

THE CAUSE AND REMEDY FOR RACE RIOTS



SEPTEMBER, 1919

CONTENTS

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CONTENTS:

1. EDITORIALS	Page 4
2. ECONOMICS AND POLITICS	14
3. EDUCATION AND LITERATURE	22
4. WHO'S WHO	33
5. THE OPEN FORUM	34

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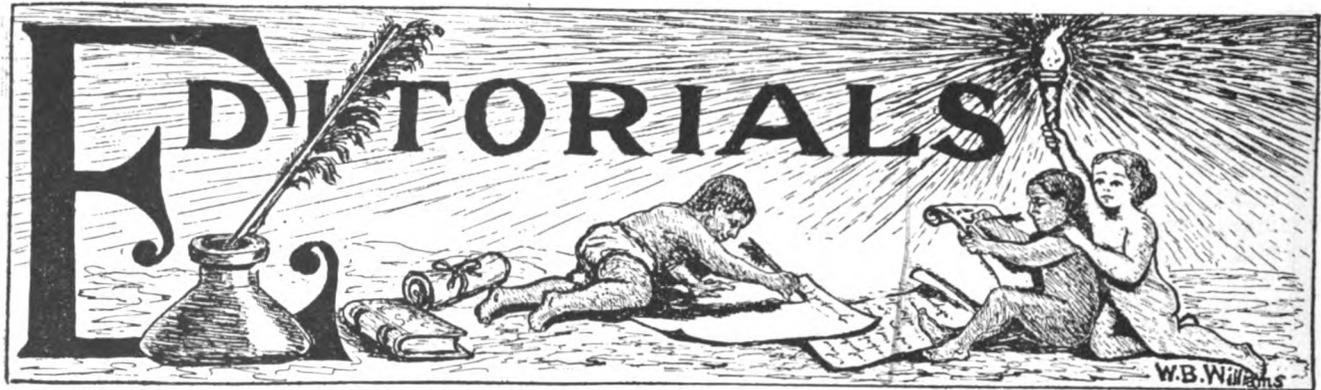
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"IF WE MUST DIE"

America won the war that was alleged to be fought for the purpose of making the world safe for democracy, but in the light of recent happenings in Washington, the Capital city, and Chicago, it would seem as though the United States is not a part of the world. In order to win the war President Wilson employed "force, unstinted force," and those who expect to bring any similar desirable termination to a just cause can do no less than follow the splendid example set them by the reputed spokesman of humanity. That the lesson did not take long to penetrate the minds of Negroes is demonstrated by the change that has taken place in their demeanor and tactics. No longer are Negroes willing to be shot down or hunted from place to place like wild beasts; no longer will they flee from their homes and leave their property to the tender mercies of the howling and cowardly mob. They have changed, and now they intend to give men's account of themselves. If death is to be their portion, New Negroes are determined to make their dying a costly investment for all concerned. If they must die they are determined that they shall not travel through the valley of the shadow of death alone, but that some of their oppressors shall be their companions.

This new spirit is but a reflex of the great war, and it is largely due to the insistent and vigorous agitation carried on by younger men of the race. The demand is uncompromisingly made for either liberty or death, and since death is likely to be a two-edged sword it will be to the advantage of those in a position to do so to give the race its long-denied liberty.

The new spirit animating Negroes is not confined to the United States, where it is most acutely manifested, but is simmering beneath the surface in every country where the race is oppressed. The Washington and Chicago outbreaks should be regarded as symptoms of a great pandemic, and the Negroes as courageous surgeons who performed the necessary though painful operation. That the remedy is efficacious is beyond question. It has brought results, for as a consequence the eyes of the entire world are focused upon the racial situation in the United States. The world knows now that the New Negroes are determined to observe the primal law of self-preservation whenever civil laws break down; to assist the authorities to preserve order and prevent themselves and families from being murdered in cold blood. Surely, no

one can sincerely object to this new and laudable determination. Justification for this course is not lacking, for it is the white man's own Bible that says "Those who live by the sword shall perish by the sword," and since white men believe in force, Negroes who have mimicked them for nearly three centuries must copy them in that respect. Since fire must be fought with hell fire, and diamond alone can cut diamond, Negroes realize that force alone is an effective medium to counteract force. Counter irritants are useful in curing diseases, and Negroes are being driven by their white fellow citizens to investigate the curative values inherent in mass action, revolvers and other lethal devices when applied to social diseases.

The New Negro has arrived with stiffened back bone, dauntless manhood, defiant eye, steady hand and a will of iron. His creed is admirably summed up in the poem of Claude McKay, the black Jamaican poet, who is carving out for himself a niche in the Hall of Fame:

IF WE MUST DIE

If we must die, let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If we must die, oh, let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honor us, though dead!

Oh, kinsmen! We must meet the common foe;
Though far outnumbered, let us still be brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one death-blow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but—fighting back!

W. A. D.

DEFENSE OF NEGRO RIOTERS

The Messenger appeals to all citizens who believe in fair play and justice to address their attention now to the defense of the Negroes who participated in the rioting or who were arrested as alleged participators therein. Committees should be formed immediately in which practically all Negro organizations might participate for the collection of funds, the giving out of publicity, the ascertainment of facts, bailing and bonding, and giving aid and comfort and succor to the men who are in prison. In Chicago, we are informed, by

the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, that in connection with the Urban League and other organizations, a committee has been formed to look after work suggested along this line. We urge that that committee be extended in size and that its work begin to proceed with acceleration. The fraternal societies like the Pythians, Odd Fellows, Masons, Elks, Shriners, St. Luke's, etc., should lend their assistance. These organizations should not only appeal to their membership to support the cause of the defense of these men, but they would do credit to themselves to vote large sums of money, ranging from \$500 to \$10,000, directly out of their treasuries. Every Negro newspaper should also join in pushing the drive through; all Negroes whether working men or business people should join in the movement.

For defense, no special opportunity should be given to some aspiring young lawyer who wants to make a reputation by experimenting with these cases. The ablest lawyers in the country should be put at the defense of these men. Samuel Untermyer, Clarence Darrow, George Gordon Battle, Louis Marshall, John B. Stanchfield, William D. Guthrie, Bourke Cochran—men of this type—should be the chief counsel for defense. What does it matter if the lawyers alone cost \$25,000? Have not these Negroes taken the first line trenches for all of us? Were they not acting in self-defense? Not only in defense of themselves, but of the whole race?

We wish to call attention to the necessity of quick work too. There is no time for delay. The lawyers need to be on the job at this very moment, studying the evidence, getting in touch with witnesses, ferreting out contributory causes, interviewing different people. **Money and lawyers are the most important factors** just now. These are the immediate demands. Money must be collected and dispensed by persons whose honesty and efficiency are above reproach. Publicity must be given to all monies collected and all monies spent. Someone will have to be hired to do this work. Clerks, stenographers, managers and organizers, postage and literature, general publicity, will cost money. Don't let anyone make a foolish demand for voluntary service in the detailed and technical work. In order to place responsibility, someone must be paid.

On with the defense! Let every Negro become a part of the Defense Committee.

MIXED JURIES FOR THE RIOT TRIALS

The Messenger urges that there be mixed juries in the trials of all persons alleged to have been connected with the Washington and Chicago riots. We do not believe that justice will be done or that an impartial investigation and verdict can be possible unless both white and colored men compose the juries. There is every reason to suspect the type of justice which may be meted out in the forthcoming trials. The arrests in the two cases do not inspire confidence. It is admitted that white men were the aggressors both in Washington and in Chicago, yet in Washington the arrests bore the relation of six Negroes to one white man and ten Negroes to one white man in Chicago. The sharpest

indictment against our system of jurisprudence in America is shown by the Grand Jury in Chicago striking because, as it said: "No evidence against white participants had been presented." The first two days of the Chicago August Grand Jury, fifty-four Negroes were indicted in all, for alleged rioting, assault and murder. Not a single white was indicted until the grand jury demanded it. We therefore urge, all the more strongly, that the juries be made up of six white men and six colored men in the trial of both white and colored men connected with the riots.

STRIKES

To strike is to stop work with a view to winning certain demands, such as, more wages, shorter hours or better conditions under which to work. It is not alone effective for the achievement of economic object, however, but it may be used also for securing favorable political action. For instance, the threat of the Brotherhood of Railway trainmen to strike in 1916, forced the adoption of the Adamson 8-hour Day Law by Congress.

The strike is the chief weapon in the hands of labor in the class war, since by the use of it, labor is able to enforce a loss upon capital by arresting production. When production ceases, profits stop also. And since business is only run for profits, when it is no longer possible to get profits out of the enterprise, the reason for business is destroyed. This is why capitalists are terror-stricken at the use of the strike. "Big Business" knows how helpless it is when confronted with the strike.

Labor is gradually awakening to the necessity of striking at the source of production. Throughout the country in the ranks of all types of labor, strikes are being called to offset the rising cost of living. In Brooklyn, New York, The Brooklyn Rapid Transit Employees have virtually won their demands after having paralyzed transportation for several days. Transportation in Chicago is just assuming normal conditions in the wake of a bitter strike. The railway shopmen, cigar makers, workers in the building trades, longshoremen, etc., are striking, have struck, or are about to strike for a better living wage. Even 12 theatres in New York City have been closed by a strike of actors. And it is rumored that the police in New York City and Boston are organizing themselves into a union. So it has finally dawned upon those who are charged with the enforcement of the law that they too are workingmen who receive wages with which they must purchase life—food, clothing and shelter. This is the beginning of the end. For when one part of the working class which is used to hold down the large masses of the workers, strikes—then truly the end of capitalism is at hand. Since without the police, the militia and the regular army, the ruling class is powerless and impotent.

The present order of strikes ought to impress the millions of Negro workers in the South. Cotton is used in every conceivable form of manufacture. It is the basis of the great clothing industry. The progress of science has been materially accelerated by King Cotton. Millions of bales are produced by Negro labor yearly out of which millions of dollars of profits are realized and yet, the large ma-

jority of Negro cotton plantation workers are in dire poverty on account of the starvation wages they receive. What is the remedy is the question coming from the mouths of millions of black workers.

The answer is contained in one word—"Strike!" Piteous appeals are of no avail. Positive demands enforced by the strike are the only things that count. If the Negro cotton workers were to strike, the great cotton mills of England that rely upon the cotton exported from the South would be forced to close down. Now since these cotton mills are owned by the capitalists of England, who, in turn, control Parliament, representations would be made immediately to America with a view to influencing the action of the Government with respect to the cotton strike. When the Negro understands his power to cripple the main industry of the South by arresting production, and thereby stopping the creation of profits, he shall have reached the point where he will be able to secure a respectful hearing in the high court of American public opinion in general, as well as an attentive audience from Southern cotton plantation owners in particular.

The exploiting class in all parts of the world can appreciate a blow in the pocketbook. Negroes must form cotton workers' unions and present their demands to the masters of the cotton industry in the South. There is no need for fear. Not a sign of cotton can be raised without Negro labor. Southern white capitalists know that Negroes can bring the white bourbon South to its knees by one strike at the source of production. So, go to it!

THE MARCH OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM



Because of the slowness and inadequacy of political action class conscious labor is more and more relying on industrial solidarity as the omnipotent weapon for the achievement of its immediate aims as well as its ultimate liberation. All over the world—in Australia, Canada, England, France, Spain and the Virgin Islands, the working class with minds that interpret the inevitable trend of social and industrial evolution, is being inspired with the grand idea of the One Big Union. This new form of unionism, logical and revolutionary, is the workers reply to capitalism's gigantic combinations of trusts, cartels and financial syndicates. It is the antidote for capitalist poisons.

Split up into separate craft unions, convulsed by jurisdictional jealousies, deluded by notions of craft aristocracy, organized labor in the past refused to avail itself of its entire strength, but instead, permitted itself to be flattered with patriotic slush, cajoled by ecclesiastical soothsayers, pampered by designing philanthropists and deceived by artful and professional worshippers at the shrine of racial and national prejudices. Instead of depending upon their industrial power to achieve results, the workers were induced by their venal and corrupt leaders to over-emphasize and use political means, such as dignified arbitrations and eminently proper "working agreements," for the enforcement of their demands. This policy proved barren of real results. Instinctively labor began to change its tactics. It saw that "orderly" methods, methods that depended upon politicians to legislate justice for the working class were clumsy of execution and productive of delay and internal discord. With their disillusionment as to tactics, the working class began to apply a radical remedy—one that could bring maximum results by the exertion of a maximum of pressure.

Strikes ceased to be localized as they extended their scope and embraced entire industries. This tendency became infectious, and when the workers of an industry struck to enforce their demands, other groups, superficially unrelated, struck sympathetically. With many a reverse, but with definite gains in discipline, experience and class solidarity, it was but a question of time that the goal of a Big Strike became labor's objective. The dream of the Socialist theoretician was gradually transferred from the inanimate pages of books to the sentient and pulsating battlefields of the class-struggle. Thus the theory of the General Strike became more and more coordinated with the actualities of industrial and political life.

This development corresponded in character with the growth of capitalist combinations. It was the ruthless competition among small businesses that forced the birth of trusts. Also it was the scabbing of one craft upon another in cases of strike that called the industrial union into being. To have unity of action without unity of purpose and organization was an anachronism that could not long exist. Hence, in order for the General Strike to function effectively, it had to have an organization of suitable structure.

Realizing the futility of attempting general strikes while maintaining craft unions, the workers, ignoring the advice of conservative leaders, began to scrap their obsolete and unwieldy organizations for the more wieldy and, to the capitalists, terror-inspiring industrial union. To conform with the goal of a strike that included every worker, the form of One Big Union that included all workers was evolved. The accomplishment of this revolutionary aim was opposed at every step by the forces of reaction in and outside of the ranks of labor. Imperialist business interests recognized in the new union a formidable and deadly foe and mobilized every ounce of strength to destroy it. Governments whose chicane had deceived the workers into believing in their impartiality, threw off their masks and revealed their class affiliation and class character. The class struggle was more luridly revealed. Persecution of various kinds was meted

out to the leaders. Laws to suppress industrial unions were enacted and, to live up to the best traditions of patriotism, so that Americanism should not perish from the earth, members of the Industrial Workers of the World were tarred and feathered, deported into arid wildernesses, while their leaders were treated even as Negroes are now being treated—LYNCHED! However, despite misrepresentation, persecution and violence visited upon its disciples, the principles of the One Big Union are swiftly encircling the globe and making new converts. From the Pacific Coast it sweeps eastward to the Atlantic, across the ocean to Europe, and then to Asia. Where it will stop only its proponents dare assert with any degree of positiveness. Already all races are affected. Its magic phrase—One Big Union—has magnetic potency in bringing members of the working class under its sway. Wherever it is heard, be it in Winnipeg, Glasgow, Sydney or the little known islands of the Virgin group, the workers become victims of its seductive spell. ON WITH THE ONE BIG UNION! ON WITH INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM! ON WITH THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD!

CARFARE INCREASE

The disgrace of the American city has been its control by traction interests. The only cities that are not subject to the orders of the traction ring, are those cities where no ring exists, because the people own their car system, their light and gas industries. Professor Evans Clark, formerly of Princeton University, in a carefully conducted investigation this year, showed that the cost of carrying each passenger in New York City for 1918 was two and three-fifths cents. Huge profits were coined out of the public, who on street cars, subways and elevated railroads, traveled like sardines packed in a can. A profit of more than 40% was reaped off each passenger. Unprecedented prosperity marked the career of the traction interests. But despite all of this, the traction interests of New York, Boston, Philadelphia—everywhere, are asking for increased rates. In Boston, July 21st, the street car fare advanced to 10c; Chicago has increased the fare to 8c; Philadelphia has a five cent fare and a three cent transfer; New Jersey has increased its fare to 8c, while the New York City traction ring has already put on a 2c transfer, and is asking for an 8c straight fare.

Now, the people everywhere should oppose these increases in carfare. Nearly everybody has to make use of the cars, with the exception of those people who have automobiles; and most of the people who work (and most people do work) don't have automobiles. There is no justification or reason for this increased fare. The street cars have carried more passengers this year than ever before in their history. The passengers have hung on to straps and rails, except at times when one was so tightly jammed that he could get to neither a strap nor a rail. Unless we are alert, however, the traction interests, who control the city councils and mayors and the Public Service Commissions will put over this demand of capital in every city of the country. The people must get right on the job and demand

a three cent fare all over the country. This is ample amount of carfare to pay anywhere. Better still, let the people in every city take over, own, operate, and socially control their own street cars and traction industries. This is striking the evil at the source and it will relieve the burdens of transportation from which the people now suffer.

NEGRO LEADERS COMPROMISE AS USUAL

In Washington, during the riot, it was Judge Robert Terrell and Emmet J. Scott who led the inglorious compromise as usual. Those two would-be leaders issued a joint letter, in which they said "the retaliation which followed the attack of the white mob on the part of colored people was to be deplored." In Chicago, Illinois, another compromise Negro leader outdid Scott, Terrell and Robert Russa Moton in the sycophancy and spinelessness of his advice and observation. We refer to Beauregard F. Moseley. This hand picked Negro said:

"Some of us forget that the white man has given us freedom, the right to vote, to live on terms of equality with him, to be paid well for our work and to receive many other benefits. Now, if the white man should decide that the black man has proved he is not fit to have the right to vote, that right might be taken away, we might also find it difficult to receive other favors to which we have been accustomed, and then what would happen to us?"

