

1920

The Messenger

A JOURNAL OF
SCIENTIFIC
RADICALISM

MARCH, 1920

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ORGANIZED LABOR AND
THE NEGRO

DR. DURKEE
Of Howard University

THE RUSSIAN TRIUMPH

A BRONZED GOD
A Story

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EDITORIALS

THE SOCIALIST EXPULSION

WHEN the New York Legislature convened in January, the five Socialist Assemblymen were refused their seats on the ground that they were elected upon a platform inimical to the best interests of the United States. The reactionary Republican Legislature engineered this scheme to get rid of an active minority which constantly prods it about wasting the people's money and misrepresenting its constituents. The Democrats, with two exceptions, combined with the Republicans in refusing the Socialists their seats, but withdrew their vote on the matter, in a few days, under the rapid-fire attacks of the governor, the Mayor of New York City, many of the churches, civic organizations, the Bar Association, Ex-Judge Charles E. Hughes, most of the public men and thinkers, as well as the New York World, the Hearst papers and the majority of the press.

A pathetic scene in the Legislature was John Clifford Hawkins, the only Negro Republican Assemblyman, voting to unseat the Socialists. And this, after the history of the Southern States voting to unseat Negroes in Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, on the ground that these Negroes were elected on platforms of **Negro domination**, which were held by them as **inimical to the best interests of the United States**. When the New York City Board of Alderman passed a resolution calling upon the legislature to seat the Socialists, both George W. Harris and Dr. Charles H. Roberts, Negro Alderman, voted against the Socialists along with the Republican bloc.

Now this is especially dangerous business for Negro elective representatives. Prejudice is growing more and more against Negroes. Any day a resolution may be introduced to unseat or to refuse to seat them. And then, these pigmy-minded Negroes would be without an argument.

Moreover, this brings to the fore one of our chief contentions about good men. You cannot trust alleged good men. You are compelled to rely upon the party. Men do not own their souls in legislatures. They are part of the machine, and they must move with the machine, or else they will be crushed. Let us analyze the case of George Harris. Just before the vote in the Board of Aldermen, after his bosses like Hughes and La Guardia had spoken, he wrote

a long editorial in his paper, the New York News, urging the seating of the Socialists. But when the word was given at the Board of Aldermen, he simply somersaulted. In other words, he, like the white Aldermen, is just an automaton. Dr. Roberts, of course, is a very fine personal character, but he also has to take orders. He has no principles to defend, and no power to defend them. If the Republican Aldermanic bloc had asked Roberts and Harris to vote against seating a Negro in the State Legislature, both of them would have voted **against** seating Hawkins, the Negro Assemblyman. And vice versa, if the Assembly Republican bloc had asked Hawkins to vote against seating a Negro in the New York City Aldermanic Board, Hawkins would have voted **against** seating George Harris and Dr. Chas. H. Roberts. These Republican and Democratic Parties are just vestigial, capitalist tools. Neither white nor colored representatives of the old parties have any initiative, independence or freedom of action. Neither group of the old parties represents the people—white or colored. The only political hope is in the Socialist Party. Negro voters should repudiate these Negro pigmy, puppet representatives who vote anything their white capitalist bosses tell them, with a fawning, spinelessness and sycophancy which revives the feudal **lese majeste** of the Middle Ages.

NEGROES, LEAVE THE SOUTH!

FELLOW Negroes of the South, leave there. Go North, East, and West—**anywhere**—to get out of that hell hole. There are better schools here for your children, higher wages for yourselves, votes if you are twenty-one, better housing and more liberty. **All is not rosy here**, by any means, but it is Paradise compared with Georgia, Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi and Alabama. Besides, you make it better for those you leave behind. Labor becomes scarce, so that the Bourbons of Dixie are compelled to pay your brothers back home more wages. They will give them more schools and privileges, too, to try to get them to come back, and, secondly, to try to keep you from leaving.

Stop buying property in the South, to be burned down and run away from over night. Sell out your stuff quietly, saying nothing to the Negro lackeys, and leave! Come into the land of at least incipient civilization!

SOME NEGRO MINISTERS

THERE are some Negro ministers who have vision, intelligence and courage. There are some upon whose souls the Republican Party has no mortgage. Rev. Brown, pastor of the John Wesley Church in Washington, D. C., showed his mettle when he opened his church to the Messenger editors for a lecture Jan. 20th, despite smutty Senator Smooth's protest against their lecturing in the Dunbar High School. In Detroit, Rev. Bagnall of the Episcopal Church and Rev. Joseph Gomez of the Bethel A. M. E. could not be intimidated or misled by the insidious misrepresentations of that time-serving, capitalist tool among Negroes—the Urban League. They opened their churches to let the people hear the truth, their action resulting in almost unanimous approval. A word, too, needs to be said of Bishop C. S. Smith, who had a high conception of free speech and free press. He said he did not agree with all we say and write (for which we can have no quarrel with him), but he felt that the people ought to have our message, a large part of which impressed him favorably. The same big, broad spirit toward us has always been manifested by Dr. Francis J. Grimke of Washington. And we need only mention the splendid, intelligent and courageous George Frazier Miller of Brooklyn, N. Y. Rev. Bradby of Detroit came out to hear us after the trustees of his church had cancelled our meeting. His honesty in admitting how we had been misrepresented to him and inviting us back to Detroit to lecture before his congregation, at his expense, stamps him as a broad man. It is so hard for most people to admit a mistake, that his action is the exception rather than the rule.

After all, the Negro is like other races. The whites have a few ministerial characters like John Haynes Holmes, Bishop Paul Jones, Allen McCurdy, Percy Stickney Grant, and Irwin St. John Tucker, and the Negroes have their Bagnall, Miller, Grimke, Bishop Smith, Gomez and Brown.

We congratulate these types of Negro ministers and are aware that there are others in the country.

WHEN BRITISH CAPITALISM FALLS

THE British pound has fallen. It has reached the low figure of 3.19. To the student of political science this has a vast significance. The fall of the British pound is precedent to an impending financial revolution. And revolution in British finance must inevitably produce a revolution in the finance of its debtors, the parasite partaking of the body it feeds on. This is just what has happened. The day the pound fell, there was a corresponding fall in the French franc, the Italian lire, the Belgium lire, etc. They are all debtors of Great Britain.

There was an estoppel placed upon American exports. This unlooses upon the American mar-

ket great hordes of goods now stored in American warehouses for Europe. Unless avid and relentless capital, desirous of keeping up prices, is permitted to destroy these goods, the market must decline, resulting in lowering the high cost of living, due to the fall in prices.

But much more is foreshadowed. The fall of the Lloyd George government is near at hand. Labor and Socialism will be the receivers. The nationalization of mines and other basic industries will result. Colonial policy will be radically changed. The foreign policy toward Russia and other countries will be revolutionized. Enlightened statesmanship will deal with Ireland, Egypt, India and the West Indies.

The prospects are bright **when British capitalism falls**, and the prospects are that **it is falling** at an accelerated rate.

THE RUSSIAN TRIUMPH

DEMOCRACY has triumphed in Russia. Kolchak is dead. Denikine has gone. Yudenitch is no more. The Czarist minions and their capitalistic supporters in France, Great Britain, the United States, Japan and about eighteen other countries, placed their money upon the wrong horse. They had not reckoned with the indomitable courage and the cold resolution born of the unconquerable love for liberty. They had not counted the cost of trying to quench the Promethean fires of freedom. They did not seem to know that an awakened populace regards justice as cheap at any price. They really believed that if they could corrupt the press and make Petrograd fall in the London and New York Times, or in the Paris Temps, the demand for liberty would fall. But in all their calculations they were wrong. Their conclusions were fallacious because their premises were not true.

