, hypocritical Allies, "this was the most unkindest cut of all." Two *sovereign nations* had actually had the gall to *exercise their sovereign rights and sign treaties*, and without the consent of the *holy Allies*. Can you beat it? "It's those Bolsheviki; they simply won't behave. But what are you going to do?" thunders the old, bankrupt, petulant, European capitalist diplomats. Shades of Korniloff, Wrangel, Yudenich, Kolchak and Semionoff! Despite blockade, counter-revolutions, civil war and famine, the first workers' republic carries on.

This German-Russian alliance is capital. It apparently is economic. But where one's treasure is his heart is also. Thus it is not unlikely that an alliance of swords will follow this economic pact to safeguard the latter. This is most natural and proper. The Allies adopt this policy, why shouldn't Russia and Germany? With Russia's resource and man-power joined with Germany's technical brain-power, all Europe and America, too, will have to pay them respect.

However, whatever comes out of the passing show, let the workers guard with the utmost vigilance the Russian Revolution against the wiles and treachery of the Lloyd Georges, Barthous, Japanese and American plotters!

**EMILE TREVILLE HOLLEY.**

**YOUNG** Holley is the first Negro since Reconstruction to be nominated for a midshipman at Annapolis. Congressman Martin C. Ansorge chose him. During the 70's three Negroes were named to be cadets at the Naval Academy. History has it that they were snubbed and slurred and made to feel so miserable that they elected to quit the school. Already rumors run to the effect that his fellow-cadets will not receive him cordially, but with sneers and jests, and innuendos they will dog his every step. Such cowardly threats and base tactics should serve only to steel him to the ordeal. We are opposed to war and all its machinery. We are also opposed to race prejudice in all its mutiformity. To us the weal of the country would be eminently served were the navy and army scrapped and discarded. They are a burden, not a benefit. We would also throw overboard the tottering system of capitalism whose life rests upon navalism and militarism. But till then every manifestation of race hatred weakens and destroys the solidarity of the workers, and, hence, it must be fought, and fought bitterly, to the death.

Holley must go through the Naval Academy at Annapolis—a government institution which was established and is maintained by the taxes of the American people, white and black—or ten million Negroes must exact from the Government the reason why.

**GARVEY UNFAIRLY ATTACKED.**

**WE** hold no brief for Marcus Garvey or the Universal Negro Improvement Association. No publication in America has given such a painstaking analysis of the good points and the bad points of Garvey and his movement, as the MESSENGER. The article in the September, 1921, MESSENGER, by A. Philip Randolph, is easily the masterpiece on the Garvey movement.

Nevertheless we oppose unfair tactics, such as the recent attacks upon Garvey's nativity by Roscoe Conkling Simmons in the *Chicago Defender*. The merits and demerits of Garveyism are not lessened or increased because he is a West Indian. Nor is it any sensible argument to say: "If Garvey doesn't like this country, let him go back to Jamaica, where he came from." It would be just as logical to say, If Randolph doesn't like segregation in New York, let him go back to Florida where he came from. If Du Bois doesn't like the Ku Klux Klan in New York, let him go back to Atlanta University.

If Kelly Miller doesn't like the Jim Crow Car of Maryland, let him go back to South Carolina where he came from. If Robert Bagnall doesn't like Jim-Crowing in Loew's Alhambra Theatre in New York, let him go back to Virginia. If Owen doesn't like the reluctant service in Child's Restaurant, let him go back to North Carolina. If Pickens doesn't like segregated schools in Kansas or St. Louis, let him go back to Alabama. If James Weldon Johnson is not satisfied with everything in the North and West, let him go back to Florida.

All such argument (if it can be dignified by that name) is petty, cheap, vapid, effete. A man has a

right and a duty to fight to improve conditions wherever he is. He has a right to fight to improve not only his home but any other home he may be able to help. If a Negro is in Georgia and the hill billies, instigated by silk-gloved "respectable citizens," decide to lynch him, he is simply a "nigger" whether he comes from Georgia or Georgetown, British Guiana. They care nothing whether he is from Jamaica or Florida, Trinidad or Tennessee, St. Kitts or Mississippi, Barbadoes or Alabama. All Negroes, wherever they are, are born, suffer from common proscriptions, wanton narrowing of opportunities, segregation, discrimination, Jim Crow cars, laws against inter-marriage. Race and color determine the classification—not the place of birth.

It needs to be said that at times Mr. Garvey unfortunately resorts to a similar type of unfair tactics. Witness his calling Cyril Briggs a white man, and his charging the National Advancement Association with hiring persons to dismantle the machinery on his ships—both of which statements Mr. Garvey knew to be absolutely false.

Our position is that Mr. Garvey has done much good, but also much harm. His opposition to social equality is abominable. His African Empire dream is obsolete and undesirable. His "*Negro first*" policy is not defensible, is unsound in theory and in practice. His steamship line is not only impracticable, but would have no effect on the Negro problem if successfully established, *because the Negro problem is not one of transportation.*

In spite of all this, Garvey has done much good work in putting into many Negroes a backbone where for years they have had only a wishbone. He has stimulated race pride. He has instilled a feeling into Negroes that they are as good as anybody else. He has criticized the hat-in-hand Negro leadership. He has inspired an interest in Negro traditions, Negro history, Negro literature, Negro art and culture. He has *stressed the international aspect of the Negro problem.*

If we American Negroes are to attack Garveyism, do it like the MESSENGER editors. Be fair. Don't appeal to nationality—that patriotism which Dr. Johnson called "the last refuge of a scoundrel." The West Indians are among the foremost fighters in all cities for racial rights. They are assiduous workers, vigorous fighters, diligent and able students.