"We must remember that this is a white man's country. Without his help we can do nothing. When we fight the white man we fight ourselves. We can start a riot, but it takes the white man to stop it. We are interested not in what started the riots but how to stop them."

May we ask what our readers think of this observation of one Beauregard Moseley? Just what did he get for making this statement and what white men were fools enough to believe that his statements would have the slightest effect among the New Negroes of this country, except to pour oil on the fire? The white man has not given us any freedom, neither the northern nor the southern man. What we have gotten we have taken, and such concessions as have been granted were granted merely because they were beneficial to him. The right to vote was granted to the Negro in the South during the Reconstruction days because a group of hypocritical, reactionary and plutocratic Republicans wanted to keep in power in order that they might control the granting of franchises, the selling of privileges to railroads, the stealing of coal lands, plundering the public domain and, above all, because they would have the power to lay and collect taxes on everybody while exempting themselves. They found Negroes to be efficient tools in helping them maintain this power. But just so soon as those Republican hypocrites, represented by this same Chicago Tribune, were able to see their way clear to election in the North and West, without the aid of the Southern Negroes, the Southern Negroes were gracefully turned over to the tender mercies of their former white masters. What happened since is a matter of history. The story of disfranchisement, grandfather clauses, the Klux-Klan and lynching is familiar to every child of seven years of age. Moseley ought to know that most Negroes do not enjoy their right to vote. We

are now fighting to live on terms of equality with the white man, which shows on its face that we do not enjoy the right. To be paid well for our work is far away from any actuality. Why even white men are not paid well for their work today, that is, the great masses of them. Those who employ both white and colored men are trying to get the greatest amount of work for the least amount of pay. They are trying to get the longest hours out of the workers and to give the lowest pay for their work. It is out of this constant fight that the packing industry will reap the benefit from the riot.

Moseley says that we must remember that this is a white man's country. Well, we have fought like hell for it and unless we get part of it and enjoy it peacefully, we will riot all over the United States. And as we proceed in our fight for it, a black rascal and a sniveling scoundrel, who betrays the trust of the toiling black workers, will fare no better than a white scoundrel, and probably a little bit worse. Why even white men no longer talk about this being a white man's country, unless it be Hoke Smith, Vardaman, John Sharp Williams, Cole Blease or some such Southern bourbon. This hand-picked Negro also says: "We can start a riot, but it takes the white man to stop it." Where does he get this interpretation? The evidence shows that in Washington and Chicago, the whites started the riots, but it took the Negroes to stop them. Had it not been for Negro self-assertion and manhood, the riot sport would have proceeded until white men got tired and stopped of their own free will. But not so of recent date. The Negroes took the defensive—offensive in Washington, and according to the papers, the move was marked "by general preparedness on the part of the Negroes." Chicago would have been another East St. Louis except for the Negroes stopping the rioters. Besides, we are also interested in what started the riots as a means of understanding what stopped them.

More spineless, sycophantic, servile, slavish statements have probably not been spewed from any Negro, than the above quotation from this "me-too-boss," "hat-in-hand" Negro leader of Chicago—one Beauregard Moseley. No wonder the Chicago Tribune carries a headline "COLORED LEADER ISSUES REMARKABLE WARNING TO HIS RACE."

THE NEGRO—A REPUBLICAN

The Negro is a Republican. He has been a Republican for fifty years. He is a Republican because his father was a Republican. He is a Republican because Abraham Lincoln was a Republican. He is a Republican for what the Republican Party once was and not for what it now is. But awake, old black brother Republican! The Republicans have been rioting on you for several weeks. You received no protection in Washington, D. C., even though the District of Columbia is governed by Congress, and both the Senate and the House of Representatives are made up of Republicans. In Chicago, the only protection you got came from yourselves, and yet Chicago is a Republican city. It has a Republican mayor, William Hale Thompson. The State of Illinois, in which Chicago is situated, has a Republican Governor, Lowden. The

City Council of Chicago is Republican. The State Legislature of Illinois is also Republican. The Grand Jury in Chicago, which indicted 54 Negroes before indicting any white man, was a Republican Grand Jury. The District Attorney who presented these cases against the 54 Negroes was a Republican District Attorney. The police who arrested Negroes (and shut their eyes when they came to white rioters) were Republican policemen. The *Chicago Tribune*, the leading mouthpiece of the Republican Party of the United States, has been as bitter in its attacks on the Negroes during the riot as the *Atlanta Constitution*. Compared with the *New York World*, a Democratic mouthpiece, it sinks into innocuous desuetude.

Of course, all of these papers, juries, mayors and governors are farces when compared with the Socialist groups. There is not a Socialist or Industrial Workers of the World paper, which has not given a fair and just interpretation to the riots. There is no inclination at all to cater to the Negroes either because the bulk of the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World is white. But they understand the true cause of the riots. They are not deceived by this cry of race prejudice. They know quite well that the whites will suffer as much as the blacks from what has happened. They understand that the packing interests and the capitalists of the country want to keep the white and black dogs fighting over a bone in order that they (the capitalists) may get away with the bone. The employers will beat down, mob and starve white working men and women just as readily as they will black men and women. No talk of patriotism will deter them from their purpose. Their flag is not the red, white and blue. Their flag is a yellow flag; it represents gold. Gold is also the flag of the Republican Party. But Negroes are workers. They are not capitalists and employers. They have nothing in common with the Republican Party. They must get out of the Republican Party and get into the party which represents them—which represents all the workers. That is the Socialist Party. So get in it!

STRUGGLING HUNGARY

The Hungarian Soviet Government has been forced out. The moderate socialist government which succeeded it has also been forced out. Neither government has been forced out, however, by the people of Hungary. They have been forced out by foreign governments. They have been forced out by the most titanic gang of hypocrites and the most motley crew of alien capitalists that any democratic government has ever been beset with. The government has been overthrown because self-determination has been denied to the people. Nor was this self-determination denied by the German Kaiser or the Hindenburg military caste. It has been denied by the connivance and collusion of our own suave diplomats who talk a great deal of ornate and rhetorical balderdash about the rights of free people and about "making the world safe for democracy." Another conspirator in this arch conspiracy was the subtle and cunning Lloyd George along with the plutocratic British barons who have been so disturbed during the last

four years over the desecration of helpless little Belgium. And France, too, must come in for her share of guilt. Indeed, she is one of the chief offenders. And naturally so, since Hungary is nearer to her than to either of the aforementioned countries.

Serious suspicion and distrust are also thrown on the Peace Conference and the Allied Council. The Messenger does not consider this outrage as the outrage of Roumania imposed on Hungary. We know better. Roumania has simply been the agent of the Allied governments who have banded together to harrass, suppress and stamp out any democracy which lifts its head in the world. A lesson to labor needs to be drawn also. The Allies were opposed to the Soviet Government of Hungary. They supposedly assisted the change to a moderate Socialist government. But the truth is, they were opposed to both. It is the same lesson of the American Federation of Labor, as shown by the denials of recent date to the Federation of Labor's organizers, organizing in the steel industry of Pennsylvania. It is a case of not that they "hate Brutus less, but that they hate Caesar more." Here is the lesser of two evils which they are choosing. Between the I. W. W. and the American Federation of Labor, the capitalists will always choose the American Federation of Labor. But when the A. F. of L. began, it was bitterly opposed just like the I. W. W. is today. The policy of the capitalist is, between two radical bodies, choose the less radical. Between several radical bodies, choose the least radical.

So with Hungary. The Allied governments would rather have a moderate group of Socialists in control than the Soviet group. But they are opposed to both, and Archduke Joseph looks much better to them by far, than even Scheidemann. As radicals, however, we need not be alarmed. This was just what we expected. The whole of Europe combined for twenty-five years to overthrow the French revolution. But it's soul was there to stay, to permeate Europe, and to drive from power the remaining vestige of feudalism. The soul of Soviet government still clings to the Hungarian people. Ere long it will drive the dukes, archdukes, and counts to the tall timbers, and to that oblivion and obscurity from which they ought never to emerge. The sooner the better. On with the dance.

DU BOIS AND THE CRISIS

Again we must take to task Du Bois and the *Crisis*. There is no personal feeling which we hold toward either, but in as much as the *Crisis* has the second largest circulation of any Negro publication in the world, we cannot allow the flagrant and erroneous presentation which frequently slips into the *Crisis* Magazine to pass unchallenged.

In the July Education number of the *Crisis* under the title "Reconstruction," Du Bois is discussing politics on page 131. The following quotations we wish to note: "Let us know the law and officials and their duties. Let us keep continual and rigid tabs on every candidate. Away with parties, what we want is men. Away with promises—what we want is deeds. Study, learn, register and vote. . . . Do not vote for a party. Never vote a straight

ticket. Vote for men and measures—not for parties."

This puerile and effete advice coming from the most distinguished Negro in the United States may have the touch of wisdom to it so far as most Negroes are concerned, but with intelligent, radical groups, and students of political science it is not worthy of an alleged Negro sociologist. Any student of government knows today that the United States is distinctly under the control of party government. Whoever the man is, he must be on some ticket, and that ticket is a ticket of some party, but this is a mere elementary criticism upon that advice.

The more fundamental criticism comes on the advice of Du Bois to Negroes to support men and not parties. It is better to trust a party than to trust a man. A man may die over night. But this is not so likely with a party. Again the party is stronger than the man. This has been repeatedly shown in many cases where strong men were concerned. The case of Roosevelt is in point. He attempted to bolt the party and the party came near killing Roosevelt in the political life of the United States. He never recovered from the blow. The case of Governor Sulzer of New York in 1913 is again in point. Governor Sulzer belonged to the Tammany Hall Democratic party. He was nominated and elected by the Democratic machine. He attempted to oppose the machine and he was promptly impeached and overthrown while pitifully appealing for mercy at the hands of his former supporters. The reason for this is not strange to students of political science. Any candidate on the political field is simply a part of the political machine. He is a cog in the wheel. As part of the machine he must move with the machine or he will be crushed. There is no escaping this conclusion. Moreover, as we have said before, a party is a body of individuals who agree upon a political program and who strive to gain control of the government in order to secure its adoption. Its campaigns are made possible by a fund created by those persons who desire the adoption of the party's program. It is natural and plain then that those who supply the funds will control and direct the party.

But the only way in which the program can be adopted is by securing control of the government. And the only way in which control of the government can be secured is by securing sufficient votes. The only way in which sufficient votes can be secured is by making a campaign, while the only way by which a campaign can be made is by securing the necessary funds.

Now the fund givers constitute the party machine. He who pays the fiddler will call the tune. The power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will. This "good men and good measures" policy is done to deceive the voters. They constitute window dressing. A good man is put on the governor's ticket to carry the rest of the rascals along with him. And unless the exception happens, to all intents and purposes, the so-called "good man" becomes a rascal before he gets through. Look at our dear friend Al Smith, the friend of every man on the street. Everybody knew him well enough to call him "Al." The A. F. of L. officials thought he was the best man for labor, and yet a

few months made him the easiest man the milk trust has ever known, while the babies of his friends were starving. And these, Dr. Du Bois, are very largely white men. So that when judged by the usual standards of American life, the Negro's good man would be less good.

No, the Messenger wants to inform its readers that it must support parties rather than men. This advice of Dr. Du Bois would do credit to some child or some amateur who knew nothing of political science. Of course, we understand that Dr. Du Bois is trying to cater to the many-sided political board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. But we can't afford to allow it to pass.

The Negro must assume a new attitude in political life. He must support the party of the workingman, if he himself is largely a workingman. That is the Socialist Party and the Negro must support it with his dollars and his votes.

CONSTITUTION DAY—SEPTEMBER 17th

A group of reactionaries in such organizations as the Union League Club, The American Defense Society and the National Security League have asked that September 17th, the day of the adoption of the American Constitution, be celebrated this year as a holiday—Constitution Day. While we are not very much interested in the Constitution as such, we are willing to join in the celebration of the Constitution if we may pick out a few specific clauses in the Constitution for these reactionaries to observe. The first amendment to the Constitution to which we would like to address their attention reads as follows:

ARTICLE 1.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

This article is supposed to safeguard the freedom of speech and press which has been so shamelessly denied to any of those radical and liberal groups who have attempted to present the truth about the profits made by these millionaires and billionaires of the above named clubs or societies. The Constitution has not mattered. If any clause in it did not suit these gentlemen, who now claim they want it enforced, it immediately became a scrap of paper.

Nor is this all. There are some other dead letter articles in the Constitution. One of those articles reads:

Neither slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

For the benefit of the Union League Club and the National Security League, we call their attention to an institution known as peonage. It exists in Georgia, in Florida, Texas, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, North Carolina, Arkansas, Alabama and Oklahoma. By the way, are these states in the United States? If so, it is our opinion that they come within the purview of this constitutional amendment. Is the National Defense Society interested in this part of the Constitution?

There is another article which we have discovered in this Constitution which reads as follows:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person or life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of the state, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such states, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis or representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens, twenty-one years of age in such state.

The above quotation will be recognized by the corporation lawyers of the Union League Club as part of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. The Amendment has so long been a scrap of paper that the corporation lawyers of the American Defense Society would not recognize it at all in its original virginity, except for the fact that they have prostituted it to the use of the corporations for the last fifty years. One of the most celebrated corporation lawyers in the United States, William D. Guthrie, Professor of Constitutional Law in Columbia Law School, has written a book on the history of the 14th Amendment. He there regards it as a Magna Charta of the corporations. He further shows that of the 228 cases which have been raised under the clause, only 26 had to do with the Negro and in only 4 was any substantial relief granted.

Now, if you pious hypocrites of the Union League Club, or you smug plutocrats of the American Defense Society, and if you political prostitutes of the National Security League will simply look around, you will find that the Negro is disfranchised in the United States. He has been disfranchised for several years. During that time your political party was in power. It had an unbroken reign of twenty odd years. Your Republican Party of profiteers permitted the Negro to be disfranchised, nor did your Congress reduce the representation from the South proportionately, as the Constitution required. Instead we now find that one man's vote in Mississippi is equivalent to 13 votes in Kansas. One vote in South Carolina, is equivalent to 5 in New York. One vote in Alabama is equivalent to 11 in Minnesota. All of this, we would like to inform these Constitution gentlemen, is because they have permitted, condoned, winked at and colluded in the violation of the Constitution for a half century. Again, the equal protection of the laws is not accorded to Negroes in any part of the United States.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall

not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

No doubt some gentlemen of the Union League Club or the American Defense Society will recognize this clause as the 15th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Of course, few of them have ever seen this amendment enforced. That, however, is no reason why we should not begin at once.

The only purposes which Constitution Day can serve are first, to continue the enforcement of that part of the Constitution which has been enforced all along, and to begin the enforcement of that part of the Constitution which has not been enforced and is not now being enforced. We are looking forward with much interest to see what this Constitution Day will be. How do these gentlemen propose to celebrate it?

A REPORT ON THE CHICAGO RIOT BY AN EYE-WITNESS

This interview on the "Chicago Riots" is given by an able and brilliant colored attorney in Chicago. He is a Bachelor of Arts from Oberlin, a Bachelor of Laws and Master of Arts from Columbia University. The painstaking and cautious presentation of evidence will be immediately noted. It is just what we want. We desire no matter colored in the interest of Negroes or of whites. What we want is the truth. From our personal knowledge of the author of these answers, he is a man of very unusual mental endowments, of intellectual training, a thinker and speaker of extraordinary power.

The Editors.

1.—*How many persons were killed of each race?*

Unable to state exact number. One newspaper reported 16 white and 16 colored killed. The coroner puts the total number of casualties at 36—19 whites and 17 colored. There is a widespread belief, however, that the authorities have deliberately suppressed the truth about this matter. One white insurance adjuster, whose company insures 10,000 people, says that with his company alone 27 death claims, resulting from riot, were filed. John Dill Robertson, City Health Commissioner, however, denies that there has been any effort to conceal the facts.

2. *What is the actual Negro population of Chicago?*

It has been variously estimated anywhere between 100,000 and 225,000. The figure generally quoted is 125,000.

3. *What was the occasion of the riot?*

See "Exhibit A" enclosed.* Briefly, however, the riot was caused by the growing resentment of Negroes to outward manifestations of the deep-seated prejudice of the American white man.

Mayor Thompson is credited with the statement that rioting first started at the stockyards, shortly after cessation of hostilities in Europe, when white employees of yards got the idea that they were being turned off in greater proportions than the colored. Several colored employees were beaten up by them.

4. *Who participated in it? Young men, middle classes, best classes, worst classes, or all classes?*

All classes. The best classes, however it seems

confined their activities to protecting their homes and neighborhoods.

5. *Did women take part? To what extent? Describe their activities.*

Yes; they were quite active. A colored woman is said to have stood on the corner of 35th Street and Wabash Avenue and to have incited colored boys to throw stones at the white passersby. Two colored women, Emma Jackson and Katie Elder have both been indicted for the murder of a white man named Harold Dragnatello. They are being held without bonds. One white woman shot a colored man near 35th Street and Wabash Avenue.

