

REPLY TO CONGRESSMAN BYRNES



OCTOBER, 1919

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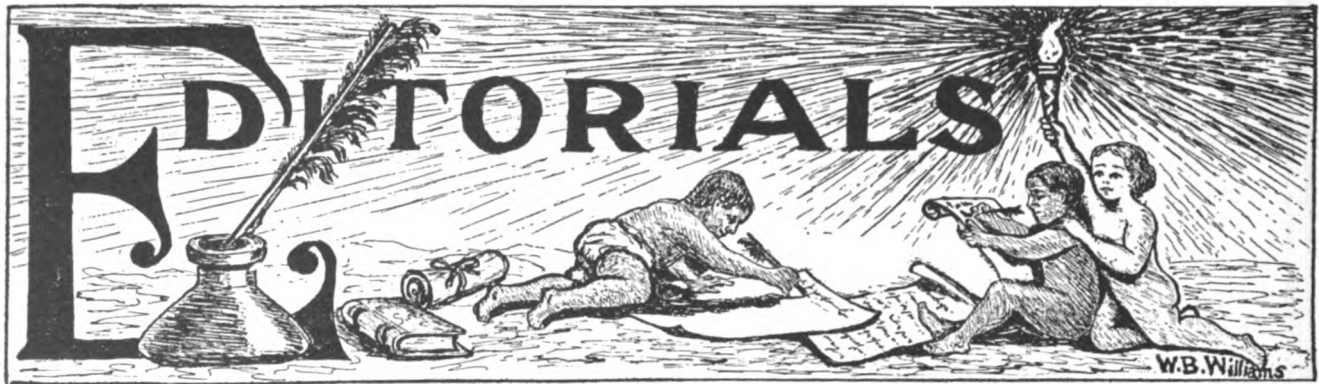
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RACIAL EQUALITY

RACES are equal. They are equal in mind. They are equal in body. They are equal in moral and ethical standards. There is probably no bogey more pernicious or more false than the claim of racial inequality. Professor Lester F. Ward has discussed at great length the egalitarian theory of mind, both in his *Dynamic and Applied Sociology*. He there shows the chief differences in men to be differences in opportunity. The truth of this theory may be demonstrated to any one who will observe sufficiently carefully. Especially easy is it to examine the competition between white and colored races. In "Applied Sociology" Lester Ward, undoubtedly the ablest thinker of America and probably of the world, notes that the Japanese are the equals of any people in the world as scientists. In botany and biology they have proved their worth. In political science and economics they have held their own.

So with the Negro. He conforms to the monistic rule. Like causes produce like effects as well in the social as in the physical world. Given opportunity, the young Negro man or woman uses it about like the young white man or woman. In a large class, at a college, you will find a small percentage of bright Negroes and only a small percentage of whites in the white colleges. You will find a fair number of good speakers among the whites and only a fair number among Negroes. Those of us who see Negroes in deliberative bodies are sometimes disgusted. Attend the white deliberative bodies, and your disgust will go to the "nth" power again. You can even become nauseated in the Congress of the United States. It is hard to find a scholar in either the Senate or the House. It is most difficult to find a man in Congress who knows anything about government. Political science is a foreign subject to most men elected to Congress. They are not there to know political science and to look after the government of the people in the interests of the people. The average southern white man speaks derisively of Negroes who took part in the Government of southern states during the Reconstruction following the Civil War. But in all candor, and impartiality, we make the statement without fear of successful contradiction that the average Negro in Congress during the Reconstruction was the equal of, if not superior to, the average Congress-

man or United States Senator from any of the Southern states today. Indeed, it would be difficult to find a more ignorant group of men than the Southern Congressmen who infest our capital.

Physically, the races are equal. Where the living conditions are about the same, we find a similar death rate, whatever the race or color. Negroes who receive high incomes live to about the same length of time as whites who receive similar income. Where poverty prevails, whites die like flies, and Negroes die like flies. It is sometimes said that tuberculosis is a disease which especially affects Negroes. No scientist would seriously maintain such a claim. The only reason Negroes die more than others from tuberculosis is because they are in greater poverty. This means that they get less food, clothing, and shelter, and in as much as food and clothing and shelter are the chief weapons of defense against disease, tuberculosis simply claims more victims in the field which is most fertile for it.

