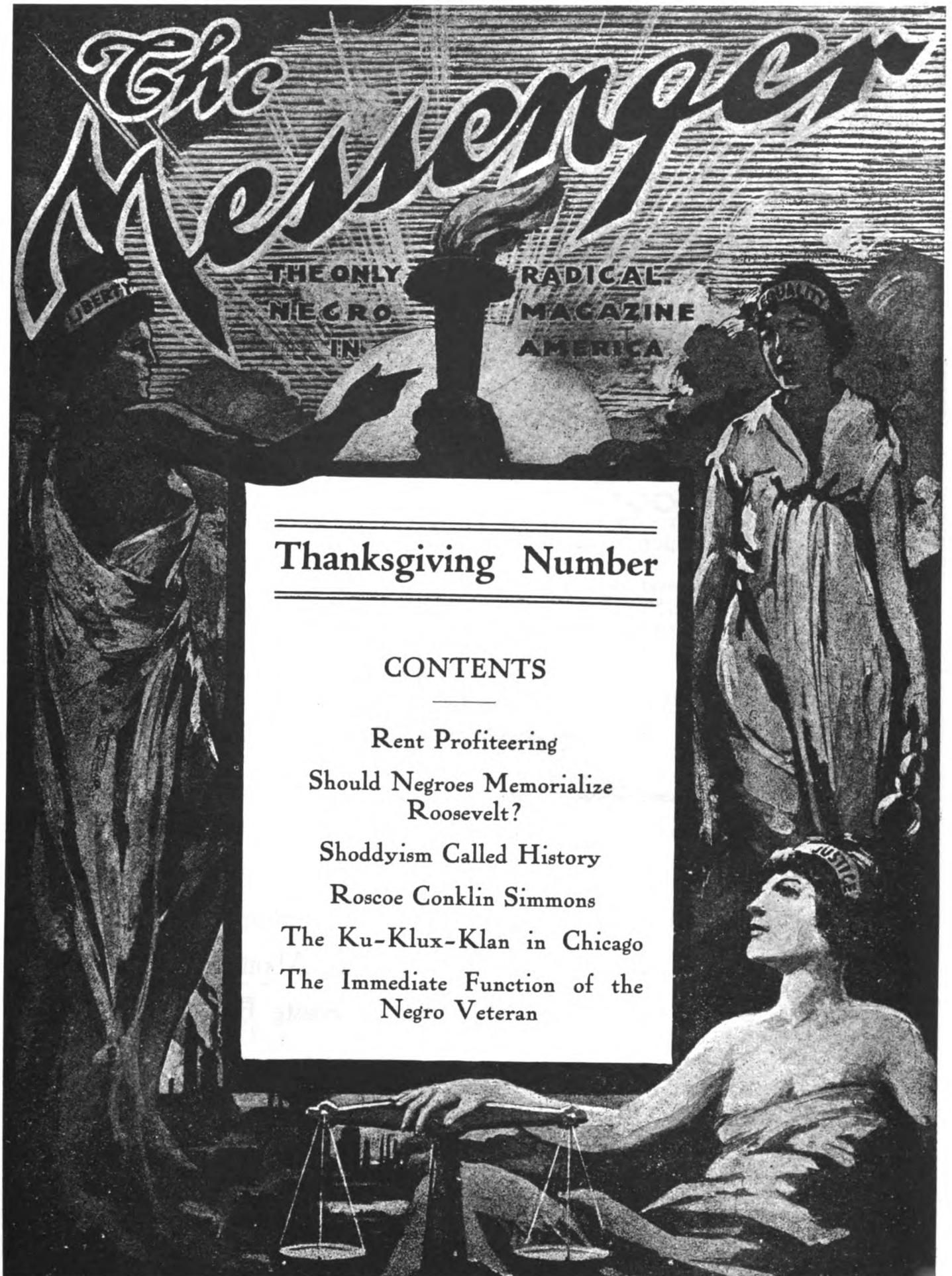


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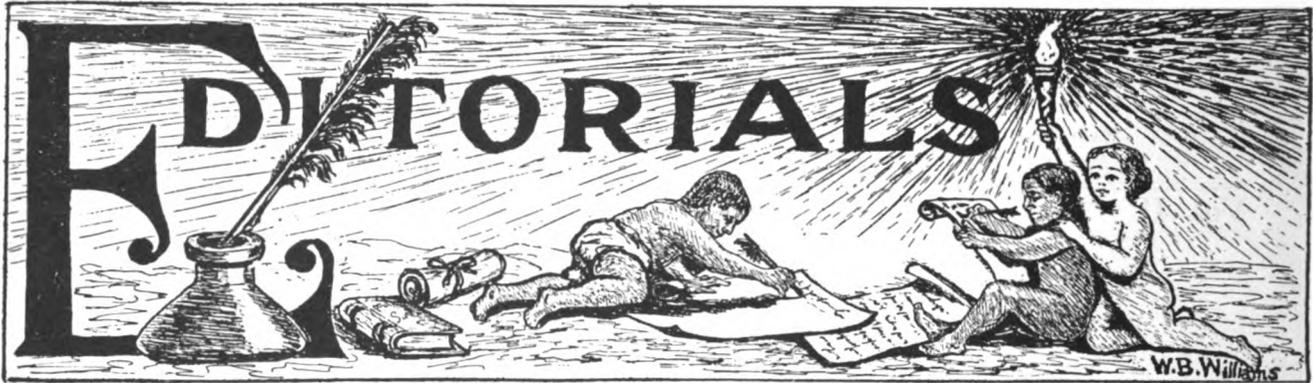
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THANKSGIVING

THIS is The Messenger's Thanksgiving Number and we wish to give thanks. We do not thank God for anything nor do our thanks include gratitude for the things for which most persons usually give thanks at this period. With us, we are thankful for different things and to a different Deity. Our Deity is the toiling masses of the world and the things for which we thank are their achievements. What are some of them?

First, we are especially thankful for the Russian Revolution—the greatest achievement of the twentieth century.

Second, we are thankful for the German Revolution, the Austrian Revolution, the Hungarian Revolution and the Bulgarian Revolution.

Third, we are thankful for the world unrest, which has manifested itself in the titanic strikes which are sweeping and have been sweeping Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States, Japan, and in fact every country in the world.

Fourth, we are thankful for the solidarity of labor, for the growth of industrial unionism, for the relegation of trade unionism, for the triple alliances of the railway, transport, and mine workers in England and America.

Fifth, we are especially thankful that radicalism has permeated America, giving rise to many of the greatest strikes in history, such as our present steel strike, mine strike, and our impending railroad strike.

Sixth, we are thankful for the first successful general strike, in America, which lifted its awful head (awful to capital) in Seattle, Washington.

Seventh, we are thankful for the New Crowd Negro, who has made his influence felt in every field—economic, political, social, educational and physical force. The New Negro has been in the front ranks of strikes. He has taken his place in Socialist politics. He is an integral part of nearly every great social movement. In the field of education, The Messenger Magazine and The Crusader have become fixed parts in the life of Negro Americans, while The Messenger interprets the Negro's new point of view to nearly eighteen thousand white readers every month. On the field of physical force, the Negro has been right on the job for the protection of his home, his life and his loved ones. The Washington, Chicago, Longview, Knoxville, Elaine and Omaha riots are bright spots in the New Negroes' attitude toward American lawlessness and

anarchy. They represent the New Negro upholding the dignity of the law against both the white hoodlums and the government—the latter of whom should have seen that law was upheld.

Eighth, we are thankful for the waning influence of the Old Crowd Negro and white leaders, and especially pleased to see the accelerated rate by which their power and influence are declining every day, while the new type of leadership of the New Crowd Negro has become popular with the masses in every nook and corner of the world.

Lastly, we are thankful for the speedy oncoming of the new order of society in which Thanksgiving will be relieved of its cynicism and hypocrisy—when people may be thankful every day in the year instead of as now upon one day, which is more lip thanks than real thanks. The sleeping giant—Labor—has awakened, and for this there should be thanks and rejoicing indeed.

SHOULD NEGROES MEMORIALIZE ROOSEVELT?



MEMORIALS are designed to awaken and perpetuate memories. They are only employed by that class which benefits from the action which the memories are supposed to quicken. This is shown by the fact that the South does not memorialize General Grant of the Union Army, nor does the North memorialize General Lee of the Confederate Army. No one will ever find Foch's statue in Berlin nor Hindenburg's in Paris. Why? Because no country will glorify in marble and stone the image of its enemies. Labor will not panegyryze Gary nor will Capital sing the praises of Haywood and Foster.

But one only knows whom to condemn or praise, oppose or support, when he knows what his interests are. We already see ignorant working men scabbing on other working men who are striking for a living wage. History tells of Negro slaves fighting and working to keep themselves in slavery by tilling the fields of the Confederate South during the Civil War. An ignorant man may be deceived into sacrificing and opposing his own interest.

It is a fact of common knowledge that Roosevelt was one of the greatest foes of Labor in America. It is also a fact of common knowledge, that a large majority, nearly a hundred per cent of Negroes are workers. Therefore, he who is a foe of labor is a foe of the Negro. Thus, there is no reason for Negroes as workers memorializing Roosevelt.

Besides, Roosevelt has never done anything for the Negro as a race. The Atlanta and Springfield race-riots raged during his administration and he was silent as the Sphinx with his "big stick." He discharged the 25th Infantry of the alleged Brownsville episode without trial. He never recommended to Congress the adoption of a Federal law against lynching. He allowed, without protest, the South to continue its nullification of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution.

So it is difficult with a very high powered microscope to detect anything that Roosevelt has done for the Negro that merits and justifies the foolish, inane and ignorant adoration which Negroes give him. Of course, we know that only certain so-called "Big Negroes," who have received some petty political job, at his hands, are responsible for this unreasoning, absurd, preposterous and slavish conduct of memorializing such an enemy of working people. If we would memorialize anyone, let us memorialize Garrison, Karl Marx, John Brown, Nat Turner. These men fought to destroy chattel and wage slavery. Let us memorialize the fearless Negroes who doggedly fought back in the reign of riots which has disgraced civilization in America. Roosevelt gave his life and influence to the work of defending the system of wage slavery—the system which causes Negroes to be lynched, mobbed in riots, disfranchised and jim-crowed.

THE NEW PHILOSOPHY OF THE NEGRO



HIS editorial does not propose to go into the philosophy of the New Negro. Its purpose is far different. This is simply the advance announcement of a new book to appear January 1 from the pen of the editors of The Messenger. After a careful survey, we decided that there was no need of

the Negro (nor of the white man) so imperative as some definite knowledge of the New Negro's point of view on all important questions. To-day, the Negro is floundering, whether he is in the United States, the West Indies, Africa or South America. He has no definite chart and compass. He does not know what he wants nor how he expects to get it. He knows neither the ends nor the methods by which they may be attained.

It is true that the Negro has several organizations to-day, both local and national. He has his churches, fraternal societies, The National Association for Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League. All of these organizations are now national in scope, but not a single one of them has a consistent and reliable program on any one of the important questions of the Negro. All are engaged in a species of patchwork and palliation. There is little or no scientific work being done by them because there is no scientific thought being applied to the problem. In a word, there is no philosophy of the Negro problem.

The editors propose to present a chart and compass for the Negro. No phase of his life will be neglected. We shall explain his reasons for certain conditions, why the conditions are so rather than otherwise, what they ought to be, and what methods must be adopted to achieve the ends which we hold should be aimed at. We shall discuss Negro busi-

ness and industry, the Negro Labor Problem, Negro education, Negro art, music, literature, Negro society and culture, Negro religion, Negro in social movements, such as the Y. M. C. A., National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League. We shall take up then Negro race problems, with the discussion of amalgamation, miscegenation and social equality, the Negro in agriculture, the Negro in the professions, the Negro woman. We shall then discuss various solutions, or proposed solutions of the Negro problem, including such pet policies as Africa for the Africans, Negro First, Race Unity, Race Pride, etc. We shall explain the Negro's position on violence, laying down a program in connection with force; give a dissertation on the Negro and the Government with its special bearing on patriotism. Negro leadership will then be treated, international aspects of the Negro problem dealing with the Negro and world questions and the Negro and radicalism. The last chapter will present the immediate program of the American Negro and give a philosophical exposition upon the future of the Negro in his various relationships—social, economic, political and educational.

The philosophy of the Negro will be a scientific philosophy, and not some vague theological metaphysics which travels under the guise of philosophy. However much we may regret it, we are compelled to admit that up to the present time not a single Negro scholar has written a book or pamphlet which could bear the name of being scientific from any reasonably critical point of view. We shall deal with many of these books in one chapter and explain why most of the writing of Negro scholars cannot stand the test of the high-powered lens of scientific criticism.

The philosophy of the New Negro will be real philosophy and new indeed.

STRIKE INFLUENZA



YEAR ago, the influenza was raging, and claiming thousands of lives per day in its toll. This year influenza is not so pandemic, but the strike influenza has taken its place. Nearly every country of the world is seething with strikes, the strikes being directly proportional to the intelligence and class consciousness of labor. Strikes are fewest where labor is most ignorant. There are less strikes in the South of the United States than any other part of the world, because the school system and the economic conditions there have kept both white and colored workers ignorant. In the North and West the steel workers, miners, dockmen, laundry workers, milliners, printers, actors, railroad men and in fact the workers in nearly every industry are on strike or have been on strike. England has just ended a railroad and miners strike. France has just settled a subway, street car, munitions and theatre strike. The rice strikes have shaken the musty autocracy of Japan. In South America, the workers of Argentine, Brazil, and Chile are threatening revolution and making uneasy the investments of American, English and French capital.

Why so many strikes everywhere, asks capital? Is not labor receiving more wages than ever before?

Has not its standard of living been raised? The answer is—Yes! And this explains the reason. **Discontent increases with social improvement.** The more we have the more we want. Those having least, while needing most, want least, while those having most, though needing least, want most. The more the condition of labor is improved the more demands it will make. Just so soon as wages are high and leisure is extensive, labor will begin to think; and upon thinking, it will realize the condition in which it is and grasp the knowledge that relief is attainable by action. Capital is in a dilemma. If it does not grant labor's demands it will be overthrown by violent revolution. If it grant labor's demands, it will be overthrown by peaceful revolution. But in either event it faces both overthrow and revolution, and overthrow by revolution. The only questions for social philosophers are how and when the revolution shall come. Both of these depend upon the intelligence of labor to take, and the enlightened self-interest of capital to know when to give—to know when to bend in order not to break. This lesson seems fairly well understood by British, French and Italian capital, but is a closed book to American capital. England will compromise into the revolution, while America will be broken into the revolution.