6. *Give numbers of arrests according to races.*

It seems that colored predominate greatly, but cannot give even an approximate number of arrests. The grand jury, however, thus far has indicted 52 colored and 3 white rioters. You may be interested to hear that after the grand jury had returned their first 17 indictments, all of which were colored, they demanded that the State's attorney bring forward some white cases or else dismiss them from further duty. The following day the State's attorney and Judge Crowe instructed them as to their duties and they resumed their work.

7. *What national or racial groups among the whites took part?*

American whites, Irish, Italians, Poles—or who? American whites and Irish particularly, and all of foreign groups employed at stockyards, principally Lithuanians and Poles.

8. *What weapons were used by Negroes? Where is it supposed that the Negroes got the weapons from?*

Everything from a knife to a machine gun. A white alderman stated in the City Council that he had been reliably informed that the Negroes had 1000 army rifles and enough ammunition to last for years if used in guerilla warfare. It is known that a few Negroes broke into the Cadet School at Wendell Phillips and secured in the neighborhood of 100 rifles. They broke into the 8th Regiment Armory too, but did not find anything. Most of the discharged soldiers have guns obtained while in service. Pawnshops were looted and quite a bit of ammunition was procured from Gary, Ind.

9. *Describe the behaviour of the white policemen and the white soldiers stationed in the Negro district?*

Prior to the riot there was a feeling that the white policemen were in sympathy with the lawless whites who were committing bomb outrages and other injustices against the colored. The action of the white officer in refusing to arrest Stauber was deemed characteristic of the conduct of white officers. On Monday evening, the second day of the riot, white officers wantonly injured or perhaps killed a half dozen or more colored persons by shooting promiscuously into a crowd at 35th and Wabash, merely because one mounted officer was knocked off his horse by a brick, which it was claimed, was not aimed at him but at a passing truck. One colored man, incensed by their cowardly action, walked out into the street with an automatic and shot several of the white officers. He was not hit by any of the bullets from the officer's guns and has not been captured. His name is not known, of course. On the following evening two or more mounted policemen were killed by snipers at 23rd and State Streets. After these incidents the

* See Exhibit 'A' page 12.

behavior of the white officers was splendid.

The white soldiers fraternized with the colored residents of the district which they patrolled from the very beginning and not a single hostile act has been charged to them against the colored. On the other hand a white man was killed by soldiers at 63d Street and Cottage Grove.

10. *Did any Negro leader suggest the use of the 8th Illinois? If not, why not?*

Yes. Dr. Bentley, a member of the N. A. A. C. P. and a very prominent dentist of color, was in a conference with Gov. Lowden when the suggestion was made (whether the suggestion came directly from him I can't say) and the Governor threw up both hands and said that it would never do. Some, who evidently didn't hear of this conference, thought that the reason no effort was made to use the 8th was because it was not organized. It is reported that quite a few of the former members of the 8th acted independently and did everything in their power to quell the rioters. Others participated in raiding parties in the white districts.

11. *How did the political situation affect the riot?*

Not at all, in my opinion. Quite a few of our would-be-leaders tried to make political capital out of it.

12. *Why was the Mayor so reluctant to ask for the use of the troops?*

Evidently considered it a reflection upon his administration not to be able to cope with the situation. Did not want martial law, but when the situation grew serious was compelled to effect a compromise by asking the Governor to send troops to "assist" police force. We have never had martial law and soldiers have been recalled. Perhaps you have heard of the difference between Mayor Thompson and Gov. Lowden. I am not prepared to say, however, that that had anything to do with the Mayor's failure to ask for the troops sooner. Ed Wright, Assistant Corporation Counsel, told me that he advised the Mayor against calling for the troops, because he felt that they would line up with the lawless whites, as they did in East St. Louis. Thompson excuses himself for not being able to handle the situation because he has always maintained that our police force was inadequate. As a consequence, provision has been made for a thousand more officers.

13. *Did the delayed use of the troops benefit or injure the Negro cause? Explain why, if your answer is yes or no.*

Benefited it. While the delayed use of troops caused the loss of many innocent lives, colored as well as white, it afforded an opportunity for the Negroes to impress upon the whites their readiness, willingness, and eagerness to fight the thing through.

14. *What relation has the housing problem to the riot?*

Inability to house migrants in colored districts merely furnished another point of friction between whites and blacks and thus served to accentuate an already acrimonious feeling. I am of the opinion, however, that had there been ample space for the migrants in colored districts, a great many colored people would still have moved into white districts and the same feeling would have been present.

15. *What did the Negro preachers and Negro lead-*

ers do? Especially go into activities of Roscoe Conkling Simmons and the Negro aldermen and assemblymen there.

Preachers and persons engaged in welfare work met daily during and since the riot in an attempt to handle emergency matters. Preachers were especially active in making statements to the press stating the Negro's point of view and counselling order. Preachers, aldermen and assemblymen had conferences with the Mayor, Chief of Police and representatives at the stockyards. The Aldermen were quite active in relief work and secured from various sources rations for thousands of needy colored families. The bread line was very much in evidence. Alderman Anderson vigorously protested against the introduction of a "zoning" resolution in the City Council and succeeded. I have seen or heard nothing of Simmon's activities except from his own lips. He was away from the city most of the time and came back just in time to help a few needy families.

16. *Describe the press reporting, both white and Negro.*

The white press, with the exception of the Tribune and possibly the Post, was exceptionally fair. The Hearst papers and the Daily News distinguished themselves for fairness. The colored papers were so acrid that they were threatened with suppression. With regards to news reports of the colored papers, I think they were in the main second-hand.

17. *What do you think of the rumor that Negroes burned down those houses?*

Nothing to it. It seems almost incredible that Negroes should be able to pass soldiers who were patrolling that district without being detected. The houses burned were far removed from the colored districts. No Negroes have been arrested in connection with the crime. Of course, it was quite clever for the owners to charge the burning to riotous Negroes so that they might get damage from the city.

18. *Your opinion as to how the riot will affect future relations between the races.*

The riot will make the future relations between the races decidedly better. It will bring about "a meeting of the minds" to the effect that the colored man must not be kicked about like a dumb brute. Our white friends, seeing the danger that besets the nation, will become more active in our cause, and the other whites will at least have a decent respect for us based on fear.

"EXHIBIT A"

CAUSE OF RIOT

The riot was precipitated Sunday afternoon while the beaches were crowded with white and colored bathers. At 29th Street and the Lake Shore a colored boy on a raft crossed, or was carried by the wind, into the territory arbitrarily established for the white bathers. The boy was stoned and was seen to fall into the water. The whites refused either to rescue him or to permit his rescue by colored persons. A white man by the name of Stauber was pointed out to a white patrolman as the person responsible for the boy's death. The policeman refused to make the arrest, and the

crowd seized and pummelled him. They gave chase to Stauber, caught him and caused his arrest.

The crowd became infuriated by the failure of the white patrolman to make the arrest and the brutality of Stauber in attacking the boy. Police reserves were dispatched to the scene. A colored policeman shot and killed a colored rioter after seeing him fire upon a fellow white officer. News of the incident spread and soon a free-for-all fight was on. By Sunday night the situation spread to white and colored sections and both white men and Negroes were beaten. On Monday colored people were mobbed, dragged off the cars, (particularly at transfer points in white districts) wantonly fired at from flying automobiles, and stoned and beaten into unconsciousness going to and from work. In the colored sections, policemen were seized and beaten, and an ineffective police force tried in vain to disperse the crowds of colored men numbering as high as 5000. Mobs gathered on corners in white and colored sections, waylaying and beating members of the opposite race. Glass in the windows of business places was wantonly smashed and white and colored people were ejected from street cars. Late Monday the riot spread to the Stockyards District where colored men were not permitted to leave their work except under heavy guard. During the early morning Tuesday, two colored men were killed in the loop and scores chased and wounded. It is reported that a colored woman with a baby in her arms was attacked and that both were killed. A small Negro section on the North side has been invaded and in many of the outlying districts where Negroes are in the minority violence has resulted in one or more deaths. No information has come to us of the bombing of homes or other property owned or occupied by Negroes since the riot began. Though the immediate cause was the refusal of police to make the arrest following the stoning of the boy on Sunday, and of the white bathers to permit the colored people to rescue the boy, the general feeling of unrest which has been hovering over Chicago for two or more months is undoubtedly at the bottom of the present outbreak. The bombing of homes of colored persons who have recently moved into white districts, an attempt to enforce segregation by certain real estate agents and organizations with which they are connected, the unwarranted killing of Negroes in outlying districts, the recurrence of violence in Washington Park and the widespread belief on the part of Negroes that the police have winked at these conditions, are admittedly the responsible factors.

AN EXPLANATION

We wish to commend the editor of the "Chicago Searchlight" upon repudiating an interview given out by the managing editor of the Searchlight on the Chicago riots. The interview referred to, appeared in the Tribune of New York and Chicago, July 30th. It was clearly a case of a small Negro trying to go big in the white capitalist press. Nothing was so clear in the interview which we ourselves read, as that the managing editor of the Searchlight, who was attending the Columbia Summer School, knew nothing of the fundamental causes

of the riot. But it has become the habit for many years that small Negroes felt that they could do the Booker Washington act, by making an Atlanta compromise speech, and get Carnegie or someone to give them a fortune, or at least put them into a good job. No respectable Negro paper can afford to allow such attempts to capitalize its good name to go unchallenged. We extend congratulations to the editor of the Searchlight, for courageously repudiating the managing editor, who, we hope, has more ability to manage the business of a publication than he has to give interviews which have to do with political science.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

In the President's message to Congress on the high cost of living he offered, as a basis for its solution, the extension of the Food Control Act to peace times, licensing corporations engaged in interstate commerce, a law regulating cold storage, additional funds for government agencies which can supply information regarding prices, and early ratification of the peace treaty. Executive measures include limiting and controlling wheat shipments, credits to facilitate the purchase of wheat abroad, sale of surplus food stuffs and clothing in the hands of the government, and forcing withdrawal from storage and the sale of surplus stocks in private hands.

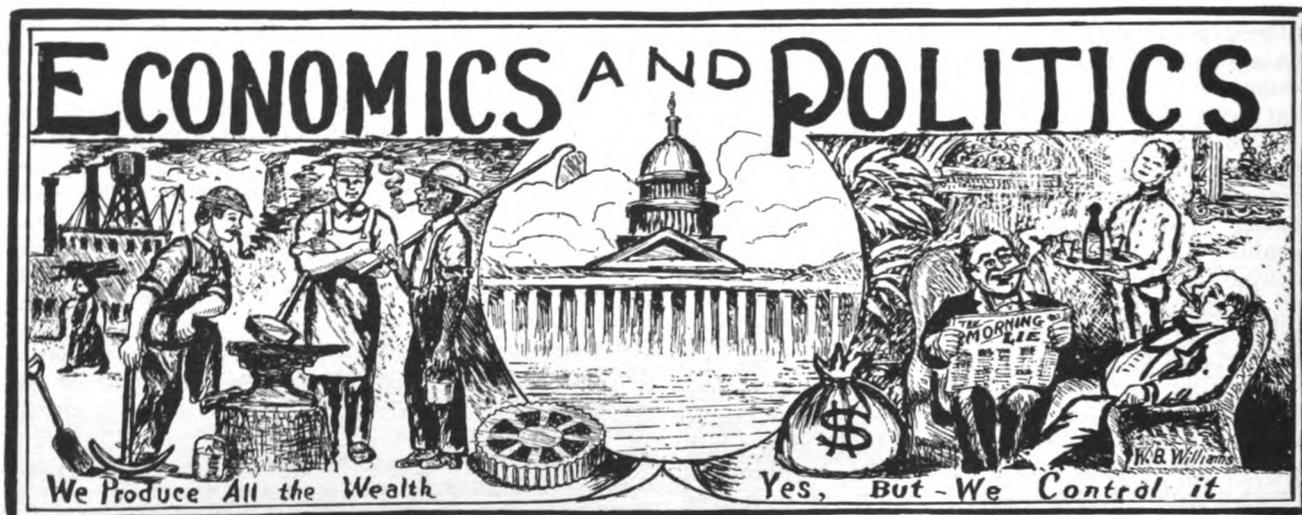
The president sums up by remarking gravely, in his characteristic circumlocutory style, upon the state of world affairs, and counsels quietude and the "meeting of the minds" of labor and capital to discuss the problem of wages. That this will not stop the shrinking of the waistline of the working people, is too obvious to need comment. It was Woodrow Wilson, who said in his book entitled, "The New Freedom," that "the masters of our government are the combined capitalists and manufacturers who have erected upon the forms of democracy an invisible empire." It is plain from the foregoing quotation that Mr. Wilson recognizes the helplessness of Presidents and Congresses before the mighty Oligarch of Capital. Yet as the nominal pilot of the ship of state, he must proceed, through indirection, to weave a net-work of deception by granting an apparent concession, here and there, to labor, by economic makeshifts and patchwork, at the behest of his capitalist masters, in order that the bark of capitalism may weather the rising storm of social revolution. This is an erroneous belief, however. Economic relief will not hold back but, on the contrary, it will accelerate the coming of the revolution. Here is the dilemma in which the high priests of capitalism find themselves. If labor's demands are not met, labor will revolt; if labor's demands are satisfied, it will still revolt. For the more labor gets, the more it wants, and the more it is able to secure. The law is: *discontent increases with social improvement*. Hence capitalism's doom is being written by the pen of its own apparent justice.

The Federal Trade Commission makes its belated findings that "high prices cannot be justified." It is reported that warehouses are bursting open with all sorts of supplies to the value of \$1,500,000,000 awaiting shipment to foreign mar-

kets. Although prices of important goods have shown a substantial increase during the last year, the stocks stored on June 1 were 20% greater than in June, 1918. This is the method by which an artificial scarcity is created in order to inflate prices. The leather production for 1919 is \$876,346,272, an increase over 1914 of \$584,549,836. Yet the Federal Trade Commission discovers a plot of the leather trust to exact from the public \$25 for a pair of shoes in the near future. And the worst is yet to come. For the 65,000,000 German feet must be shod, which will supply a new market for the surplus goods of the leather Gods. The more shoes they have to sell abroad, the less they have to sell at home, and consequently the higher the price the pure, unadulterated, patriotic Americans will have to pay for shoes, or go barefooted. How can it be otherwise, when the basic industries of the country, the land, factories, mines, railroads, are in the hands of a tiny fraction of the people, who according to the profit system, may appropriate the products of labor. Hence the high cost of living will not be reduced. It cannot be reduced to any material extent by those who now control society. So the cycle of decreasing wages and increasing prices will continue until the collapse of the old order comes.

SUGGESTIONS FOR GOOD READING

The food upon which the mind feeds is more important than that upon which the body feeds, since the food upon which the body feeds is determined by the mind. Intelligence will only cause the body to consume foods which possess life-giving properties—foods that are healthful and nutritious, and the higher the intelligence the greater the protection it is able to exercise over its charge, the body. But the mind is intelligent only in proportion as the food or reading matter upon which it feeds, possesses information-giving properties. Hence, the **MESSENGER** suggests the following books as good reading on the grounds that they have both the content and form of information-giving properties and consequently are of high social value: *The Iron Heel* by Jack London, *The Profits Of Religion* by Upton Sinclair; *Problems of Philosophy* by Bertram Russell; *Wages in the United States* by Scott Nearing; *The Social Basis of Religion* by Simon N. Patten; *Theory of the Leisure Class* by Thorstein B. Veblen; *The New Democracy* by Walter E. Weyl; *New Worlds For Old* by H. G. Wells.



The Cause Of and Remedy For Race Riots

By the Editors

Race riots are miniature wars. Like wars, they are injurious to the masses who fight them. Like wars, a few profit from them. Like wars, they also have causes—ultimate and immediate; chief and contributory causes. It is the purpose of the writers to ascertain those causes in order that the remedy may be prescribed.

History of the Problem

In order to understand any social phenomenon of the present, it is essential to inquire into the history of the conditions out of which it grew.

The race problem of America is a relic of chattel slavery. It is more acute in the United States than in any other country, because slavery was abolished here, after it had been abolished in every other country. Besides, every American document has recognized and sanctioned the institution of slavery.

The Declaration of Independence was signed by men, 50% of whom were slave-holders. The Constitutional Convention endorsed slavery, while recognizing its viciousness.

George Washington, "the father of the country," and first President of the United States, and one of the largest slave-holders in the world, asked that the term "bound persons" be used in the records of the Constitutional Convention instead of the term **slaves**, because he recognized that history would repudiate and condemn their hypocritical professions in the Declaration of Independence. Even Thomas Jefferson was a big slave-holder, and attempted to salve his conscience with this celebrated so-

liloquy: "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just!" The statement in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created free and equal" meant "all white men."

The Constitution also recognized and upheld the institution of slavery, for slavery continued 73 years after its adoption. The Supreme Court of the United States re-entrenched the institution in the "Dred Scott Decision" of 1847. It gave political power and sanction to slavery. It permitted five slaves to be counted as three white citizens, and upon this basis representation in Congress was increased for the South.

This brings us to the Civil War, the inevitable consequence of slavery. The length and bitterness of the Civil War in which the problem of slavery was uppermost, fanned the fires of race hatred. The South hated the slave because it feared his revolt. The rebellions of Gabriel, Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner justified their fears, while John Brown's raid intensified their apprehensions. Hatred against the Negro grew in the North, because it was felt that white soldiers were giving their lives for Negro slaves. This feeling was manifested by the New York riots, and the dragging of William Lloyd Garrison through the streets of Boston.