The moral and ethical standards of Negroes are quite as high as those of whites. Their psychic traits are quite similar too. Unbounded applause in meetings is a mark of mediocre mind—not innate mind, but low mental equipment. Both white and colored people in the United States have low mental equipment. Attend any meeting where large groups are present—whether they be white or black—and you will hear them cheer almost every utterance of the speakers. Again, both Negroes and whites are too addicted to fun. The low grade mind of the average white for pleasure can be read in the fact that Charlie Chaplin is the highest paid man in the world. With Negroes the minstrel and the clown still take precedence on the stage. Both whites and blacks still place a fortune in the ground when somebody dies. They are long on inspiration and short on information. They have more heat than light.

These are just a few illustrations of what might be extended into a volume. But a careful examination will reveal the uniformity of human nature, the equality of mind among races. It is a wholesome idea also to disseminate, as it removes a great deal of racial egotism, conceit and arrogance. It makes for harmony. It destroys the boastful, super-assertiveness which works against the brotherhood of man. Racial equality is an established fact.

LAW AND ORDER

WHENEVER property rights are menaced by human rights, the city of law and order is forthwith raised. For instance, when a strike for more wages by a group of workers leads them to the use of picketing in order to prevent strike breakers from replacing them, the employers call upon the police force to maintain law and order. It is obvious, therefore, that the social value of law and order depends entirely upon the question of in whose interest law and order is invoked or maintained. From the point of view of the bankers of Paris, who loaned three billions to the Czar of Russia which has been repudiated by the Bolsheviki, Russia is in need of law and order of the capitalist brand. The law and order of Archduke Joseph of Hungary is endorsed by the Allied powers, whereas the law and order of Bela Kun was condemned. The bloody Kolchak of Omsk has been supported by the Allies on the ground that he will establish law and order in Russia. The Klu Klux Klan was organized to maintain law and order, after a fashion, in the South.

In the name of law and order freedom of speech, the press and assemblage has been destroyed, and thousands of men and women have been jailed on account of their economic beliefs. Law and order does not necessarily mean and imply freedom and justice. It is not at all sufficient to have law and order. Slavery was maintained for 250 years in America under a condition of law and order. The Constitution, Congress and the Supreme Court sanctioned its existence. According to the dictates of law and order, ten million men have been killed and twenty million wounded in the world war just ended.

Thus labor is justified in suspecting that law and order, which is so vehemently supported by capital. For it will be remembered that the march of progress has been chiefly marked by a disregard of the law and order of every age. The French Revolution came against the law and order of Feudalism. American independence was won despite the law and order of Great Britain. So was the Civil War waged against the law and order of slavery.

Hence the history of the fall of law and order is the history of the overthrow of tyranny, injustice and wrong.

CONGRESSMAN RAGSDALE

IMMEDIATELY the Washington riots ended, it was reported that Congressman Ragsdale had died from "heart failure." Congressman Ragsdale, by the way, was the colleague of Congressman Byrnes, who vented his spleen in Congress upon Negro radicals in general, and *The Messenger* in particular.

Interesting speculations have been made as to the coincidence—the termination of the riot and Ragsdale. Strange rumors are afloat to the effect that he was unsuccessful as a leader of riots, and that his heart failure was no different from that of others who fell in the conflict.

Besides, in view of the custom of Congress, in the event of the death of one of its members, one won-

ders why Congress did not adjourn out of respect for Congressman Ragsdale. Of course, one can readily see how Congress could not afford to sanction, condone and endorse lawlessness, disorder and murder by adjourning out of respect to one of its members, if it is established that he was a *particeps criminis*.