England will arrive at a peaceful new order, while America will reach it through blood and tears simply because American capital is the most hide-bound, reactionary, archaic, narrow and visionless of any similar group in the world—Japan not excepted. But these strikes are great educators. They are centers of orientation. They are the advance-guards of light—light to capital and light to labor. They show labor its power and they also show capital the power of labor. Again, a single strike here and there is not so alarming to capital *per se*, but for what those strikes portend. Capital knows that labor will get into the habit of striking. Labor has already gotten into that habit. Labor has stopped talking; labor acts. Labor talks in the language of loss to capital—the language of strikes. This striking habit has touched every race and national group and we are happy to see the dusky sons of toil lined up in every strike in the United States. We want to see Negroes thoroughly imbibe the strike influenza, ranging their power invariably on the side of their class interests—on the side of labor. The strike influenza is wholesome. It differs from the Spanish influenza in that one gives life and gives it more abundantly, while the other destroys life. One scatters death and destruction while the other exacts high wages, shorter hours and better working conditions, making the human body more able to resist the deadly attack of the germ disease.

On with the strike influenza! More power to labor through its genial influence.

TAR AND FEATHERS



TRUE to the interpretation of radical propaganda carried on by white radicals among colored workers which The Messenger has made from time to time, to the effect that the ruling class will not allow light to be carried to the working class, Comrade John E. Steiger of Hamilton, Ohio, was tarred and feathered for the alleged work of inciting

Negroes to riot. Race riots, like Bolshevism, will be used by the agencies of reaction to stop the message of working class justice from reaching the twelve million of black workers in America.

The capitalists know that when once the eyes of the Negro workers are opened to the fact that his interests lie with the white workers, that the Negro will cease to vote the Republican or Democratic ticket, or to be used as a scab upon organized labor in the class struggle. Comrade Steiger, like John Brown, William Lloyd Garrison and Lovejoy, has been charged with and punished for the crime of working for the emancipation of the Negro, not from chattel slavery but from wage slavery. But as the assaults upon Garrison failed, so will the infamous, insidious, hypocritical and damnable attacks of the prostitute, reactionary, hide-bound, corrupt and vicious instruments of capitalist reaction fail to stem the tide of economic, social and political radicalism which bids fair to eradicate and bury in the sea of oblivion, race prejudice, class prejudice, religious and national prejudice. All hail to the work of Comrade Steiger! The Negro workers owe you a debt of gratitude. And let not the powers that be, be deceived. The Negro giant, Labor, is rubbing the night of slumber from his eyes and is beginning to realize that his emancipation from lynching, the jim-crow car, and disfranchisement can only come when the profit system, which is the cause of these things, and which is defended and maintained by the Republican and Democratic parties, is destroyed. Hence, an humble worker like Comrade Steiger is of more value to the Negro than a demagogue like the late Roosevelt, whom the Negroes foolishly memorialize and adore. A certain organization, which styles itself The Vigilantes Committee, notified Comrade Steiger to leave the town. This the workers should not permit to be done. They should hold the officials strictly responsible for the safety of Comrade Steiger by letting it be known that labor, both black and white, will refuse to turn a single wheel of work if Steiger's life, liberty or property is menaced.

THE CRUSADER



THE CRUSADER, edited by Mr. Cyril V. Briggs of New York, is a real addition to the field of Radical Journalism. It represents both intelligence and courage. With a few notable exceptions we agree on the whole with the policy of the Crusader. The magazine is handsomely printed and well gotten up. It is coming in for a part of the attacks of the reactionaries, which is another evidence that it is doing fairly well the work which it has set out to do. Moreover the Crusader has shown the fine spirit of co-operation with The Messenger. We have exchanged lists of agents with mutual profit and fraternity. We welcome the growth of the Crusader and extend Thanksgiving Greetings to it for a long and successful life of usefulness.

SUBSCRIBE

DU BOIS FAILS AS A THEORIST



UNDER the caption — "Leading Negroes Analyze Color Tragedy," in the New York Sun, October 12th, William E. Burghart Du Bois, Editor of the Crisis, discusses several salient points of the Negro problem. He begins by stating the problem, enumerating the different specific disabilities from which the Negro suffers. This, of course, is done splendidly. But the character and scope of the problem is not the unknown quantity in our social equation. This is known by every man in the street, and any school boy is not incompetent to state it. The only question that taxes the resources of sociologists, is the discovery of principles and the invention of methods that are calculated to effect a solution. It is here, where the Editor reveals his utter and lamentable incapacity to think fundamentally. For instance, he makes the following observations upon the group of Negroes known as "white folks niggers": "With the appearance of this Radical group (referring to the New Negro Radicals), comes the disappearance, practically, of another group of Negroes upon whom the white South has placed great dependence. They were known among colored people as 'white folks niggers' and their business was to soothe the ruffled feelings of the colored people and to flatter the arrogance of the white people. Negroes were told that duties came before rights, and that they were asking for more than they deserved. Whites were assured that the Negroes wanted nothing but the right to work at such wages as the white people wished to give them." No unusual power of penetration is necessary to perceive that this statement is both fallacious and vicious. It is fallacious in that it is not true, and it is vicious in that it is misleading. Everybody knows that that hand-picked, me-too-boss, hat-in-hand, sycophant, lick-spitting group of Negroes, appropriately dubbed "white folks niggers," have not disappeared, for they are now the recognized leaders of the Negro. For, according to the definition of "white folks niggers" as presented by Du Bois himself, in the above named article: "as those that soothe the ruffled feelings of colored people and flatter the arrogance of white people, play up duties and soft pedal rights and call for more work with any wages," fits the editor himself, since we have not known of any zealous efforts of his, in the interest of unionizing Negro workers to strike for more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. On the contrary, he condemned and labelled as Pro-German the only labor organization in the country which did not discriminate against Negro workers, the Industrial Workers of the World. And the most credulous and generous would not contend that Moton and Emmet Scott, Terrell and George Haynes, Charles W. Anderson and W. H. Lewis, Roscoe Conkling Simmons and Fred R. Moore are not "dyed-in-the-wool white-folks-niggers." They are certainly handy tools of the white political and industrial oligarchy of America. They have certainly preached the gospel of contentment and non-resistance to the Negro, of which the moneyed interests of the white folks are the beneficiaries. They are certainly paid by the capitalist white folks and

we have yet to find the payee opposing the payer. Du Bois proceeds in his past-time of misrepresentation of the attitude of the rank and file of Negroes by pretending that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the expression of the aims and strivings of the Negro. In this connection he states that, "The mass of thinking American Negroes are represented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and they stand with white Americans, who have given thought and attention to the Negro problem." This is absolutely false. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is led, controlled and dominated by a group who are neither Negroes nor working people, which renders it utterly impossible to articulate the aims of a group that are the victims of certain social, political and economic evils as a race, and as a part of the great working people. Such a contention is equivalent to maintaining that an organization of Irishmen, whose officials are Jews, expresses the opinions of Irishmen on the question of Home Rule for Ireland! Or that an organization of Jews, whose policies and principles are formulated by Irishmen, can represent the thoughts and feelings of Jews on the question of pogroms in Poland. The point of discussion in the above named article, however, which interests us most and reveals Du Bois' ignorance of theory and his inability to advise the Negro in the most critical period of the world's history, is shown by his view of "revolution." He says "**that they (the Negroes) are deeply in earnest concerning this race problem, but it is hardly necessary to say that they do not believe in violence, they do not believe in revolution, they do not believe in retaliation, they do believe in self defense.**"

Doubtless Du Bois is the only alleged leader of an oppressed group of people in the world today who condemns revolution. In other words, he would continue to defend and maintain the status quo, or things as they are: the exploitation of labor by capital, which breeds wars and engenders race strife, fosters lynchings and riots and perpetuates a mockery of democracy. He would reject and renounce the right of revolution, which is even vouchsafed in so conservative a political instrument as the Declaration of Independence. Of course, we realize that his attitude to the idea of revolution arises out of his ignorance of its history and its relation to social progress. Capitalism, the present social order which he would maintain, only came after a revolution which effected the overthrow of feudalism. The overthrow of the Inquisition, the "thought despot" of the Middle Ages, was the work of an intellectual revolution. The abolition of slavery, or the destruction of the rights of private property in human beings, was achieved through the mechanics of revolution. Our present industrial civilization, with its myriad labor saving devices and inventions for the utilization of the materials and forces of nature, was wrought in the laboratory of revolution. In short, every notable and worthwhile advance in human history has been achieved by revolution, either intellectual, political or economic. The overthrow of the Czar of Russia and the deposition of the Kaiser of Germany and the House of Hapsburg of Austria-Hungary are instances in proof of the genius of revolution, fash-

ioning a new world for mankind. And yet, Du Bois, the supposed leader of the most ruthlessly and mercilessly exploited and oppressed peoples of the world, would reject the only hope of the Negro, as well as of mankind—"revolution." It is because he thinks it means violence, blood shed, a reign of terror, whereas, on the contrary, it means the abolition of the causes of these things—the system of private property in the social resources and machinery of wealth production. Du Bois continues, "that the Negro puts his greatest dependence in the essential decency and sense of justice of the American nation." If this were true, it would simply indicate the utter hopelessness of the Negro, for who would depend upon the American sense of justice to abolish lynchings, riots, disfranchisement and the jim-crow car, when this alleged sense of justice has condoned, sanctioned and connived at these outrages for almost a half century. This is the policy of the **Old Crowd Negro**, and it has failed, and failed miserably, to save the life and property of Negroes in America. Du Bois ends with this piteous appeal: "If you, reader, were a black man, and a citizen of the United States, and if you saw your fellows being lynched without trial—two, three, and four a week; if you knew of the riots that are taking place and knew that not in a single case did Negroes start the riots; if you knew that you could not travel in large parts of this country without personal insult; that your children could not receive a decent education, and that you were deprived of the right to vote, let me ask you frankly, Would it be necessary for a man from Russia or from Kamchatka to incite you toward the doing of everything in your power to right these terrible wrongs?" This is offered in explanation of the supposed belief that the Negroes are giving ear to the doctrines of Bolshevism and I. W. W.'ism. This, of course, is the note of age, of fear, the supplication of the weak. Its psychology will escape no one. Du Bois is correct in one case, however, that is, when he says, "that we, who for twenty-five years have been called Radicals, were not in fact radicals at all." Indeed a belated admission but, nevertheless, he, like Karolyi of Hungary, the successor of the Hapsburgs who fell in the Revolution, is about to recognize that the times require leadership of the brand of what he once pretended to be, but of what he now finds he is not—radicalism.

WHY THE PRESIDENT'S INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE FAILED



RESIDENT WILSON follows the lead of the resourceful and astute British Premier, and calls an Industrial Conference. Unlike the British, the American Industrial Conference dissolves without contributing aught to the solution of the vexatious industrial problems of America.

Why did it fail? There are several reasons that may be ascribed for the failure of that body. They may be enumerated as follows: Objects, methods, personnel. What was the object of the conference? It was called to make an inquiry into industrial unrest with a view to formulating some program upon which capital and labor could amicably adjust their differences. Of course, the organ-

ization of this Conference proceeded from the belief that labor and capital have something in common; that industrial disputes arise from inconsequential differences of economic opinions; that they are subject to easy adjudication. The economic philosophy back of this attitude of mind is, the old eighteenth century *laissez-faire*—free competition, freedom of contract, based upon the concept of "pre-established harmony" which recognized industrial upheavals as mere aberrations to the operation of the immutable law of supply and demand that may be quickly renormalized by the free play of competitive economic forces. Rent, interest and profit are regarded as basic, indisputable rights of capital, and wages as the reward of labor for the part it plays in the process of production. Thus, the theory of the conference was that if labor and capital could become partners in the process of production, they would not become enemies in the division of the product. The discussion proceeded not very far, however, before it was thoroughly established that a partnership between labor and capital was about as feasible as a partnership between a cat and a mouse, a lion and a lamb. It is clear then that the object of the conference was in conflict with the very trend of economic changes—the abolition of capital control in industry. Hence, no reconciliation between labor and capital was or is possible. So long as the right of one man to make profits out of another man's labor is recognized, the class war—strikes, lockouts, boycotts and blacklists, will go on. Labor will not continue to surrender fifty per cent. of the product of its sweat, blood and toil to the present masters of the industrial foundations of wealth production.

Were the methods of the President's conference sound? This question can only be answered by the statement that it had none. It vanished into thin air before it reached this point. No methods could emanate from the conference because it was composed of mutually exclusive forces, that were diametrically opposed. Labor wanted to raise wages; capital wanted to lower wages. Labor wanted to lower prices; capital wanted to raise prices. Labor wanted to bargain collectively; capital wanted to bargain individually. Labor wanted a closed shop; capital wanted an open shop. Labor wanted to increase its control in industry; capital wanted to lessen labor's control in industry. Labor endorsed strikes; capital condemned strikes. In short, labor wanted nothing that capital would give and capital would give nothing that labor would accept. So the rift in the conference came when Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, introduced the following resolution: "The right of wage earners to organize without discrimination, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor, and relations and conditions of employment, is recognized." This resolution, too, was presented by, perhaps, the most conservative and reactionary labor leader in the world today. Yet it was rejected.

This brings us to a brief consideration of the personnel of the conference. It was made up of three groups: labor, capital and the public, that were supposed to represent the interests of their respec-

tive divisions in relation to industrial unrest. Capital, of course, was well represented, constituting, as it were, two-thirds of the conference. For no one will gainsay the capitalist interests of those who were named to represent the public. To convince any "doubting Thomases," we have only to mention the names of two: Rockefeller and Gary, the latter of whom is now leading the fight against the slaves in the United Steel "pens," who are striking for more bread, clothing and shelter—in truth, the right to life.

The members of the labor group were all exponents of old bourgeois, trade unionism, which recognizes the right of one group of workers to scab upon another. Advocates of industrial unionism were not regarded as spokesmen of labor, yet the Industrial Workers of the World constitutes one of the largest labor organizations of the world. But what does it matter? The President's Industrial Conference ended where it began—bankrupt for principles, policies, ideas and methods, while industrial unrest grows more acute and threatening.

NEGROES REVOLT



HE Washington Times, Sept. 10, 1919, reports a heavy vote polled in Prince George County, Maryland, by revolting Negroes who have begun to appreciate what a huge fraud the Republican Party is. The despatch follows:

"A colored man, in Monday's primaries in Prince George's county, Md., polled a surprisingly large vote as a Republican candidate for county commissioner, but was defeated by a small plurality by two white candidates.