Reconstruction

Reconstruction still further fanned the flames of race prejudice. The 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, were resented by the South. The Freedman's Bureau, the Force Bill, the Sumner Civil Rights Bill and the Military Bill—measures adopted in the interest of the Negroes—were indignantly repelled by the Southern whites along with their Northern white sympathizers. The South retaliated with the Black Code and Vagrancy laws, the Klu Klux Klan, the Tissue Ballot and Bloody Shirt. It rejected the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. Finally, however, when these amendments were ratified by the necessary votes of other states, the white South, reluctantly and sullenly, submitted along with its Northern supporters which were very large, as shown by the States of New York, New Jersey,

and Ohio (great abolition states) withdrawing their ratification of the 14th Amendment.

Wage Slavery

The industrial revolution had prepared the way for the abolition of slavery by the introduction of labor saving machinery. The abolition of chattel slavery paved the way for the next step—wage slavery. It marked the passing of Feudalism and the introduction of capitalism in the United States. Coming fast upon the heels of slavery, however, there were relics of the old order, which manifested themselves in the transition period. These were peonage, tenant-farming, the crop-lien system, the Black code and the vagrancy laws. These bring us to the consideration of the economic causes of mob violence and race wars.

First, what are economic causes? By economic causes, we mean material gains which are the motor-forces of individual and social actions. For instance: A Jewish and an Irish lad were fighting and they were calling each other all kinds of humiliating names. Presently, along came two passersby who speculated as to the cause of the fight, giving various religious and sentimental reasons. But upon inquiry they were informed by the Irish lad that the D—Jew had his foot on his nickle. Thus you see, not race nor religion, but the crass, materialistic, economic factor—the nickle—was the sound reason for the scrap.

As to our first proposition, the economic cause, we maintain that the capitalist system is the fundamental cause of riots. By the term capitalist system, we mean, in short, the exploitation of human labor-power and the natural resources of the country, for private profits.

This is a system under which the tools with which the laborer works and the raw material upon which he works are owned by private individuals. Now our capitalist system expresses itself in different forms in different sections of the country. For instance, in the East, factories, railroads and steamships are the paramount economic factors; in the West, mining, railroads and steamships; and in the South, cotton plantations, lumber mills, turpentine and railroads. The

banking institutions of the South, which extend loans to poor black and white farmers, are the channels through which the commodities of the industries find their way to their local, national and world markets. Out of these industrial arrangements have grown certain socio-economic conditions, namely, peonage, the crop-lien system, tenant-farming and peasantry, which are the more immediate causes of lynching.

First, what is peonage? Peonage is a system of serfdom, the principle of which is, that if an employee owes his master he must continue to serve him until the debt is paid, the only escape being that if another employer is willing to come forward and assume the debt, the employee is allowed to transfer his obligation to the new master. In practice the system amounts to vassalage, inasmuch as the debt is usually allowed to reach a figure which there is no hope of paying off.

Now how is this system maintained? During the Reconstruction Period the Negro tasted and became intoxicated with the new wine of freedom and was loath to return to the farm, under conditions, in many instances, worse than slavery. Unsophisticated Negroes looked wistfully for the promised "mule and forty acres." But lumber must be cut, cotton must be picked and turpentine must be dipped. In short, profits must be made. Negroes must work or be made to work, besides they must work cheaply.

Thus the "black code" and vagrancy laws of the South. These laws provided for the imprisonment of all Negroes who had no visible means of support. The result is that, hordes of unemployed Negroes are hustled off to jail and the convict camps. Their fines are paid by the lumber, cotton and turpentine operators; they are assigned into their custody; put to work at starvation wages, besides being compelled to trade at the company's store, which prevents their ever getting out of debt. They are also compelled to sign certain labor contracts, the non-performance of which the state laws make a crime. And as a white planter himself tells the story: A planter can arrest a man upon the criminal charge of receiving

money under false pretenses, which is equivalent to the charge of stealing; you can get him convicted; he is fined, and being penniless, in lieu of the money to pay the fine, he goes to jail; then you pay the fine and costs and the judge assigns him to you to work out the fine and you have him back on your plantation, backed by the authority of the

state. This is peonage. It is an economic system. It is maintained for profits.

We pass next to the crop-lien system. The crop-lien system is the method of mortgaging the planted and unplanted crops of the poor farmers. It operates in this way: The poor farmers are in need of provisions until harvesting time; the white mer-

chants supply them for a part of their crops—the share usually being so large as to keep a perpetual lien on the farmers' crops. Under this system the Negroes are fastened to the farms.

The Negro farmer being in debt, cannot leave. To escape is to violate a contract; to violate a contract is to commit a crime which might result in being re-



FOLLOWING THE ADVICE OF THE "OLD CROWD" NEGRO

manded to the convict camps or lynched. Next we shall consider tenant-farming, which is explained by its title.

Usually, however, the tenant-farmer has been a farm-owner, who, due to the crop-lien system, has lost control of the said farm. The next stage of the tenant-farmer is the farm laborer, which is the final goal of the poor white

or black in the South. Thus an economic system which makes peasants out of the Negroes and poor whites. In the South the peasants are objects of reproach, the scum—the flotsam and jetsam of society. They are illiterate, morally depraved and physically broken. The fruits of this system are prejudice, jim-crowism, segregation and lynching. Bank-

ing institutions and loan agencies supply the money for their maintenance at rates of interest as high as 60 and 100 per cent on the dollar.

Negroes don't protest or resist because they are intimidated and cowed by lynching bees. Negroes and poor whites don't unite against a common exploiter—because race prejudice exists and is

artfully cultivated to keep them apart. The weapons of capital in other parts of the country are the state militias, secret-detective-strike-breaking agencies, religion or nationality. So that in the East and West we have our Bayonne, West Virginia and Ludlow, and in the South we

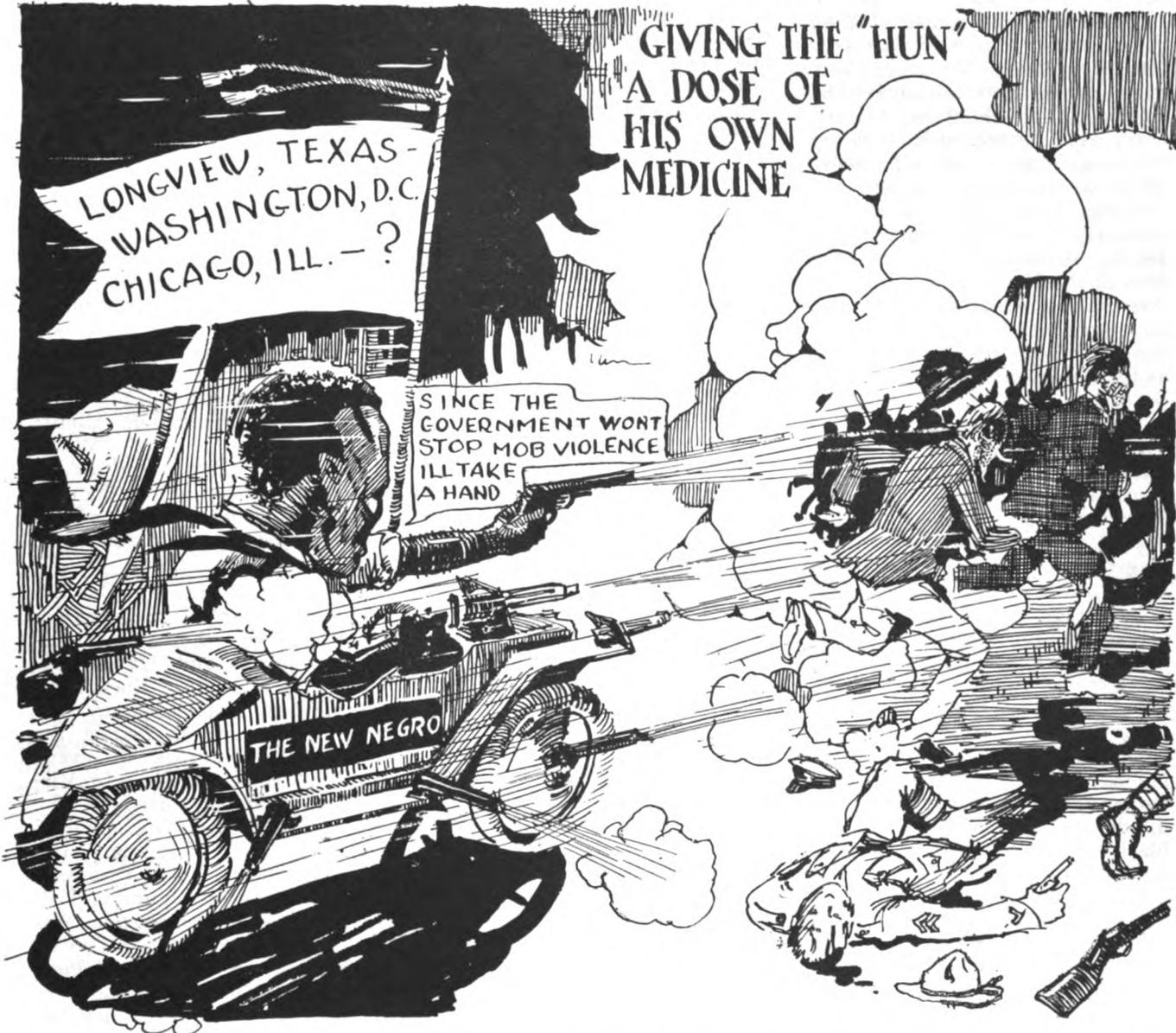
have our Waco and Memphis horrors. Of more recent date we have the East St. Louis massacre, the cause of which is fundamentally economic. Negro laborers were imported into the above named place to work. They were either imported to take the jobs of white workers or to increase

the supply of labor, and thereby force down wages. This was the real cause of the conflict.

This is similar to the principle of picketing by labor unions. White laborers will not only shoot down Negro laborers, but also white laborers who are imported by capitalists to take their

FORCE, FORCE TO THE UTMOST--FORCE WITHOUT STINT OR LIMIT!

—WOODROW WILSON



THE "NEW CROWD NEGRO" MAKING AMERICA SAFE FOR HIMSELF

jobs or lower their wages. Such is the history of the labor movement in this country. Negro laborers would do the same thing if they were in the white laborers' places.

We might as well meet the bald fact that Self-Interest is the supreme ruler of the actions of

men. The reason does not lie in race prejudice, but in the class struggle. Blame your capitalist system. Of course, this does not justify or expiate the crime; it simply explains it. Certainly the culprits should be brought to justice. We also have had a race riot in London, the roots of

which go back to our capitalist system. The association with white women was but the occasion of the London race riot.

Proximate Economic Causes

During the last half of the nineteenth century, and until a very late date, the Negro has been

largely a scab. This, of course, was due chiefly to the short-sighted position of organized white labor. Nevertheless, his scabbing created great hostility between the races. Within the last decade, however, there has been a movement from the competition of black and white workers to the unionism of black and white workers.

The I. W. W. prohibit discrimination on account of race or color in the first clause of their constitution, and they carry it out in practice. The recent convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Atlantic City, went on record as favoring the organization of all Negro workers. In addition to this, the Negroes have shown a marked tendency toward unionizing among themselves. They have formed the National Brotherhood Association of America, which is an organization on the order of the United Hebrew Trades. (Just as the Hebrew Trades was organized to protect Jewish workers, so the National Brotherhood Association was organized to protect Negro workers.) At the convention of the Virginia State Federation of Labor in Alexandria, Va., June of this year, 30 Negroes were seated and took an active part in the proceedings. Everywhere the white and black workers show signs of co-operation in combining against the common enemy—Capitalism. This, naturally, breeds its counter-irritant—the attempt, on the part of capital, represented in the banks, railroads, manufacturers, packers and mine owners, to **divide** the workers—to get the black and white working dogs to fighting over the bone of race prejudice in order that they, the yellow capitalist dogs, may get away with the meat. And this illustration carries with it more than the figure. It is very apt, for it is literally true.

In Chicago, the riots grew out of the fight between the packers and the workers. There are about 60,000 workers in the packing industry. Of these workers, it is estimated that about 15,000 or 18,000 are colored. They were just on the verge of organizing to get more wages, shorter hours and decent working conditions. About 6,000 Negroes had already joined the union. For all of them

to join the union would enable the workers, by calling a general strike, to paralyze the entire industry and to secure their demands. If the workers secured their demands, it would greatly lessen the \$120,000,000 of profits made by the "Big Five" packers in 1918. The more wages for the workers the less profits for the packers. This would never do. Hence, something must be done to prevent this combination of black and white workers. The race riot was the most convenient and effective instrument at hand. Besides, the riots in Washington and Chicago were the best places for calling them. Washington is the capital and what happens there would be heralded throughout the country and world. This would inflame the feeling between colored and white persons in all other sections of the country. Chicago, on the other hand, is the second largest city in the United States. And particularly, it is the home of the packing industry, and what happens there is second only to what happens in the capital. While what happens in the packing industry ramifies the industries throughout the United States, since the "Big Five" packers, according to the latest report of the Federal Trade Commission, control the manufacture of 775 commodities in the United States, and Negroes are employed in very nearly every one of these industries. The Chicago riot, therefore, struck the blow at the unionism of black and white workers in nearly every industry in the United States. So much for the economic causes of race riots.

Now the question arises: what other method shall be brought into play? What other weapons may be used? This brings us to the psychological or contributory causes.

Race Prejudice

The red embers of race prejudice are always smoldering in America. To fan them for a moment is sufficient to start the fire. Consequently, this vestige from slavery was a good starting point for the combined capitalists and manufacturers in America to ignite race wars.

Again, there are Southern agents provocateurs in the

United States who are carrying on a tireless and systematic campaign, to poison public opinion against the Negroes. They have Southern clubs in every big college of the North, East and West and Southern societies in the big cities. No one would know the significance of a Northern, Eastern or Western club, but everyone immediately understands the purpose of the Southern Club. The average Southerner still sullenly broods over the lost cause. The progress of the Negro rankles in his breast and he would secede tomorrow to maintain his reactionary and bourbon traditions. They carried their propaganda to France, and disseminated the falsehood that Negroes, like monkeys, had tails.

Newspapers carry inflammatory headlines about alleged crimes of Negroes. The rape of white women is invariably played upon. Approbrious terms are used such as "nigger," "darker," "coon," "black burly brute," etc. Papers like the *Washington Post* even announced mobilization almost at the doors of the "White House." The *Chicago Tribune* becomes more inflammatory than the *Atlanta Constitution*. The *New York Times* writes viciously about the inferiority of the Negro.

The schools in the United States are largely segregated, which reduces the contact between colored and white children to the minimum. Biased and mischievous histories are written—histories which distort the facts about Negroes in every phase of American life. In Virginia, the history used in the schools is written by General Robert E. Lee's grand-daughter. Alleged scholars like Professor John Burgess of Columbia College in his *Reconstruction and the Constitution* and Albert Bushnell Hart in the *Southern South* show lamentable ignorance of the problems they are discussing, while the former is as violent and rabid as Vardaman and Hoke Smith might be. Franklin H. Giddings, Professor of Sociology in Columbia, on Friday, August 1st, makes frequent use of the term "darker" in a class composed of colored and white teachers. Dr. Miller of Bellevue Hospital, in 1914, used the term "darker" in the class room of the New York School of Philan-

thropy. *The Spectator*, the official organ of Columbia, in a leading editorial endorses and defends the use of the term "darky." Numbers of colleges like Princeton, John Hopkins, West Point, Annapolis, the latter two of which are government schools, refuse admission to colored students. In nearly all of the large white universities, Negroes are excluded from the dormitories. Again school equipment is inadequate for both whites and blacks in the south. John R. Commons of Wisconsin University points out that in 1910, \$2.22 and \$4.92 were spent on the Negro and white child respectively in the South. In Washington, D. C., in 1913, despite the fact Negroes comprised 30 per cent of the school population, they received only 10 per cent of the school appropriation for equipment. And a member of the Chicago City Council in 1918, introduced a bill for segregated schools.

The church is usually reactionary. The Presbyterian Church invested \$93,000 in the slave trade. In 1830, all the white churches met in conference in Charleston, S. C., and issued a manifesto stating that a Negro had no soul. The Church was a bulwark of slavery. It taught them "servants obey your masters." It preaches a doctrine of humility. It is seldom that a white minister preaches a sermon against lynching. In the Negro church, the ministers are largely ignorant, venal or controlled. (There are certain marked exceptions, of course.) The disgraceful "Mitchell Slush Fund" in the campaign of 1917, stained the character of every Negro minister in New York, with the exception of one or two.