"BULLITT" SHOOTS A BULLET

WHEN W. C. Bullitt, one of the President's special Committee to consider peace terms with Russia, appeared before the foreign relations committee of the Senate, he made some startling revelations. He revealed that the Russian Government had made all reasonable advances to conclude a just peace. Russia even made some compromises and due concessions which we think she should not have made, such as the agreement to pay the foreign debt. Characteristic of his bigotry, however, and his chronic ignorance of the problems of government, President Wilson rejected Bullitt's report and threw it into the waste basket, just as he threw into the waste basket the painstaking and scholarly report on Russia, by Colonel Raymond Robins. The facts did not square with Woodrow Wilson's wishes. The investigation of Bullitt, Lincoln Steffens and Walter E. Weyl did not confirm Wilson's preconceived notions about Russian democracy.

Notwithstanding the fact that all of the above named men are able scholars and students of political science, compared with whom President Wilson is an intellectual lilliputian, the President preferred to stand by the opinion which he had already formed. Why appoint a commission at all? Why go to Europe even to confer at the Peace Conference, if Wilson's unbounded egotism embraces a self-sufficiency of knowledge already!

Now William C. Bullitt exposes the President as being a verbal advocate of open diplomacy, but an actual practitioner of the worst form of old school, backstairs, Bismarcho-Metternichian diplomacy. By the way, was it Trotsky who said that Woodrow Wilson was the arch-hypocrite of Christendom? And we thought Trotsky was misrepresenting our executive! But it is hard to fool the Russians!

What is the matter with the American Government that it cannot stop the President from carrying on a private war with public money? Why does not Congress withhold the funds? Why not impeach the President? No greater breach of faith, no more monstrous usurpation of authority, no more autocratic and dictatorial power was ever assumed by any despot or tyrant since the middle ages. Bring the troops home. Bring every man out of Russia at once. Stop sending guns and munitions to the Czarists and counter-revolutionists. Leave the Russian people alone. Let them determine the kind of government under which they desire to live. That is all they ask and it is a just demand.

We are indebted to W. C. Bullitt for his honesty and his courage. Even though opposed to radicalism, he has the intelligence to know the importance of representing the thing as it is. While we don't like to pun very often, Bullitt really shot a bullet which has put the President to flight.

THE FAILURE OF THE NEGRO CHURCH

YES, the Negro church has failed. It has failed in a great crisis. Its failure is patent and apparent. The only question before us then is: Why and How?

The chief cause of the failure of the Negro church is economic. That is to say, the church has been converted into a business, and the ruling characteristic of a business is, that it is run primarily for profits. The interest is focused upon debits and credits, deficits and surpluses. This has been the Scylla and Charybdis of the Negro church.

To the money power in the community and the country, the church has bowed. The trustee boards of the smallest and most humble are composed of the most prosperous of the church-members who are adjudged as competent to create a surplus by organizing rallies, and by devising other means that are effective in inducing the public to release the necessary moneys. Preachers break with denominations, and set up independent churches, on account of being removed from "fat charges." Collections occupy three-fourths of the time of most services. Sermons are usually selected with a view to impressing the members with the importance of the injunction that "it is more blessed to give than to receive."

Then there is that class of Negro churches that is directly dominated by white capitalists. These are the Episcopal, Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal. Their policies are molded and handed down from the white ecclesiastical oligarchy. This ecclesiastical oligarchy, in turn, is controlled by the "money power" of the country. It is a matter of common knowledge that Trinity church, situated at the head of Wall Street, is one of the biggest corporations in America. It controls a large number of apartment houses from which it reaps blood money in the form of extortionate rents from the working people.

Now, since the "money power" of the country which consists of the masters of the railroads, mines, factories, land, etc., receive their power from rent, interest and profits, and since the great masses of the people depend upon wages for a living, which are low when profits, rent and interest are high, and high when profits, rent and interest are low, it is plain that the interests of the people and the interests of the "money power" which dominates the church, are opposed.

Since it is beyond question that a servant will obey its master; that the power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will, one is not surprised at the church's obedience to the power that maintains it.

The church split over the issue of slavery into the North and South. The Northern church, at the behest of the industrial power, condemned it; the Southern church, upon the order of the slave owners, blessed it. Thus, the church, now as then, is using its power to defend poverty, crime, prostitution, war, ignorance and superstition which are outgrowths of the system that allows one man to live off another's labor.