"This would ordinarily be of no interest, but is now claimed to be significant as regarding the purpose of the colored voters in that county and in other southern Maryland counties, where the negro vote controls things for the Republican party, to obtain hereafter recognition from the white Republicans who hold all the offices to be had, and have never divided with the colored voter who furnishes the largest part of the party strength in all these counties.

"This ambitious colored candidate was John D. Brodus. He made a sharp campaign for the nomination as county commissioner, getting out an imitation of a primary ballot on which was printed his name and that of four other colored candidates as delegates to the Republican State convention. Their convention delegates were nominated without objection.

Control the Party

"Here was one of the appeals of Brodus: 'Our votes control the Republican party. Without us they are lost. See if our white friends we fought alongside of will help our ticket. Next time we will have more pull with our Congressman.'

"Brodus told the colored voters everywhere that the Negro soldiers had fought for the country; that for years, colored men have consistently voted the Republican tickets in all the counties of the Fifth Maryland Congressional district without scratching, and that they have never gotten anything for their loyalty.

"The Republicans were embarrassed by Brodus' candidacy, and charged that he was influenced to enter the race and make the campaign by Democrats of Prince George's, who believed that it would make trouble for the Republicans. Brodus denied this. He declares he made his fight on principles, and will continue to preach the doctrine, in that county and elsewhere in the Fifth district, that the Negro voter must have recognition within his party, or will demand an accounting as to why he is expected to furnish the votes and get nothing for his fidelity and loyalty.

"As their candidates for two Commissions, the Republicans nominated in the primaries two white men, William H. Duvall and George N. Wells. Brodus beat each of these men in his home district, although he is said to have been beaten in the county generally by about 200 votes.

Say Fight Not Significant

"Both Republican and Democratic leaders at Upper Marlboro, where the vote is being counted today, said they did not believe that Brodus' campaign has any permanent significance, or will be followed in the future by similar action on the part of other ambitious colored men. They admitted that it was generally reported that a good many colored leaders are talking more independently than they have ever done before.

"The Democratic county leaders say it will all amount to nothing, inasmuch as the colored voter stands by the Republican party regardless of his treatment, and is pretty well aware that he can expect no recognition in division of spoils if he goes over to the Democrats, who would likewise make use of him on election days only.

"Still, the county leaders think the doctrines set up by Brodus will bear watching, to see how far his views are followed in the future by voters of his own race.

Only Colored Candidate

"Brodus is the only colored man who has been a candidate for county office in the primaries within the recollection of county political leaders, and they express surprise today that he polled so many votes. They believe he would have been nominated but for reports that he had been 'put up' to becoming a candidate by Democratic leaders."

The Messenger wants to congratulate this political revolt among the Negroes of Prince George County, Maryland. This is usually the first step which Negroes take—revolting inside the Republican Party. We advise the Maryland Negroes, however, to get out of the Republican Party entirely. Pay no attention to the specious argument that Democrats are trying to defeat the Republicans. That is not material anyhow. The Republicans are not a whit better than the Democrats. The Negroes have never done anything for the Democratic Party but they have been the backbone of the Republican Party for the last fifty years, and the only thing they have gotten has been a little patting on the back and cheap rhetorical praise. We also believe that Brodus was nominated and robbed of his vote. So thoroughly grounded are we in the methods of political corruption that we have a vague suspicion that the supposed defeat of Brodus by 200 votes was fraudulent. We advise the Negro voters of Prince George County to begin to build up

their organization and vote the Socialist ticket. We will come down and show them how to carry the election in southern Maryland next year. In our Negro district of New York, three years ago there were less than 50 Negro Socialist votes. On November 4th just passed, our two Negro Socialist candidates for the Assembly polled 2,550 votes with probably 500 stolen. Next year, we shall elect two Socialist Assemblymen from the Negro District and one state Senator in New York. Let every Negro voter read the series of articles on "Why Negroes Should Be Socialists."

Congratulations to the new spirit of independence on the part of the Negro Republicans of Prince George County, Md.

HOW TO REDUCE HIGH RENTS

HIGH rents" is not only a local, or a national problem, but it is a world wide problem. Wherever there are groups of people who own the land and large groups of people must live upon the land, high rents will arise. This is due to the fact that those who own the land desire to profit from such ownership, and since the people cannot live without access to the land, the power of those who own the land to exploit those who must live upon the land is only limited by the ability of the tenants to pay or of their willingness to pay. We add, willingness to pay, for although a tenant may be able to pay high rent, if he recognizes his ability to curtail the demands of the landlord by making common cause with other tenants, he will refuse to pay such rents. Only recently over ten thousand families in the Bronx, one division of New York City, were dispossessed because they failed to pay the increased rents. Now, the immediate reason for high rents in New York among both colored and white is the existence of a greater demand than the supply of houses will satisfy. With respect to the Negro, this fact is all the more apparent. The exodus from the South of five hundred or more thousands of Negroes has created a scarcity of housing facilities in the Negro sections of the large cities, and the fact that he is segregated by certain race discriminatory laws, the supply of houses for him is limited more so than is the supply of houses limited for other racial groups. Consequently, it is impossible for him to elect to live in any other section of the city except that which is confined to Negroes.

Thus we find the real estate speculators profiteering off this condition. As a solution of this problem, all sorts of theories are advanced. The only permanent and definite solution, however, of this problem lies in the nationalization of the land. But this is doubtless a remote possibility, yet the suffering of the people from high rents is intense and an immediate remedy is needed and sought. We shall consider two immediate remedies. (1) Rent strikes; (2) Co-operative ownership and leasing of houses. A word about rent strikes. Rent strikes have a two-fold value, namely, propaganda and economic. As educational propaganda, the strikes of tenants have served to focus the atten-

tion of all of the people upon the rent problem. Rent strikes, like labor strikes, are making the strikers more class conscious, in that they are definitely drawing the line of demarcation between the tenant and the landlord. They are serving to establish the very important fact in the public's mind viz., that the interests of the landlord and the tenant are as opposed as the interests of a flea and a dog. Since they are bringing prominently to the attention of the people the fact that landlords want only high rents and the tenants want only to pay low rents. This is no less true of the black landlord than of the white landlord. The black and white landlords' interests are the same, and the black and white tenants' interests are the same. Thus when this difference of interest between tenant and landlord is known by the people who pay rents, they will adopt measures which are calculated to protect their interests. Tenants will refuse to support political parties that protect the interests of the landlord. In New York, for instance, Mayor Hylan and Governor Smith have talked glibly about lowering rents, but the powerful real estate interests, who profit from high rents, dominate the Democratic and Republican parties.

The economic value of rent strikes is less pronounced, yet, they have served to effect slight reductions in high rents. They also cause the landlords to incur a loss by virtue of the few days of grace allowed a tenant after he receives a dispossess notice. Besides, the rental of an apartment is lost to an owner during the time the apartment is not occupied. That is why landlords fight rent strikes. That is why they oppose tenants' leagues.

The second immediate remedy is the co-operative ownership and leasing of houses. This may be done by the pooling of the monies of the tenants for purchasing or leasing a given apartment house. The rental of this house will not be any lower than the prevailing market rental, but the profits which are now appropriated by the landlord and the agents will be appropriated by those who own or lease the house. To illustrate: suppose the rental of a house is twelve thousand dollars a year, and the lease price of that house is eight thousand, the upkeep two thousand. The two thousand dollars, which is the amount which remains after lease price and the cost of upkeep are deducted, will be divided among those who own the house, co-operatively. At the present time, this is what happens: an owner "A" leases a house to agent "B" for eight thousand dollars. The agent "B" figures the cost of upkeep which consists of supplying heat and other services to the tenants. Now it is necessary for agent "B" to raise the rents sufficiently high as both to cover the cost of upkeep and to allow him a large profit, since the difference in the amount paid the owner "A" by agent "B" and the yearly rental, represents the sum which must pay for the upkeep and provide a profit. Thus, it is to the interest of the agent to boost the yearly rental as high above the amount he pays the owner as possible. Now, in the case cited, agent "B" would force, if possible, a house that might be rented from the owner for eight thousand dollars to bring in twelve or fifteen thousand dollars. And supposing that the upkeep of the house is two thousand dollars a year, all rental above the owner's price, eight thousand dollars

plus the upkeep of two thousand, goes into the pockets of the agent. Now owners, being ingenious and desirous of getting as high a price as possible when leasing or selling a house, will base his lease price upon the prevailing rental market. In other words, the owner's and the agent's interests are also opposed, since the owner wants to receive a high lease price and the agent wants to pay a low price, because the profits of the agent is based upon the amount of rental which he can receive above the lease price and upkeep cost, which he pays. But the interests of the tenants are opposed to both, inasmuch as he pays the profits received by the owner and the agent.

It is the object of the co-operative method to shift the profits out of the pockets of the owner or agent into the pockets of the tenant. This will serve to eliminate the middle man or agent when such houses are leased. This is the only effective and immediate remedy for high rents. The courts that are administered by judges appointed by mayors who are elected by parties that are dominated by real estate interests through campaign contributions, will not and cannot, remedy the rent situation. The law of dispossession is made in the interests and administered in the interests of the landlords. Therefore, it is futile and useless to expect any results from an appeal to the courts. So much then for the co-operative method.

Now as to the ultimate method of the nationalization of the land. The first question that arises here is, How can this be done? Statistics show that three-fourths of the land available for use is held out of use for speculative purposes. Consequently, we have a limited supply of houses all over the country. This land is only held out of use because it will produce a greater future value. This future value is created by increased population. But any idiot who holds title to the land receives this unearned increment. Now, as a means of forcing the unused land into use, the people can demand the enactment of single tax legislation. That is, legislation that causes the incidence of taxation to fall upon the land only. Now by making the tax upon the land absorb the full rental value of the land, those who own the land will be forced to put it into use as a means of realizing a return sufficient to pay the said tax. And if the owners don't desire to build upon the land themselves, the high single tax will force them to sell the land because it will be unprofitable to retain it. This will operate to increase the supply of houses which will, according to the law of supply and demand, tend to reduce the high rents. This is a scientific method of permanently solving the rent problem. Other schemes that are peddled out by designing and unscrupulous philanthropic profiteers are mere mirages and will-of-the-wisps that are intended to mislead and deceive the well meaning, but poor and misguided tenant. To sum up, the immediate methods for meeting this problem are rent strikes and co-operative tenants' leagues for leasing and buying apartment houses. The ultimate method is the abolition of private ownership in land by its nationalization.

Editor's Note—In the next issue the editors will give a detailed plan as to how a tenants' co-operative league can be formed.

THE PUBLIC



WHAT is this strange, ethereal, incorporeal hereditament? Is it a fiction or a reality? Is it a separate and distinct social entity from workers and capitalists? When strikes are on, the Federal Government calls out the army, and the courts issue injunctions against labor, supposedly in the interests of the public. The press, pulpit, school and government have fixed this idea of the public, as being the third and innocent party in industrial conflicts, in the mind of the working class, and workers are impressed with this metaphysical sophistry, namely, that the public have rights and privileges, economically, politically and socially that they are bound to respect. And, consequently, the action of labor, in many cases proceeds from a scrupulous and reverential respect for the alleged interests of this imaginary group. Hence, it is to the end that this figment, the public, shall no longer be a snare and a pitfall to labor, that we essay to clarify this nebulous idea. We shall discuss this idea from three different angles. First, of what is it constituted? Second, what are its aims? Third, what is its function? It is necessary to establish the character of those who constitute the public, in order to ascertain whether they have interests distinct from workers and capitalists. It is, again, important to inquire into the aims of those who compose this group that we may know whether they are in conflict with those of capital and labor. The question of its function must be settled, if we would realize when its rights and privileges are curtailed and invaded.

The settlement of the question as to who compose the public can only be made in the light of an examination of the composition of society as such. We are all agreed that the life of society is maintained by consumption of goods and services, such as food, clothing, shelter, transportation, amusement, etc. It is also true that consumption can only follow production. Now, production is a social process which is carried on, under our present system, by a certain class in society. That class is known as producers. Naturally, those who do not participate in the process of production, are non-producers. Thus, broadly speaking, mankind is divided up into two classes—producers and non-producers. Production involves the combined action of labor, land and capital. (In our discussion we recognize all natural forces such as water power, etc., as land, and capital as wealth, which is used to produce future wealth.) These factors in production are controlled by certain social classes. And since the breaking up of the Communistic System of society, in which everything was held in common, society has presented the following class aspect. We first had the period when property rights in man were sanctioned. This was the system of slavery, with its master and slave. Then feudalism came, where persons, as serfs, were bound to the soil by lords and barons. This system was followed by the present social order in which the tools of production are used and owned by two different classes—workers and capitalists. During each period in our social history, the wealth produced is divided between the producers and the non-producers. In the present system, the division of wealth

takes the form of wages, rent, interest and profits. Profits is recognized as the reward of managerial ability, or that which corrolates and coordinates labor, capital and land in the process of production. Now the share of wealth which each member in society receives is based upon the factor in production which he owns and employs. Thus, the worker, who owns labor power, receives wages, and the capitalist, who owns land and capital, receives rent and interest. Since these factors must share in the sum total wealth produced, it is clear that in proportion as the share of one is large, the share of the other must be small. Statistics reveal that the large majority of the people in every country receive their share of the wealth produced in the form of wages. A tiny fraction, on the contrary, of the people in every country receive their share of the wealth produced in the form of rent, interest and profit. It is obvious that there is a large bulk of consumers, however, who receive neither wages, rent, interest nor profit. This group are comprised of old men and women, those who are decrepit and disabled, and children. This group, however, are consumers, and must partake of wealth, which is the reward of labor, or of land and capital. In other words, this group depends for its subsistence upon the wealth which is divided between labor and capital. In view of the fact that the large majority of each country are workers, it follows that the large class of non-producers are children and dependents of labor, so that when labor's share of the product of the joint action of labor and capital is small, the consumption of labor's children and general dependents is also small. Now when we speak of the public as being a third and innocent party, the assumption is that this group neither relies upon the share of wealth received by labor or the share of wealth which goes to capital; for if the public depends for its subsistence upon either of the factors in production, its interests lie with that factor, and consequently, when a conflict between those factors arises, the public's interests is on the side of that factor in the process of production upon which it depends. Hence, in no clash between labor and capital is there a third and disinterested party, since there is not any group in society whose source of income is independent of wages, rent, interest and profit. Because one part of the working class is not active in an industrial dispute, and is inconvenienced thereby, is no evidence of its being unrelated to that class. Our present social organization has simply rendered it difficult for an individual to recognize when his class interests are involved. But that does not alter the fact that the test of one's class interests is his source of income. From this fundamental method of classification the public cannot escape. Hence, what is called the public is nothing more than the working class and its families.