The screen and stage also arouse race prejudice. "The Birth of a Nation," based on Thomas Dixon's *Clansman*, did much to prepare the American mind for race riots and lynchings, "*Pride of Race*" (which ignorant Negroes knew no better than to produce themselves), was propaganda against race equality. "*The Nigger*" was a play of similar type. Previous to this, the *Clansman* had been presented throughout the United States. The black face comedian is another menace to harmonious race relations. The Negro is always shown in the

capacity of an inferior. He is making fun—the lowest form of pleasure. Those who see comedians like Bert Williams, Al Jolson, Lew Dockstadter, Al G. Fields and other black faced comedians, acting the part of buffoons and clowns do not generally see Negroes in their best light. They regard the presentation on the stage as typical. And one who is constantly shown as a clown, thief, gambler, or craps shooter, gets eventually the stigma of an inferior. This so-called American Negro music, such as, plantation songs and old spirituals, sung by the Fisk Jubilee Singers, the Hampton and Tuskegee Quartettes, has been more funny than musical. Besides it has served to instill the spirit of servility into Negro youths. Capitalists contribute large sums of money to these institutions, because they know that if they can get the black and white workers to singing slave songs, they can more successfully rob them, for they cannot think about their own interests. The stage and screen, then, have done a big part to create and crystallize race prejudice. Part of the race prejudice is vicious and grows out of the contempt in which an inferior is held.

To sum up: First, how has the press caused riots? The Southern press has been controlled by the regnant economic forces in the South. Their editorial and news policies have been so adjusted as to suit the Southern plutocracy. Here, again, it is apparent that he who controls the bread and butter will also control and shape the ideas. Newspapers like the *Atlanta Georgian* have carried such headlines: "A Subject for the Stake," "Lynch the Brute," "Lynch the Wretch." During the Atlanta Race Riot, September 22, 1916, the *Atlanta Evening News* carried inflammatory headlines which fanned the fires of race prejudice.

Second, the church is the recipient of large contributions from the financial rulers of the South and naturally preaches the Christianity of profits.

In very truth the beneficiaries of a system cannot be expected to destroy it. Hence, the Methodist Church split over the issue of slavery (which was an economic question pure and simple) into

North and South, in 1860. The Church of the South prayed and preached for the victory of the cotton kings. The Church of the North blessed and anointed the industrial capitalists.

Third, the most important social institution of the South is controlled by legislators who are controlled by political parties which are, in turn, controlled by financial lords who regard it safer and more profitable to keep the common people, white and black, in virtual ignorance and superstition, because ignorant people don't strike for higher wages and better working conditions. So that the school terms, in some parts of the South, last for only three months. The educational appropriation of the Southern states is the lowest paid in any section of the country. The slave states appropriate \$2.22 for each Negro pupil per year and \$4.92 for each white.

This but indicates the low social state of both races in the South.

Fourth, the propinquity of the races in the South has, undoubtedly, operated to accentuate the feeling of race prejudice.

This doubtless is due to the extreme oppositeness of physical characteristics. Of course, the racial differences are not a cause, but an occasion, for race strife. The social mind of the South is the product of a peculiar environment. For instance, the social heritage of slavery and the Reconstruction Period still rankles in the bosom of Southern society. And the attack of a Negro on a white person, the doctrine that the Negro is a hewer of wood and a drawer of water; the Bible citation of Canaan in proof; the doctrine of the white man's superiority preached by political, religious and journalistic demagogues to the poor, ignorant whites; the doctrine of the sacredness of the Southern white woman shown by the Southern white man's chivalry toward her in public conveyances, combined with the ignorance and superstition of the common whites and blacks, has a tremendous psychological and emotional power in occasioning lynching. We say occasioning because the cause lies deeper. They are the fuse. The magazine is the capitalist system. Most anything in the South may be the occasion

of lynching. It may be a "well-dressed" Negro in country districts, the use of the word "yes" by a Negro to a white man, asking a white woman for the name of a street, the fighting of a colored and white boy, and the use of good English to white folks. A very conspicuous characteristic of the South is its hyper-sensitiveness. There still persists the duel. Homicides are more numerous than in any other part of the country. When the sister of a young white man or daughter of a father is fooled by another white man, seldom is recourse made to courts, but the accused is generally shot down like a dog in the open streets.

Political Causes

Political causes are back of the riots also. Negroes are largely disfranchised. They cannot take political revenge upon those who make and administer the law. Consequently, police are careless and indifferent about giving them protection. The police system is controlled, as a rule, by the mayor, and the mayor is elected by the party, and the party is controlled by those who make up the campaign funds. And the Negro comes nowhere in this chain. The fact that he votes in Chicago, does not alter the case, because of his relative numbers. (There are about 30 white persons to every Negro.) Another political reason for the riots was the desire on the part of the passing Democratic administration to get some anti-Negro legislation enacted. Immediately the race-riot in Washington, D. C. began. Senator Harrison of Mississippi, introduced a bill for jim-crow cars in Washington. A representative from Arkansas introduced a bill against the inter-marriage of the races. Moreover, the Northern and Western states are threatening to penalize the South for forcing prohibition on the country, by reducing her representation in the coming apportionment, by enforcing the 14th and 15th Amendments. So the South feels that if sufficient race prejudice can be stirred up in the North, it will act toward changing opinion for the enfranchisement of the Negro.

Social Causes

Social causes are always present where there are social diseases. Race riots are symptoms of social

diseases. Segregation is a long standing American social disease. It lessens the contact between the races. It prohibits harmony between the races through such methods as the jim-crow car, discrimination in public accommodation, residential segregation and laws against inter-marriage. The prohibition of an act creates the desire to perform that act. A striking example of the proof of this principle is the relation between the races in the South. There the races are segregated in every way as they are in no other part of the world, and yet the feeling is worse. In the North, there is more contact, despite considerable discriminations, and the feeling is much better than in the South. In countries like France, where there is absolutely no discrimination, the feeling is as harmonious, cordial and kindly between white and black persons as among white persons themselves.

The housing problem has also been productive of friction. Negro migration created a fertile field for real estate speculators. With its many advantages there were certain concomitant evils. It enabled the real estate speculators to exploit both whites and Negroes. The whites had to pay higher rents and they had to go into worse quarters. The Negroes, too, had to pay higher rent and were forced to convert their quarters in to lodging houses in order to pay the rents. The deprivation of one's home is irritating and engenders strife and ill-will against those who replace them. This gave rise to bombing of Negro homes purchased in former white sections of Chicago.

Military Causes

Lastly, military causes have not been without their effect in the production of race riots. For four and one-half years the religion of violence had been taught to both white and black people of America. War has engendered the spirit of violence. The transition from shooting a white German is not very far from shooting a white American. Besides, Negroes hate American whites, but they almost uniformly report that the Germans were among the fairest and the best people they have ever met. They like the Germans as well as the French. Everybody overseas was better to the Negro soldier than the white American.

Hence the Negro returned with vengeance and hatred for the white American in his breast. He noted the difference in the treatment abroad from that he got at home. The white American also noted this difference. The Negro favored it: the white American disapproved of the French fraternal spirit. Hence, the clash. Upon returning home, the Negro found conditions worse than when he left, despite his fight to "make the world safe for democracy." He is dissatisfied with his reward for his participation in the war. Not knowing President Wilson, he took him at his word. He wants to make the world safe for democracy, and is therefore determined to make America safe for himself. He secured the knowledge of the art and value of organization. And he is determined to use this knowledge and art in the interest of himself.

Effects

The spirit of independence of Negroes has increased, because with their inferior numbers they feel that they have gotten the better of the contest. The prejudice of the whites has increased because they are not accustomed to Negroes striking back. The result is a social magazine which may explode at any moment upon lighting the fuse. Almost anything might serve as the fuse, such as, the use of the word "nigger," "a fight between a black and white boy," Negroes owning fine automobiles, purchasing fine houses in the so-called white neighborhoods, accidentally stepping on a white woman's foot—ad infinitum.

The Remedy

What it is not. It is not segregation. As pointed out above, the South is segregated to the (nth) power, yet there, feeling is worse, mob violence, lynching, and race riots most frequent. Upon the advent of white Americans in Europe with their segregation measures between the races, riots in London and Liverpool followed.

The solution will not follow the meeting of white and Negro leaders in love feasts, who pretend like the African ostrich, that nothing is wrong, because their heads are buried in the sand.

On the economic field, industry must be socialized, and land

must be nationalized, which will thereby remove the motive for creating strife between the races. Black and white workers must unite in the same unions, ask for the same wages, same hours and the same working conditions. Identity of conditions between the workers will do more to produce equality of citizenship than any other force. Jevons the logician, aptly says: "Nothing happens without a reason why it is so rather than otherwise." This is true of large scale industry in the United States. It does nothing without a motive or a reason. It would not be interested in the production of race riots if no profits were realized therefrom. The beneficiary of a system cannot be relied upon to overthrow that system. The workers only can be relied upon consciously to destroy the industrial autocracy in the United States.

Politically, all peoples must be enfranchised without regard to race, creed, sex or color.

Educationally, schools must be revolutionized. Equal pay must be granted to teachers with equal equipment for school children. This can be made secure by abolishing segregation in the schools, for when all children sit in the same classroom, it is not possible to discriminate in teachers equipment. Besides, it produces the spirit of fraternity. The curriculum needs to be changed. More economics, history and sociology and the physical sciences need to be taught and less Latin, Greek and Bible.

The people must organize, own and control their press.

The church must be converted into an educational forum.

The stage and screen must be controlled by the people.

Immediate Program

We recognize that the preceding remedy is a comprehensive and fundamental remedy which may take years for attainment. In the meantime, an immediate program must be adopted to meet the demands of the transition period. Hence, we offer this immediate program.

1. *Physical force in self-defense.* While force is to be deplored and used only as a last resort, it is indispensable at times. The lesson of force can be taught when no other will be heeded. A bullet is sometimes more convincing than

NOTICE

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, SOCIALIST BRANCHES, CHURCHES AND CLUBS:

The Editors of THE MESSENGER will be available for speaking dates in the Eastern part of the country from the 15th of September to the last of October. They may be secured on their tour through Norfolk, Portsmouth, Newport News, Richmond, Washington, Baltimore, Wilmington, Philadelphia, Newark, Pittsburgh, Buffalo and Rochester.

The Western tour will carry them all the way to California and Washington. It will start sometime during the last of December or the 1st of January, and cover a period of approximately ninety (90) days.

All organizations are urged to book their dates now. Write to the MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., Inc., 2305 Seventh Ave., New York City. The Business Manager will supply you with all particulars. The Editors have prepared a series of interesting and fundamental lectures upon several burning topics of the day. The State Secretary of the Socialist Party of California has already invited them to fill several dates. Don't delay—Write today.

NOTE: The Editors of The Messenger are instructors in economics and sociology at the Rand School of Social Science, New York City.

a hundred prayers, editorials, sermons, protests and petitions. (The resistance of Negroes in the race riots just passed has been helpful to the white and colored people throughout the country.) It has saved us in other cities from riots. Negroes have shown that riots hereafter will be costly and unprofitable, and when you make a thing unprofitable you make it impossible.

2. *Larger Negro police force.*

A larger Negro police force in Negro districts will help to keep down riots. The behavior of the police in all the race riots in the United States has justified Negroes in believing that the police, so far from being impartial, were in collusion with the white rioters. A prompt and impartial arrest of the aggressors in Washington and Chicago could have nipped the riots in the bud. Moreover, Negroes understand the psychology of Negroes better than the Irishmen and Southern white men who very largely com-

pose the police forces of the cities. Negroes even receive no protection from the militia or army which is called out in order to suppress the riots. In East St. Louis the soldiers are reported to have given their rifles to the white rioters. And it is obvious that you cannot expect prejudiced white soldiers and policemen impartially to adjust the relations between the races, when they are a part of the race doing the mobbing.

Finally, the courts of law must indict both white and colored without fear or favor, according to their culpability. Besides, the jury should be made up of both white and colored persons. How can Negroes expect to get justice from an all-white jury? In Chicago, the jury has returned indictments against 57 Negroes and only 4 whites. Think of it! Negroes are justified in regarding the so-called Department of Justice as a department of injustice, where they are concerned. In Washington, 200 Negroes have been arrested, and only 20 whites, despite the fact that the whites in Washington, as in Chicago, are known to have begun the riots.

Lastly, revolution must come. By that we mean a complete change in the organization of society. Just as absence of industrial democracy is productive of riots and race clashes, so the introduction of industrial democracy will be the longest step toward removing that cause. When no profits are to be made from race friction, no one will longer be interested in stirring up race prejudice. The quickest way to stop a thing or to destroy an institution is to destroy the profitability of that institution. The capitalist system must go and its going must be hastened by the workers themselves. The capitalists are the beneficiaries of race riots. The workers are the losers by race riots. The same is true of war. The workers entail huge burdens of expense and lose their life and limb. Make wars unprofitable and you make them impossible. This is the task of the workers, white and black, and especially the imperative duty of the white workers by virtue of their numbers, their opportunity and their intelligent class consciousness.

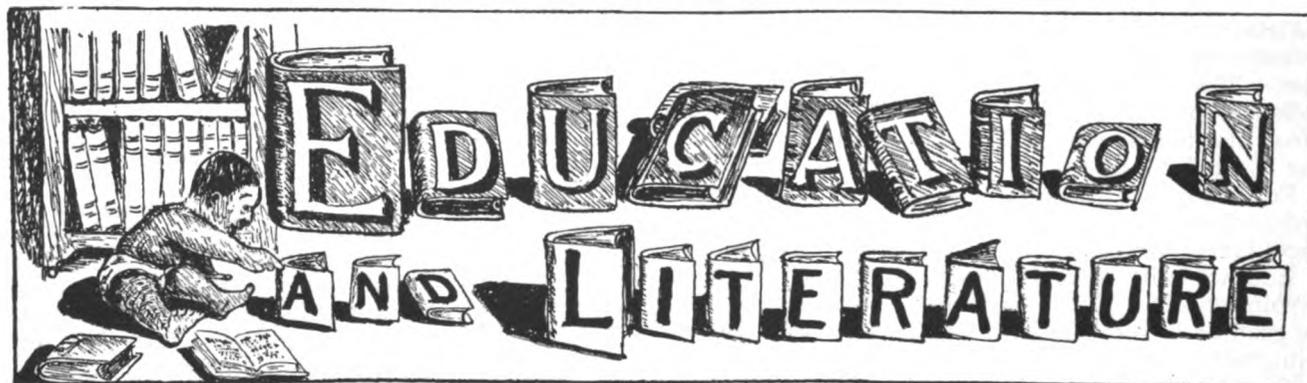
Announcement

We wish to announce that the Convention of the NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD ASSOCIATION which was announced in our last issue to convene August 25th, has been deferred to September 8th. It will be held in Washington, D. C., and all delegates attending may report at the Y. M. C. A., 1816—12th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. Whether you belong to a union which is composed entirely of Negroes or which is composed of white and colored, we desire to have you represented there. We would ask all delegates to ascertain, if possible, the numbers of Negroes in their branches or locals. This is a serious convention of organized black labor, whose object is to exact justice not only from white employers, but also from white organized labor and colored employers. There will be no

red tape, so begin to select your delegates and have representation in Washington, September 8th.

It makes no difference from what state you come. Just present credentials from your own union, or if you belong to a mixed union of whites and blacks and cannot get the credentials from the union as such, present your union card and some credentials of authority from the colored group included in your union.

For further details address The Messenger Publishing Company, 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City, or you may write directly to the National Headquarters, National Brotherhood Association, 609 F St., N. W. Washington, D. C. Make your slogan—"ON TO WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 8th."



The Failure of the Ninety-Second Division

Lieutenants W. N. Colson and A. B. Nutt

The Ninety-Second Division was a tragic failure. It was a failure in organization. It was a failure in morale. It was a failure in accomplishment. And this Division, the most distinctively American unit sent overseas, the embodiment of the aspirations of all Negro America, marches silently home to the funeral dirge of its fondest hopes. It was not to be expected that any class except the war traders would get anything more than suffering out of the war. But the Negro Division was the object of special victimization superimposed upon its sacrifice.

This failure in organization was occasioned by the vicious and expressed policy of the United States Government in reference to Negroes. Militarism the world over has created a society of caste. In the American Army this caste, of course, forbade the commissioning of Negro officers. After a few colored men had begged their way into Fort Des

Moines as candidates for commissions, the military caste began to operate for the purpose of causing the failure of those who might ultimately become officers. Courses were deliberately limited to infantry and medical subjects. Not a single Negro received training in either artillery, machine gunnery, engineering or staff administration. Obviously there could be no division functioning as such without Negro officers trained in those particular lines. When the commissions were finally awarded, the highest commission was that of captain and in one instance the Training Regiment staff recommended that a student who was already a major be reduced to the grade of captain.

The white instructors of the training staff at Des Moines were usually from either the 9th and 10th Cavalry or the 24th and 25th Infantries. They knew many of the colored regulars personally. When commissions were award-

ed they were not awarded meritoriously. They went to those regulars who had given satisfaction as privates and "non-coms". Very few of these men had even a fair education. In all fairness it may be said that this was no fault of theirs. They did their best as they saw it. But the unalloyed truth is that commissions were often awarded to those who were more likely to fail than succeed. Gross favoritism was also a general rule. Over nine-tenths of the captaincies went to the "regulars" and most of the other commissions to those who possessed the most "influence", like Adam E. Patterson of Chicago, or Paige I. Lancaster, an excellent example of the reactionary type of man produced by Hampton Institute. Lancaster won a commission by singing plantation songs. Later he admitted that he was not fit to lead fighting men.

The 92nd Division began to train in November, 1917. In or-

der to placate the Southern whites, those who feared that the Negro would justly use his military training for his own benefit, the division was separated and demoralized by being formed and trained in units, hundreds and thousands of miles apart. (It was not considered safe enough to mobilize the entire division in one place until it was assembled on the high seas in one convoy bound for France.) By the end of 1917, this organization, such as it was, was complete. All the staff officers with the exception of a few adjutants and doctors were white. These white staff officers were almost invariably from the South.