Let Roscoe Conkling Simmons meet Garvey on a fair field. It was Robert G. Ingersoll who once said: "I like black friends better than I do white enemies." So we like West Indian friends better than we do native Negro enemies. We have heard too much talk of anti-West Indian intolerance. We take no stock in this argument. Rather do we regard it as "*a little barrack behind which mental impotency hides when it cannot answer logic.*"

**KLANSMEN MUST SURRENDER JOBS.**

**MAYOR** B. A. Steinhagen of Beaumont, Texas, has thrown a bombshell into the Klansmen's camp. He has ordered every Klan member of the city employees to be dismissed. The report reads: "The Mayor in a formal statement denounces the Klan, and

declared it against the best interests of the city to have Klansmen in its employ."

If there is anything which the Klansmen like better than soft city jobs, it is *more soft city jobs!* Certainly the last place in the world the tar and feather fraternity would expect to be tampered with is in Texas. If this prescription of No Jobs to Klansmen is rigidly enforced, it may very likely prove the complete undoing of these midnight marauders. *The Ku Klug Knuts are not so "nutty" that they cannot appreciate a soft job!*

What may or will follow the wholesome example of the Beaumont executive?

### COLONEL CHAS. YOUNG.

COLONEL Charles Young was murdered by *official race prejudice*. His hardships were the hardships of a Negro colonel, not an American colonel. His life and fate are a splendid example of the vicious operation of the hateful American custom of social inequality as applied to the Negro. Social inequality will invariably reflect itself in political, military, religious, educational and economic inferiority to the weaker

group. That is why we have no patience with the sophisms of rabid, southern white or the craven, sterile apologies of fawning me-to-boss Negro leaders who try to maintain that social equality is not what it is. We are of the opinion that Colonel Young was too diplomatic, too inclined not to "rock the boat" as the time-serving politician would say, to get what he was entitled to, and what a more independent self-asserting, aggressive character would have received. The tactless act is oftentimes the proper act. While silence may sometimes be the mark of dignity it may also be the mark of a fool. We are unalterably opposed to too much diplomacy. We feel that the Negro has lost more than he has gained by it. Kicking is, at least, a sign of life. And it's well to kick every time we are enjoined not to kick. So far as we are able to recall the life of Colonel Young, it impresses us as having lacked the kicking quality. He was content to "let well enough alone," as the saying goes. This, we adjudge as a bad and senseless policy and hope young Negroes will not emulate it.

There are, doubtless, other qualities of the Colonel's that have merit: determination, for instance. It was only an iron will that could carry him through West Point.

## Economics and Politics

### Amnesty for Class-war Prisoners

THERE will be no peace in America until Amnesty is declared. It is the last of all the war-countries to do this deed of justice to the people. The following survey from the New York *Call* will show how groundless and specious the reasons of the Government are for holding class-war and political prisoners in jail:

Evidence that false assertions concerning political prisoners have been issued over the signature of Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty is presented in an official statement given out by the research department of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. It is revealed that grave charges made by Mr. Daugherty against the politicals, and especially against the Industrial Workers of the World, were without any foundation in fact.

His assertions, made in an attempt to justify the failure of the Harding administration to release all wartime prisoners in line with the policy of every other government, are directly at variance with the action of two United States Appeals Courts in relation to the large majority of the defendants in question.

The Federal Church Council's statement follows a painstaking investigation, impelled by a letter written by Mr. Daugherty to the Chicago Church Federation's committee on international friendship. That committee, considering a resolution on amnesty, had asked the

Attorney General to define the legal status of the 114 wartime prisoners. Mr. Daugherty in his letter wrote in part:

"Most of the prisoners still undergoing sentence have not applied for clemency and until they do the department is not, of course, informed, as to what extenuating circumstances or further light they might be able to throw on the subject of their conviction.

"It may be stated generally that practically all the prisoners now undergoing confinement for violation of war-time statutes belong to the Industrial Workers of the World, generally termed the I. W. W., or to the Working Class Union of Oklahoma.

"There were three special trials of the I. W. W. held in Chicago, Kansas City, Kan., and Sacramento. There were 97 convicted at Chicago, approximately 40 at Sacramento and approximately 30 at Kansas City. All of these so-called political prisoners were indicted by a Grand Jury and convicted before a jury of twelve men after hearing all the evidence submitted at their trial. The cases in most instances were appealed to a Circuit Court of Appeals and in some instances to the United States Supreme Court.

"The evidence before the department shows that some of the prisoners in question, or their co-conspirators, destroyed \$50,000,000 worth of property.

"In Oklahoma an armed organization was armed for the purpose of resisting the draft and seizing the reins

of government and by concerted action murdered officials of the government.

*"I cannot go further in details concerning the class of prisoners to which you refer. As an illustration of the attitude of mind of the prisoners from Oklahoma, which is, I think, an accurate reflection of the minds of many other I. W. W. prisoners, the following is a portion of the oath taken by the prisoners to which I refer:*

*"YOU WILL SWEAR BEFORE GOD AND THESE WITNESSES THAT YOU WILL HOLD IN SUPREME CONTEMPT ALL THE INSTITUTIONS OF CAPITALISM, ECCLESIASTICAL AND SECULAR, INCLUDING ITS LAWS, ITS COURTS, ITS RELIGIONS, AND ITS FLAGS."*

"I trust that the foregoing will be sufficient for your purposes, and if you have any information regarding any particular prisoner, the department will be glad to receive it and will give it consideration."

The nature of Mr. Daugherty's reply led the Chicago Federation to withhold decision on the resolution until further information could be obtained, and the letter was turned over to the Federal Church Council for investigation. A representative of the council's research department took up the matter in detail with the Attorney General's office. Digests of the cases and information on specific charges against the individual prisoner were asked for, the council's report states, but were refused.

Continuing, the Federal Church Council says:

"As to the statement that \$50,000,000 worth of property was destroyed in California during 1917 and 1918. it was learned that this is the amount claimed to have been the aggregate property destruction in that state during those years, and is not apportioned among the prisoners in question.

"No evidence was presented in support of the claim that this amount of property has been destroyed. It was explained that this aggregate was attributed to these prisoners and their co-conspirators—"co-conspirators" because they were members of the I. W. W., an organization which the department asserted en-

couraged and incited sabotage, and members of which are therefore responsible for whatever destruction there may be.