Instead of defeating the democratic forces of Russia, the Soviet Army has captured more territory within the last seven months than the combined area of the United States and Canada. The stalking ghost of tyranny could not survive where air of freedom was. Hungry men became more dogged and determined, goaded on by the cries of emaciated children and the pitiful appeals of women clad in the black habiliments of woe. They had heard these cries before—heard them when the land was filled with plenty—when there was no need for starvation. And if there was ever a period of discouragement and doubt, the Banquo's Ghost of the old days of the Czar, when the gaunt spectre of hunger and the shriveled palm of want stalked through the land, was such a bitter memory that the Soviet soldiers pressed on to the light of liberty beckoning them thither!

So the Russian people have triumphed. The blockade has been removed. Peace negotiations are proceeding. Some have been completed. The Allied armies are being withdrawn. Soon the Bolshevik ideal—"Bread, Land and Peace"

—will have been realized. The history of the French Revolution, when all the governments of Europe combined for a quarter of a century to overthrow it, has been repeated with similar results—the ultimate triumph of liberty, justice and right!

INFLUENZA—A SOCIAL PROBLEM

THE proper handling of the influenza epidemic is not a medical task. It is distinctly a social function. By interest and training the medical fraternity is unfitted to handle the pandemic. In the first place, the physicians are pleased with its spread. 'Tis profitable for them, and the beneficiary of a system cannot be relied upon to destroy that system. It is just about as logical to expect undertakers to be opposed to the deaths from influenza from which they (the undertakers) profit, as it is to expect physicians to use their efforts to prevent the sickness or infection of influenza from which they (the physicians) profit. Their training is technical and not social. Knowledge of medicine and the use of medicine are all but valueless in the prevention and cure of the disease. **It requires social engineering.** An administrator of the type of Frederick C. Howe is better equipped to handle the flu problem than is Dr. Royal C. Copeland, the Health Commissioner of New York. It demands large scale planning and administering—the type of thought not common to physicians. They are usually small scale planners and poor administrators, due to the individualism of their practice and their science.

An administrator, who would organize the cities and counties, apportion the physicians, nurses, provide for wholesome and pure food, require the houses to be heated a certain temperature, institute compulsory ventilation, not only in places of public accommodation and amusement, but also for private homes, requisition the milk supply and sell it to the people at nominal prices—would do more to destroy influenza, than the entire army of physicians in the country.

This entails work, too, for our presently useless legislatures. Instead of wasting the people's money on Lusk Anti-Radical Committees, and Attorney-General Palmer's Anti-Sedition and spy forces—utilize the funds in some thorough-going and serious health measure and disease prevention functions, under the direction of real social administrators, who do not profit from the spread of the disease—and the influenza will pass like the yellow fever passed, when the social administration of General Gorgas made the Panama Canal Zone, not only inhabitable, but one of the healthiest spots in the world. The Messenger is prepared to advise Governors, Mayors and legislators how to use prophylactic measures that will rid the country next year of the menace of the flu. The physical health of the country cannot be entrusted to the

high priests of the sanitary priestcraft, but to the social scientists who will direct the former's functions.

PRESIDENT THINKS AMERICAN PEOPLE TOO SWEET

DO you know why the cost of sugar is so high? You think you know, and you answer yes, without any hesitancy. You say sugar is scarce. But you are dead wrong. The truth is that President Wilson is trying to save you from **sugar in the blood**. It gives rise to diabetes—an awful disease.

The Cuban sugar producers offered the President, through his Sugar Board, 4,000,000 tons (not pounds but tons) of sugar at 6¼ cents per pound last year. It could have been purchased by the Government and sold to you at 9 cents a pound, **with profit**. But you would have eaten too much, and been suffering at this very moment with diabetes. So the President's Sugar Board allowed the good old Louisiana sugar men to set 17 cents per pound as the wholesale price on sugar. It enabled them to get big profits and you to avoid sugar in the blood by having to pay 20 to 26 cents per pound. Of course, your judgment, your discretion, could not be trusted to limit your consumption of sugar, if you could get it at 9 cents per pound. So an economic embargo or blockade was instituted. Moreover, these Louisiana gentlemen are the good old Southern friends of our Southern administration. They will probably never again have a hand in the control of the government, so they must get while getting is good. If you could get sugar at 9 cents per pound from Cuban foreigners, why you might not have sense enough or patriotism enough to purchase sugar at 20 cents a pound from our good old native stock, Confederate-Americans in Louisiana. Hence, the only thing to do was to keep this Cuban sugar out.

It appears, too, that the sugar trust is stronger with the President than the sugar consumer—not because they have more votes, more patriotism or such things, but because they are better organized and more alert. In his "New Freedom," President Wilson said: "The masters of the government of the United States are the combined manufacturers and capitalists of the United States. They have erected upon the forms of democracy, an invisible empire." We agree with Mr. Wilson. This statement **was** and **is** true.

We are aware, however, that no selfish motive actuated the President in boosting the price of sugar. He had in mind the checking of harmful consumption, just as when a heavy tax is placed upon liquor to check its consumption. High, humanitarian motives actuated Woodrow Wilson here. He observed the American people to be too sweet. They have sugar in the blood. He showed a master stroke of statesmanship to save them from diabetes!

THE MESSENGER LECTURE

THE Messenger Lecture in Washington, D.C., Jan. 20th, 1920, was an event in the Negro's life in this country. Assembled in the John Wesley Church there, was the largest group of intellectual and thinking Negroes who probably ever gathered in the United States. Nearly all the professors of Howard University, a majority of the colored teachers of Washington, together with the most celebrated physicians, surgeons, publicists, business men and lecturers of the city, constituted the audience. Not only was there quality, but quantity. By eight o'clock, nearly every seat was filled, and each seat cost fifty cents! **This, too, in a city where it is hard to get people to listen to a lecture which is free!**

What was the event? What was its significance? The editors of the Messenger—A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen—were scheduled to speak at the Dunbar High School, Jan. 20th, on the subject: "The New Education." A social dance was to have followed in the High School Auditorium. Upon hearing that the radical Negro editors were to speak, Senator Reed Smoot, the arch-reactionary Republican of Utah, threatened to try to cut off the school's appropriation in the event the meeting was held. Thereupon the Messenger office was immediately notified and Mr. Owen took the next train for Washington, called on Rev. Brown, pastor of the John Wesley Church, told him of the circumstances, and secured the church for the lecture, which was held on the same date as scheduled. The huge audience of thinking and serious people who attended, subscribed for the magazine, purchased four hundred and ninety copies, and insisted upon giving a voluntary collection in which ten and five dollar bills were interspersed—was the answer to the reactionary senator from Utah and his Negro lackeys who carried the bone.

It is impossible to speak of the Messenger Lecture, however, without mentioning Professor Neval H. Thomas of Washington. He presided at this meeting. He was scheduled to preside at the High School. Upon hearing that the meeting was called off there, he remarked: "I have no control over the school building, and its auditorium, but wherever the meeting is held, I will preside and introduce Messrs. Randolph and Owen." To say that his presiding was splendid, that his speech was pointed, direct, precise, able and courageous, is to describe his work modestly and grudgingly. Only a few men holding public positions like Neval H. Thomas would have had the courage to brave the autocracy of Smoot. He is truly the Scott Nearing or the H. W. L. Dana among Negroes, for he was at his task that evening, breathing

defiance and intellectual force at Smoot and the lilliputian Negro lackeys who were there to carry back the report. True to form, Smoot immediately asked the District of Columbia Board of Education to call for Mr. Thomas's resignation, to which the Board's president, Mr. Van Schaick, promptly and pointedly replied: "Outside of the school building and the school hours, the Board has nothing to do with the private actions of a teacher, unless those actions are immoral and reflect discredit upon the school."