Inasmuch as we have established the character of those who compose the public, which answers our first proposition, the answer to our second and third propositions follow as a matter of course. Thus the aims of the public and labor are the same, since they are composed of persons of similar interests. Therefore, the interest of the public, like labor, is in opposition only to capital, and the functions of

the public are the functions of labor, and the rights and privileges of the public are only invaded and curtailed when the rights and privileges of labor are invaded and curtailed. Thus, that which is known as public opinion is nothing more than the opinion of the average working man and his family, and when we find it against the interest of the working class, it is only due to the ignorance of the working class, which is the result of the teachings of the press, pulpit, politics and the schools. Besides, the prevailing method of labor organization, trade unionism or labor organized upon a basis of trade lines, tends also to cultivate and to perpetuate this thing known as the public. For trade unionism, in contradistinction to industrial unionism, operates to divide labor into groups that scab on each other, in the sense that in an industry, when one section of labor is on strike, it may be replaced by scab labor, while the other sections are unconcerned, indifferent and apathetic. These other sections are recognized by the bourgeois capitalistic world, as the public, and the pretense is perpetuated that their interests are opposed to the interests of those engaged in the strike. This is done to prevent the solidarity of labor. It could not occur if labor was organized along industrial lines into One Big Union. Again, the philosophy of individualism is the cornerstone of this idea of the public, in that it supports and recognizes the principle of the interest of the individual as against the interest of society.

Economics and Sociology of the Negro Problem

by

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

and

CHANDLER OWEN

EDITORS OF THE MESSENGER

12 LECTURES, WEDNESDAYS, at 8.15 p.m.

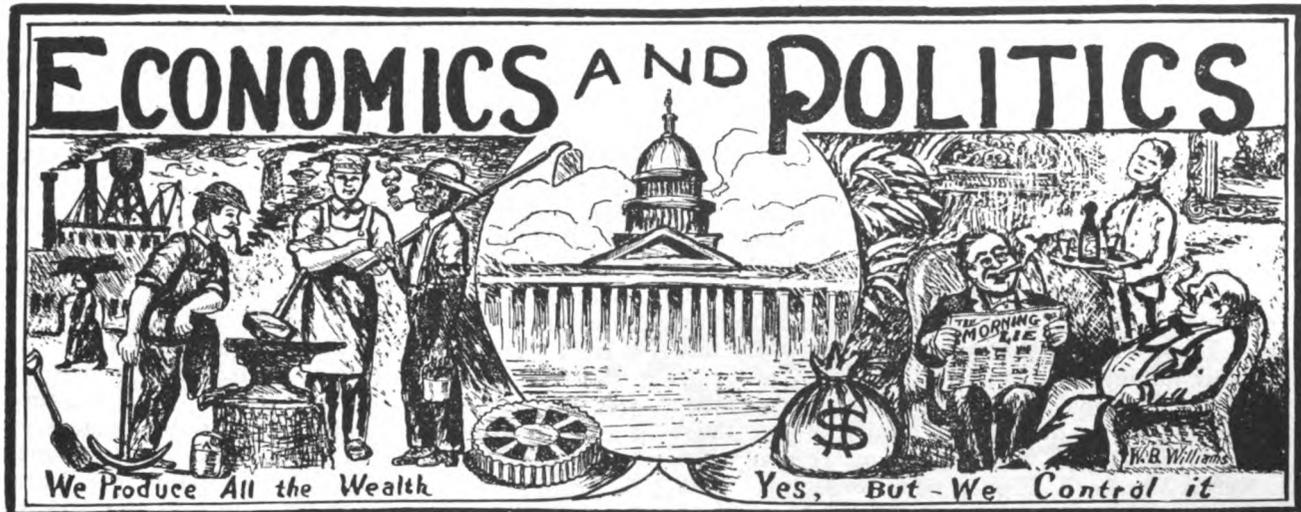
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NEW YORK CITY



Why Negroes Should Be Socialists

A Series of Articles by the Editors

Education and the Negro

KNOWLEDGE is power. Yes, that's true. But knowledge comes from study, and you cannot study, unless you have leisure; but during leisure you must have food, clothing and shelter, and, in order to have these necessities, you have got to have the means with which to get them. In short, you must have more than a mere workingman has.

Less than 2 per cent of the children in the Grammar Schools graduate from the high schools and a smaller percentage of those in the high schools reach the colleges. 21 per cent of the school children in New York City go to school daily, hungry. **HOW HARMFUL!** This condition is typical of school children throughout the country.

Your girls and boys are driven from the homes and schools into the factories, mills and mines to be ground up into dollars and dividends. There are 2,500,000 children who ought to be in schools, who are at work to help the father whose wages are low. Your children are growing up illiterate to be the preys and dupes of crooks and social vultures. A lack of education makes them hewers of wood and drawers of water—they are mere human machines that work, until worn out, and, like any other machine, goes to the human junk shop—the hospital, a human wreck.

The Republican and Democratic Parties cannot, nor do they desire to educate the youth of the nation. Because they serve the interests of big employers of labor, such as Shonts of the subway, Armour of the meat packing industry, and "OILY" Rockefeller, etc., who desire to exploit labor by **paying labor low wages.**

Capital can only rob labor when labor is unorganized, and labor will remain unorganized as long as it remains ignorant.

Nobody but a fool will allow a man or group of men to take away what he produces.

THE SOCIALIST would give the school children free food, free clothing and free doctor's care. Are you opposed to this, Mr. Negro Voter?

A hungry child cannot study. A child shivering for the lack of clothes cannot study. Ponder these vital things and vote for more education for your children by voting the **SOCIALIST TICKET**; by becoming an ardent advocate of socialism.

And remember, that no Negro representative whom you might elect can do you any material good, who is elected on a Republican or Democratic ticket. No Republican or Democratic administration has objected to the low education given in the public schools of the south to Negroes.

The white people are nearly as ignorant as the black and yet, almost all government officials are white. It is not a question of race. The Republican and Democratic Government officials are not interested in educating the children of the masses, white or black.

Employers of labor want to exploit any kind of labor, white or black, man or woman, adult or child. Thus the officials, whom their campaign contributions elect, are compelled to do their bidding by opposing legislation calculated to create a more intelligent and consequently discontented working-class.

Poverty and the Negro

Most Negro families are upon the brink of poverty. They are not striving to live but they are struggling to keep from dying. Poverty strangles and suffocates the mind.

Capitalism or the private ownership of the social tools of production and exchange, is the mother of poverty and poverty is the mother of ignorance, crime, prostitution, race prejudice, etc.

Republicans and Democrats support this system that raises property rights above human rights.

Socialism would abolish poverty and its consequences, by removing the causes of poverty—the profit system.

Socialism would remove Negro workers from the base of the working world.

MR. NEGRO WORKER ARE YOU OPPOSED TO THIS?

IF YOU ARE NOT—VOTE THE ENTIRE SOCIALIST TICKET.

The Poor Getting Rich

Can a workingman become a millionaire? Republicans and Democrats, the political servants of your Boss tell you that you can.

They tell you that you can become a millionaire, in order to lull you into a false sense of security. They don't want you to become dissatisfied with your condition. They preach that "the meek will inherit the earth," although the "meek" don't own any earth. The meek are usually very weak and it takes power and courage to get, to have and to hold earth. They tell you that you must be thrifty and save your money.

Now, the National War Labor Board says, "that in order to live in decency, a family of five must receive \$1760.50 per year. Do you receive that, Mr. Negro Worker? Figure your wages up. Now you know you can't get sick and lose any time, else you will lose money.

Well, suppose you are getting \$1760.50 per year, and you saved \$1000 of it. Can you do it? But assuming that you can live on "air-pudding" and "wind sauce" for a year, you would have to live one thousand years (1000) in order to save a million (\$1,000,000) dollars. Do you get that? So let's go to it and get a million dollars in the next one thousand years! These Republicans and Democrats are huge jokes. They take you for fools, and you are fools, if you believe what they tell you.

THINK! THINK! READ! READ!

The Republican Party's Betrayal of the Negro

Mr. Negro Voter, let us consider just a simple proposition: Suppose you had helped a friend of yours to get a position of power. Suppose also that you are a suffering victim of some unjust conditions. Suppose, further, that your friend, although he has power and the opportunity to relieve your suffering, refuses to do so.

Would you still regard him as your friend and continue to support him?

Not unless you were either ignorant or insane. But, how about you, Mr. Negro Voter and your friend, the Republican Party?

Let us see if your case is not the same.

FIRST: You have supported the Republican Party for the last 50 years; you have helped it to get control of the government. That's a fact, isn't it?

SECOND: You are suffering from injustices. That's a fact, isn't it? Well, over 3,000 Negroes have been lynched in this country since 1882. You are still denied the right to vote in the South and you are still jim-crowded, segregated and discriminated against.

NOW AS TO YOUR NEEDS AND AS TO WHAT YOUR FRIEND, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, HAS DONE FOR YOU.

You need a Federal law against lynching. The Republican Party, your friend, has had both the power and the opportunity, which you helped it to get, to recommend and to secure a Federal law against lynching.

Has it done it? Point us to it. Even the mighty "Teddy" permitted the Atlanta Race Riot to rage two or more days when Negroes were chased out of the City. He did not wield the "Big Stick."

Negro Disfranchisement

Negroes are disfranchised in the South. The South, however, gets representation in Congress to the same extent as if they voted. The 14th Amendment to the Constitution provides against this; but the Republican Party winks at it and keeps silent. Do you know that ONE VOTE in MISSISSIPPI equals 13 VOTES IN KANSAS?

The Republican Party has had the power and the opportunity to enforce the 14th Amendment, thereby giving every Negro the vote in the South.

BUT HAS IT DONE SO? NO!

You are still jim-crowded, your property depreciated in value because of Southern Segregation Laws: you suffer humiliation in public places on account of race discrimination, all of which may be prohibited by laws which the Republican Party has had the power to enact. But it remains as silent as the grave until Campaign time, when it wants your vote.

Then it comes before you and insults you by telling you that you ought to be grateful to the Republican Party because Lincoln freed you. Some old, reactionary, Republican Politician seeking your vote, rants about his father's fighting in the Civil War, as though it had some relation to the high cost of living, high rents; as though it stopped lynching, abolished jim-crowism and gave the Negroes in the South to VOTE.

THESE ARE THE CHIEF SOCIAL EVILS FROM WHICH YOU SUFFER MR. NEGRO VOTER. FOR 50 YEARS YOU HAVE SUPPORTED THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. FOR WHAT?

DO YOU STILL REGARD IT AS YOUR FRIEND?

The Republican Party and Negro Freedom

That the Republican party freed the Negroes, is one of the biggest frauds which has been foisted upon the Negro and the American Public. It is not true. Now what are the facts?

The chief issue between the North and the South, which brought on the Civil War, and consequently the emancipation of the slaves was: who shall control the National Congress? Who shall control the power to tax? WHY?

WELL, the south was agricultural; it raised cotton and had to buy machinery for givening and cultivating it.

The North, on the other hand, was industrial, and manufactured such machinery as the South needed. England also manufactured such machinery as the South needed.

Now, the South wanted to buy her machinery in the cheapest market and England was the market. Besides, the Manchester textile industry of England bought millions of bales of cotton from the South. In other words, England was the chief market of King Cotton. Now the Northern manufacturers wanted to sell machinery to the South. But in order to do it, they must undersell the manufacturers of England. This could be done only by levying a tax upon manufactured goods brought over from England. Because the tax upon the article would raise the price of the article above the same article made in the North. But if these goods were imported free of any tax, then England could



undersell the manufacturers of the North and thereby monopolize the trade of the South. This tax was called a "tariff" and has been known as the Protective Tariff.

Hence, the North wanted to get control of Congress in order to levy a tax on wares made in England which were used in the South, and the South wanted to get control of Congress in order to establish "free trade" or to make it possible for goods from England to come in free of any tax, so that it could buy them at a cheaper price.

Now, as a means of getting control of Congress the South attempted to extend slavery to the non-slave territory which would result in increasing its power in Congress. The North opposed extension of slavery into new territory only because such an extension would give to the South a political advantage in Congress—and not because the North opposed Slavery of Negroes, as such.

Slavery had already existed in the North and was only abolished when it was found to be unprofitable. And even after slavery was abolished in the North the pious Puritans sold rum to the slave traders which was used to promote the slave trade between Africa, the West Indies and the South.

Now, The Republican Party was the party of the Northern manufacturers at the outbreak of the

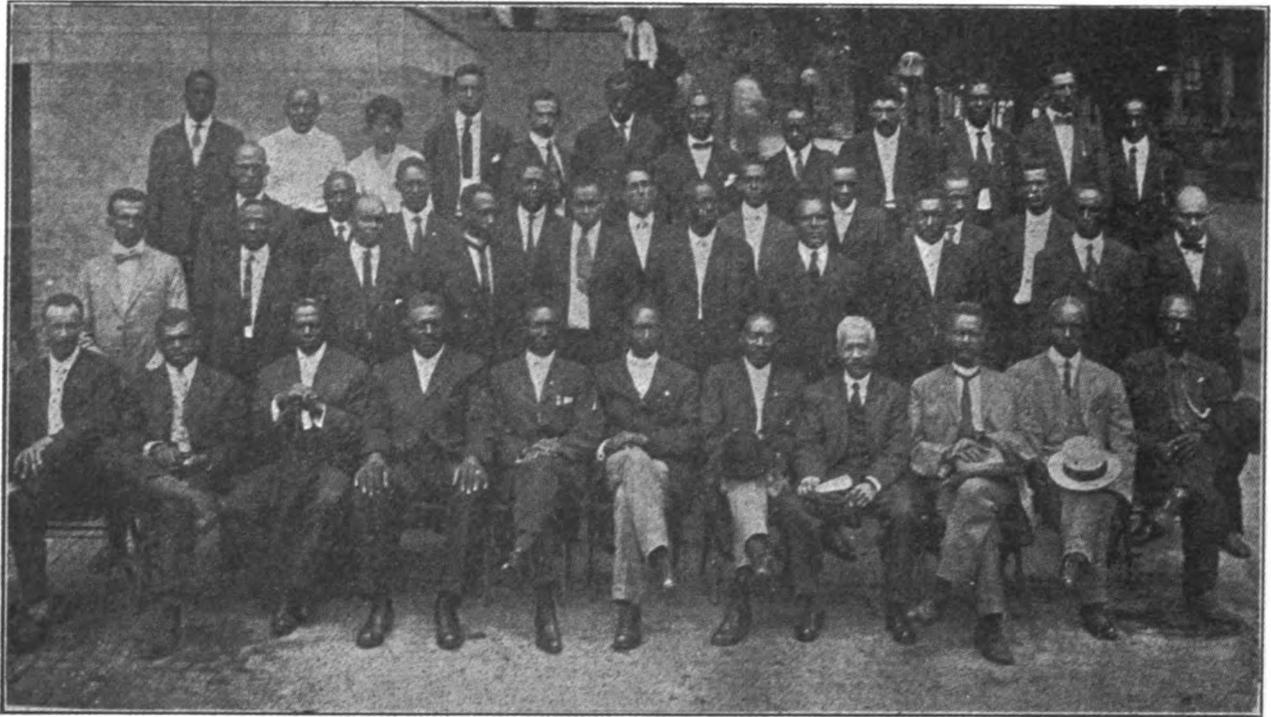
Civil War and Lincoln was its spokesman. Lincoln repeatedly said that his main object was to save the union and not to free the slaves. Lincoln, as the representative of the manufacturers, wanted to keep the South in the union, because what value would it have been to have gained the power to tax, and to have lost the market in which the goods taxed were to be sold? The Emancipation Proclamation was purely a "war measure." Lincoln only armed 200,000 Negro soldiers when he was compelled to.