"The Chicago and Wichita cases (of the I. W. W.) were carried to Courts of Appeals. In both instances the Appeals Courts ruled that no cases had been made against the defendants on industrial counts, but sustained the convictions on the war counts. These prisoners, therefore, are now serving sentences for violation of the Espionage Act, which is no longer operative.

*"Regarding the oath quoted in the Attorney General's letter 'as an illustration of the attitude of mind of the prisoners from Oklahoma, which is, I think, an accurate reflection of the minds of many other I.W.W. prisoners,' it was learned at the Department of Justice that this is not the oath of the I. W. W. organization as the sentence seems to indicate. It was said to have been an oath taken by members of the Working Class Union of Oklahoma.*

"This organization was created prior to our entrance into the war by a small group of tenant farmers in Oklahoma for the purpose of improving their economic status. The department stated that the organization is now out of existence, so that there is no way of checking up this statement concerning the oath. However, it is of slight importance here, since the large majority of the prisoners had no relation to the Working Class Union.

"On Christmas Day the President commuted the sentences of 24 of the political prisoners. This action has not disposed of the matter, as the correspondence here cited concerning the 114 remaining political prisoners clearly shows."

*Persons who have analyzed the Daugherty letter have pointed out the curious phraseology with which the Attorney General comments on the alleged oath. When he expresses the belief that the purported oath is "an accurate reflection of the minds of many other I. W. W. prisoners," he has gotten a long ways from the facts, inasmuch as none of the Oklahoma defendants were members of the I. W. W.*

—Reprinted from "New York Call"

## Education and Literature

### A VOICE FROM THE DEAD!

By CHANDLER OWEN

WE have been travelling for two and half months; we have gone nearly eight thousand miles. Part of our business has been the surveying and ascertaining of newstands where Negro literature is sold. We have frequently seen the Chicago Defender, the Negro World, the Crisis, the MESSENGER, the California Eagle and the Chicago Whip. But without exaggeration, we went nearly six thousand miles before we saw one New York Age. It was delivered at a home in Spokane, Washington, just before our leaving for

St. Paul, Minnesota. As we glimpsed it, we remarked: "That's the first Age we've seen since leaving New York! "Won't you tell us," we said to the subscriber, "why you read the Age?" To which the subscriber immediately replied: "There's nothing in it except the editorials of James Weldon Johnson!" We asserted whole heartedly: That was all the stronger reason why we wondered at not being able to find it over the long trip before, because we had repeatedly tried to get it for James Weldon Johnson's contributions.

It was well that we got just this issue since it had an editorial referring to Chandler Owen in the West.



Mr. Owen is physically, intellectually and socially *alive*. He is *awake* to every new issue. The *Age* is *dead*; walking around, no doubt, to save the undertaker's expenses.

Throughout all ages death has been the mortal enemy to life. There is nothing surprising, therefore, that the editor of the New York *Age* should hate the editor of the New York MESSENGER.

The greater part of the *Age* editorial is cheap, petty and medacious—so palably false that we pass it over as not being entitled to a decorous answer. One part of the editorial, however, reads: "He cannot be accused of any constructive accomplishment in business or politics."

Let us see something about this. Let us go right into the field of journalism and test this.

First, in 1919, after his release from the army, within a period of six months from June to November, together with his chief associate, A. Philip Randolph, he drove up the circulation of the MESSENGER Magazine to twenty-six thousand copies per month. The following increases took place: June, 10,000; July, 15,000; August, 18,000; September, 21,000; October, 25,000; November, 26,000. In Los Angeles alone, one agent, Jothar Nishida reached the 5,000 mark; W. H. Tibbs of Chicago 3,000; Charles H. Thomas of Philadelphia, 2,500; W. H. Scarville of Pittsburg, 1,500; William S. Nelson of Washington, D. C., 3,500; Louis Silver of Detroit, 800; Raymer's Old Book Store of Seattle, 500; Perry Murphy of Seattle, 400; Tutt's Barber Shop of Seattle, 500; Thomas L. Dabney of Richmond, Va., 500; Frank Worthy of Atlanta, Georgia, 400; Clifford Williams of Boston, 500; E. K. Thumm of Pittsburg, 300; Charles Mooney's newsstand at 135th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City, 545; and numerous agents who took 50, 100, 150 and 200. In short, the MESSENGER was the first 15 cent publication put out among Negroes. (The *Crisis* was then selling at ten cents.) Despite its higher price, despite the fact it was denied second-class mail privileges nearly three years—and was the only Negro publication in the United States denied such privileges!—despite all of these handicaps it reached (what we believe to be an accurate statement) *the largest circulation of any Negro publication in the United States*, except the *Chicago Defender* and the *New York Crisis*. [We do not know the *Negro World* circulation, but we have an analytical statement that its circulation was 20,000.] If any publication has an honest-to-goodness circulation which is greater, of which it will present genuine proof like unto ours, a full statement of its exception will be made in the MESSENGER, following submission of its proof.

So much for the business accomplishment of Messrs. Owen and Randolph. What about their social and education achievement? If we were writing this for the editor of the *Age*, it would be like "casting pearls before swine," for when dealing with the *Age* editor, the reader must keep in mind one whose presumption is only exceeded by his ignorance.

Nevertheless, for the benefit of our readers, take note of the following.

(1) The MESSENGER has been able to carry basic and new information to thousands of white and col-

ored readers—it being reasonably certain that this publication has more white readers than all the other Negro publications in America combined

(2) It has reached a very high literary standard as shown by the comments upon the back of this issue. In addition to that evidence, it has been for three years in Princeton, Harvard, Radcliffe, two copies in the Library of Congress, the 42nd Street and 5th Avenue, New York Public Library. Besides it is being read by several leading white professors of English, economics, sociology, political science and history, along with some of the most distinguished publicists in the United States, England, France and Germany.