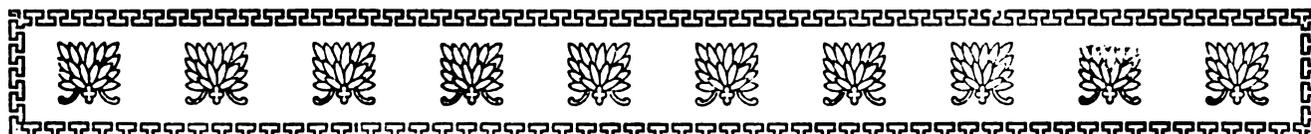
This ends the first chapter of the Messenger lecture, which, hereafter, will be an annual affair. The most common comment following it was, **Why is not the school the proper place for a lecture in which there was so much education?**

DEPORTATION

THE deportation of about 300 radicals upon the steamship Buford marked a new period of reaction in America. The men and women who were deported were not bomb throwers, in any sense of the word, but those who had done much to make America a better land to live in. Hegel was right when he said: **"We learn from history that men never learn anything from history."** This is too true. After the history of deportation and exile on the part of the Czar of Russia, intelligent statesmen would know that you cannot deport true ideas and principles by deporting persons. **But who said the men who deported them were neither statesmen nor intelligent?**

PERSECUTED NEGRO RADICALS

W. H. TIBBS, R. T. Sims and W. H. Harden of Chicago have been victims of the persecutions of the present Southern, Bourbon, reactionary administration under A. Mitchell Palmer and Woodrow Wilson. They have been jailed. They are now out on bail. They fought the vicious segregation tricks of the Hyde Park Association in Chicago. W. H. Tibbs has been especially singled out by that race prejudiced group. These men are the fearless champions of the rights of the Negro. Negroes must rally to their support. Send your dollars to the Messenger Pub. Co., 2305 Seventh Ave., New York City. The same will be transmitted to their attorneys. The Messenger is trying to build up a Negro Radicals Defence Fund. Of course, we are interested in our white radicals also. But we realize that they can get more support than can Negroes.



Economics and Politics

ORGANIZED LABOR AND NEGRO WORKERS

THIS is the day of the workers, the organized worker. In Russia, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and America, those who produce the wealth of the world are demanding and getting more than ever before. The reason for this is, that labor is becoming class conscious, it is realizing its power when organized, when intelligent. It is simple, it is elementary, that one hundred reeds joined together are harder to break than when separate. So it is with labor. An individual worker cannot fight organized capital. The concessions that labor has already won from big business, have been due only to labor's increasing intelligence and solidarity. Before the modern trades and industrial unions existed, working men toiled from sunrise to sunset. Of course, in the South, Negroes are still sweated 10, 12, 14, 16, 18 and 20 hours a day. The lumberjacks (white) in the West are no less mercilessly exploited. It is these indescribable industrial conditions that gave birth to the Industrial Workers of the World. Peonage pens and industrial hells of the South will eventually force Negro workers, too, into industrial unions.

With a slight knowledge of the history of labor struggles, Negro workers would recognize that no advantage, no benefit, no improvement ever came to labor except through organized action. It is true that some white labor unions ignorantly discriminate against Negro workers by refusing them admittance into their unions. Yet, that is no valid point against the value of the labor union to workers, black or white. Negro workers should form unions, in order to fight organized capital, on the one hand, and, to force organized white labor to practise the principles of brotherhood, on the other.

The Messenger recognizes industrial action as the most effective weapon which the Negro can employ, both in the interest of himself as a worker, and as a race. The census report of 1910 shows that there are over six million Negroes gainfully employed in the United States, or two million more workers than the American Federation of Labor has. Now, if the American Federation, with only four million workers, led by as incompetent and reactionary a leader as Samuel Gompers, can force the President and Congress to recognize it, by seeking its counsel upon practically every important national and international question, in war and peace, what will it not do under the economic pressure of two million organized Negro workers? On the cotton fields, Negro cotton workers produce

nearly 60 per cent. of the cotton of the entire world. Great banks in New York, London, Paris and Berlin depend for their existence upon the sweat and toil of the Southern Negro cotton pickers, who are shamelessly robbed of the product of their labor—Negroes who are held in the chains of ignorance, superstition and avarice of cotton speculators, North and South. If Negroes formed a cotton workers union, to strike for more wages, shorter hours, and better conditions under which to work, it would arouse and frighten Southern, Northern and, too, foreign capitalists, because it would mean that the profits of capital would be smaller. For when wages are high, profits are low. The product of labor is divided into two parts: wages and profits. All above wages represents profits or surplus wealth. If a worker produces fifty dollars a day and receives only ten, in the form of wages, the extra forty dollars represents profits, which go to the employer. Now, the employer would like to give the worker only five dollars, as wages, and take forty-five as profits, and the only thing that prevents him is, either the shortage of labor or the power of labor, through organization, to resist capital. The worker, on the other hand, would like to get fifteen or twenty, or thirty or forty dollars as wages. But he can only get what he has the power to take through organized action, a labor union. The worker, in fact, would desire to receive the full product of his toil, the fifty dollars. But he will only get so far in his demand as his intelligence and power will carry him. Now the Negro cannot get, nor will he get, any more than organized and intelligent industrial action will enable him to take. The Negro, like the white worker, is entitled to the full product of his toil, all that he produces. Black and white workers should unite to get it. And ere long, black and white workers will stop fighting each other over race prejudice and combine against their common enemy—the white capitalist.

CO-OPERATIVE BUSINESS

THERE are three points at which the plain people are robbed, viz.: (1) the point of production, or on the job; (2) the point of consumption, or when the working man goes into the market to buy back what he has produced; and (3) the point of the ballot, or when the worker is deceived into voting for representatives who are selected by his enemy—the employer.

The cooperative movement is intended to protect the worker at the point of consumption.

It is the only form of business which people who receive wages can conduct successfully, under a highly organized capitalist system, such as we are living under. The reason being that it affords every economy of production and exchange that the big trusts, syndicates and cartels provide. Its specific value to the common people consists in the fact that it is owned, controlled and operated by them. Cooperative and industrial organizations are the only effective economic weapons which the Negroes in America, the West Indies and Africa can employ in the solution of their economic, political and social problems. The same truth holds good for all other oppressed people. The cooperative plan of buying, selling and producing has been tested in every country of Europe. Shipping, banking, mining, farming, factories, and wholesale businesses have been carried on by cooperative organizations. It is a democratic form of organization, in as much as each member has only one vote, regardless of the number of shares he owns, and the dividends are apportioned on a basis of purchases. Now, the cooperative business sells at the prevailing market price. If, for instance, eggs are selling at 98 cents a dozen, the cooperative store will sell eggs at the same price, but the members of the cooperative store will receive the profits made therefrom; in other words, the members of the cooperative store buy for and sell to themselves. They receive the profits which the private business man receives. The advantage consists in the privilege to buy at the same price at which the private business man buys.

Now, when the capital of a hundred families is organized, it has a great purchasing power. At present, the power is not employed in the interest of themselves, but in the interest of private business men. Think of the great economic power 15 million Negroes have! They must have food, shelter, and wear clothes, daily. Suppose they understood how to organize their purchasing power upon a cooperative basis which would enable them to buy for and sell to themselves! Gigantic enterprises could be established by them.

Individual Negro business men are of no especial consequence. They only profit from dealing in the necessities of the people. They, like the small white business man, are compelled to sell goods at the highest price in order to realize a reasonable profit. A small business man makes only a few sales, and consequently is compelled to charge as much as he can get for his goods in order to exist. A small business man is only a working man working for himself. The big business man, on the other hand, makes a large number of sales. He can afford to realize a small profit on each sale and then make millions of dollars. If the Standard Oil Company only received one per cent. on its investment, it would make hundreds of millions of dollars. But a small business man cannot exist on 20 per cent. on the investment. He must get 100 and 1,000 per cent. Of course, big business, holding a monopoly of necessities,

exact as high as 1,000 and 2,000 per cent. on its investment.

As yet, there is not a single Negro business that can be classified under the head of big business. And there will not be any carried on by private individuals. They cannot get the capital, because it is concentrated in the hands of a few great financial capitalists. Nor can small white business men become great capitalists. There is a weeding-out process going on which results in forcing the small middle class business man down into the ranks of the workers. Financial panics have wrecked more small business crafts than storms have ships.