It is as logical to maintain that the Republican Party desired to free the Negro as it is to maintain that a tenant desires to pay rent. The tenant knows that in order to live in a house, he has got to pay rent. Lincoln, as the voice of the Republican Party, knew that in order to preserve the Union, he had to emancipate the Negroes.

It is well to inquire into the cause of the Civil War and the consequent freeing of the Negro, only in order to relieve the Negro mind of any idea that he is indebted to the Republican Party and to deprive the Republican Party of any claim upon the Negroes loyalty upon those grounds.

Negroes owe the Republican Party nothing. The Republican Party owes them because it has been their loyalty upon which it has relied so securely.

(To be Continued)



**CONVENTION OF NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD WORKERS
OF AMERICA**

Washington, D. C., Sept., 1919.

This is the picture of the delegates of the National Brotherhood Workers of America, who met in Washington, D. C., Sept. 8th to 13th. They represent thousands of Negro workers who have organized in unions to get more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions, and at the same time, to exact justice from discriminating unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Elsewhere in this issue will be found the resolutions adopted. It is the most worthwhile convention that Negroes have held in America. Both the objects and the methods were scientific. The convention worked day and night. There were delegates from Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Illinois, New York, District of Columbia, Maryland and West Virginia. It is a veritable Negro Federation of Labor. It meets next year in Philadelphia. It had representatives from the union of carpenters, riveters, blacksmiths, caulkers, electricians, engravers, painters, longshoremen, janitors, jewelry workers, railroad firemen, and other railway workers, plasterers, moulders, elevator operators, machinists, stationary firemen and engineers, hod carriers, plumbers, porters and waiters. The President of the organization is T. G. Pree of Newport News, Va.

**REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS
COMMITTEE OF THE NA-
TIONAL BROTHERHOOD
WORKERS OF AMERICA.**

Annual Convention September 8 to 13, 1919, at Washington, D. C.

We the National Brotherhood Workers of America, in convention assembled, Sept. 8, 1919, do hereby adopt the following resolutions:

Organization

We urge the organization of every Negro worker into industrial, labor or trade unions in all skilled or unskilled occupations.

Discrimination

We condemn the unjust and inexcusable discrimination against Negro workers by the organized white labor unions, and urge that, whenever possible, Negroes shall enter the unions side by side with their white brothers; but in the event of discrimination, we urge that Negroes, in any place, shall organize their own unions to exact justice from both the employer and the white labor unions.

Peonage

We condemn the system of peonage in the United States, which is simply a thinly veneered form of chattel slavery. We demand the enforcement of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution as well as the statutes against peonage, to the end that Negroes in the South shall no longer be held in that system.

Enfranchisement

In 1776 the American colonies proclaimed that taxation without representation is tyranny. We, the great body of organized Negro labor in the United States, declare to the world that if taxation without representation was tyranny then, it is tyranny now. Negroes are taxed for high schools, the privileges of attending which are denied to their children. Negroes are taxed on property, yet two million of them are denied the right to vote in criminal violation of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution.

We demand the abolition of racial disfranchisement in both the law and its administration. We also demand that representation of the South be reduced in accordance with the requirements of the 14th Amendment. We further urge all Negroes to register and vote. Any Negroes who are eligible in the southern states, should pay their poll tax and qual-

ify for the vote. In northern and western states Negroes must take a more active part in the political life of the community.

Lynching

The most elementary principles of government are the protection of life and property. In so far, however, as the Negro is concerned, the American government is in anarchy, since it protects neither his life nor his property. Mob violence is on the increase. Negroes are lynched, burned at stake and their bodies are riddled with bullets. So general has this practise become, that today the American government is the hissing and by-word of the world so far as law and order are concerned. The constitution of the United States guarantees a republican form of government to every state in the union. Whenever life and property cannot be protected, however, republican government does not exist. The southern states today are in such disgraceful anarchy, that the need of the hour is federal intervention.

We, therefore, demand that a federal law against lynching be enacted by Congress to the end that lawlessness in the southern section of the United States may be put down by the strong arm of the federal government.

Jim-crow Car

We were supposed to have fought this war to make the world safe for democracy. But democracy requires equality of opportunity and treatment. For equal pay we demand equal service whatever a man's race or color. The Jim-crow car in the southern part of the United States is a sham and a mockery upon democracy. Negroes in the South are riding in cattle and box cars. They pay first class fare but receive the lowest grade of service. At one time it was possible to maintain that the railroads were in private hands and that the matter was a question of states' rights. But the railroads of the United States are no longer under the control of private ownership. They are controlled by the federal government and the individual states have nothing to do with them.

We, therefore, urge that the Director General of the railroads immediately issue an order abolishing the Jim-crow car, just as he issued an order abolishing the sale of liquor on railroads, even before

the federal prohibition amendment was ratified.

Race Riots

Within the last few months the country has been swept by race riots. As much as we deplore such race conflicts, we cannot fail to recognize that these riots are the inevitable consequence of the oppression of Negroes. The Negro is at bay, as it were, and a man at bay can be expected to fight just like a rat in a corner. We do not condemn the race riots unconditionally, but we commend the Negro upon the new spirit and the new manhood which have determined upon protecting his life and home at any cost. We further call attention to the fact that the Negro has been acting in a perfectly lawful manner in shooting down those attempting to take his life. Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence recognizes the law of self defense. It also recognizes that a man about to be unjustly attacked, may summon others to repel the attack. We urge Negroes to remain calm, cool and dispassionate in the presence of the race conflicts and upheavals which bid fair to sweep over the country. Be extremely careful not to violate the law but equally resolute in seeing to it that others shall not trample the law in the dust.

Mixed Juries

All fairminded observers have reported that whites began the riots. Nevertheless, several times as many Negroes as whites have been arrested wherever the race riots occurred. It is very plain evidence of unfairness from the outset and makes us suspect the form of justice which Negroes arrested in the riots may receive when brought to trial. We, therefore, urge that the juries selected to try all rioters, white or black, shall be composed of six white men and six Negroes.

Mexican Intervention

The plain people everywhere suffer from war. Negroes always suffer most when burdens are to be imposed. War with Mexico is therefore by no means to be desired. But apart from this fact, Mexico is the fairest country to the Negro on the American continent. Negroes have no grievance whatever against Mexico. The Mexican people have been just to them and they do not discriminate against Negroes in any way. We are not willing to shed a drop of

blood to protect the investments of the big oil and copper industries of the United States, England and France, in Mexico.

We further regard all talk of establishing law and order in Mexico as a sham; for if the United States is really interested in establishing law and order, it has a splendid opportunity to begin at home. We are opposed to Negroes being sent from Texas supposedly to protect life and property in Mexico, when their own life and property are not protected in Texas.

The Russian Blockade

The people in Russia are engaged in a struggle for democracy. About two years ago, they overthrew a system of government which was almost as cruel, tyrannical and oppressive to them as the governments of the southern states are to the Negro. From the beginning of their fight they have drawn no race or color line, and so big and broad have they been that a Negro has been placed in their Cabinet. We desire to court friendship with any group of people, whether white, brown, red, yellow or black who are just and fair to Negroes. We, therefore, oppose the Russian Blockade which has been established to overthrow the democratic government of Russia, just as the blockade of Napoleon was established against the Haytian Republic to overthrow the black democracy, which was led by Toussaint L'Overture.

Withdrawal of Troops

According to the Constitution, Congress must declare all wars, and no such war has been declared by Congress. We therefore demand the withdrawal of all troops from Russia, inasmuch as the war carried on there is not only wanton, unjust and imperialistic, but also unconstitutional.

High Cost of Living

All the plain people suffer from the high cost of living, whether they are white or black. On account of their low wages and high rents, Negroes are especially the victims of the high cost of living. To remedy this situation, we demand that the railroads, mines, oilwells, packing industries, forests, water-power, telephone and telegraph lines be taken out of the hands of a few private individuals, and placed in the hands of the people, so that they may be operated for public service and not for private profit.

To this end, we recognize the importance of the adoption of the Plumb Plan. The Plumb Plan is not all that we desire, but it is a forward step in the transition of the railroads from private hands to social control.

The Peace Treaty and the League of Nations

We condemn the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations as being against the interest of all the people and particularly against the Negro. One of the chief functions of the League of Nations is the combination of white capitalist governments against the masses of working colored people all over the world. Great Britain has seen the handwriting on the wall by the revolt of Egypt a few months ago, which taxed her military strength. A few years ago the Italian government was almost driven out of Africa by the revolting blacks. The Negroes of the Congo will not much longer endure the treatment of Belgium. The French government has some superficial kindness, but it is robbing forty million black Africans of their land and labor. All the big white nations maintain that they are in Africa to carry the light of civilization. The truth, however, is that they are in Africa to steal the land and labor of the people. They are taking from the natives millions of dollars' worth of copper, cocoa oil, dates, diamonds, gold, ostrich feathers, ivory and foodstuffs. The Negroes have awakened to this white capitalist robbery, and it will require the combined strength of all the white capitalist governments to hold down these awakening Negroes. Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau knew this and they began to bolster up their props against this Negro revolt, as a means of warding off the impending revolution.

The Peace Treaty itself is probably the most imperialistic reactionary and undemocratic document which has ever ushered forth from a group of old school diplomats. It cannot be revised or reformed. Like weeds and wild beasts it must be destroyed. We therefore urge all Negro workers everywhere to use their influence and their power to destroy this wicked document, and to retire the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations to oblivion and obscurity

from which they ought never to emerge.

Woman Suffrage

We endorse Woman Suffrage—not only for white women but for black women too. Woman suffrage is a democratic measure but it must not be streaked with race lines.

Cooperative Movement

We endorse the Co-operative Movement for both producers and consumers. The Negroes are perpetually robbed by speculators and middlemen and the co-operative movement supplies the best immediate means for speedy relief from the high cost of living. Wherever Negroes desire to form co-operative societies for producing, marketing, buying and selling on a genuine co-operative basis (free from fake and fraud), this organization will give assistance by way of supplying information and instruction.

Post Office Department

We condemn the tyrannical and autocratic handling of the Post Office Department by Albert Sidney Burleson. His methods have been those of a stone age autocrat. He has not only held up radical and Socialist magazines, newspapers, etc., but he has also held up publications that told the truth about Negroes, knowing full well that this country's treatment of the Negro could not stand to be presented before the high forum of enlightened public opinion.

Immigration

We oppose any prohibition on immigration to the United States. We favor the free movement of people from place to place. The attempt to prohibit immigration from Europe to this country will set a precedent which may soon be followed by an attempt to prohibit Negroes from coming from the South to other parts of the country. Under no circumstances, however, should any restriction be placed upon the immigration of a people because of race or color.

Foreigners

We emphatically resent the attempt on the part of the capitalist press and other organs to arouse Negroes against the foreign population of the United States. Up to the present time, foreigners have been fairer to the Negroes than any other group in America. This can be easily understood when one observes that the American nation

treats a Negro worse than any other country. In Massachusetts and New York, over 56 per cent of the population is foreign. In South Carolina and Georgia, only two and seven-tenths of the population is foreign. Yet it must be evident to all Negroes that there is more liberty, justice and democracy in New York and Massachusetts, than in South Carolina or Georgia.

Class War Prisoners

In different jails and prisons throughout the country, there are confined a thousand or more working men and women, who have committed no crime under the sun, having been put there exclusively for the stand they have taken, in accordance with their convictions and their conscience in the war between the classes.

It is apparent that the ruling class intends to keep these innocent men and women in their prisons to the end of their respective terms, varying from one to five, ten, fifteen, twenty or more years, in order to satisfy their fiendish hatred toward those who stand up bravely for the human rights of the worker, and in order to check the progress of their movement for industrial freedom and emancipation from wage slavery. We consider this

punishment inflicted on the class war prisoners as merely a brutal act of repression to further the selfish interests of the rich, an act of injustice contrary to the best interests of the American people and all mankind.

Therefore, be it resolved, that we, the colored workers of America, declare ourselves in friendship and sympathy with these, our imprisoned fellow workers, and that we pledge them our moral and financial support in the attempts now being made throughout the country for their liberation, and we promise that we, as citizens and as workers, shall do everything in our power to help in effecting their speedy release. We further recommend that all the papers at our disposal shall be requested to give this, our resolution, the widest possible publicity, in order that the men and women of our race, throughout the country, may know of this terrible injustice being inflicted upon black and white workers.

We also earnestly appeal to all organizations of our race that they adopt protest resolutions and send them to the proper authorities, that they render all the moral and financial assistance in their power

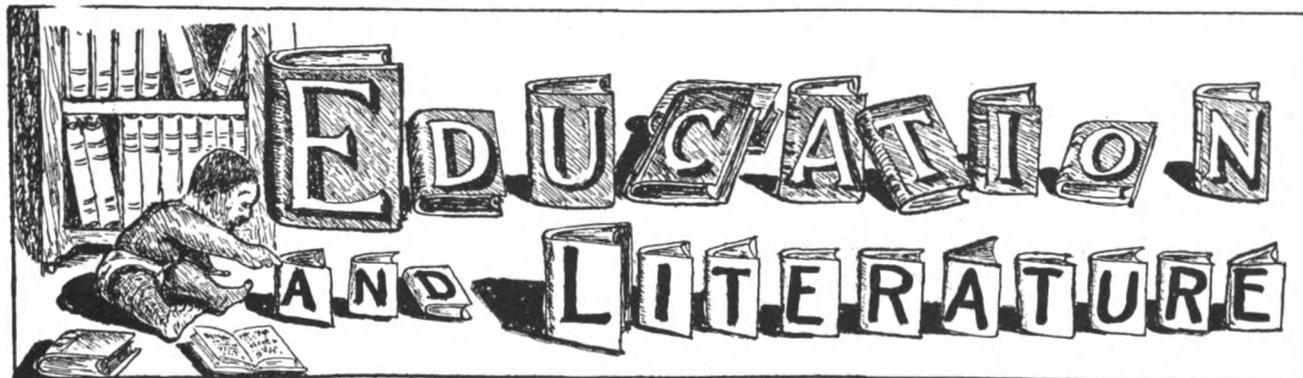
to those who are now working for the liberation of the class war prisoners, black and white, and in order that justice may triumph, and these our fellow men and fellow women be spared further suffering.