In a 27 page review of the Negro publications in the United States, the Democratic United States Department of Justice, in a report to the United States Senate, said: "The MESSENGER, the *Monthly Magazine published in New York, is by long odds the most able . . . of all the Negro publications.*"

The same report, as we recall, stated that the "New York *Age* was among the 'better behaved' of the Negro publications." This terminology will not be understood by most of our white readers nor by some of our northern Negro readers. The southern Negroes will not miss the point, though. *Better behaved* is the Southern term for a "good nigger," that is, one who will take orders from the white bosses against the interests of the Negro.

(3) The MESSENGER was the first publication among Negroes to recognize the Negro problem as fundamentally a labor problem. Pursuant thereto Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen assembled most of the progressive labor leaders of New York in a conference upon the admission of Negroes into all unions upon absolutely equal terms with the whites. This policy has been widely accepted and many such unions refer to the editors of the MESSENGER upon all questions affecting the race. The general confidence in them can be seen from the following list of persons and organizations who have assisted, endorsed or praised the MESSENGER. (Most of the following have assisted.)

District Council No. 9 of New York City, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America. Affiliated with A. F. of L. and National Building Trades Council.

The General Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The General Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers of America. Affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The Marine Transport Workers of Philadelphia, Local No. 8.

Micrometer Lodge, Machinists No. 1, A. M. W. A.

General Board United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America.

International Journeymen Bakers' and Confectioners' Union of America.

International Federation of Workers in Restaurant, Hotel and Catering Industry.

Local 25, Ladies' Waist Makers' Union, I. L. G. W.

General Board International Fur Workers' Union, A. F. of L.

Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of Canada.

New York Joint Board of A. C. W. of A.

New York Joint Board of Cloak, Skirt and Reefer Makers' Union.

New York Joint Board of Fur Workers' Union.

New York Joint Board of United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.

Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union.

White Goods Workers' Union.

Millinery Ladies' Straw Hat Union.

New York Joint Board, Vest Makers' Union, A. C. W. of A.

Cleaners' and Dyers' Union.

New York Cutters' Union, A. C. W. of A.

Chicago Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

Children's Dress Makers' Union of New York.

Joint Board of Pants Makers' A. C. W. of A.

The Forward Association.

The Workmen's Circle Convention.

The Rand School of Social Science.

The New York Printers' Pressmen's Union, Local No. 51, A.F. of L.

The New York Jewelry Workers' Union of A. F. of L.

Local No. 261, Painters' Union of New York.



Butcher Workers' Union.  
 Co-operative League of America.  
 United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' No. 6 of Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Seattle International Workers' Defense.  
 United Hebrew Trades.  
 The New York Call.  
 The New York Jewish Daily Forward.  
 The Advance of A. C. W. of A.  
 The Justice of I. L. G. W.

Of this list special mention should be made of the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' New York Joint Board of Cloak Makers and the Workmen's Circle which gave \$500 each to the MESSENGER work last year. Also should be recorded the Marine Transport Workers of Philadelphia which contributed \$1,200 last year and purchased for its members 3,600 copies. The New York Jewish Daily *Forward* donated \$450, the New York District Painters' Council \$300 worth of subscriptions, and a number of unions which responded with \$50, \$100 and \$25, respectively. (P. S.—The MESSENGER has no large individual contributors.)

While the New York *Age* was around looking for political pie, two-by-four jobs for hat-in-hand Negro leaders, A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen were securing jobs and increases in wages for thousands of Negro girls and men—jobs which paid through unionization of Negroes, all the way from \$30 per week to \$60 per week.

(4) Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph within the last six months, have addressed many of the largest labor councils and unions in the United States. They have done as much to create good racial relations on a basis of equality as any two men in the United States.

The *Age*, through the Moton influence, has stood for race harmony, but on a basis of caste. The white man was to be master and the Negro a slave. The lamb and lion were to lie down together, but the lamb was to be in the lion's belly. The MESSENGER editors do not accept this kind of racial harmony.

(5) Messrs Randolph and Owen have also considerable constructive accomplishment in politics.

In assembling a group of writers and thinkers like W. A. Domingo, George Frazier Miller and William N. Colson, they got together not only the ablest array of scholars on any Negro publication in the world, but they competed on all fours with the very best white publications.

Again, they secured men of definite political convictions who were not vacillating for a little slush from year to year like some of the reactionary editors. For instance, in 1917, when the Fusionists had a two million dollar chest or slush fund, their candidate was John Purroy Mitchel, a *Democrat*. The Republican nominee was William M. Bennett. The editor of the *Age* was not a supporter of Mr. Bennett, the Republican candidate that year. *Instead, he went the way of the slush, with Mr. Mitchell, a great friend of Benjamin Tillman of South Carolina, the Democratic Mayor who kept the Birth of the Nation upon New York screens. who spoke at the Confederate Flag Celebration in Charleston, S. C., right in the middle of the campaign while Fred Moore of the New York Age was supporting him!*

All of the MESSENGER editors and contributors were

on the side of progress in politics that year as they have been the years after. They have resisted all efforts at corruption—even though it would be eminently profitable for them to yield to such groups as the Mitchell Slush Fund group of 1917!

Another thing constructive in politics which has to be accorded Chandler Owen and his associates. They have raised New York from the liquorterian leadership which the *Age* has supported for years. When we began our work in New York, most of the political leaders could be found, as a rule, in Matthey's Saloon, 135th Street and 7th Avenue, New York, drinking liquor and smoking cigars. No campaign, except a beer and sandwich campaign, was made. Not so any longer. Last year we forced the Democrats and Republicans to attempt some kind of educational campaign for about six or eight weeks prior to the election—all over the Negro section of New York.

And all five of these men represent just what they preach—George Frazier Miller, W. A. Domingo, William N. Colson, A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen! Not one of them is a liquorterian or tobacco worm! Not one of them tries to look important with a cigar in his mouth and make this practice do duty for thought.