The Negro's only salvation is in the cooperative movement. This will benefit the masses, not the classes. Besides, 14 million black consumers are far more important than a million black millionaires. The future Negro business genius must understand the technique of mobilizing capital of the masses for the benefit of the masses. He can only do this through the cooperative method. For full and complete detailed knowledge on the plan, send for literature to the Co-operative League of America, 2 West 13th St., New York City.

JACKSONVILLE NEGROES BOYCOTT BIG WHITE INSURANCE COMPANY

TO boycott a business is to refuse to patronize a business. An insult, high prices, poor service, or low wages paid to its employees, might occasion a boycott. In fact, anything which displeases the patrons of a business might cause them to boycott it. Organized labor employs it against employers who refuse to grant its demand. The Chinese have used it most effectively against the Americans, the Japanese, the British, all foreigners who seek to rob them of their rich natural resources, such as coal and iron.

It is a most powerful economic weapon because it causes business loss. It might result in completely bankrupting a business. It most generally forces the business to grant the demands of the patrons.

In Jacksonville, Florida, it is reported that 16,000 or more Negroes withdrew, in a body, from the white capitalist insurance companies, on the grounds that a white insurance agent was the leader of the mob that lynched two Negroes. Our hats off to the Negroes of Jacksonville! Here is a most striking and commendable case of intelligent and purposeful collective action. They, the Negroes, substituted an economic for a physical weapon. And it worked. In other words, they dealt the white, Bourbon, mobocratic capitalists a mortal blow in the **pocket book**. And they have driven their once arrogant, intolerant and autocratic white oppressors to the ropes, and the economic referee of profits—dollars and dividends—has counted them out.

We learn that the former Southern insurance barons are now on their knees, begging the Negroes to return. They are even employing

Negro insurance agents to lure the Negroes back into the companies. Think of it! White insurance companies in the mob-ridden South compelled to employ Negroes as agents. But that is not all. It has affected the conduct of white men towards Negroes. No longer do white insurance solicitors walk into the homes of Negroes with their hats on. And their salutations are: "Mr. and Mrs. A. and B." But the Negroes have been honey-fuggled, soft-soaped and deceived too long to be taken in by such a transparent hoax. They are not going back to the white capitalist insurance companies. They are organizing and maintaining their own. Such is the sound and correct thing to do. It is not a wise policy to supply your enemy with a club to beat you down with. And what can be a greater weapon in the hands of your enemy than your own hard dollars? With **your** dollars he sends **his** children to colleges, while yours are in the cotton fields. With your own dollars, he carries on propaganda to poison public opinion against you. Negroes must employ their collective money-power, mental,

muscle and moral power, in all parts of America, the West Indies and Africa, to improve their economic, political and social conditions. Negroes should withdraw from all of the insurance companies in the South and join their own. This will paralyze southern white business. This will force southern governors, mayors, chambers of commerce, bankers, brokers, wholesale merchants, all, to request the Negroes to state their demands, and the Jim-Crow car, disfranchisement and lynching will go a-flying. **For when race prejudice ceases to pay, it will be thrown aside.** The Southern white capitalist will allow nothing to stand in the way of his making profits, dollars, and dividends. When Southern and Northern business captains pull the strings, even Vardaman, Byrnes, and John Sharp Williams will stop yapping against Negroes, and they will certainly pull the strings when Negro-baiting becomes a liability. Negroes can make race prejudice a liability with the boycott.

Yes, even the "social equality" bogey will fade away before the economic boycott.

Education and Literature

A Bronzed God.

A STORY
BY
BERTUCCIO DANTINO.

I CAME into the open on the sandy shore of a beautiful little lake, surrounded by a forest of pine—a gem hidden in the depths of an unfrequented wood. The warm sunlight glowed on the surface of the water and over the summer verdure. The birds flitted across the scene or sang from their leafy bowers.

I sank on a grass-covered mound as a veritable giant of a Negro emerged from the woods near me and walked down to the water's edge. He stooped and thrust his hand into the water, then stepped back and proceeded to disrobe with great deliberation. The man had not seen me, and I made no move to acquaint him with my presence. At last he stood before me in a state of nudity, and I marvelled at the physical perfection displayed so unconsciously to my admiring gaze. I could see no blemish or imperfections in his magnificent form.

He drew himself up to his full height, raised his hands high and inhaled the pure, fresh air with a gusto that proclaimed perfect health. Slowly he turned around and viewed his surroundings without seeing me as I gazed at his noble figure in admiration. Slowly he waded into the lake until submerged to the waist. He laved his lithe body with the warm water for a moment, then plunged in, and swam with powerful strokes to about the middle of the tiny lake, where he paused a moment, then disported himself like a frisky porpoise at play, diving and rolling about in perfect abandon, swimming swiftly for a few yards, then repeating his play. I could but admire his superb demonstration of his strength and skill.

At last he turned and swam directly toward me, and as he came up on the beach he saw me for the first time. As he stood facing me a look of resentment came into his eyes, and he frowned ominously, with an exclamation of displeasure at my intrusion.

"Good morning," I said, as I arose and held out my hand in a cordial and friendly manner. He looked me

steadily in the eyes a moment, then he clasped my outstretched hand.

"How long have you been here?" he inquired in a not unfriendly tone.

"Long enough to witness your skill and your wonderful strength as a swimmer," I replied. I then introduced myself, and he told me his name. I had heard of him as a man of whom the planters, lumber kings and turpentine lords were mightily afraid. They said he knew too much and had too great an influence on the men and women of his race. I had heard threats of the terrible things that would happen to him if he did not cease spreading discontent among the Negroes, who were showing altogether too great a tendency to rebel against the intolerable conditions in the lumber and turpentine camps.

As he stood facing me, unabashed by his state of nudity, and returned my gaze unflinchingly, I realized that here was no ordinary man. Dark bronze in color, there was nothing displeasing about his features, and I saw that his intelligence was far above the average.

"I am really glad to meet you!" I exclaimed. "I have heard of you so often that I have wanted to have a chance to talk with you. I assure you that I have about banished what race prejudice they instilled into me during childhood, and I feel a kindly interest in your race and its many and vital problems."

"Of course, you have heard only evil tales about me?" said the man, as he smiled bitterly.

"Of course, the business men of the district have not been altogether complimentary in their remarks about you," I replied, "but that need make no difference. I prefer to judge character for myself. I never believe all I hear against any man, for I know what human prejudice is and what it is capable of. In my opinion, it matters not what a man's race or color is, if he is really a MAN!"

"Allow me to shake hands with you again!" he cried, as

he clasped my hand with such vigor that I had to struggle with myself to hide the effects from him. "If there were more men with such sentiments there would be fewer "Negro problems" to confront the world."

I reseated myself, and motioned him to follow my example, and he sank on the white sand, which only accentuated the rich bronze of his marvelous body.

"Tell me about yourself, your experiences and why you have created the antagonism that is expressed against you."

"Although my father and mother were common field hands, they were more than ordinarily intelligent, and the wrongs they saw and experienced every day rankled in their souls, and they rebelled against the injustice that was the common lot of Negroes. The discontented would steal to our cabin after nightfall, and their wrongs were discussed freely. As a boy, I was interested in what I heard and saw, and a great bitterness grew within me. Father and mother had laboriously learned to read and write, and they frequently came into possession of papers and magazines discarded by the whites, and they taught me. A white man came to work in the office of the corporation that owned the region, and he was a Socialist, which the bosses did not discover until he had fairly flooded the camps with his literature. When his work was learned he was mobbed, and, after he had been tarred and feathered, he was driven from the State. The bosses said that he had spread enough of his poison to ruin all of the Negroes in the country. I soon understood what they meant by ruining the Negroes. What the man had taught us would make us less servile slaves of the masters.

"Secretly I secured all the literature that I could that would teach me the truth about conditions and the wrongs that gripped this beautiful world, and made it a hell instead of a paradise it might be but for the inhumanity of man toward his fellows. I went from cabin to cabin after night had fallen, and I read to my people what I had found. The employers soon discovered that some secret influence was making my people more and more independent, and they set out to learn what the influence was."