A foolish tradition of the American Army is that Negro soldiers are best handled by Southern white officers. These Southerners usually make their inaugural addresses among the soldiers by telling them how well they understand Negroes. They understood them so well that they had once suckled black mummies' breasts, they said. Major-General Hay, of Florida, Colonel Moss of Louisiana, Brigadier-General Erwin of Georgia, and General Blanding of Florida were of this ilk. This positing of Southerners has always been considered a necessary item in the organization of black units in the American Army.

It was stated by the War Department that draftees would be selected for branches of the service according to their fitness. Contrary to this representation, some of the most ignorant and physically disqualified Negroes in the United States were assigned to the 92nd Division. On one occasion three hundred illiterates from South Carolina were sent to Camp Upton to form the nucleus for the 351st Machine Gun Battalion! The machine gun is "the great life taker and the great life saver." Unless men are well fitted for this highly technical branch of warfare they are more likely to kill their own forces than those of the enemy. The best physical and mental material was sent to the stevedores, commanded entirely by white commissioned and non-commissioned officers. Yet, no effort whatsoever was made by the general staff to better the grade of men for the fighting ranks. Emmett J. Scott re-

mained guiltily silent. The 92nd Division was over 40% illiterate!

To make disorganization more complete the War Department applied a policy to the colored units manifestly different from that for the white. That policy is unhesitatingly expressed by Lieutenant General Bullard, in Volume 29 of the Journal of Military Service. He says, "Mistakes, injustices and failure would result from his making the same rules and methods apply to the two races."

As a further hindrance to smooth organization, the War Department refused to promote colored officers. The fact that a few officers were promoted in the Divisional Ammunition Train may be due to the coolness and manliness of Major Milton T. Dean, a colored man. The Medical Corps did promote a few doctors also, but these were said to be, with a few exceptions, the least meritorious. Such are the facts which paved the way for the failure of the Black Division in both morale and accomplishment.

Such a signal failure in organization was bound to react on the morale of the men who made up the Division. To begin with, Colonel C. C. Ballou, who was then Commanding Officer of the 17th Provisional Training Regiment at Des Moines was quick to announce the policy of the War Department. Ballou must not be unduly blamed, as he was a tool of the militaristic system which made him and which he could not oppose, if he wished to retain the favor of the army chiefs. He straightway represented as a model for the Des Moines candidate the servile John Hanks Alexander, one of the three colored graduates of West Point. The moral was that Alexander "knew how to stay in his place." If a colored cadet must win a commission he must follow the unmanly course of giving up his rights and privileges as a man. The shooting up at Houston occurred about this time. Inspector General Chamberlain appeared to warn the candidates that that affair might cost them their commissions. Incidentally, it was reported that Sergeant Major Bruce Williams, the noted trusty, was sent from Des Moines to Houston to spy on those who might have taken part in the disorder. The training

camp was then extended for one month longer than was scheduled. Many able candidates went to their homes in disgust. The whole school became disheartened and discouraged. The 92nd Division was thus born in the bitter travail of Fort DesMoines.

Negro leaders must also be blamed for their lack of principle and foresight. They too helped to promote the general debacle. Dr. George W. Cabaniss of Washington was an honest and conscientious man, of virtuous intention, but ignorant indirection, who devoted his services gratuitously to "his boys" at Des Moines. But he was sadly duped by Colonel Ballou. It may be said that Dr. Cabaniss more than any other single person led the fight among prominent Negroes and politicians in Washington for the advancement of Ballou. Ballou was finally made Commanding General of the 92nd Division. That high priest of Negro servility, Robert Russa Moton, also made an unfortunate trip to Des Moines to speak to the school. Half of his disgraceful, clownish and asinine address was in praise of Ballou while the other half was an exhortation for Negroes to keep in their places. It is stated on good authority that Moton was also one of those who advocated at Washington the fitness of Ballou to lead the Negro Division. After counsel with Moton, Ballou felt justified in issuing *Bulletin* 35. Emmett J. Scott, Special Assistant to the Secretary of War, made an address at the closing exercises of the training school which was a masterpiece of nothingness. Other reactionary Negroes who came to Des Moines with a message of praise for the army and confidence in Ballou were Dr. R. R. Wright of the State Normal School of Georgia and the Rev. H. H. Proctor of Atlanta.

Again, Negro infantry officers were indiscriminately assigned to artillery, machine gun and other units in which they had no training. A graduate of the Sheffield Scientific School was sent to the infantry and a senator's butler, commissioned by graft, was assigned to the heavy artillery. There was method in the War Department's madness. Officers were eternally antagonized by commanders such as Colonel

James A. Moss, who virtually ordered them not to exact salutes from white soldiers. (The writers do not favor the salute.) There was a general Jim-Crowing in Y. M. C. A.'s, Red Cross huts, rest-rooms and messes.

Morale among the soldiers reached a still lower ebb in France. There continued an extension of the American brand of race prejudice. Men were kept out of school. Leaves to various parts of France were prohibited, and an unusual amount of time was spent in police duty instead of military training. Instruction was of an uncertain and vague variety. There was a continual change of staff officers. White officers came from far and near to the 92nd Division to get promotions. Staff officers like Bartlett and Hay began to terrorize Negroes by placing them under arrest and transferring them wholesale. Untrained colored officers were transferred as incompetent from the artillery and engineers to the infantry. The Division was kept in training beyond the allotted length of time. It was sent to the Vosges Sector without proper equipment. It was sent to the Argonne Forest without training in the offensive, without artillery, without rifle grenades, without wire cutters and without horses. No equipment was furnished in full quota. In the midst of active preparations, General Hay of Florida assembled his brigade to tell the soldiers to treat French women like they had been made to treat white women in America. Orders were issued prohibiting Negro soldiers from entering the homes of the French and from talking with the women on any subject whatsoever. Yet the French civilians had at all times affirmed that *les noirs* were the most *gentile* of all the foreign soldiers they had seen. The Negro haters circulated their anti-Negro propaganda effectually among the white American soldiers all over France. Even after the armistice, soldiers were submitted to the most harsh and unnecessary discipline. Leaves were still further prohibited. The sole charge of the divisional staff was to make the life of the Negro soldier unendurable. The cream of the A. E. F. service, the opportunity to attend foreign univer-

sities was denied to members of the 92nd Division, by official order from General Headquarters. The Division was also purposely kept out of the Army of Occupation. A cleverly worded general order finally forbade any colored officers of the organization from remaining in France after the unit had sailed back to the United States.

It must not be forgotten that slavish Negroes themselves were quick to aid in this general break-up of morale. No one backed up the old military regime more than Captain Walter Bruce Williams, who, before the Division sailed overseas, was among the members of the 92nd Division the most suspected, feared and hated colored officer in the United States Army. Captain John Russell, one of the most brutally willful characters that ever wore a uniform, out-Prussianed the Prussians. Nor must the strange reaction of such men as Lieutenant Lucian V. Alexis of Harvard and the savage brutality of such officers as Lieutenants Herbert H. Guppy and Journey W. White be overlooked. Such men forgot all principle and judgment in their efforts to curry favor with their superior white officers and to win promotions. The creditable conduct of such officers as Oscar C. Brown, Charles H. Barbour, James W. Jones, Eugene Gordon, Abraham L. Simpson, William H. Weare, Thomas M. Dent, Louis Russell, Louis T. Wright, William H. Fearance and the Dawson Brothers was almost negated. In spite of concerted efforts by such men as Lorin O. Sanford and Joshua W. Clifford to create a military caste, by establishing retinues of servants and arrogating to themselves haughty superiority over enlisted men, the enlisted personnel of the Division nevertheless considered their black officers the best in the army. Soon after the armistice, when the soldiers began to move westward, Robert R. Moton again appeared on the scene to add insult to injury. His well known message to the soldiers was for them to return to America in "an unassuming manner." With disorganization complete and morale shattered, little could be expected of the Division in the way of accomplishment.

Long before the Division went to any front the enlisted person-

nel as well as the officers had lost all faith, military and moral, in such officers as Generals Hay and Ballou, Colonel Greer and Majors Norris, Elser, and Bull. There were only a few white officers like Generals Barnum and Sherburne, Colonel Jenks or Majors Appleton, Mitchell and Bugbee. For it is the staff officers who are ultimately responsible for the organization, morale and accomplishment of a division.

From a military point of view the one reason for the existence of a military unit is success in battle. The 92nd Division never had its mettle tried. It cannot be said that it either failed or succeeded in battle. The 368th Infantry was sent "over the top" for the avowed purpose of demonstrating a failure. For their failure General Ballou should be court-martialled. The St. Die Sector was an easy defensive one. The Marbache Sector was quiet. The American military authorities had purposely limited the training and scope of the 92nd Division, thus crippling its effectiveness for any creditable work. Corps commanders played football with the unit because no one of them wanted it. Yet this Division cost the people of the United States nearly \$4,000,000 per month. It was a case of mismanagement and exploitation by the race haters and Southerners.

Nothing progressive could be accomplished by the soldiers while they were in the army. The best of them hoped that their leaders back home would be working in their interests while they were on the front. Emmet J. Scott, after many public allusions to his integrity, kept few of his promises. In the eyes of black soldiers he was a disappointing failure. We know of nothing of value that Negro leaders did to advance the cause of the race during the war or to expose the policy of the United States Government towards black soldiers. Negro leaders like Dean Lewis B. Moore of Howard University and Dr. George E. Haynes of the United States Bureau of Labor were too busy turning the minds of the colored people from the real facts for them to see the crying issues. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, a leading Negro spokesman, muffled in war becomes feeble in peace. His reconstruction pro-

gram is a narrow, weak, and puerile plan. And in the army itself leading colored officers have been unable to save the colored soldier and the colored officer from being discredited. Many of them thought it best to adopt a *laissez-faire* policy. Ludicrously, the most notable achievement of the 17th Provisional Training Regiment Association has been the purchase of a meaningless signet ring for its members. The League for Democracy, an organization with creditable aims, has to this day failed of accomplishment. It is torn by internal strife. It lacks the support of all groups. Members of the 92nd Division have even failed to get full fledged membership in the Rooseveltian

American Legion. As a net result, the status of the Negro soldier and officer is now lower than it was immediately following the Spanish-American War.

The 92nd Division therefore returns home to find the United States more undemocratic than ever. Lynchings, riots, segregations, disfranchisements, discriminations are more rampant than even before the war. The colored men gave their lives, their health, their homes—their best selves to the privileged classes of America, England, France, Belgium, Japan and Italy in this war. They are enjoying none of the profits. They get stigma, superadded to their killed and wound-

ed, to their trench feet and fever, to their lice and gas gangrene. They fought for the alleged freedom of the seas. Freedom on land is denied them. They fought for alleged democracy. They reap murder and rapine. The call is clear. The economic system holds the Negro down. It fosters race prejudice and repression. The cause must be removed. Remove it by the force of arms exerted in **self-defense!** Remove it by the force of economic strength and organization! Until then the Negro race in the United States as a part of the labor class is doomed to failure. It will surely follow the funebrial path of the 92nd Division.

Keep Your Mind on Other Peoples' Troubles

S. E. Kiser



Poor old Russia, ripped asunder,
Victim of unholy strife!
Red with blood and weak from plunder,
Gasping out her wretched life!
Do not come to plague or fret me
With your tales of nearer woes;
I must not be bothered; let me
Think of Russia's dying throes!
Washington may turn to riot,
Blood may fill the sewers there,
But let's try to keep it quiet—
That's an every-day affair.

France and Belgium still require
All the help that we can lend;
Germany is in the mire,
Sinking swiftly to her end!
Can't you hear the Slovaks calling?
Are you deaf to Poland's pleas?

Poor Bohemia is crawling
Through disaster on her knees!
We must not forget their troubles;
Our own scattered bits of crime
Are as evanescent bubbles
Bobbing on the stream of Time.

Men are shooting one another
In the streets of Petrograd!
Same in Washington! Yes, brother,
But that isn't half as bad.
Starving children cry for pity
Where the paths of war were burned;
So they cry in this fair city,
But we must not be concerned.
If the shackles we are wearing
Sometimes seem to hurt our wrists,
We must try to keep from caring,
Or they'll call us Bolsheviks.



— Courtesy N. Y. American.

Did Bolshevism Stop Race Riots in Russia?

W. A. DOMINGO

But for the fact that Poushkin, Russia's greatest poet, was of Negro descent and the further fact that his descendants are a part of the now deposed royalty of that great country, the majority of Negroes have little knowledge of and still less interest in Russia. Because of its rigorous climate and its removal from close and easy contact with the rest of the world, particularly the tropics, few Negroes have emigrated to or travelled in Russia. Those who have gone there, went as sailors, body servants or theatrical performers.

The great war did more to familiarize the minds of the outside world with Russian affairs than all the lectures, histories and geographies had ever accomplished. This is also true of Negroes. They, like the rest of mankind, viewed with astonishment the bewildering military successes and reverses of Russia in the war which finally terminated in the destruction of the mightiest autocracy in the world and the rise of the proletariat—the common working people—into power. To the average Negro these various historical events have no greater significance than as passing phases of human conduct. Few of them are able to discover any connection between themselves—their future—and the new society that is slowly but surely emerging from the alleged chaotic social and industrial conditions of Russia. To them, and naturally so, it is a very far cry from Alabama to Turkestan, from the West Indies to Archangel and from Sierra Leone to Moscow.

The distances are too great and the connections seemingly nebulous. But despite this there is a great connection between the future of the Negro race the world over and the success of the theories—now under trial in Russia—which are collectively known as Bolshevism.

Comparing Old Russia with the countries bent on the destruction of Soviet Russia it will be noticed that they stood for many things in common—things that benefitted those countries whilst doing harm to "backward peoples" and subject races.

England, France, Portugal, Belgium and the United States are countries with large Negro and other subject races under their control who are varyingly exploited economically, ostracized socially, and powerless politically. Czarist Russia resembled those countries in that the Empire was a congeries of various subject races, such as Jews, Tartars, Kalmuks, Poles, Armenians and Lithuanians, who were disfranchised, oppressed and murdered. When Czardom was overthrown and Bolshevism was established the first thing done by the new government was to proclaim the absolute equality of all the races that occupied that vast territory. This equality was not theoretical, but was made practical from the very start. As a result Trotsky, a Jew, became Minister of War and Karl Peters, a Lett, was made a Commissar.

So completely devoted to their ideals of human equality and justice were the Bolsheviki that they immediately renounced sovereignty over the portion of Persia, a dark-skinned country, that had been occupied by Russia in agreement with Great Britain in 1906. Be it noted that Great Britain, although ostensibly fighting for democracy and the rights of small nations, continued to occupy its portion of Persia and vigorously protested against the noble act of national restitution done by Soviet Russia.

As if to show to the Negro race that justice and equality are only possible under Bolshevism, an American Negro named Gordon, who had gone to Russia with the American Ambassador to occupy the dignified position of door-keeper, became converted to Bolshevism and was elected to a high official position in one of the Russian Communes. This was reported in the World's Work Magazine for October, 1918, and later confirmed by the testimony given by the Rev. George Simons of Petrograd before the Overman Congressional committee investigating Bolshevism in America. A cynic has said that perhaps the deposition of Gordon from his exalted position is the real reason why President Wilson, a South-

erner, is waging war on Russia without a formal declaration of war by Congress.

Perhaps the greatest analogy between Russia and the United States can be found in the former's treatment of Jews and in the latter's treatment of Negroes. Under the autocratic Czar Jews were treated in very much the same manner as Negroes are treated in the democratic United States. They had no political rights, they were segregated within the Pale, and the avenues of opportunity were closed to them. Life to them was merely a cycle of sorrow, oppression and despair. Just as American Negroes have had their Atlanta, East St. Louis, Washington and Chicago, so had the Jews of Russia their Kishineff and other pogroms. Just as Negro loyalty in wars has proven futile as a deterrent or preventive of lynch law and oppression, so did Jewish fealty to Russia prove non-effective in abating their persecution and suffering.

However, the great revolution came and the Czar and the newspapers that lied about Jews, priests who condoned the persecution of a weaker race and military officers who inflamed the blood-lust of the common soldiers, were swept out of power.

In their place was established a government led by men who had suffered the scorn of the high and the abuse of the lowly, men who could understand and appreciate the real causes of Jewish oppression. One of the first things that the new government did was sternly to suppress and punish those of the old regime who retained the old psychology of race hatred if caught inciting the people to start pogroms—race riots—against Jews. After a few executions of lynchers and race-rioters the Bolshevik government succeeded in making Soviet Russia unsafe for mobocrats, but safe for Jews and other oppressed racial minorities.