In brief, Messrs. Randolph and Owen have brought education into Negro politics in contradistinction to the ignoramuses like the Honorable Fred Moore who, of course, brought *what they had*.

They raised it from the bar room where all questions were formerly settled by most of the breed supported by the *Age*.

They have created also a large following all over this country of independent, high-souled, intelligent, courageous Negro men and women, young and old, rich and poor, who are tired of the *political and intellectualless* pabulum formerly fed them by the New York *Age* editor. This following is rapidly on the increase and bids fair within a few years to retire such political and journalistic fossils as the *Age* editor to that oblivion and obscurity from which they ought never to emerge!

Finally, we can not close without reciting the following story. There is an erroneous belief that asafetida destroys or keeps away disease. So an old Southern father put on his little bag. And there is hardly anything which smells more offensive than asafetida. But as if to add worse to worse, the old man went out, was caught in the rain and got wet. And if there is anything which smells worse than asafetida, it is hot asafetida. Later on the old man came in the house to get dry. He sat down before the fireplace with the children assembled around. And if there is anything which smells worse than wet asafetida, it is wet asafetida hot. Consequently when the fumes of this hot, wet asafetida began to permeate the room, all at once the old man's little girl rose, rushed to her mother crying: "Mamma, papa's dead and don't know it."

So it is with the New York *Age* and its editor. He is dead and doesn't know it. The system of society he and the *Age* support are moribund, obsolescent, if not obsolete. Mr. Owen represents a new order of society and, therefore, cannot be persona grata to the old, reactionary, fossilized leadership of the *Age*.

### MESSENGER WORK BEARS FRUIT.

**E**IGHT thousand miles of travel have given us new courage. Our contact with ministers, editors, business and public men of what we would term, formerly, "the old school," has convinced us that not all of them are persistent ignoramuses like the *New York Age* editor—a type which would rather be obstinate than right, that would rather follow his own little thoughtless, error-ridden, myopic course than to bathe his mind in the new light of modern science. On the contrary, we have met conscientious, sincere, devoted men who have real interest in the race; who are willing to be shown the better way; who have stumbled for lack of better light—not because of venality. We have found numbers of men who, though of the old school, could not be coaxed or driven into the disgrace and corruption of a Mitchell Slush Fund of 1917 in New York.

A copy of the April 1st *Chicago Defender* lies before us. Heading the editorial column may be seen, in a box, "Defender's Platform for America—1. The Opening Up of All Trades and Trade Unions to Blacks as Well as Whites. 2. The Appointment of a Member of the Race to the President's Cabinet.

Mr. Robert S. Abbott, the editor and owner of the *Chicago Defender*, deserves no small tribute for this advanced step. It is a new step for the older, more conservative group of Negro leaders. That the largest Negro newspaper in America, with more circulation than all the others combined, should take this advanced economic position—is a tribute to its courage and its enlightened self-interest.

THE MESSENGER is the first and most pronounced spokesman for Negroes entering all trades and trades or labor unions. We realized and heralded that the great need of the Negro was more wages and larger opportunities for securing those wages. We hold that Negroes should be conductors on railroads. All that is required is the physical power to clip a ticket and a good memory, which most pullman porters have.

Negroes should be street car conductors. All that is required is a memory for the streets, power to collect transfers, to notice passengers getting on and off, to ring the bell to stop or start, and to make change.

Negroes should be motormen on street cars. It is not nearly so difficult or dangerous to run a street car as to operate an automobile. Negroes make excellent chauffeurs, and whoever can run an automobile through a congested city, where guiding is necessary, can run a street car on a track where guiding is uncalled for, but only caution in stopping and starting on a permanent track.

Subways in cities like New York, Philadelphia and Boston should employ Negroes—both as motormen and conductors. All that is required to be a conductor is to have the muscle to open and close a door—and no one would claim that Negroes lack the muscle—along with a vigilant eye for the entrance and exit of passengers. Shortly, even this will be unnecessary, inasmuch as the pressing of buttons is getting to be all that is required.

The ability of Negroes to be motormen on subways is to be gleaned from their general engineering ability. All through the South Negro firemen run the trains

for their engineers. In fact, the editors of THE MESSENGER were reliably informed by one of the delegates to the Railroad Brotherhood's Conference in Chicago last fall, that when a railroad strike was being discussed, a Southern delegate, an engineer, rose and warned the conference: "*We cannot afford to strike now. If we do, the bosses will employ Negro engineers; and my Negro fireman can run the train as well as I can.*" (Yet this group of union labor thick-heads shuts out Negro members in flagrant disregard of its own self-interest, not to mention the principles of labor solidarity!)

We want Negroes working as telegraph operators and delivery boys. In most places they have whites, Filipinos, Hindus—anybody but a Negro. Even in the Negro settlement of Harlem in New York City, Hindus are employed, *but no Negroes.*

We want more Negro firemen and policemen. We believe they are better adapted to the delicate situations into which we are running. *We can take a squad of Negro policemen and break up any Ku Klux Klan parade north of the Masn-Dixon line*

We also want to see more Negroes in the skilled trades—machinists, carpenters, brick-masons, painters, printers, stone cutters and plumbers. For years the machinists have had a clause in their constitution: "*That each member agrees to introduce into this organization only a sober, industrious white man.*" Isn't this rich? Other unions who have not had the clauses have followed the practice, which is quite as bad. It was Hutchinson, president of the Carpenters of America, who rose at last year's American Federation of Labor Convention, and objected to the resolution against the Ku Klux Klan!

We are fighting to drive all this petty meanness, this snobbery, out of the American labor movement. This dirty labor union deviltry, this sneaking trade union arrogance, has done much to prejudice Negroes against the labor unions—and justly so. The Negroes have been between the devil and the deep sea. They have had to stand on the fence, with one eye on labor and the other on capital, asking: "*Gentlemen, what do you offer?*" To the shame of the labor movement, it must be said, *capital has put the Negroes in the Unions.* The white unions, on the whole, have kept the Negroes out. When the white workers would strike, capital would bring in Negro and white strike breakers. In self-defense, the unions eventually were forced to take the Negroes in.