"Did they find you out?" I asked.

"Yes, for there are men among my people who have not advanced enough yet to learn that what affects one of us affects all of us. I have been arrested many times, and attempts have been made to lynch me, but my race has stood by me, and the employers have realized that my violent death would be followed by an uprising that would overshadow anything yet experienced, and they have had to bide their time."

The man's face was aglow with enthusiasm as he continued.

"For thousands of years my race has been kept in ignorance and degradation. Involuntary slavery has been

forced upon us. We have been subjected to the most inhuman treatment, and it has been considered a virtue to still further degrade us. We have been denied the rights that are inherent in the human race. We have been derided, spat upon and lampooned. They have punished with uncommon severity those who have championed our cause and have tried to educate us. An educated Negro is called a dangerous one. They have segregated us as unclean and unfit to exist in civilized communities. They have lied about us and have debauched our women!

"They have forced our young men to become murderers to protect the commercial interests of the capitalists!"

Here he sprang to his feet with a wave of his massive arms, and exclaimed:

"Our muscles have produced their cotton crops. Our brawn has turned their forests into gold to fill their coffers! Our labor has helped to create their wealth, and we have forged the chains with which they have bound us! They now call us traitors, ingrates, fiends and everything vile because we have awakened to a sense of our own value in the scheme of things. They set their emissaries among us to corrupt our men and use them to crush white workers! They wheedle our ignorant ones into becoming a force to break the strikes of men who demand what is theirs!

"Look at me! I am a man! I have strength and courage! I have the same build as has the white man! The only difference is in the color of the skin and the racial difference in the formation and hair. Otherwise there is no vital difference."

As he stood before me I realized the truth of his assertions. He continued:

"The priests have stupefied our people with their lies and helped to keep them bound in the chains of servitude. The universal worship of Mammon led the world into an orgy of human butchery that has deluged the earth with the blood of humanity, and all for commercial reasons. BUT! the fiendish war that is not yet ended has ushered in the dawn of a great change! The toilers of the earth, white and black, red and yellow, have begun to claim their own. The erstwhile masters realize that their downfall is only a matter of a short time, and they are exerting every tyrannical and despotic means at their command to force us back into medieval servitude.

"Man is the only god! He is the only creator known to mankind. He has charted the heavens! He has harnessed the forces of nature! He alone recreates his kind. Man only is GOD! Man and womb-man, they two are as one, and that one the only Creator!"

His eyes aglow with enthusiasm, his great form a-quiver with animation, I realized that the man was indeed

A BRONZED GOD!

(To be continued)

A HYMN

We knelt before kings; we bent before lords;
For theirs were the crowns, and theirs were the
swords.
But the times of the bending and bowing are
past,
And the day of the people is dawning at last.

We cringed before gold, we deified wealth;
We laid on its altar the life and the health
Of manhood and womanhood, childhood and
youth;
But its lordship is doomed in this day of the
truth.

Great Day of Jehovah, prophets and seers
Have sung of thy coming thousands of years;
Thank God for each sign that the dark night is
past,
And the day of the people is dawning at last!

William P. Merrill.

YOUR HERITAGE

From Afric's sun-beaten jungles
 where truths and loves and hatreds
 walk naked as the inland beasts;
 where White Domination is unknown
 you come,—to What?
 To What?
 To these enlightened shores
 where the cold, dead torch of Liberty
 does not burn.
 To these shores where welcoming arms
 do not reach out.
 Here have you come where all men are free
 and equal—
 if they are White.
 Here have you come to revel in freedom
 and self determination—
 as long as you do not invade
 the white man's territory.

Everything is yours.
 Do we not allow you to be janitors in our public
 schools?
 Are you not permitted to rake the lawns before
 our temples?
 Do you not shine our shoes and serve our meals?
 Do you not ride in separate cars constructed for
 your benefit?
 Do you shiver in the cold north-wind?
 Go South.
 There, innumerable fires are prepared—
 for you.
 Is the South too warm?
 Come North.
 Here, the jails are cool.
 Truly, my black friends, you should lift your
 voices in song.

Frederick Falkenburg.

Who's Who

Dr. Durkee, President of Howard University

RECENTLY, Senator Reed Smooth of Utah tried to make a "tempest in a teapot" by stating that Red literature was found in Howard University. The incident grew out of the "discovery" in the Howard University Library of a book on Russia and the Soviets, by Albert Rhys Williams, personal representative of President Wilson, who sent him to Russia to get the facts. Upon calling the facts to his attention, Dr. Durkee, President of Howard University, Washington, D. C., said: "This is the first time that I have seen or read the pamphlet. I heartily agree that such false statements should not have circulation. The pamphlet should be suppressed by the government. I am surprised to learn that it has not been suppressed. I have instantly withdrawn these copies from our library."

This is the type of statement which the President of the greatest Negro university in the world makes regarding scientific history. This is the conception of free speech held by an alleged educator. This is the estimate of the power of discretion in the Negro college, young men and women. Without first discussing here the merits or demerits of the book, is it possible that all literature is to be excluded from Negro schools with which some old super-annuated capitalist white minister disagrees? Is it the policy of education to regard the teaching of historic institutions as the advocacy of those institutions? For instance, we study the Turkish government, but it does not follow that we shall

adopt the system of Turkey. We studied the government of the old Russia of the Czar, but we did not advise its adoption. We study the Mormon institution of polygamy in Utah, but we do not urge the polygamic domestic life. We even study the government (or misgovernment) of Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, but the Negro students of Howard have brains enough to know that the pseudo-government of the Southern States is not the type of government which they desire. Enough for the principles of education in the study of history. What about the factual side?

Well, a little study on the part of Dr. Durkee would have revealed that the book by Albert Rhys Williams is a calm, dispassionate, scholarly, descriptive presentation of what is taking place and what has taken place in Russia since the Bolsheviki came into power. A more extensive study would have shown that what Mr. Williams has presented in his book has been corroborated by such disinterested and scholarly characters as Colonel Raymond Robbins of the Red Cross Mission, Colonel Boyce Thompson, a Wall Street millionaire copper king, Major Thatcher and Mr. William C. Bullitt, all picked men, friends of the President, opposed to the policy of the Bolsheviki, but appreciating the necessity of representing a thing as it is. We advise all the students of Howard to get the Soviets by Albert Rhys Williams. **Send ten cents to the Rand School Book Store, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.** Read it and be informed on the greatest

event since the French Revolution and the Civil War—the Russian Revolution.

Do not be in the least concerned by the position of Dr. Durkee. He is simply the capitalist tool and megaphone of the university. He has to echo what he is told, just as the other college presidents do. He is paid by the government and the capitalist contributors to Howard University. They will put him out just as quickly as they would Emmet Scott, Robert Russa Moton or a president of a white university. **The power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will.** This rule applies to Dr. Durkee as much as to anybody else. As an educator (assuming that he is) he knows that the facts of the Russian Revolution should be taught to all the history classes at Howard. As an educator, he

knows that the statements in Mr. Williams' book are not false. As an enlightened student of the principles of academic freedom, he knows the book ought not be suppressed, **even if the statements therein were false!** Is The Clansman by Thomas Dixon in the Howard Library? What about suppressing that, Dr. Durkee? Do any of the Washington daily papers enter the library, such as the Post, Herald, and Times? Surely, Dr. Durkee appreciates that these papers are infested with lies! Would he urge their suppression? Except for knowing the obstacles by which his lips are sealed, his hands chained, his feet tied, his voice gagged, and his thought and expression enthralled, we might properly ask the question—Is Dr. Durkee really educated?

The Trend of the Times

PICKENS

Pickens congratulates The Messenger upon dropping its sub-title—"The Only Radical Negro Magazine in America." In return, we want to congratulate Dean William Pickens upon dropping the buck and wing oratory and the comedian style of lecturing at the Urban League meeting, Jan. 18th.