Ben Fletcher

With respect to our black brother and fellow worker, Ben Fletcher, who is now in prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, we extend resolutions of sympathy and high expressions of appreciation of his unremitting fight in the class war. We recognize the sterling worth of Ben Fletcher, which has drawn the ire of the capitalist class which has attempted, according to its time-worn methods, to lock up the expression of liberty and freedom wherever they manifest themselves. We demand the speedy release of Brother Ben Fletcher and all of his fellow class war prisoners.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Hugh Porter, Chairman, Chandler Owen, Secretary, Charles Gilliam, Edward T. Ferguson, Edward D. Thompson, R. T. Sims, P. G. Caskins, Frank Fenster, Nehemiah Harrison.



The Immediate Function of the Negro Veteran

By Lieutenant William N. Colson

That the Negro has gained little benefit from his participation in previous wars, that he will gain little from the late conflict, and what his proper reconstruction program should be have been ably set forth in *The Messenger* for March 1919, in an article entitled, "The Real Status of the Negro After the War," and in a pamphlet captioned, "The Negro and the New Social Order," recently prepared by Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph. These ar-

ticles apply to the Negro in general. But the returned black veteran, by virtue of his service and experience, has a certain special function which he cannot afford to fail to press to the limit.

Various agencies and advisors have already attempted to state where the immediate activity of the Negro soldier should center. We must agree with those who have enlisted his aid in the fight against war and militarism. The soldier should support only that

military program which contains the condition precedent that every man called to the colors must possess a college education or its industrial equivalent. If such a program were a fact, illiteracy and false patriotism would be banished from the country. Then war would follow in their wake—because men trained to think for themselves make rebellious privates. They will not fight for false ideals. The black soldiers must secure for themselves all

the benefits of war service, in spite of the paucity of such advantages. These consist of compensation for injuries and state or national bonuses and benefits for services. The veteran should retain his war risk insurance, if he has none better. He must lend his support to any movement for national compensation or government loan, designed to aid him to secure an education or buy a home. Again he must organize. He can cut a wedge into the American Legion if he joins that body in sufficient numbers. The Southerners are now dictating that association's policy in respect to the Negro. It is submitted, however, that the very best opportunity that the Negro soldier has grasped and acted upon is that it is up to him to form the nucleus out of which is growing new law and order in the South. The returned soldier, by reason of his military training, can do more to stop lynch-law and discrimination in the United States than many Americans want to see. He is accomplishing it by a resolute demonstration of self defense and a growing desire to lose his life in a good cause. What is best of all, by allying himself with the labor movement, he is beginning to see the world about him through economic eyes.

These various means and instrumentalities have by no means, however, gone to the root of the matter. There is a function which antecedes all others in both force and importance. It is the one supreme and powerful desideratum upon which all others depend. It is conceded that the greatest benefit the Negro soldiers received from the war was their revolutionary appreciation of social values. These same black soldiers, held in abject ignorance so

long in the United States, returned from France with something they had not possessed before. They had learned first of all that uncompromising equality is the key to a long closed door. As they slew the Germans, they remembered that according to patriotic standards, they were the equals of the best American citizens. Another barrier was dashed away when the French people received them on terms of absolute social equality. This great experience has set in motion stirring signs of the immediate function.

And that function is, above all others, the function of mental liberty. Negroes can never be free to go where they please, work where they please, live where they please, and do what they please until their minds, unfettered by ignorance and superstition, are first free to think. Heretofore, Negroes have willingly submitted to the abuses of authority because of their mental servitude. The Negro church thrives on ignorance. The peonage masters of the South hold their black serfs in subjection by keeping them ignorant. Negroes submit to jim-crowism, disfranchisement, wage slavery and primitive religion because they slumber in the contentment of ignorance, a mental bondage worse than chattel slavery. As Lester F. Ward said: "No people ever were free to act until they were first free to think."

It is, therefore, the function of the returned soldiers with their new appreciation of social values, straightway to appropriate the desire to either revolutionize or destroy every evil American institution which retards their progress. They must first of all continue their campaign of discontent and dissatisfaction. Let them neither

smile nor sleep until they have burned into the soul of every Negro in the United States an unquenchable desire to tear down every barrier which stops their onward march. Action can be performed only at the behest of desire. Social equality is the first uncompromising goal of the New Negro. Without social equality there must necessarily be social inequality. Every racial disability which the Negro race suffers in this country, may be traced to social inequality. Disfranchisement, segregation, discrimination and degradation are directly traceable to that cause. But each black soldier, as he travels on jim-crow cars, if he has the desire, can act his disapproval. When he is insulted, he can perform a counter-action. When he is exploited economically, he can strike. The Negro soldier would thus be using his new education to a great advantage. With Negro veterans fighting back, and stirring up merited discontent and dissatisfaction on every hand, the attitude of the Bourbon South is bound to become less degenerate. Our thesis is that the policy of the white South is incorrigible. The base of Southern prejudice can be changed only by the lever of Negro desire to force a change. The Negro is therefore the hope of democracy. Social equality is the first step toward physical liberty. Physical liberty is the goal of all human endeavor. But mental liberty is forever and always the indispensable prerequisite to physical liberty. The function of the Negro soldier, who is mentally free, is to act as an imperishable leaven on the mass of those who are still in mental bondage.

The Negro Radicals

(Continued)

William Monroe Trotter is a man of the best intention. We usually think of him as a man of good heart, but with an old school and faulty knowledge of methods. In his attempts to perform work in the interests of the Negro, he too frequently has what Lester F. Ward terms "more heat than light." He is like a mother rush-

ing to give a child some quinine, but being ignorant of drugs, she gives the child strychnine which poisons it; and notwithstanding the fact that her intentions were of the best with respect to the child, death is nevertheless the result. Trotter has come up in the company of old abolition Republicans, many of whom had been feeling

on any right which they could extend to the Negro short of his economic privileges and rights. Politically, Trotter cannot see reform and redress except through the Republican Party. At one time, he dared to revolt—but in favor of the Democratic Party, which was jumping out of the frying pan into the fire. Credit,

however, must be given to Trotter for his stealing away to Europe and hammering away until he was able to present the Negro's case in Europe before the Peace Conference. This was forcing the Negro problem to become international, which is highly desirable. On the industrial field we have never seen where Trotter has caught any slight glimmer of the significance of industrial unionism as a partial remedy for the Negro's wrongs. To his credit we must also add our opinion: We really believe that if he thoroughly understood that some force would be to the benefit of the Negroes, nothing would stay his acceptance of that force.

George Frazier Miller is probably the most fearless and, at the same time, intelligent of the elderly Negro radicals. He is a thorough student of Socialism and unionism. He not only has a knowledge of the philosophy but the courage to urge the putting of the philosophy into practice. Mr. Miller is a minister (and on the whole we don't think very much of ministers) but it is our candid opinion that in the case of a conflict between his religion and radicalism, and if the conflict were a fundamental clash, he would draw the line in favor of Socialism and industrial unionism. Miller is a rather exceptional logician, a good speaker and a forceful advocate. He is one of the few elderly Negroes who has given constant aid and comfort and support to the radical work being carried on by the young New Crowd Negroes.

William Pickens is a Negro professor in Morgan College, Baltimore. Economics and sociology are supposed to be his specialty but any one who reads his current writings in two or more newspapers in which he carries a weekly column, will quickly grasp that his mind is divorced from knowledge of both economics and sociology. He won the prize as orator at Yale. He is not an orator, however, though he speaks fluently. Like most of the Negroes brought up in the old school, he is addicted to telling hackneyed jokes, in other words, entertaining his audience by a clownish monologue. This is a lesson which has been taught the Negroes in all of the schools. It is breathed through their musical and literary education. The Fisk Jubilee Singers, The Hampton and

Tuskegee Quartettes, the actors on the stage and the reciters are chiefly fun makers.

Pickens is opposed to Socialism. We don't know that he knows what it is, but those who hire Pickens have ordered him to be opposed to it. A private conversation might be necessary to reveal his real belief. Industrial unionism is a closed book to Pickens. He cannot even read when the pages are open wide before him. For example, recently when he was in the West, he could not get any of the old line reactionary Republican or Democratic papers to take his observations on the Negro question. The Seattle *Union Record*, however, the leading labor organ of the West, made reports and editorial comments for him. Pickens' report of this showed that he had not the slightest idea why the Seattle *Union Record* publishes what the other conservative papers would not publish. It never dawned on Pickens that the conservative press is owned and controlled by people who profit from race prejudice. Labor loses from race prejudice, therefore, it was to the interest of the labor paper to publish anything tending to destroy this social virus. Pickens' reputation as a Radical, also, rests upon his protests against lynching and disfranchisement, segregation and the Jim-crow car. Technically speaking, he does not possess any of those things which go to make up a radical.

Francis Grimke and John E. Bruce are the elderly Negro pamphleteers. They have gotten out some very good descriptive pamphlets. Dr. Grimke has unusual courage in the discussion of any subject and Mr. Bruce is one of the few older colored men who takes an exceptional interest in young men, while his relations to the Republican Party have never corrupted him so far as we know and we regard him as a clean, manly old gentleman. Both he and Dr. Grimke have exceptionally clear expository style in writing. Dr. Grimke is a Socialist, we think, and Mr. Bruce is as radical as he can be, and hold a Republican appointment at the same time.

James W. Johnson is a man who has radical information but is restrained by his environment. He is more radical than his economic relations will permit him to reveal. He frequently slips articles in his

column in the New York *Age*, which, unless the editors of the *Age* were ignorant, he would not permit to be published. Johnson has knowledge of radicalism, economic and political, and the desire to advocate both. He has not told us so but we are reading between the lines. We know quite well that the reactionary New York *Age* would not permit him to express it through the *Age's* columns, nor could the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People afford to permit him to remain in their employ and do it. For style, exposition and good diction, Mr. Johnson is one of the best journalistic writers of the day. He is very able on saying what he wants to say, and if he were permitted to say what he wants to say, we are inclined to believe we would have no fault with his radicalism. He would make a much abler editor of *The Crisis* than W. E. B. Du Bois. He is one of the few Negro editors who knows anything about international questions, about Socialism and industrial unionism. We appreciate this powerful law: The power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will. It is for this reason that we make this painstaking presentation of Johnson's radicalism and ability, as free from satire and vituperation as intelligent treatment will permit.

Such is a brief survey of Negro radicals in the United States. With the exception of one or two they are more accurately characterized as liberals. From the conditions laid down at the beginning, it is evident that they do not come up to the standard of economic and political radicalism. Ere long the country may look forward to full fledged Negro radicals who will measure up to the standard of modern economic and political radicalism.

SUBSCRIBE
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Dutch Guiana: A Study in Colonial Exploitation

By *Otto E. Huiswoud*

In order to understand colonialism it is necessary to understand the development of capitalism. The principal motive behind the race for colonies, protectorates and "spheres of influence" between the great nations of Europe is not one of good or bad intent toward the natives of those colonies, but one of their economic exploitation. These great nations because of their capitalistic development must find "dumping grounds" for their surplus products, and also dependable sources of raw material for the maintenance of their industrial life.

The history of Dutch Guiana has been up to the latter half of the seventeenth century one of trading ventures, quarrels and wars. To the English, Dutch and French it represented part of Raleigh's dream of Eldorado; that a new Empire would bring more treasure to the mother country than Mexico and Peru were sending to their great rival—Spain. In 1667 Dutch Guiana became definitely a colony of Holland in exchange for New York, then New Amsterdam, which came under British control. To properly understand Dutch Guiana it is necessary that four important phases be considered:

First, political:

Dutch Guiana is under the iron heel of Holland, and is governed in a most absolute manner. The political system is very autocratic and backward. A governor appointed by, and solely responsible to the Crown is at the head of the colony. In the administration of the government he has almost absolute power. The governor, who generally is a retired naval or military officer and for whom there is no "job" at home, is appointed for four years. Most local appointments and subordinate posts are in his gift. An administrative council composed of three members, nominated by the Crown, assists the governor in the making of ordinances. This council has no power, however, it only acts as an advisory board.

The "Colonial States" or Legislative Chamber of which the gov-

ernor is president, is the representative (?) body of the colony. It is composed of from thirteen to twenty-five members elected by subjects holding the franchise. They (the members) are elected for six years, one third of them retiring every second year. The chairman and vice-chairman of this body are selected and appointed by the governor. The function and power of the "Colonial States" are limited since it can only make ordinances which are subject to the approval of the governor and the Crown. The budget which is made up by the governor, is subject to the approval of the Colonial States. As a whole the function of the Colonial States is reduced to that of a debating society. As the colony is divided into eight districts, the governor appoints eight district commissioners, who act as his representatives in their particular districts.

In Dutch Guiana suffrage is based upon an income qualification. The voter must be a male citizen, twenty-five years of age, with an income of fourteen hundred guilders (\$560) a year which enables him to pay a head tax of forty guilders (\$16). On account of this high income qualification the approximate number of voters is one out of every two hundred.

This, in brief is the political situation of Dutch Guiana. From the foregoing it will be easily noticed how the "mother country," retaining all power, is able to impose absolute domination upon the people. The Colonial States is largely made up of business men (some of them members of the Chamber of Commerce) men who exploit labor and who are ultra-conservatives. The working class, with the exception of the few who are able to pay the income tax, have no semblance of political power and are therefore, unable to determine their political destiny.

Second—Economic.