We would not leave this subject without saying a word for certain class-conscious, non-prejudiced labor unions. There are unions in this country which grant to Negroes all rights which their white members enjoy. Among them are the Marine Transport Workers of Philadelphia, an industrial union, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the Amalgamated Metal Workers of America, the Brotherhood of Painters, the United Mine Workers of America, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, the International Fur Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Food Industries, and others which we have not space for mention. These unions all have intelligent and principled leaders. They have visions of a new world of

labor. They realize that race is a weapon of the employers, a weapon by which to divide the workers.

(2) The Chicago *Defender* also demands "the appointment of a member of the race to the President's Cabinet."

We don't have any special enthusiasm over this demand. We realize a Negro cabinet member would be most likely the worst hat-in-hand Negro in the country. No other could secure an appointment from the present regime. He would be of no more value to Negroes than would a labor member of the cabinet be of value to labor as such.

Nevertheless, Mr. Abbott represents in this an advance over the conservative Negro editors. How? Well, the others have insisted that they had a patent

on the "*Recorder of Deeds*," the Registrar of the Treasury, Collector of Internal Revenue, Minister to Haiti, Liberia, etc. They had no higher aspiration. They limited the ambition of Negroes by prescribing certain definite jobs for Negroes. Mr. Abbott through the *Defender* is reaching higher. He is taking the advanced position of the MESSENGER editors and its contributors. *They hold that a Negro is entitled to any place that anybody else holds or aspires to.*

In stimulating the just pride, dignity and courage of other editors where they will demand something higher and more fundamental, as in the case of the *Defender*, THE MESSENGER has inaugurated a renaissance in Negro development.

C. O.

## THE LABOR WORLD

### NEW YORK CALL TWO CENTS

ON March 13th, the New York *Call*, the great English labor daily reduced its price from five to two cents a copy. This was the outcome of the New York *Call's* labor conferences. The radical, independent, conservative and progressive unions have rallied to the support of the *Call*. The workers are beginning to see that it's futile to expect a square deal from the capitalist press. The *Call* has stood by labor, now let labor stand by the *Call*.

### LABOR THEATRE GUILD

LABOR has a theatre. The Labor Theatre Guild is planning a splendid program at the Fifteenth Street Theatre in New York. Susan Glaspell's "Trifles," Lawrence Langer's "Another Way Out," and George Bernard Shaw's "The Showing Up of Blanco Posnet" were given for the benefit of political prisoners. A worthy cause, indeed! The stage is a powerful agency for moulding public opinion for or against labor. The workers are fashioning a culture of their own.

### LABOR BANK

THE People's Co-Operative Bank of Hammond, Indiana has doubled its deposits and resources, and pays a higher interest than any other bank in the city. It was boycotted because it refused to limit the rate of interest paid depositors. The Locomotive Engineers' Co-Operative National Bank of Cleveland, a powerful labor institution, owns 51 per cent of the stock. The workers are beginning to see the utter folly of supplying a club to their enemies to break their heads with. If money is useful to the capitalists it is also useful to the workers. Hence it's sensible for the workers to get and keep for their own education as much as they can.

### WAIST AND DRESS MAKERS HOLD BIG MEETING OF NEGRO WORKERS

A MEETING for the colored members of the Waist and Dress Makers' Union was held on Tuesday, March 14th, at the New Douglas Hall, 142nd

Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City. The meeting was called for the purpose of stimulating interest among the Negro members in the activities of the union. A large number turned out. Mr. M. K. Mackoff, the Secretary-Treasurer, arranged the meeting. The speakers were Miss Line, one of the business agents, Julius Halperin, General Organizer, Miss Grace Campbell, a prominent social worker, and A. Philip Randolph. The Waist and Dress Makers' Union is largely composed of Jews, Italians and Negroes. It draws no race, creed or color line.

### MINERS AND RAILROAD WORKERS FORM LOOSE ALLIANCE

THE workers in two of the most basic industries conferred with a view to forming an alliance. They formed a loose one. Perhaps that's not a bad beginning. It's to their interest to combine. Their bosses are united. Directors of coal mines are also directors of railroads. American labor is slow to learn seemingly the most elementary lessons. But some say that the Triple Alliance of England failed. Yes, but that's no argument against alliance. So have individual unions failed; but that would be no reason for workers to disband their unions. Well, perhaps, the class struggle is the only reliable teacher.

### A UNITED WORKING CLASS FRONT

AMONG the European workers it would appear that there is a definite trend toward unity.

The Communist International calls for a "united labor front." Moscow is changing tactics. Other labor groups are calling for unity also. The British Labor party at its Brighton Conference in June, the French Socialist party at its Paris Convention in October, the Executive of the Second International in its November meeting in Brussels, the Executive of the Vienna Union, and the Executive of the Italian Socialist party have indicated a desire to stop fighting among themselves and to begin combining their forces. Needless to say that this is the only hope of the workers.

# Who's Who

## BERT WILLIAMS.

Bert Williams, the premier American comedian, is dead. He achieved the very highest distinction in his line. He won fame and made much money. Writers, who knew him intimately, say that he never satisfied his ambition; that he aspired to more serious work. It is well to know of his inner yearnings.

Poignant darts of regret and bitter disappointment must have shot his body through while he pondered a talent missing its mark on account of color. It is no little pleasing to learn of his thinkings. It is interesting and heartening, too, to know that there are a few Negro stage folk who smart under the cork and struggle to rend the veil even though but a few succeed; for this is our only hope.