Dame Rumor has it that the N. A. A. C. P. considered the Messenger's criticism of Dean Pickens' clownalogue oratory upon selecting him as Associate Field Secretary, and will expect and exact of him dignified presentation whenever representing the organization. After all, the Messenger may be able to make something out of the Dean! We have gotten him out of the country; we shall now try very hard to polish him up and get the country out of Pickens.

The Messenger dropped its sub-title for two reasons: First, because its education had produced another radical Negro magazine—the Crusader; secondly, because its writing was recognized as so scientific and generally interesting that it applies to all races, as shown by its more than ten thousand white readers.

Kentucky Governor Employs Militia to Defend Negro from Mob—Bullets Stop Charge to Get Negro Prisoner—Lexington, Ky., Now Under Martial Law.—Headlines.

We have always held that these militia's bullets would stop the charge of any mob. A few more militias actually firing and repelling Southern mobs will make even Georgia and Texas as safe as Russia under the rule of the Bolsheviks. Moreover, the Governor took this action in response to the spirit of the Negro to fight back. He knew that unless militia stopped the mob, the Negroes would. We want to suggest to the Governor, however, not to allow Negroes to be legally lynched after they are saved from the mob. This happened, you know, in Arkansas.

LINCOLN REPUBLICAN LEAGUE

The fraud of Lincoln still persists! This time we find a clique of discredited Negro politicians and would-be job seekers hibernating, under the aegis of Governor Lowden, to Chicago, Illinois, to boom his boost and boost his boom. This is the same Governor Lowden who winked at, connived at, and still holds in the penitentiary, Dr. Leroy Bundy of East St. Louis, because he simply acted in self defense when mobocrats were slaying Negroes, burning down their property and howling for his blood. We warn Negroes against Governor Lowden and against the Lincoln League. This Lincoln League is a capitalist tool composed largely of either hat-in-hand or ignorant Negroes seeking jobs and slush funds. This Lincoln League is a veritable Trojan Horse. We know, of course, that there are some respectable Negroes in the League, who have been innocently deceived by the charlatans and political parasites.

HOOVER BOOM

The Messenger hopes that the Hoover boom will not go as high as the prices of food which he so successfully boosted. After examining him we find Hoover no different from any other capitalist lackey presidential **possi-probability**. The packers would be the chief beneficiaries of Hoover's administration as President, just as they were under his administration as Food Price Accelerator. His fake and hypocritical program of feeding children in Central Europe is calculated to divert attention from the starving children in America, where he wants the votes. The Messenger expects to do its bit in puncturing the Hoover balloon, before it sails as high as the cost of living under Hoover's hoisting of food prices dictatorship.

THE GRAHAM-STERLING SEDITION BILL

THE Graham-Sterling Sedition Bills are dead. They aimed to kill liberty, but instead, they served to awaken the American people to the despotic attempt at rape of their rights. These bills had two objects in view: First, to gag and shut up labor's voice, and, secondly, to stop the new education, with its promise of actual emancipation, from getting to the sleeping giant of American—the Negro.

The N. A. A. C. P., by sending out a corrected and proper release, due to a suggestion from the Messenger staff, got practically every Negro newspaper in the country to write an editorial against the bill. On the morning of January 7, 1920, the N. A. A. C. P. sent out the following release:

ANTI-RED BILL BLOW AT LYNCHING

Apparently Directed at South

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 70 Fifth avenue, New York, today published a statement suggesting that the Sedition Bill introduced by Representative Graham of Pennsylvania would make lynching a Federal crime.

"The section making it a felony, with 20 years' imprisonment for inciting forcible resistance to the laws of the Federal Government and the individual States," says the statement, "would bring lynchers who defy law and constituted authority under Federal jurisdiction."

Immediately after receipt of this release, the Messenger sent this special delivery to the Chairman of the Executive Board of the N. A. A. C. P.:

Dear Miss Ovington:

The release of the N. A. A. C. P. for January 7, relative to the Graham Sedition Bill, is both surprising and astounding to us. Under the color of some wit and satire, directed at lynching, you imply that the bill has your approval because it might apply, under some strained interpretation, to Federal intervention against lynching.

Now, it seems very plain to us that the bill is very largely directed against those who protest against lynching. It is a deliberate, thinly screened attack against free speech, press and assemblage. The very report which preceded it, with an appendix and brief on radicalism and sedition among Negroes, should be sufficient to put those of us who are fighting the Negroes' cause upon very vigilant guard.

We wish to urge very strongly that the N. A. A. C. P. make it perfectly clear that that bill does not have its endorsement, on the ground that it would be possible to get at lynchers under it. Moreover, we do not need to make such a stretch. Under the law at present lynching is murder, and all those who take part, giving aid and comfort, are conspirators, who are equally guilty with those who perform the overt act.

Trusting that this release misrepresents the N. A. A. C. P., we are

THE MESSENGER PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
Chandler Owen, Secretary.

Mr. Herbert Seligman responded explaining that the release was sent out to make the bill unpopular and that under no circumstances could the N. A. A. C. P. approve of the bill. Thereupon, Mr. James Weldon Johnson sent out a first class release which most Negro readers have already seen.

We commend the N. A. A. C. P. upon making its position clear, and the Negro newspapers upon awaking to the menace of attempts to crush free speech among any group.

THE CALL FOR A NEW ORGANIZATION

FOR many months we have been besieged by colored and white people relative to our work with letters and verbal inquiries from colporters forming a new organization—national and international—which would function more effectively in the Negro's interest than any which he now possesses. Of recent date, Negroes of prominence, and plain, hard-working, sincere followers have asked why we did not form an organization to carry out our ideas, principles and policies. In other words, they want to be helping constantly this program of the New Crowd Negro. Within the last sixty days many such inquiries and requests have come from New York, Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, Kansas City, Louisville, Indianapolis, Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and in the South, large numbers from Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Newport News, Atlanta, Savannah, Jacksonville, Montgomery, Birmingham, New Orleans, Charleston, Columbia, Raleigh, Durham, Winston-Salem, Petersburg, Lynchburg, Houston and Little Rock. These are all big cities where from one hundred to four thousand Messengers are sold monthly, and where the people have been awakened to the Negro problem from a different angle and are viewing its solution in a new way.

What is our answer to them? And what do we propose?

1. We believe that the demand for a new organization is timely and imperative, and we have agreed to take the initiative in forming it.

2. We propose to call a convention for that purpose on or about the 24th of May in Washington, D. C.

3. The organization should be international in scope, including the Haitians, West Indians, South Americans and Africans.

4. Names may be proposed at the convention, which will have full power to adopt whatever one it chooses. We propose: "**The Friends of Negro Freedom.**"

5. Economic, political, civil, social and intellectual freedom will be the program.

6. The methods for achieving them will be new to Negro organizations and we believe more effective and quicker.

(N. B. All measures, policies and methods will be strictly lawful.)

7. While the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be the only similar organization in the country, it is not our intention to enter into captious or vituperative criticism of it and its work, but rather to take up where they leave off, on the one hand, and to begin where they have never begun, on the other. Special articles will follow in the succeeding issues explaining the difficulties by which the N. A. A. C. P. is hampered, and why it cannot function freely for the advancement of colored people.

We wish to say, however, that we have never known of any corruption in the handling of funds on the part of the N. A. A. C. P., nor has

there been pronounced **ignorance**, if error or mistake, in its leadership.

8. In speaking of the **New Crowd Negro**, we do not refer to age, but to point of view. There are young Negroes with the **Old Crowd** point of view, and older Negroes with the **New Crowd** point of view.

MESSENGER EDITORS RECEIVE OVATION

Crowds of both races come out everywhere.

From Dec. 27th, 1919, to Jan. 4th, 1920, Chandler Owen delivered a course of lectures at the Boston School of Social Science in Tremont Temple. He was introduced by Prof. H. W. L. Dana, former professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University.

On December 20th, 1919, O. Philip Randolph was the chief speaker at the American Negro Academy in the Lincoln Congregational Church, Washington, D. C. He spoke on "**The Negro and the New Radiacalism.**" Archibald H. Grimke presided.