According to latest, reliable reports, such as those of Isaac Don Levine of the New York Evening Globe, Moscow and Petrograd are safer for all their population—Jew, Gentile and Infidel—than Chicago and Washington have

recently been for their black inhabitants. On the other hand, in Poland, where Bolshevism does not hold sway, an American Commission is at present investigating the recent massacre of Jews in that recently reconstructed and freed country. In Siberia, under Kolchak, the Jewish population see their daughters raped and men slain by brutal soldiers who are egged on by corrupt and fanatical priests and anti-Bolshevists. In Southern Russia the soldiers of General Gregorieff, who, with the support of the Allies, is redeeming Holy Russia (?) from "barbarism," have treated Odessa to a saturnalia of Jewish blood while the following clipping speaks for itself as to conditions in the Ukraine:

"The anti-Bolshevik Yiddish 'Day,' of New York, has the following cablegram from its European correspondent, N. Shifrin, under date of July 11th:

"Persons who have arrived in Copenhagen tell about the cruelties of Petlura's soldiers of which they have been eye-witnesses. At the station Tchudnovolinsk, 36 Jews were killed in one car. In Dubno, they saw 18 Jews executed in the market place. In Rovno and Lutnik they find daily two or three Jews murdered in their houses. Under the Ukrainian Soviet government no pogroms have ever occurred anywhere."

The lesson to be gained from these numerous examples is that racial oppression in its various forms of disfranchisement, lynching and mob murder prevails in non-Bolshevik Russia but has been abolished in the territory dominated by Lenine and his followers. The Allies who are today fighting Soviet Russia in the name of freedom, have colonies which they exploit, and sections of their own countries in which they at times permit the unrestrained passions of white major-

ities to run riot upon Negro minorities. In contrast to this racial failure on the part of the self-righteous Allies and non-Bolshevik governments to protect small racial groups it is noticeable that all minorities are successfully protected in Soviet Russia.

The question naturally arises: Will Bolshevism accomplish the full freedom of Africa, colonies in which Negroes are in the majority, and promote human tolerance and happiness in the United States by the eradication of the causes of such disgraceful occurrences as the Washington and Chicago race riots? The answer is deducible from the analogy of Soviet Russia, a country in which dozens of racial and lingual types have settled their many differences and found a common meeting ground, a country which no longer oppresses colonies, a country from which the lynch rope is banished and in which racial tolerance and peace now exist.

Economic Conditions in St. Thomas, V. I., U. S. A.

By Rothschild Francis

The writer of this article, legislator, musician, lecturer and race fighter was born in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, United States of America, Oct. 5, 1891, of very poor parents—received an elementary education in public schools and from the age of ten, manifested strong tendencies towards radicalism. At sixteen he managed a brass band and conducted an evening school, wherefrom the

In sending this article to the press, it is the desire of the writer to place before his readers conditions as they are in the Virgin Islands of the U. S. He requests further that serious consideration be given their needs, that impartial investigation be made, thereby enabling the readers better to judge the reason why the intelligent few are dissatisfied with said conditions; and why they have agitated and will continue to agitate so that they may kindle in the minds of their brothers and sisters, not endowed with the same keen perception, the true light, which shall make manifest the dire necessity for immediate co-operation on all points, racial, industrial and political. With the proper point of view secured, the

students received tuition free of charge. In 1916, he took the most prominent part in the "Reform Movement" of his island home—delivered a series of lectures on history and economics in 1917. During the winter of 1918, some marines of the United States Navy committed an unjustifiable outrage on the defenseless people of St. Thomas, whereupon he became one of the framers and signers

working people can then demand (not beg) a change of conditions for good in their island home.

Industrial Conditions of Old Order Still Present in New

Hitherto the scale wages per day was as follows:

33 1/3 to 60 cents for cargo men, ordinary laborers and clerks.
83 1/3 to \$1.50 for mechanics.
16 2/3 cents for cooks.
10 cents for house servants.

From these small allowances the working people were compelled to pay rent, purchase food and clothing for themselves and families. They lived and at present are living, in the majority of cases, in rooms 12 feet by 10 feet, which must serve as their reception, bath and sleeping apart-

of the famous "Open Letter to Rear-Admiral James H. Oliver, the Governor of the Virgin Islands." April 23d this year, he was elected a member of the City Council and is at present a delegate to Washington, D. C., with a mandate from the Working People of St. Thomas for presentation to the Congress of the U. S.

ments, without pictures on the walls. The furniture consisted in many cases, of ordinary tables, decorated with Queen Anne lamps. For these horse stables, landlords charge from \$1.50 to \$3 per month, and although our hands helped to build them, we are compelled to pay the costs and interest at 200% for life time. Our home libraries contain only Bibles and Sankeys, and although our newspapers then and now cost only 2c. a copy, we could not have afforded to take a monthly subscription for 40c. without the effect being disastrously felt. The same condition, or even worse, now exists under the new order; for while the laborer's pay is increased 100%, the cost of living has risen 250%, and what is more,



Left to right standing: F. Gairty, H. Hatchet, C. A. Emanuel, S. De Graff, V. Forde, N. Davergee, Max Wallace, E. Powells, J. C. Keaser, Z. Keating. Sitting: L. Rogers, Rothschild, Francis, R. A. Innis.

WORKMEN'S COUNCIL, "ONE BIG UNION," ST. THOMAS, V. I.

the majority of the members on the Food Commission are merchants who do their best to make living easy for a certain few, while the producers are made to pay high prices for necessary commodities. This food commission makes it a special duty to go to the limit with bakers in the reduction of the price of bread, as the working people eat bread only. What about the high speculation on sugar, milk, rice, pork, flour, etc.? Why it is all right, because these blood suckers sell the commodities hinted at but they don't make bread. Now, we want a square deal and will demand that the food commission's make-up be such in the future, that thorough representation will be a reality.

The best place for men who wilfully profiteer on poor people, is in jail, and I am certain that every working man and woman in the Virgin Islands would be glad to see these profiteers there, behind the bars.

"Today a pirate does not prey as preys a thieving eagle, He corners all the food supply, which makes his profit legal."

If a scale of wages be not established to better the economic condition of the laborers in the Virgin Islands, the departure of Danish sovereignty and the advent of American protection will be a farce, and that only. There are some mental degenerates and moral wrecks who are base enough to be satisfied with conditions and who will pray (rather than fight) continuously that some unseen spirit may use its

influence on the hearts of their oppressors and thereby make some change for good. But it is the right of the working people freely to enjoy the things their hands have made and which the law, backed by physical force, has compelled them to go without. The cure for this curse is the coming together of all the working people in the Virgin Islands of the U. S. and the establishment of One Big Industrial Union, managed by fearless leaders who know exactly how to get down to business to demand what they want and thereby strike terror in the hearts of their oppressors.

Sanitation and Hygiene

Be it said to the credit of Surgeon E. Peterson, U. S. Navy, that since his advent in the Islands a night soil removal system has been established, yards are regularly inspected and kept in order, there is less death among cattle, the mosquito problem has been carefully studied and scientific ways and means revised for beginning a war for its extermination. Malaria, large legs, large scrotums, etc., are caused through mosquitos biting the person who suffers from these complaints. The scientific name for the case in question is "Filaria." The people have had explained to them the value of pure milk as a food and its evil effect on the human system when impure. The direct cause also for the high percentage of mortality among our babies is due to impure milk.

The working people in a body should form a petition and demand that Surgeon Peterson's

suggestions be immediately put into force, namely, the establishment of centers in the city wherein milk shall be sent for inspection and sale. It would not be anything strange to me if nine tenths of the milk tamperers were rounded up by the police and sent to jail for a term of two years, for these villains not only adulterate the milk (contrary to law), but they sell it at such high prices, that the babies of poor people can't get enough to drink. Milk is a necessity, not a luxury, and something should be done to stop such profiteering.

Wonderful improvements have been made in the management of the Municipal Hospital, which is due much to the untiring efforts of Surgeon Butler and Ha Knud Hausen, U. S. N. The former got the American Red Cross Society to donate about \$20,000 for the purchase of new appliances, while the latter, through high class medical skill, has eradicated certain diseases that would have eventually proved fatal to the offspring of the people. Midwives and nurses are natives on the whole and are given lessons regularly in physiology, nursing, etc. Dr. Knud Hausen also deserves much credit for his untiring efforts in caring for the poor. It is hoped that better provision will be made for the care of consumptives in the future.

(To be Continued Next Month)

WHEN NEGROES SHOT A LYNCHING BEE INTO PERDITION

W. E. HAWKINS

The Washington newspapers incited it; United States soldiers and sailors started it; and Negroes finished it.

The local papers had been running glaring headlines for a week inflaming racial strife by long citations of assaults on white women alleged to have been committed by Negroes. Scores of Negroes, mostly mere boys and caddies had been arrested, but no one was found who by any pretext could be made the sacrificial goat in this so-called great Wave of Crime which existed mostly in the newspapers. This served its purpose, however, of affording an excuse to the

large Southern element here to "clean up Washington." White newspaper writers versed in the operation of mob psychology realized the effect this propaganda would have upon the Southern reactionaries who had carried on a long and intense program of hate to get rid of the Negroes they found here holding down good jobs, wearing better clothes than the average Southerner can afford to wear, and who did not have to jump around generally and make abject kow-tows whenever a white face appeared. So these twentieth century crusaders of Democracy set out to put the Washington Negroes into their "places."

Sunday night, July 20th, United States soldiers and sailors, bent upon lynching colored people and assisted by a part of the hoodlum element launched their cleaning-up "campaign", and the Negroes who had a presentiment of what was coming silently agreed to assist in the cleaning.

Many sporadic fights occurred when groups of whites met Negroes and whenever white mobs came upon single Negroes the latter fared badly. They began the Southern pastime of pulling Negroes from cars and pounding them. The blacks became inflamed with determined resistance and began massing for counter-attack, arming themselves with every imaginable weapon of defense. Intermittent fights occurred all day Monday, July 21st, till Monday night the long pent up race consciousness of a persecuted and over-patriotic and patient people broke out in a mad rage and frenzy, transforming them into desperate demons raving with the passionate impulse of revenge. Streams of wounded began flowing to the hospitals and it was evident everywhere that the battle was on and the soul of the Negro was in it. The police authorities realized the direfulness of the situation and threw a cordon of police around the principal thoroughfares of the city, forming a veritable battle line which wavered, swelled, swayed and quivered as the restless surging mass of enraged humanity rushed it here and there. Some rushed to their homes and waited upon their weapons, others delirious with madness dashed into the streets, shouting, shooting,



men let loose upon the war path, till once peaceful Washington became a seething hell of fury and madness.

For forty-eight long lurid hours the reign of red terror lasted, and not all the police forces of Washington, augmented by marines, soldiers, United States cavalry and the civic population could subdue the aroused fury of the Negro. He went into the fight buoyed up by deep religious fanaticism as if he were fighting for some great crowning glory which made even death sweet. He saw his brothers dying in the trenches in Europe for a democracy which mocks him and all the ghastly wrongs which have seared his soul came before him like ghosts in a dream and he swore by the eternal gods and the best blood of his heart "They shall not pass." And they didn't pass.

His hot blood rushing through his veins, the grim shadow of death looming lurid before him, and the thrill of the glory of battle when fighting for his life, liberty and home stiffening his sinews as steel, he lost his sense of fear and consequence and plunged into the fray with a realization that the God of his salvation was his brick bat and his bullet, his razor and his gun.

In all the bloody trail of riots in the "Land of the Free" and the Home of the Knave, there never was another wherein the Negro took so much pride and jubilation. When the long pent up floods of race hate broke their bounds, transforming men into demons, and bands of armed mobs hunted each other like the wild clasmens in the South during

Reconstruction, groups of Negroes roamed the streets shouting jubilant war songs as if it were a carnival and gala day. And to them it was a carnival indeed, in which the sleeping Demon of Race Consciousness, aroused to fury by the constant pricking of his pride, sensed the flavor of the glory of hate

and dropped the sting of death into the white man's cup of arrogance.

It was a demonstration of the new appraisalment the Negro has of human values. Life to him is valued only in so far as he can use that life to secure and maintain that which makes life dear, and the lives of those who jeopardize his sacred heritages lose their value in proportion as they antagonize those heritages. Therefore, when policemen failed to protect the Negroes, the latter shot them down.

An indication of their state of mind, they openly declare the war here in Washington the greatest event since the Civil War. The Negro has demonstrated right in the sight of the White House and Congress, which refuse to protect him or reward his loyalty that he is afraid neither to kill nor to die for so sacred a thing as liberty and home.

Here in the nation's capital he has thrown down the gauntlet to his country. The gaping wounds of would-be lynchers in the city morgue and hospitals speak an eloquent warning that the time of timidity is gone; the day of cringing is over; the hour of compromise is passed; and the high noon of ACTION has come. He says to the lynchers that henceforth it will be eye for eye, tooth for tooth, death for death and damnation for damnation.

For every Negro who lost his life in the race war, two white men have gone to that eternal sleep where the wicked cease from troubling and where they will think of lynching no more.

The Awakened Oppressed and The Disturbed Oppressors

GEORGE FRAZIER MILLER

The Union League Club, the Lusk Committee, and other inquisitors are, these days, throwing terrible fits over the advance of radicalism amongst colored citizens in "the land of the free."

The question naturally arises, and every reflecting man and woman should be sufficiently alive to the situation to enquire, why do these people, socially independent and supercilious, exclusive to the degree and in the conceit of an all self-sufficiency and arrogance; why do these people, possessors of the wealth of the land, controllers of the mammoth industries of the country, the masters of the resources of the soil; why do these dominant and domineering forces in all the commercial, financial and industrial activities of the realm, care what is thought or done by the most obscure, uninfluential, the most dependent and submissive, the most hopelessly and irretrievably "loyal" element of the community?

Bereft of political power and economic strength, the least dangerous element of the body politic, the most easily abused with impunity, the most readily exploited with least difficulty and greatest security, amid the most vicious persecution "loyal" to the degree of debasing servility, the colored American stands forth in our national life a monument of weakness, the very personification of powerlessness! In the light of all this, no thoughtful man or woman can fail of excitement to a keenness of interest in the enquiry: why are these master forces of the world, or the representatives of them, so terribly wrought up over the advance of Socialism among the colored portion of our population? Why are these superior forces bent upon silencing *The Messenger*—this organ of candor and progress?

Why are they so determined upon crushing the work of two young men who for ability and acquisition, for purpose, courage and fearlessness, are a mighty asset to the poor and oppressed whose cause they advocate and whose grievances they are forward to defend?

Why does the despicable raider,

Stevenson, in one of his hawk-like descents upon the People's House, in encountering a young colored woman of personal culture and fine attainments, well versed in economics, sociology and kindred subjects, venture the insult that he is "ashamed to see one of her race in such a place?" Why the further gratuitous offence that she "ought to be in slavery?" (a state which well befits him and all like him).

Why do these villainous abusers of the fundamental rights of men lose their mental balance over the growth of Socialism among the political and social outcasts of the land?

We are segregated with impunity, we are disfranchised without redress, we are "jimcrowed" to our deep humiliation and for affording occasion for the indulgence of other people's conceit and supercilious complacence; our civil rights in places of public accommodation are scornfully denied, and the mental effect of all this upon us and the far-reaching consequences of such denials disturb not in the least degree the blood-lusting Luskers nor the heartless pirates of the Union League Club.

We are shot down like wild beasts, our necks broken from tree limbs, the crackling fagots consume our agonized bodies lashed to the immovable post, our women in holy pregnancy are ripped asunder, and the "mute inglorious Milton," on near approach to a world career has his brains crushed out by the heel of personified brutality and incarnate devilry.

Like Gallio of old, the plutocrats, the oligarchs, the despoilers of men, the profiteers, the patrioteers, the ballot thieves, the money sharks, the Luskers, the Stevensons, and the Union Leaguers care for none of those things. Why, then, are they so disturbed (interested?) in the attention of colored people to Socialism?

When we are wrought up to the high pitch of desperation in consequence of the tyranny we are forced to endure, we resort, for relief, to mass meetings, and

in eloquent strains and telling speech our foremost orators proclaim against the injustices perpetrated upon our defenceless men. As a matter of fact our complaints are given wide circulation by the news disseminating agency of the land. We petition congresses and legislatures, and our petitions are kindly received and every assurance is extended to the effect that due and proper consideration will be given to our "demands": our rights are guaranteed, and will be safeguarded in every detail. So long as we confine our activities to manoeuvres of racial societies, we are not only tolerated, but are oftentimes "assisted" in the effort at the reclamation of our stolen rights. Not long ago in the City of New York, at such a meeting, we saw Mr. Charles E. Hughes, who was cheated out of the presidency through the treachery of his own party in handing over to the Democratic Party, as a pre-election gift, the vote of the solid South, proclaiming eloquently against the wrongs of the race. So long as we maintain membership in the Republican or Democratic Party we are necessarily limited to the sphere of petition, and being so limited, we are safe for the big and the little capitalistic bandits. If the airing of our grievances in these various ways be a matter of indifference, or of approval, to the master class, why do they go into a rage and throw such terrible fits when the truth in its nakedness emanates from the pen of an Owen or a Randolph?

Why, when these men speak, are they impleaded and the powers of government implored, to suppress their utterance? Why must now the voice of colored men be hushed when uplifted in pointing the way of relief and security to their fellows in suffering? Why is the shameless Stevenson "ashamed" when he sees a young colored woman of the caliber of Helen Holman in the People's House? Why are these Luskers taking on like mad at the imbibing of the doctrine of Socialism by colored men and colored women? Why their bit-

terness of soul at the discovery in Harlem of a large, and ever growing, group of colored men and women—mostly young—discussing the principles of Socialism and listening to learned lecturers in the expounding of the same?

Nobody is disturbed about what the black man does or thinks in other departments of life, so why such harassing and harrowing of soul in this?