The keynote of Dutch colonization is trade. The dealings of the Dutch with the peoples of the East and West are dealings of merchants not of conquerors. They guide their policies for good or ill by the interests of their com-

mercial monopoly, and while staunch supporters of the Reformed Church, they subordinate religion itself to trade. As early as 1621 the Dutch West India Company was formed. This company was organized for the purpose of regulating and protecting the contraband trade carried on by the Dutch in the American and African possessions of Spain and Portugal. It was the purpose of the company to establish colonies on both continents and use its trade with the coast of Africa in order to secure a cheap and regular supply of Negro slaves for the exploitation of the possessions it hoped to acquire in America. Because of the various wars between England, Holland and France, over the right of colonial expansion, Dutch Guiana passed rapidly from the hands of one European power to another. Under such conditions it would be unnatural to look for rapid progress and development.

Dutch Guiana is an agricultural country with little or no developed industries, although mining is done on a small scale.

The main products and their yield in 1916 were:

| | |
|--------------------------|------------|
| Sugar, lbs. | 26,320,600 |
| Rice, lbs. | 14,942,200 |
| Maise, lbs. | 4,508,000 |
| Cocoa, lbs. | 2,741,800 |
| Bananas, bunches..... | 519,000 |
| Rum, litres | 1,462,800 |
| Molasses, litres | 463,400 |
| Balata (rubber sub) lbs. | 1,528,584 |
| Gold (exported) grains.. | 886,458 |

In 1908 there were eighty-three plantations with a planted area of 10,513 Hectars. There are two methods of farming. One is called the Large Farm System and the other the Small Farm System. The Large Farm System (extensive farming) is as a whole not quite as successful as the Small Farm System (intensive farming). Of late diseases in the banana, cocoa and coffee industries have brought great losses to the planters and have caused a considerable setback.

The economic condition of Dutch Guiana is very appalling. Commerce is largely with Hol-

land. This of course is because the "home country" always enters into agreements whereby she is able to obtain goods at a cheaper rate and under better conditions than other countries. This is well taken care of by the "diplomats," as is shown by the following figures: Total import from 1892 to 1896 was approximately 6,000,000 guilders of which 52.2 per cent from Holland. The export was 4,840,000 guilders of which 30.2 per cent to Holland. The industrial development of the colony (as of all other colonies) is discouraged, because the "mother country" must have a market for her manufactured goods. The people are, therefore, largely dependent upon Holland and to a less extent upon other countries for manufactured articles. Of late American and English capital have made a start with the industrial development. In the mining and petroleum industries they have made large investments and are in this way slowly but surely commencing their economic domination.

The most important and at the same time the saddest phase of the economic conditions of Dutch Guiana is the labor problem. The ups and downs of the past were dependent on the number of slaves, and these were always deficient. The cry was always for cheap Negroes on long credit—the more

the better. In 1807, when Great Britain abolished the slave trade a serious check to the development of the colony took place. In two centuries, about 30,000 slaves were brought to the colony. Yet in 1863, after the Emancipation Proclamation the population only numbered 51,000. To increase the laboring population, various immigration experiments were started, which generally resulted in failure.

The importation of laborers from Madeira and China was begun, but soon failed. In 1872 British East Indians were imported as contract laborers, their contract lasting five years. This plan succeeded because an immigration fund, under government supervision was provided in order to help those planters who needed immigrants. As a consequence of this immigration the population increased fifty per cent by 1880, although 8,500 immigrants had returned to their native land.

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------|
| Immigrants from 1852 to 1919: | |
| Chinese | 2,626 |
| Barbarians | 2,675 |
| Portuguese | 480 |
| Javanese | 9,651 |
| From 1873 | |
| British East Indians..... | 29,521 |
| Total | 44,952 |

Were it not for coolie immigration, the colony would today probably be like French Guiana, a penal colony or little more than

a wilderness. The various trades and crafts are carried on by the natives, who are mostly of Negro descent and are chiefly centered in Paramaribo, the capital. There are no labor unions or any working class movements to speak of. Exploitation is naturally at its highest under such conditions. The working hours and wages are regulated by, and to suit, individual employers. The one bright feature is the absence of the "sweat shop." The climate being hot, the wheels of industry turn slowly, and the exploitation of the workers is somewhat retarded.

It is easy to note how the "invisible" government of Holland checks and offsets the agricultural and industrial development of the people. Dutch Guiana produces cane sugar (under control of Dutch capitalists) but it is exported to different countries. There is never a sufficiency for home consumption. Holland on the other hand produces beet sugar, and makes the colony the main market for this sugar. The result is that the people have to pay more for the beet sugar than they would have to pay for the homemade cane sugar. This is one of the many means used by the Dutch capitalists to halt the economic development of the country, whilst promoting their own individual enrichment.

(To be Continued)

Birds of Prey

Their shadows dim the sunshine of our day
 As they go lumbering across the sky,
 Squawking in joy of feeling safe on high,
 Beating their heavy wings of owlish gray.
 They scare the singing birds of earth away
 As, greed-impelled, they circle threateningly,
 Watching the toilers with malignant eye—
 Birds of the darkness—human birds of prey.

They swoop down upon us in merciless might,
 They fasten in our bleeding flesh their claws
 (We may be black or yellow, brown or white)
 And, tugging and tearing without rest or pause,
 They flap their hideous wings with wild delight
 And stuff our gory hearts into their maws.

CLAUDE MCKAY.

BOOK REVIEWS

SHODDYISM CALLED HISTORY

The American Negro in the Great World War—By W. Allison Sweeney. G. G. Sapp, Chicago, Ill., 1919.

The American Negro in the World War—By Emmett J. Scott. The Negro Historical Pub. Co., Washington, D. C., 1919.

The World War for Human Rights (Negro Soldier in Our War)—By Kelly Miller. Austin Jenkins Co., Washington, D. C., 1919.

History at best is a fallacy. It is a record of only the most exceptional of human phenomena. A history true in every sense is not to be found on the shelves. Those who have written history have sought almost always to justify a stirring belief, or to subserve a sentimental interest in behalf of some antecedent impression or current conviction. The record of history, the lesson of human experience, can be written only by those who have no interest to subserve except the truth. They must possess absolutely no desire to justify a previous belief. The historical method is one of the most serious imperfections of human reasoning.

The subjects of this review by no means, however, merit such an introductory criticism, since they are not, in fact, histories at all. They are picture books, containing rambling narratives of some of the principle experiences of the Negro in the great war, at home and abroad, arranged according to topics. The materials are drawn from military orders, personal observations, but generally from newspapers. It is, therefore, often inaccurate. Each of the three books is written in easy style, though Kelly Miller and Sweeney often burst into affected rhetorical persiflage. The three authors are one in their praise of the loyalty of the Negro, whatever the attitude of the government. They jointly commit the fallacy of assuming that liberty and freedom are the inevitable rewards of bearing arms in war time.

Emmett J. Scott was a special assistant to the Secretary of War, during the participation of the United States in the conflict. As a matter of fact he was little more than a "morale officer," a special office designed to keep the Negro people contented and fooled about the real issues of the conflict with respect to themselves. Mr. Scott had first hand access to the sources of material. He has selected by no means all the matter available from the War Department, however, nor has he treated the material selected with success. The outstanding purpose of the book seems to be a vindication of Scott himself. W. Allison Sweeney is the contributing Editor of the *Chicago Defender*. His chief source of material was the newspapers and the views of personal correspondents. Kelly Miller was the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences of Howard University when his book was written. Neither one of these works is a credit to scholarship. They are designed, apparently, to cater to the great mass of half educated Negroes, whose racial consciousness would impel them to buy "Negro Histories," whatever the merits of the matter between the covers.

Mr. Sweeney's book treats of the strength of German militarism; America's entrance into the war; the ready response of the Negro to the draft; previous wars in which the Negro figured; unqualified loyalty of the black man; the Negro fighting units, the 92d Division, the 369th, 370th, 371st and 372d Infantries; the Service of Supply; the war welfare agencies and the Negro; and reconstruction and the new Negro. Most of the discussion is either sentimental, controversial or hyperbolic. Of the twenty-three chapters, as a sample of the subject matter, one contains a roster of Negro officers commissioned at Des Moines, while another full chapter is in the form of a newspaper account, taken from the *New York World*. The best piece of work in Mr. Sweeney's book is a report of the operations of the 8th Illinois Infantry, contributed by Captain John H. Patton. Much of the value of the book is lessened when the author seeks to engage in controversy and blind prophecy. Mr. Sweeney has no conception whatever of reconstruction and the new Negro. He abounds in his praise of such lovers of Negro ignorance as Colonel William Haywood, and of such hypocrites as Woodrow Wilson. Mr. Sweeney ends his book by voicing the delusion that out of war a new nation has emerged.

Emmett J. Scott, in seeking to vindicate himself, has exhibited his own servility—how he was recommended for his

position by the basest of Negro traitors, Robert Russa Moton, and how acceptable he was to the reactionary forces of the nation. Mr. Scott's treatment and subject matter are not much different from that of Mr. Sweeney, but Mr. Scott is less controversial. Most of his matter, as does that of Mr. Sweeney, belongs in the appendix rather than in the body of the work. Again, Mr. Scott often arrogates to himself more credit than he is due. He leads the reader to believe that he was responsible in large measure for the fact of Negro officers, see page 62. Mr. Scott also perpetrates the lie in the form of a War Department Bulletin that the Negro was not discriminated against in the draft. He cites many injustices towards the black soldiers but seldom tells what he did to correct them, other than answer letters stating that "requests for investigations will be cheerfully complied with." Scott's correspondence is of little value. The natural inference is that he would be holding his position, even today, whatever unjust policy the War Department might have practiced toward the Negro. The book is written in simple style, but the author often digresses from the conventional third person to emphasize a statement by using the first. Lieutenant T. T. Thompson has contributed material of value to this work. Where the author indulges in opinion, he reflects the most reactionary attitude. He accepts and praises the doctrine that "rights and privileges" are dependent upon the "duties and responsibilities" of citizenship. He does not fathom the biological analogy that a child race, like the human child, possesses "rights, privileges, powers, and immunities" long before it is able to bear the burden of "duties and responsibilities"; that biologically "duties and responsibilities" are dependent upon "rights and privileges." Mr. Scott also fails to state that the Negro soldier is in a worse plight at the end of the war than when the author took up his position as special assistant to Secretary Baker.

Kelly Miller devotes twenty-two chapters of his work to general aspects of the war, without references to the Negro. He adds a chapter, however, on "The Negro in the World War" and "The Disgrace of Democracy," an open letter to Woodrow Wilson. The author is guilty of a rather bold piece of trickery when he places on the back cover of his book the title: "Negro Soldier in Our War." This is an unpardonable piece of criminal camouflage, because only the merest fraction of his book is devoted to the Negro. Kelly Miller's treatment of general aspects of the war reads like the column of a magazine section of a Sunday newspaper. But a return to the Negro question finds him controversial, militant and committing the usual fallacy of history. His treatment abounds in error, both as to fact and opinion. In speaking of the Des Moines camp and colored officers, Mr. Miller says that the camp was an "honor." Provision for the Des Moines camp was made in May, 1917. In placing credit for the camp, the author says: "It is probable that the honor belongs as much to Henry Johnson and Needham Roberts as to anyone else." Then follows a reference to the citation of these two men for gallantry. The writer then adds, see page 458: "Whether this citation arrived on May 19th, 1917 by design or by accident, it served the purpose of dissolving completely all opposition to the idea of training Negroes to halt the Hun. Immediately thereafter, the War Department created a training camp for educated Negroes at Fort Des Moines, Iowa." *As a matter of fact, the exploit of these two heroes took place a year later than the above date and nearly a year after the Des Moines camp became a so-called "honor" to the Negro.* Dean Miller has done his fast waning reputation great harm in his latest publication.

Neither of these works can be recommended for either information or presentation. They are neither scientific nor scholarly. They leave untold the bitter, but whole truth, about what the soldiers suffered and endured in the great conflict. They picture the Negro as one loyal and willing to fight, because he owes much to a great country. They omit to state the fact that over one hundred thousand of the three hundred and fifty thousand black conscripts were illiterate, because their country denies them opportunity. But illiterate men make slavish soldiers, and slavish soldiers are the best soldiers. A history of the Negro in the recent war is yet to be written.

—LIEUT. WM. N. COLSON.



Roscoe Conklin Simmons

For the last two years the country has been afflicted with many wind jammers, who are long on inspiration and short on information. Among Negroes, this class is typified in Roscoe Conklin Simmons. Among ignorant Negro editors (and most of them are ignorant) Simmons is reputed to be an orator. The truth, however, is that Simmons is an entertainer and a very poor entertainer at that. The substance of his speeches is usually nothing said in schoolboy florid rhetoric. Of recent date, he has been speaking upon the subject of Americanism. Speaking in Portland, Oregon, upon this subject, Simmons said: "I am an American, proud of it and jealous of both the power and reputation of my country and countrymen." Think of a Negro being proud to be an American! Think also of an American Negro proud and jealous of the reputation of his countrymen when his country protects neither his life nor his property, denies three-fourths of his race the right to vote, lynches, segregates, insults and robs him and his race. Reflect also upon a Negro jealous of the reputation of his countrymen, most of whom are savages and barbarians compared with whom the Huns and vandals were as shining angels of light. Another sample of Simmons' trash is: "I have an undisturbed faith in the justice of my countrymen, and in the promises of God. I am not moved, nor am I discouraged. Patience is my pillow." Here is a sample of a fool in a fool's paradise. The only

solution which Simmons has for the Negroes' wrongs is patience. Patience for lynching! Patience for disfranchisement! Patience for discrimination! Patience for hoodlum rioters! Patience for the Jim-crow car! Patience for segregation! Patience for all the ills from which Negroes suffer. The inanity and asininity of such a proposal would be ludicrous were it not so vicious. All the progress of the world, among any race or people, has been made through intelligent discontent with the conditions under which people were suffering, and a determination followed by action, to remove the conditions. That is true of every advance made by the Negro. It was not the patient Negro who helped to free the slaves. All the slave owners told Negroes to be patient and that God in his own time would free them, but the two hundred thousand Negroes who fought on the Union side were not willing to wait for God and His own time but impatiently rose and decided to free themselves by striking the blow. A patient Negro of the me-too-boss-hat-in-hand variety, to which Simmons himself belongs, would have been in slavery today. Had Negroes followed the advice of patience in Washington and Chicago their houses would have been burned down, their women insulted and abused, and their men murdered. But the Washington and Chicago rioters met an impatient New Negro, whose only patience was in aiming straight.