As we see it, Bert Williams as he was, rendered a disservice to black people. He was heralded throughout the country as a great comedian; but he left in his train the fallen gods of Negro culture-urgings. He played in theatres that either barred or Jim-Crowed Negroes—a policy born of the conception that all men of color are inherently inferior to white men—and by a strange irony of fate, Bert Williams himself was a facile instrument of this insidious cult. At the end, he lamented his failure to be considered and acclaimed as a *whole, full-orbed man* on the American stage and yet his life's work rendered it possible for the Negro actor to be received as a *half-man only*. But, you ask, what about Charles Gilpin? Has he not faced a Broadway audience as a straight, full-fledged dramatist? To this question we must answer, yes. And still arises the question as to the *play*?

It is not altogether a commonplace that "Emperor Jones" is the most desirable vehicle for presenting the Negro to the white world. We can only judge the psychic chemistry which goes on in the heads of the white theatrical audiences by their attitudes. It is a matter of general opinion that Broadway will not

countenance the Negro in a serious, dignified, classical drama. Theatre-going white America will only respond favorably to Negro clowns, buffoons, funny-men, that kind of acting that stamps him as an inferior. Modern capitalist America won't have it otherwise. The church, press, theater, novel, film, all sedulously preach the doctrine of Negro inferiority, and with a tragic naivete, silhouetted against a grim, and uncanny economic determinism, Negroes preach it, too. But history teaches that the oppressed have always acquiesced in and defended their own oppression. Hence black geniuses must be strangled, art sacrificed to the blear-eyed gangrenous monster of race hate spewed up by a rotten and rotting social order. Such was the unhappy fate of Mr. Williams, entangled in the cruel web of a sodden and sordid commercial art world, without assurance or hope of realizing dream and passion for creative work. In his heart there welled up a bitter revulsion against his many plaudits from a white world whose cynical democracy and Christianly brotherhood caged his pulsing, rebel genius within the narrow, cold, gray walls of muffled, stilted art. His was the ignoble lot of dragging his people through the flotsam and jetsam of art to the derisive and vulgar hand-clapping of race prejudiced America. His funmaking, of course, was what they wanted, the lowest form of intellection. They delight in visualizing a race of court-jesters. Such people don't demand social equality or organize their labor power for economic betterment. They are content to make the world *laugh*; they are not concerned about making it *think*. It is also expressive of a certain contentment and docility that sap every drop of *red, vital radicalism and revolt* out of the wide working masses and render them helpless, anaemic creatures to the most unspeakable exploitation. Such is the reason for white capitalist America's flattering Bert Williams.

# Open Forum

## INDIA AND THE NEGRO.

**P**ERHAPS the greatest single handicap in the way of attaining Negro emancipation is the almost universal conviction that solidarity is an ideal that can never be realized. Because this impression is so generally accepted it is generally considered impossible to unite the race. The solution lies not in unreasoned optimism, but in being prepared to take advantage of every opportunity for effective action.

In March of this year, the military authorities of

the British Government ordered the West Indian Regiment, stationed on the island of Jamaica, to board ship for service in India in anticipation of further and serious trouble in that country. The Regiment, composed entirely of Negroes, refused to the last man to take up arms against the Hindu people in their struggle for freedom.

The chief significance of this inspiring incident lies not in the natural sympathy of the West Indians for their brothers in Asia, but in the fact that they expressed their sympathy openly, effectively, and as a

racial unit, risking all the consequences of military mutiny. It is an unqualified demonstration of the fact that unanimity is not impossible, and with that achieved, no limit can be set for the forward march.

The fact that Indian freedom was the issue carries a further lesson to the American Negro. The subjugation of the Hindus is carried on by British imperialism with "We must come to the aid of the backward races" as its motto—the same excuse as that used here to justify exploitation of the colored man. The unvarying policy of organized robbery is to raise a smoke screen of educational and missionary projects, behind which they can carry on their work of plunder. Irrespective of national boundaries, the keen-minded Negro recognizes his own exploiter in the exploiter of the Hindu. He cannot watch the struggle indifferently, and awaits only the opportunity to lend immediate and substantial cooperation to the masses of India.

ARTHUR T. JOYCE.

*Editors of THE MESSENGER:*

I received your notice that my subscription to the MESSENGER had expired, and that you had granted me a respite until the 14th. I thank you very much for calling my attention to the matter and granting me the respite. Your magazine gives me new courage each issue. I am here fighting for my Race, and daily protesting against the injustices inflicted upon us as a Race. Your magazine gives me new courage and I feel at a loss when it does not come. All that we have gained has been by protest. We have suffered for the lack of protest. If we hold what we have; if we ever obtain our full freedom and citizenship and be accorded the privileges of other citizens, it will have to be done by protest. May you continue to protest and may success be yours.

With kindest personal regards, for you and your co-workers, I am

Yours very truly,  
J. M. ELLIS.



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Time to dine and to eat away.

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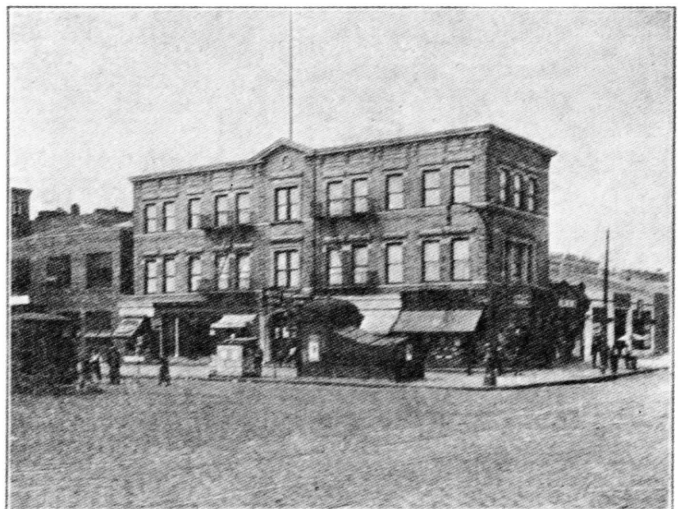
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ED. H. WILSON, Proprietor



# A Call to Solidarity!!

Local 8 of the Marine Transport Workers of Philadelphia, affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World, call to the workers of all races, creeds, color and nationality to Unite.