Call the instrumentalities adjusted as means to end by whatever name you please: weapons or tools, instruments or machinery, the object in view cannot be realized unless adaptable means are employed; and when designs are directed by an antagonist against his adversary to accomplish a particular hurt, the said adversary cares for no tool or weapons not adapted to inflict the intended injury. A competitor at billiards would not object to his rival's using an axe handle instead of a cue, nor a duelist, to his adversary's employment of a spear, if contending a hundred yards apart. So with the Lusks, members of the Union League Club,

and the whole class they represent. So long as the colored people employ ineffectual means for a full and free liberation from the thralldom under which they are burdened, all is well. So long as we are Democrats or Republicans, and are consequently limited to petition, all is well.

No harm in mass meetings, no harm in protests, no harm even in "demands"; for a demand that has not the potency to carry its terms into effect is truly no demand at all.

It is now recognized that the black man is fast coming into a knowledge of the true means of his emancipation—he is grasping the force and value of Socialism. Let me state it a little more elaborately: he begins to discover the value of the ownership of the sources of wealth and the tools of production by the worker himself; he begins to see that when the natural resources and the public utilities are democratically owned (owned by all the people) and are democratically managed (managed by all the people) it is then only he will be his own master,

and the mastership of the Union League pirates will have come to an end.

The fits, therefore, over the black man's embracing Socialism are in consequence of his discovery of the key to the situation. The fits are due to two reasons: First—it is recognized that the black man is a power of great potentiality upon whom consciousness of his own strength is about to dawn—a veritable giant awaking out of sleep.

Second—Socialism lifts him above the footstool of supplication and puts him upon the lofty pedestal of independent activity—where he can do things. It puts him where vital and intimate touch with those who are engaged in correcting fundamental wrongs not through empty sentimentality that might be cast to the winds when its force has been expended, but as an element of human need indispensable to the realization of the industrial democracy—the incoming of the CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

CHICAGO REBELLION FREE BLACK MEN FIGHT FREE WHITE MEN STATE STREET HINDEN- BURG LINE

Chicago, Sunday July, 23rd.—
(Special to *The Messenger*.)

The stone thrown by Strauber, which struck Eugene Williams, 17 years old, Sunday, July 27th, and knocked him from a raft at the beach, was the "last straw that broke the camel's back." For months race hatred had been increasing. Migration has increased the Negro population to at least one hundred twenty-five thousand. They have invaded white communities for homes, even the popular Michigan Ave. and Grand Boulevard, buying as well as renting. Their residences have been bombed. Not one arrest has been made. White business enterprises have grown jealous of the numerous Negro business enterprises.

Twenty-five thousand new jobs and positions have been filled with black men within the last three years and with general satisfaction. White workmen have grown restless and angry. Minor mobs in white districts have repeatedly attacked individual Ne-

groes. The "black belt" looked on cautious and impatient.

Press reports had told of the refusal of passports to loyal and patriotic leaders who desired to go to Europe to plead the cause of black men. Returning soldiers told of discrimination "over there," and on the high seas. Leaders began to ask, is this democracy? These patriots! Democracy had become the apple of Sodom to turn to ashes upon their lips. Whites growing

LABOR'S DAY

Once poets in their safe and calm retreat
Essayed the singing of the fertile soil,
The workman, bare-armed in the noonday heat,
Happy and grateful at his peaceful toil;
But now their voices hollow sound and cold,
Like imitated music, false and strange,
Or half truths of a day that could not hold
Its own against the eternal tide of change.
For Labor, Lord, himself will limn his life
And sing the modern songs of hope and vision,
And write the inspired tale of long-drawn strife
While mocked the poor blind world in grim derision,
Until she opened wide her eyes in awe
To see a new world under labor's law!

—Claude McKay.

bolder because of the seeming docility of the Negro and the laxity of authorities made open threats to mob Negroes on the 4th of July in Washington Park.

Colored men taking precaution quietly secured pistols. Winchester, Springfield rifles, and even machine-guns from "God knows where." Unknown to the majority of the people and against the laws of the state, the police had no longer respected the freedom of the lake and made segregated

zones at certain beaches. Eugene Williams blown by the winds into the white zone was stoned by a mob of whites. He drowned. Colored men demanded a policeman to arrest Strauber who threw the fatal stone. He refused. It is alleged that they slashed Strauber with knives and beat up the policeman. Excitement spread throughout the southside. The air was charged and surcharged with race madness. All other nationalities prepared to invade the "black belt." All police reserves throughout the city, mounted, flying squads and others—were called to the southside. Free black men made ready to fight free white men. They had heard of the outrageous conduct of white soldiers, sailors and policemen at the nation's capital.

Their confidence in authority was lost. It was therefore their determination to fight police as well as the mobs.

A State Street Hindenburg line was formed three miles and half long extended from 18th Street to 55th Street, about twenty-five thousand strong. The average area of the "black belt" is three square miles. The task of these men was to defend it from all angles. As if by prearrangement they melted into squads using telephone communication. Before them lay the great foreign community composing the white mobs. Two million six hundred thousand in the city population were against a colored population of one hundred twenty-five thousand. There were ten thousand Negro soldiers scattered through the "black belt." The objective of the whites was to break through into this belt of law abiding citizens. These people resting on their arms on doorsteps and in windows formed on all the streets a second line of defense behind the State Street Hindenburg line which was composed principally of ex-discharged soldier boys from twelve to eighteen and the rougher, rougher classes, but not one drunken man was to be seen.

The white mobs surged. Black men charged, defying, killing and wounding policemen and civilians. Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday nights they killed two whites to their one of Negroes. At 35th, 39th, 37th, 47th and 51st

Streets, the whites tried to come through in mass formation, but they were driven back in great losses. Finding it impossible to break through this line the whites in the stock yard districts and in the loop began to chase individual Negroes wherever found. In these districts they outnumbered Negroes one thousand to one. Some homes were burned. Then colored men began to keep base ball score. Every time the whites killed one they would kill a white whether innocent or offensive. Michigan Avenue and Grand Boulevard popular thoroughfares, were not molested. All other streets in the black belt were no man's land.

White auto squads from the loop in one instance carrying a machine-gun made flank movements through this belt but the machine-gun man was killed and gun taken, and the woman driver was severely beaten. One policeman dressed in woman's clothes was killed.

Total number killed was about forty, majority were whites. Over three hundred were wounded, majority of whom were whites.

So called "White folk's niggers" stood little chance. One of them was killed. Attorney B. Moseley published that the race should not retaliate and that this was a white man's country. Police were called to protect him from mob violence at the hands of his own people.

He carries his own life in his hands. Attorneys Latham and Mollison who were on the committee that was interviewed by *The Tribune* reported when investigated that they disclaimed that they voiced the sentiments of Moseley. Business places owned by whites in many cases were demolished where it was known that a man catering to colored was their enemy. On the 4th day the militia was called. All credit should be given to Mayor Thompson for not calling them sooner. They would have been a green set of criminals turned loose upon colored people. After much bloodshed, the colored would have killed and wounded all of them. But the police had time to learn that the colored were not afraid of a uniform and they so informed the soldiers when they were called. The result was that they have con-

ducted themselves in a more or less decent manner. Telephone service which was to some extent cut off in the southside exchanges has become normal. Strife is now centered in the labor market. Foreigners hold the section where industries are located. Fifty homes belonging to Poles have been burned and the crime has been laid to colored. The feeling is so intense that that fifteen thousand of our race, are temporarily barred from work. Sears and Roebuck, Mr. Rosenwald, President, has informed all colored that their wages would go on just the same.

The bar association as represented by colored attorneys, all churches and civic organizations, including the N. A. C. P. have united in one body with one headquarters to obtain justice in courts.

The Negro press fared hard in the strife. The "*Chicago Whip*," was suppressed and the whites press refused to print the "*Chicago Defender*." The State Street Hindenburg Line has made history for the Negro race. It will take some good statemanship on the part of our leaders to set many things right.

Some enemies request that a mixed commission be appointed to solve the disputes with one object in view already known which is to ask us to voluntarily stop moving any more into white settlement as they have no other available places to enter due to shortage of war building programs. The race generally opposes this compromise. Some think, however, that unless concessions are made the whites will make some kind of abridgements in the coming Constitutional Convention.

Att'y J. Arthur Davis.

NOTICE

Mr. W. A. Domingo takes this opportunity of informing the public that he is no longer connected with *The Negro World*. He also wishes to disabuse the minds of many of his acquaintances and friends who have unconsciously identified him with the various business projects of the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

It is his intention shortly to publish a weekly newspaper of scientific radicalism and fearless opinion.



Woodrow Wilson

The subject of our sketch is the object of the hatred and suspicion of liberals and radicals, at home and abroad. Before the supreme test came, he often spoke wisely, but acted the contrawise. From the cloistered fastnesses of a college president to the governorship of New Jersey and the presidency of the United States, he has subtly and artfully held a credulous public in an expectant mood—wistfully bidding the time when his deeds would mirror forth his words.

As a scholar his reputation was achieved in the field of history. Here under the high powered microscopic lens of modern scientific criticism, his chief creations, such as the *History of the American People*, *Congressional Government*, a treatise on the American government, *The New Freedom*, the foundation of his pseudo-liberalism, will reveal his historical superficiality, and his inability either to forge the fetters of his prejudices, or to think clearly in terms of the bottom, foundational, social forces that shape human actions and determine human institutions. In short, he is mainly a descriptive writer. In both theory and applied political science, Mr. Wilson is still hibernating in the ideological, economic and political junk of Adam Smith, the Physiocrats and John Stuart Mill. His solvent for the Iron Heel—the Trusts of today, is a reversion to the competitive struggle—laissez-faire. He would destroy the more efficient, and too, inevitable economic device of the trust as

the ignorant worker sought to destroy the labor-saving machines at the advent of the Industrial Revolution. The principle of the socialization of the trust by controlling that which makes the trusts possible—the machinery and sources of wealth production, has escaped our national and international Don Quixote.

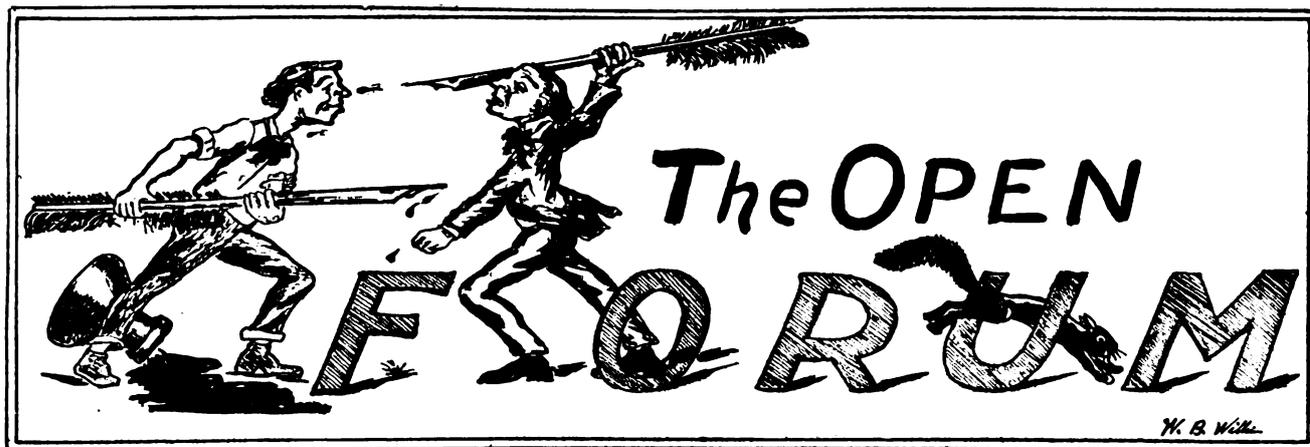
And just as the machines survived the misdirected attacks of well-meaning but misguided workers, so will the food, railroad, coal and steel trusts live despite the Niagara of platitudes of the petulant politico-economic Rip Van Winkle of the "New Mankind via the League of Nations."

Armed with the 14 points, he was shunted here and elbowed there; flattered, cajoled, and finally manipulated like an unsophisticated child upon the international chess board. He was thrown the sop of a League of Nations patterned after the British design. But his vanity was easily exploited by the seasoned, cunning and artful British, French and Japanese diplomats, pretending that he (Woodrow Wilson) was the main architect. The 14 points have found expression in typical Wilsonian fashion. He made his international debut as the champion of "open covenants openly arrived at," and closed with secret covenants secretly arrived at. "Freedom of the seas" has changed to "The Seas to the Imperialists." "No annexations" has been interpreted to mean and to justify the rape of China, the emasculation of Af-

rica, the subjugation of India, the strangling of Ireland, the ruthless destruction of the Russian revolution and the deposition of Bela Kun.

And still, why wonder at this tragic failure? Was it not natural? Let us see. Wilson was the emissary of the greatest capitalistic government in the world. He was elected upon a ticket supported by plutocrats of America. He was representative of a government under which men are disfranchised on account of color, women on account of sex, two million children are in the factories, women overworked while pregnant, and Negro citizens mobbed and murdered at the nation's capital under the shadow of the White House. It is important to note in this connection also that the president is silent on domestic problems, though he is solicitous of the welfare of the fate of the Armenians at the hands of the Turks, and the Russians at the hands of the Bolsheviks.

To sum up: As a scholar, a national and international statesman, and in the role of the arbiter of relations between races of his own country, Mr. Wilson has failed, and failed miserably. The chief beneficiaries of his public career are the combined manufacturers and capitalists and himself. Liberals, radicals and Negroes alike, will witness the setting of his sun in public life without grief. Unhonored, he will go down to the narrow, bigoted grave of private life from whence he sprang.



Dear Comrade Owen:

I enclose a check for \$25.00 as a contribution to the organization fund being raised by The Messenger. I know of no more important and vital work in the field of American Socialism and Labor today than the effort of your group to incorporate the large masses of Negro workers in the ranks of the advanced and class-conscious white workers in the industrial and political fields.

My heartiest wishes for the success of your movement.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,
Morris Hillquit.

EMANCIPATION AND THE FREED IN AMERICAN SCULPTURE

By Freeman Henry Morris Murray
Washington

Murray Brothers Press. \$1.75.

As the initial volume to his Black Folk in Art Series, Mr. F. H. M. Murray has made a valuable and promising beginning in the unique subject of this review. Though the book is the result of studies which the author had made over the course of many years, it was occasioned by the happy expansion of several of his recent lectures delivered to teachers. The first half of the volume contains an interpretation of statues and groups, classified in chronological order, and

To the Editors of The Messenger,
Dear Comrades:

The work which you are doing is vital. Your people constitute more than a tenth of the total population of the United States. We are all native born Americans. If there is to be progress made, particularly in the great Southland, by the Socialist Movement, it must be made by and through colored people. Enclosed is my check for Five Dollars, for the first share of stock in the Messenger. With it goes my heart good wishes for the success of your work.

Yours truly,
Scott Nearing.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Enclosed please find check for the amount of \$100 in reply to the appeal presented by you at the last meeting of our Board of Directors for support to enable you to continue the noble work you have undertaken to enlighten the colored worker in this country upon his being exploited by the master class.

We wish you success in the work you are conducting on this field and you can rely upon the assurance of our organization for all possible assistance in the future.

Fraternally yours,
P. Monat.

Book Review

whose basic idea was clearly that of emancipation. The remainder of the study includes the treatment of objects in which emancipation played merely the part of subsidiary or accessory interest in the artists' delineation of other themes.

The book is plainly one of interpretation. Mr. Murray has searched with rare and sympathetic understanding into the intention, meaning and effect of each creation. Technical criticism occupies little space. Forty-eight illustrations greatly enhance the value of the study, as most of Mr. Murray's inclusions are unfamiliar to the general public.

Mr. Murray is a conscientious and sympathetic art critic. This volume not only contains the gist of criticism on the subjects treated, as seen by

leading art students, but also the author's own interpretative point of view. Mr. Murray has an unusual faculty for searching out and defining the meaning and purpose of the artist. He never loses sight of the symbolism which the sculptors sought to effect or the lofty idealization which inspired their themes. The sympathy of the author may be seen in his treatment of Bissell's Democracy of Childhood, or of the Rogers groups. His passion for the conscientious may be seen in his indictment of the abuse of realism by the sculptor of the Harriet Tubman Tablet. The entire work is of absorbing interest. We eagerly await the succeeding volumes of the Black Folk, in Art Series.

William N. Colson.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC

The unexpected and sudden occurrence of the race riots caused this issue, which was to have been the Labor Issue, to be changed to the Riot Issue. Certain articles announced last month have, therefore, been temporarily laid aside until the October number, when articles on

NEGRO RADICALS

THE FAILURE OF THE NEGRO CHURCH

THE FT. SAM HOUSTON COURT MARTIAL

will appear. Other articles will be:

BOLSHEVISM—A PROMISE OR A MENACE?

ROSCOE CONKLING SIMMONS—A FAILURE OR A FIGURE?

WHY NEGROES SHOULD BE SOCIALISTS.

Being the first of a series of 4 articles presenting this subject—by the Editors.

WHEN THE U. S. SHOULD INTERVENE IN MEXICO.

Next month's MESSENGER will be written in "words that burn in letters that blister." It will be out Sept. 21.

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