On Jan. 20th, both Randolph and Owen spoke at the John Wesley Church, Washington, D. C., on "**The New Education.**" Neval H. Thomas presided.

In Detroit, the editors of the Messenger spoke before the **Labor Forum**, the Labor Lyceum, the Episcopal Church of Rev. Bagnall, a banquet at the Crisis Cafe, a group of Detroit's white teachers, and the Bethel A. M. E. Church on the following subjects: **The Americanism of Tomorrow, The New Education, The New Emancipation, Socialism and the Negro, The Negro and the New Social Order.**

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

White juror dipped in mud at Monroe, Louisiana, to secure his decision in verdict of guilty of murder in first degree against accused Negro, of whose innocence juror was convinced.

America is planning intervention in Mexico supposedly to establish law and order. The Messenger suggests that the army sojourn awhile in Louisiana, Texas, Georgia, et als., before going to Mexico to bring back some democracy from that democratic country. We would not like to see any democracy carried away from America anyhow, because we haven't got much here. Besides, ours is a very shoddy product, of very questionable quality, which wont bear international comparison.

THE CENTRALIA TRIAL

Minions of autocracy still busy trying to destroy the most genuine working class organization in America—the Industrial Workers of the World.

Self defense is the recognized law of every country in the world. The law ought to apply to the un-American American Legion, and it is admitted by the Coroner's Jury that the Legion paraders, and not the Industrial Workers, were the aggressors.

GOMPERS TO REWARD FRIENDS AND PUNISH ENEMIES

We think Gompers has been doing this all along—that is, **his friends**. Labor, however, must demand that its (Labor's, not Gompers') friends be rewarded and that **its** (not Gompers') enemies be punished. We would admonish labor to regard labor as labor's only friend, and Gompers and his friends as **labor's** only enemy.

The Open Forum

THE FEAR OF RADICALISM DRIVES SOUTHERN BOURBONS TO PROPOSE TO GIVE JUSTICE TO THE NEGRO

WHAT humanity, religion, righteousness, and reason, and the guarantees of the Constitution and Federal laws, all failed to do, the fear of radicalism has done, and a few of the Southern Bourbon Democrats suddenly by the light of that fear, see a new idea of "law and order." Governor H. H. Roberts of Tennessee, the State that by statute disfranchised the civil, Spanish and other war veterans in the National Soldiers' Home in that State, has made partial confession of his sins. He lately said at a public banquet: "No Negro, or white person either, for that matter, should have his life taken at the hands of the mob. The Negro is entitled to indictment by Grand Jury, trial before a just judge and twelve unprejudiced jurymen."

He didn't specify that that jury will be white, and a Southern white that is unprejudiced is about as common as white blackbirds. These Democratic "law and order" Bourbons have fostered mobs and other anarchistic methods under the camouflage of "law and order," but now they are scared that the Negro will become infected with Socialism, etc., they propose to tie the Negro to the capitalist band wagon by granting him what the law has all along guaranteed, only their lawlessness and anarchy and mob rule have nullified by State enactments contravening the Constitution and the Federal laws.

Governor Roberts called the granting of the franchise to the Negro, "**The greatest blunder in the history of our country.**" No doubt it's a blunder he would, with the rest of his fellow Bourbons, prefer to repeal if he could. But that remark was only "an anchor cast to windward," or sop to the old guard Bourbons. He spoke of

the Negro leaders and how they had called them into council, etc., and of course that kind that have been accepted as leaders are the "me too, boss" with hat in hand and subservient obedience attitude. The Governor was troubled with the ideas of the naughty radicals that public utilities should be made public rather than private property, and the danger of those ideas being accepted by the Negro, and inspired by that fear he said: "We must give him justice in our courts." That was a confession that he had not had justice, and the word **must** shows that it's not desire nor will, nor inclination, but the necessity, that if they do not, the Negro will listen to the voice of the radical and Socialist, and his eyes will be opened and he will understand the system that enables a few to dominate and rob the many of the fruits of their labor, and this grudgingly given favor of granted justice and pretense of friendship is forced from them because they fear the Negro will discover who his real friends are, and that as a working man he belongs among working men who also know that all working men's interests are one and who welcome the Negro as a brother and comrade.

Governor Roberts, without knowing it, made the best propaganda speech for Socialism possible. If the fear that the Negro will turn to Socialism brought a Democratic Governor of a Southern State to propose to give justice to the Negro, what will be the effect if the Negro accepts Socialism? He will be offered all kinds of candy and promises, etc., etc., but let him remember who is offering the gifts! "Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts."

Myself, as a white man, say to my Negro fellow citizens and brothers and comrades, the old well-known words, "They who would be free, themselves must strike the blow." Your fawning leaders who counsel with those whose fear forces them to confess their sins, are servile traitors to their race and class. Become class conscious and unite with the organization of your own class where no race, sex, or color distinctions are recognized. Cease to be petitioners and demand your rights, and Socialism is the only organization where they are and will be recognized and not be simply doled out to you in fragments as a bribe to remain servile tools to be exploited. Cease to be servile hat-in-hand-"me-too-boss" tools, but act as freemen who, knowing your rights, propose to take them and accept no gifts or bribes from your privileged masters.

Geo. D. Coleman.

February 9, 1920.

Editor of "Messenger."

My dear Sir:—Would you kindly send to my address, the February issue of your publication. We have been very interested in your very courageous and forward looking magazine, and wish to express our very best wishes for its success.

Our hearts are with you in your brave struggle for justice to your race.

Cordially and fraternally,

Theodore Debs.

WANTS NEW ORGANIZATION

Gentlemen:

First, I want to speak a word of praise for your publication, The Messenger.

Second, I want to suggest that with men such as Monroe Trotter, William N. Colson, yourselves and others who are as radical, WHY NOT build up an association with a paid membership that will have a branch in all principal cities in a similar manner as the National Association for The Advancement of Colored People?

The difference in the scope of the association you should form would lay in the fact that **SOME CONCRETE BENEFIT** (as well as abstract) **SHOULD INURE TO THE BENEFIT OF THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBER.** That is, for his or her paid membership (the price of which could be made in keeping with the service to be had) a member could expect a certain legal and bonding service protection, as well as having a central organization before which any matter of race interest could be placed. I think that "minute men" could be trained to appear before the churches, lodges and other places where Negro people congregate—to acquaint them with any matter regarding which they should be interested and similar men could be had who would investigate any racial injustice in each city where a branch is located, and these men would receive recognition because they would represent a National organized body and not merely individual curiosity seekers. I think our police courts should be regularly attended by those who would see that not only our members, but no member of the race is "railroaded" before these courts.

I particularly liked your editorial "How to stop lynching," and I think that if you had a National Organization, under the training of a man such as Colson, we could even develop a Safety First Division that would adopt your "physical force" method, if necessary. If the whites have their Ku Klux Klan, why not us have some similar Klan for self defense?

Now, you will note I suggest an association offering the members some tangible benefit or protection. It is the absence of a definite benefit that causes the small Negro to be so reluctant in giving his dollars to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. While this Association has accomplished a great result, yet its problems are generally big, abstract problems and are of general racial interest, instead of direct interest to any particular member and there are many of us "little fellows" so narrow, that if we can't see that we are offered some direct service, we don't feel justified in giving up our dollars. This is due largely to the fact that the local officers of the branches of the N. A. A. C. P. are largely made up of the "old school" of successful Negroes; they are largely men who have been successful because they are "in right" with some particular set or group of white men and it is only when a riot occurs that they are made to realize that they are Negroes along with the "little Negroes" who are yet blacking boots and washing windows.

As long as the white man will let them, they stand aloof from the small Negro and usually are the first to point out the weakness of the little fellow. Their idea seems to be that if some small fellow gets in bad, he should be cast to the dogs and not offered even a just protection. I have even had white people to tell me that good Negroes could not afford to offer any protection or assistance to bad Negroes, but the trouble with this standpoint, as I see it, is these same white people do not differentiate when they want to start their hellishness. They lynch and riot among good and bad Negroes alike, hence I think we should build up an organization with the motto:

"AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL."