Simmons has no knowledge of

history, economics, sociology or any science at all. Upon no public question is he prepared to advise anybody. A sample of his ability to discuss a public question may be taken from his speech on prohibition. He says: "Those who favor prohibition are a bunch of hypocrites. As long as the grapes are ripe on the vines and the barley lifts its head to Heaven, and receives the sunray kisses, men will be drunk." Simmons has not even enough brains to realize that men can't drink unless they get something to drink. Moreover, his observation was that Lester F. Ward calls an opinion based upon desire. The wish was father to the thought. In Seattle, Wash., Simmons spoke in the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium. He there appeared again in the role of a specialist on patience. He praised the forty-three Negro policemen in Boston who did not strike during the policemen's strike, when we condemn them and condemn them very severely, unless the white policemen discriminated against them in joining the union. Wherever Negroes can get into the unions, it is both desirable and their duty to do so. If the police had won their strike, all the members on the force, including the forty-three Negroes, would have received the wage increases and it is the business of Negroes to fight side by side with their fellow workers for any advantage which they may exact for their class. Simmons also launched an attack upon Bolshevism and the Reds in Seattle, saying that the Reds were all foreigners and it

was only foreigners who lynched Negroes, and the Negroes must be the force that rises to put down the menace to this free country. This statement is the zenith of ignorance and stupidity in the light of the highly foreign character of the composition of our population, and the large contribution which has been made in the fields of art, commerce, science, industry, religion, etc., by the foreign element; and the further fact that every so-called American is a foreigner—the Irish, French, English, Negro, everybody, save the Indian.

The census of 1910 shows that every section of this country is highly foreign, in the sense of being composed of persons who are naturalized or born of foreign parentage, except the South which is the most backward and unprogressive. Even the Negro has been affected with this anti-foreign virus. But here *The Messenger* would warn him to watch his step. Since when has the Negro been imbued with a passion to be consigned to the tender mercies of the native white population of the South, consisting of its Tillmans, Vardamans, Oleases, Hoke Smiths and John Sharp Williams, in preference to the highly foreign population of the North, East and West!

There are 30.64 per cent. of whites born of foreign parents

and 26.19 per cent. of naturalized and unnaturalized whites form 4.45 per cent.

In the good old state of Tennessee, where Eli Parsons was burned at stake, there are only 1.88 per cent. whites born in America of foreign parents, and 1.13 per cent. of strictly foreign born whites. In the State of Massachusetts, however, 27.09 per cent. of its population are composed of whites born of foreign parents, and 39.35 per cent. of whites, naturalized or unnaturalized. Or in a word, 66.44 per cent. of the population of Massachusetts are foreigners.

Ask your Negro leaders in which states would they prefer to deliver a speech against lynching—Georgia and Tennessee or New York and Massachusetts? Remember, however, that the dirty foreigners live in New York and Massachusetts, while our good old American native stock hold forth in Georgia and Tennessee. A perusal of the above mentioned facts reveals the utter ignorance and silliness of any so-called Negro leader attempting to make disparaging and opprobrious remarks about the foreigners. They are the best friends the Negroes have, and naturally so, since in no country in the world but America are race and color so discriminated against and so foolishly hated. The Frenchmen

are foreigners, but no Negro who has two ounces of sense would maintain that French foreigners are not superior and juster in every way than American natives.

But why speak longer about Simmons? That is a question which demands an answer, and the answer is not far to find. Today, the stage has probably the most powerful appeal to the masses and it is from the point of view of the influence of stage and screen that we discuss Roscoe Simmons. He is an entertainer and a comedian, and since fun is the most common form of amusement for the plain people, the funmakers and entertainers, like Simmons, have considerable influence among them. The eyes of the Negroes are being opened, however, by the continuous propaganda of the New Crowd Negroes and the days are numbered when such old, political and oratorical fossils as Roscoe Conkling Simmons can longer mislead any considerable group of Negroes. With the passing of the old order these little Negro satellites, who are bankrupt in information, poverty stricken in ideas, intellectual lilliputians, and mental midgets, will be relegated to the discarded and discredited realm of forgotten derelicts.

Mill Grindings

By G. F. M.

Counsel to Western Orators: Don't demand that the shackles be torn from your hands and the fetters struck from your feet that you may cause the field of your persecutors to blaze, but because man's infringement upon the liberty of man is wrong.

* * *

If I withhold your just claims while calling for your aid, what may you expect when I want not your help?

What is more pathetic than to see the despised and persecuted blacks of America, suffering all the horrors in Barbarity's imagination, in the very depths of ignorance, joining vociferously with their defamers and persecutors in decrying Bolshevism in far-off Russia!

* * *

"Love is the greatest thing in the world," but an inane sentimentality that rewards insult with a frowning and sickly grin is not love.

Commiseration well befits the weak; and the repose of hope, even, in the undecided who wander in doubt is not misplaced, but the apostate erstwhile leader is an offense and abomination to an oppressed and struggling people.

* * *

Despite and oppression must be met with resentment and attack—one Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Leroy Bundy, or Monroe Trotter is worth ten million Uncle Toms.



The Ku Klux Klan in Chicago

By W. H. Tibbs

The meeting of the Property Owners and Tenants, held under the auspices of the Kenwood and Hyde Park Property Owners Association, Monday evening, October 20th, proved to be purely an owners' meeting. In fact, the bourgeois of Grand Boulevard seemed to be the predominating element. The audience was complimented repeatedly on its splendid appearance by various speakers. Hyde Park Hall, where the meeting was held, is located in the rear of an elegant club-house at 4445 Grand Boulevard, and is an appropriate place for gatherings of this character. The headquarters of the organization are located at 4654 Grand Boulevard. The work to be done as laid down by the chairman and speakers was ostensibly to rid the neighborhood of undesirables (?); but the truth would not down, and the colored neighbor soon came in for the violent attacks for which in reality the purpose of the meeting was held.

Society gentlemen (?) laid great stress upon the protection of the home and family. Many of the remarks were so ridiculous that the audience was compelled to laugh disgustedly, yet heartily. One speaker of a very militant spirit, after recounting the work of an improvement association of former years said: "Let us rescue this neighborhood and try to make it safe for God-fearing people. I have heard the Negro accused of every crime on the calendar, but I have never heard it even suggested that they were 'infidels.'" It is something entirely new with which they are

accused. If it were only true! That statement would make the basis for an excellent and inspiring sermon by some of our preachers." The same gentleman also stated that the organization was to have two captains in each block, to keep tabs on events transpiring and inform headquarters thereof. These captains will in all probability be the dangerous and hired thugs of the association. If they are found out, and they probably will be, and met with the proper kind of physical resistance, they will not be so numerous, and their activity will be short lived. The most rabid of the association was Mr. J. P. Bowls, Treasurer, a well known man in the banking world. Many of the Negroes bank with him. He was a little backward, but when he got started he proved to be a true American from a Negro's view point. He began by saying: "Our mothers had, but a few short months ago, sent their sons to fight the Huns" (making special efforts to impress the audience). "Was not that a good cause?" he inquired in a very solicitous and apprehensive manner. "And is not our cause just as good?" he continued. "Why," he said, "I have nothing against the Negro. A colored chef cooked my dinner for me tonight, and a colored maid served it, but, by God! I don't want them for neighbors." Some of you people may be pessimistic and say how are you going to do all these things. Well, we can't tell you all, but I will tell you some of the methods we intend using. We shall be merciless, when mortgages are due; we

shall bring sufficient influence to bear on insurance men to prevent them from taking a risk on property owned by colored people; we will influence the banking world so as to make a loan as difficult as possible." The names of real estate men who indorse the movement were read, among them being some of the most influential men in that particular neighborhood. All of them that took a different view were read and slated for a boycott in the future among the Kenwood and Hyde Park Property Owners Association.

The Chairman of the State Council of Defense also addressed the meeting. He stated that one real estate deal had already been stopped and they would stop them all and that it would be an easy thing after they got started. He further stated that "I have not his name at present but will get it for you as it will be an easy matter."

The action of this organization may become a menacing character, if not stopped in its incipency. If the police department wants to be vigilant and do its duty, it will curb such insidious propaganda at once, otherwise there will be another race riot, that will make the former look like a street fight between two urchins. The fair minded citizens should see to it that this uncalled for agitation against Negroes is stopped, else the fair name of Chicago will again be dragged in the mire of another disgraceful riot.

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Five Minute Chats with the Business Manager

The period of incipency of "THE MESSENGER" is now over. The Messenger Magazine has established itself as a permanent part of the life of the Negro American. Up to this time we have refrained from calling on our readers, *en masse*, to subscribe to the magazine; most of our time was occupied with the problems of organization, circulation and distribution. That period has passed, and with it, any doubts and fears as to the permanency and perpetuity of the publication. Until we have been able to satisfy each and every one of these fears, we have refrained from asking you to subscribe.

The "stock drive" which we carried on for sixty days, met

with unusual success. Approximately \$18,000 worth of stock was purchased by friends and admirers, as well as by out-and-out investors. There was some suggestion of increasing the capital stock from \$25,000 to \$50,000 and waging another 60-day campaign to float it. This idea has been abandoned, however, and all of our energy has been put into making the magazine pay for itself without encumbering ourselves with a large number of additional stockholders and the necessary business machinery that they would entail.

The first step in front of us now is to increase our subscription list. For sixty days, December 1st to February 1st, we are going to carry on a tremendous

subscription drive. We want to add, and we intend to add, 25,000 names to our subscription list by the 1st of February. Meetings are being planned in all sections of the country for the waging of the campaign. Circular letters are being sent to the liberal-minded of both races. We are calling upon organizations and societies of all kinds and classes who consider themselves abreast of the times, to urge their members to subscribe to The Messenger. We are asking each one of our subscribers to recommend the magazine to friends and urge them to get out of the casual-reader-class into the subscribers class. Urge them to make their interest in The Messenger count for something, by subscribing. If each

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THIS issue of 100,000 will be our souvenir edition. With each magazine will be given a beautiful 9 x 12 calendar containing a full sized photograph of The Messenger Staff. The Messenger wishes to announce that the city of Los Angeles leads in circulation this month with its agent Joshua Nishida, purchasing 5,000 copies. W. H. Tibbs of Chicago comes next with 3,000. Chas. H. Thomas of Philadelphia comes next with 2,700. William S. Nelson of Washington comes forth with 2,000. And lest we should forget, New York City is really second with 4,200. Let's all double for the New Year issue. Let's make the 100,000 souvenir edition become the regular circulation of The Messenger. If every agent will double up we shall have passed the 100,000 mark.

THE MESSENGER STAFF.

subscriber could get us five other subscribers, we would soon pass the 25,000 mark.

In asking you to subscribe, we are not asking a hardship of you, nor any great expenditure of funds, either. Just ask yourself, "What after all, is a dollar and a half, when it will supply me with mental food for the next year?" Mental food is just as important as bodily food. A starved mind leads to vice, criminality and insanity. A starved body only leads to death. Most of us would rather suffer death than criminality or insanity. Whether or not you agree with the policies of *The Messenger*, you can't deny that it will give you "food for thought."

There is one of two things that you should do this very minute. First, if you have not already done so, you should sit down and send us your subscription for one year. Secondly, if you are a subscriber, go find somebody, show him *The Messenger* and make him subscribe.

Editors, *The Messenger*,
Comrades:

I should like to send a word of appreciation for the splendid work you are doing in your magazine. You have struck a high note in the production of radical periodical literature, and, if you continue along the same line that you have started, there can be no doubt that you will receive an ever-increasing support from a public which is hungry for that blessed enlightenment which comes from the setting forth of simple truths in their proper relationship.

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The Negro must play a big part in the coming revolution in America, because the Negro has been the most signal victim of capitalism in this country. The sooner the Negro and the white man, forsaking their false leaders, join hands to usher in the new free world of communism, the better for the human race in its entirety.

Yours,
ELLIS O. JONES.

The Messenger for October

The October number of the *Messenger* is one of the best numbers that able magazine has issued. In no mincing manner it handles matters of vital interest to American thinkers, and no unprejudiced man or woman can but admire the bold and fearless manner in which the *Messenger* demands that the rights of both blacks and whites be respected, and that the constant efforts by corrupt interests to increase race hatred and violence cease. The reply of Victor R. Daly to W. T. Hornaday is one of the ablest re-ports courteous that we have ever read! It is worth emblazoning on the pages of history. It pillories the specious argument of Hornaday, and as but few could do it. Good for the *Messenger* and long may it continue to fight for the race that has for ages been subjected to the most horrible injustices, and is still, for that matter, —The Editor, "Crucible," Seattle, Wash.

Editors of *The Messenger*,
New York City, N. Y.

Gentlemen: Just why I have put off subscribing to "*The Messenger*" I cannot say, for I read it with the keenest delight. It is a liberal education in itself and the beauty of it all is that it is so simple in language a child could understand it. I admire it also for its thoughtfulness, its logic, its honesty of conviction and purpose and for its utter fearlessness and

utter courage. It is an inspiration to know that men like you are living today—living and doing and daring. Can I say more?

Very sincerely,
Angelina W. Grimke.

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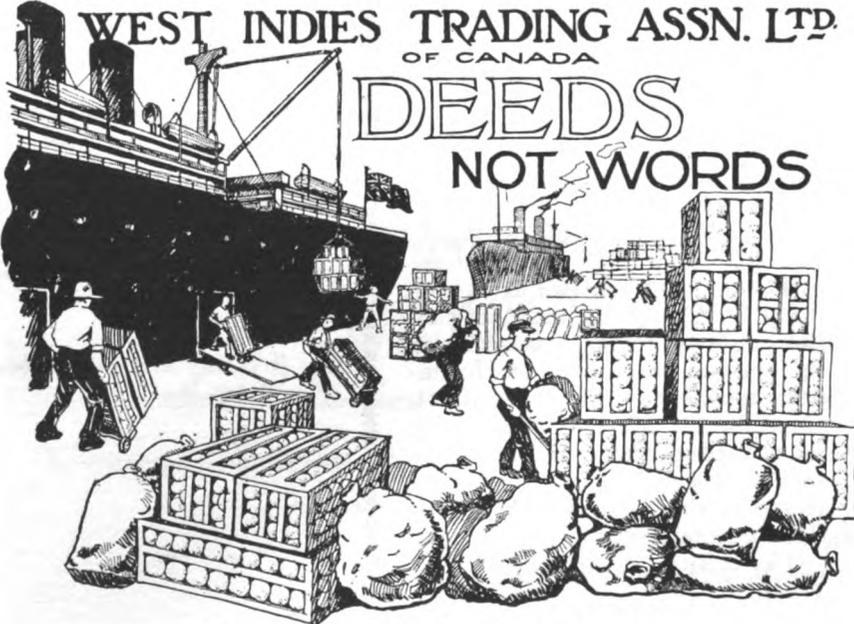
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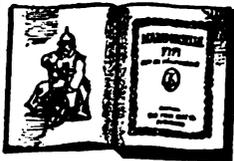
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