If we would maintain our standard of living, and prepare for the final emancipation of the workers, we must organize our labor power upon an industrial basis.

We are the only organization in America which has a uniform wage for engineers, holemen, truckers, riggers, and water boys.

Of our three thousand and five hundred members, over two thousand are Negroes.

In this period of industrial depression and black reaction, only solidarity can save the workers.

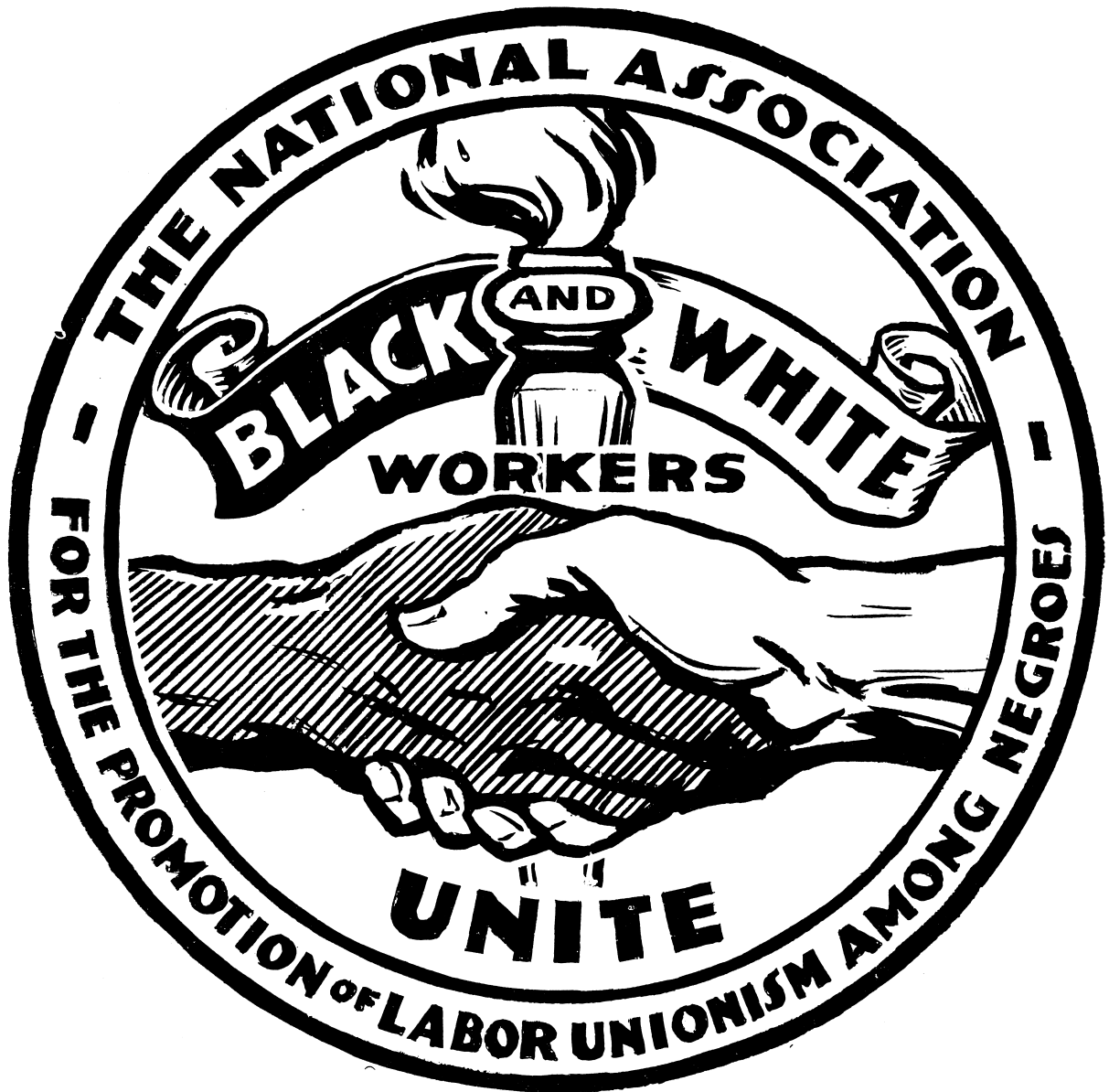
Let workers of all races, creed, color and nationality, organize to liberate the class-war and political prisoners. Let us organize to build up a new Brotherhood for mankind where there is no race, class, craft, religious or nationality distinctions.

**Workers: Organize, Agitate, Educate, Emancipate!**

**Marine Transport Workers  
Industrial Union, Local No. 8**

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (I. W. W.)

121 Catharine Street, Philadelphia, Pa.



---

Until the workers of all races, creeds, nationalities and colors are joined hand in hand against their common foe—the capitalist exploiters, for the achievement of a common aim—their emancipation, their fight will be futile, useless.

As long as the **black and white** working dogs keep fighting over the **bone of race prejudice**, the **yellow capitalist dog** will run up and **grab the meat** in the form of **big profits**.

Race wars like wars between Nations are fought for the benefit of the **Owning Class**.

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# 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.

\* \* \*

The MESSENGER shows a masterly grasp not only on our particular Negro problem, but on world problems as well.

ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE

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

\* \* \*

The MESSENGER is a pioneer in clearing the way to union between black and white workers on the only solid ground there is.—organized resistance to the exploiters, organized power for a radical goal.”

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.

\* \* \*

The MESSENGER is a very excellent publication, with splendid articles on general political and economic problems written by able journalists.

NEW YORK JEWISH DAILY FORWARD.

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 OVINGTON.

\* \* \*

The editors have a thorough knowledge of the economic history of the United States. Some of the best studies in economic history have appeared in the MESSENGER, studies that are worthy of a wider reception among white workers as well as among Negroes.

THE NEW YORK CALL.

\* \* \*

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.