Respectfully yours,

C. A. Gates.

DEPORTATION OF HINDU POLITICAL REFUGEES

WHETHER the traditional policy of America to give shelter to political refugees is to be maintained hinges on the question of the Hindu revolutionists threatened with deportation.

The Hindu politicals came to this country to enlighten and educate the public mind of this land about the intolerable miseries and sufferings, oppression and outrages, persecution and prosecution that are being perpetrated upon the people of India by a government which has more than once threatened the very existence of this great republic.

India is governed by an autocratic bureaucracy maintained by a military force. Fifty per cent. of the entire revenue of India is spent for militarism, while even the so-called modern imperialistic Japan does not spend over fifteen per cent. The people are heavily taxed, ranging from 25 to 75 per cent. One hundred and sixty years of English rule has reduced the people's per capita annual income to \$9.50, or in other words, with 1¼ cents a day they are required to buy food and all necessities of life. Since the English rule, famine has been chronic in that land of wealth which inspired Columbus for exploration. Thirty-two million people, one-third of the population of America, died of starvation in one year in India. While the people cry for food, the English government exports wheat and rice to England for the maintenance of the English army and the manufacture of liquor to keep Europe intoxicated.

Heavy taxation and autocratic administration has driven the people to desperation. When last April the unarmed people rose in "bloodless" revolt, innocent men, women and children were bombed from aeroplanes, mowed down by machine guns, annihilated by armored cars, bayonets and bullets.

Freedom of thought, speech, press and assemblage has been taken away and martial law in time of peace has been established. The privilege of jury trial or of any legal defence no longer exists. The Rowlatt Bills which were enacted to stop voicing sentiment against En-

glish government and its officials in spite of the united protest of all classes of India people, have kindled a fire of resentment and discontent in the hearts of the people which is manifested into the organized revolution.

The workers for India's independence believe that economic readjustment of the world to secure harmony and concert among the nations cannot be made possible until and unless the menacing English capitalistic imperialism is crushed forever and India is free and independent.

Realizing the importance of America in world-politics, the Hindu revolutionists had been spreading the truth about India and their stand for India's complete independence. With what result?

They were trapped into a machination and charged with purely political offenses before America entered the European War. Seventeen Hindus were tried in the famous case in San Francisco—known as the Hindu Case to Overthrow British Rule in India. The case lasted nearly a year, from March, 1917, to April, 1918. They were convicted and sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from four to twenty-two months.

It was alleged that the Hindus conspired to ship arms and ammunition to India, thereby violating the neutrality laws. It must be remembered that many of the belligerents in the last war did that very thing to carry on devastation in Europe, and it had been held legal according to international law and usage.

The helpless Hindus sought nothing but justice in American courts and after the trial by a prejudicial judge and jury was over, they found themselves within the prison walls. India's freedom was tried at the American bar to the disadvantage of freedom-loving Hindus. Financial difficulties did not permit them to take the decision of the lower courts to the higher courts. It was revealed by the San Francisco Chronicle that the British government spent over \$2,500,000 to convict the Hindus. British secret service men, under the leadership of Denham and British Consul Carnegie Ross of San Francisco, helped the United States Department of Justice. In fact, almost all the witnesses to testify against the Hindus were British subjects brought from British territories. A glance over the transcript will convince anyone how the testimonies had been manufactured.

The Hindus come from every walk of life—educators, writers and workers. One of the Hindus facing deportation—Gopal Singh, who served a sentence of one year and a day—writes to the Friends of Freedom for India thus:

"Remembering the traditions and principles for which the American people have stood, I came to this country to present the case of India. At the hands of British imperialism India is undergoing unprecedented and unparalleled suffering, misery and oppression. My aim has been to arouse the consciousness of America to this important question. In doing so, I have been trapped through the machinations of British propaganda in this country. I have served one year and one day in the Federal prison at

McNeil's Island, Washington. I am now held in bail of \$1,000 for deportation. If I am deported I shall meet the same fate as some of my co-workers for the cause of India's independence. May I not express my hearty thanks with a sense of gratefulness for all that you are doing for me and my country? I do not fear suffering, because I know that many must suffer that suffering may be removed."

It speaks very clearly of the aims and purposes for which they came to this country.

There are five of the Hindus threatened with deportation—Bhagwan Singh, lecturer and poet and a leading revolutionist, is held on excessive bail of \$10,000; Santokh Singh, organizer of the Hindustan Gadar Party; Gopal Singh, student; G. B. Lal, M. A., from the Punjab University and post-graduate student of the University of California; Dharendra Sarkar, chemist and a business man. Besides these Tarknath Das, a naturalized American citizen, lecturer and author, M. A. from the University of Washington, is threatened with revocation of his citizenship papers.

After they have served their sentences, or in other words, have paid the penalty for loving their own country and making an effort to right the wrongs brought about by the English, they are held for deportation by the American immigration authorities on the grounds of being "likely to become public charges" and "moral turpitude." "Public charge" is because of the fact that they were given food in the penitentiary maintained by the state and nation; and to free one's own country is a criminal offense involving "moral turpitude."

The Department of Labor and Immigration has taken the wand to decide the fate of these noble and high-souled Hindus. If they are deported to India they are sure to meet the fate of execution or transportation for life in the marshy islands of the Andamans in the Bay of Bengal. The Hindus will be summarily tried by a court-martial without a jury and privilege of legal defense on the charges of treason to wage war against His Majesty King George V. of England. The penalty of treason is forfeiture of life and property.

The question, therefore, to the American public is this: Will the American public, who sent its youth to shed its precious blood to make the world safe for democracy and establish righteousness among the nations, stain its hand with the blood of Hindu martyrs who are struggling to make one-fifth of the human race free and independent? The answer must be written in protest and condemnation of the action instigated by the British agents.

SURENDRA KARR,
of Friends of Freedom for India.

THOUGHTS THAT COME TO ME

By GEORGE C. BARTLETT

I VOTED for Wilson, as did four hundred thousand Socialists because he kept us out of the war, and by his utterances were led to believe he would continue to do so. After his declaring war I felt as though we had been betrayed. And I feel so now! All wars are caused by the leaders—those in office, if left to the people there would be no war—they are conscripted, not consulted, whether the country be Germany or America. I don't believe that the next generation will think it was a very noble act for this country to declare war on Germany at the suggestion of the Allies. Both armies were about exhausted and if the United States with its millions of men and billions of dollars were to attack either side of course the U. S. would be sure to win—and it did—but was it a courageous or righteous thing to do? One would suppose from the attitude of many people that Germany declared war on the U. S. instead of the U. S. declaring war on Germany, our going to war I think the greatest mistake of the century! Never was there a more outrageous injustice than the Allies war on Russia, Russia who fought and bled for them a few months before. The government leaders in the U. S. and European countries are afraid that if the Soviet government of Russia should prove a success, it would induce other nations to adopt the same. Ay! there's the rub! I would say all nations should help Russia make a success of the working man's government, the Soviet; not fight her, but help her! I doubt if there is a King, Emperor or President with a kinder heart than Debs—and Debs is in jail. I doubt if there is a Queen, Emperor's wife, or President's wife that is superior intellectually to Emma Goldman. Did you ever hear her speak? She can in several languages. Ever hear her lecture on The Modern Drama? Those who jail her do not know her. In the future will she be canonized and a monument build to perpetuate her good deeds, as was done to Bruno and Joan of Arc. Is not a change in government sometimes an improvement? Is not a Republic an improvement on Monarchy? Is it not possible that Russia, if let alone, might work out through her sufferings the best government on earth? Who knows? Perfection in government has not yet been accomplished. I believe all agitators and extremists are honest, from Jesus who was crucified, to John Brown, who was hung. Men great and small have different viewpoints, and the strong should not jail the weaker. Let us educate, not persecute. Absolute free speech should be allowed—raids and mobs will never quench an ideal.

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