So much then for the cause of the failure. Now, how has it failed? Briefly it has failed to educate the people. Ministers are leading Negroes who

are below, in intelligence, the lowest member of their church. The Negro ministry is ignorant of the modern problems of capital and labor. It is disinterested in unionism as a means of securing higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions for Negro workers. It regards the discussion of politics in the church as sacrilegious unless some good, old Abraham Lincoln Republican desires the vote of the Negro, and is willing to pay for educational propaganda.

It has failed to use its power to rouse the Negro against disfranchisement and lynching.

No conference of Negro churches has ever gone on record as endorsing the principle of unionism.

But you ask, what constructive program do we offer?

First, the Negro Ministry must be educated. It must get the education of information instead of the education of inspiration. It needs less Bible and more economics, history, sociology and physical science.

Second, the Negro church must be put to different uses. It must become an open educational forum where problems of hygiene, labor, government, racial relationships, national and international questions are discussed by specialists.

The church might also be used as places for the beginning of co-operative stores that will enable the Negro workingman to reduce the high cost of living.

In conclusion, the world has moved a long way forward since 1914. Times have changed and institutions, if they would survive, must adjust themselves to the changed conditions. The New Negro demands a new ministry—an educated fearless and radical ministry.

The New Negro demands a new church—a church that is the center of his social, economic and political hopes and strivings. The church must become something more than a temple of prayer to a people who are lynched, disfranchised and jim-crowed. Prayer has been tried for over fifty years.

In short, the church must set its face against a philosophy of profits to a philosophy of service.

THE PLUMB PLAN

THE war exposed the bankruptcy of the capitalist system. It revealed the inefficiency of privately owned, controlled and operated public utilities, such as, the railroads. Capital was so wanton, reckless and rapacious in its mad struggle for profits, that all sense of the sacrifice of human life, as a consequence of its criminal sabotage upon efficiency, was lost. The suddenness of the opportunity afforded the capitalist hogs to gorge themselves in the trough of profits, caused them to become delirious. Their efficiency experts, however, soon informed them of the benefits which would flow from a modification of the system of operation, and the government forthwith stepped in to safeguard and to guarantee the investors at a rate of interest on their investment equivalent to the three most prosperous years in the history of the railroads, namely, those preceding the taking over the operation of the railroads by the Government.

Upon the signing of the Armistice, the question of the disposition of the railroads became acute, and divers plans to answer this question were formulated and presented, prominent among which was the Plumb Plan. Briefly, this is a method, according to Mr. Plumb himself, in *The Nation* of August 16, whereby provision is made for:

1. For the purchase by the Government of the private interest in the railroads.

2. For the operation of the roads as a unified system by a board composed of fifteen directors, five to be appointed by the President to represent the public, five to be elected by the operating officials, and five by the other employees.

3. The corporation has no money capital. At the close of the year, after paying all expenses of operating and fixed charges, the surplus is divided into two equal sums, one to be paid to the Government, the other to the operating officials and the other employees as a dividend on labor. When the Government's share, in any given year, is more than five per cent. of the gross operating revenue, the Interstate Commerce Commission will be obliged to reduce rates to absorb the amount the Government has received. The employees' share is paid to all employees; but the operating officials receive twice the rate of dividend paid to the other workers.

4. Extensions so far as possible are to be paid for the community benefited; and when a community pays the entire sum, the building of the extension is obligatory upon the corporation. If the community cannot pay the full cost, the Government pays the remainder out of its profits, and as it deems wise. The Government can, at its own expense, build extensions through regions that would receive no local benefits, if such an extension would be in the interest of the general public.

5. A sinking fund is set aside from the gross operating revenue for the retirement of the Government securities with which the property is purchased. Pending the determination of value by the courts, the railroad companies receive half the present rental, this to be deducted from the eventual purchase price. Ultimately all the debt from purchase is canceled.

6. The Interstate Commerce Commission retains all of its present rate-fixing powers.

7. On the failure of the corporation to live up to the terms of its contract, Congress may revoke its charter. The railroad employees believe that under this plan not only would their own work be more adequately rewarded, but that rates would be lowered to the public. Several factors would combine to bring about this happy result:

1. The workers, from managers to trackwalkers, would have an incentive to efficient production lacking under the present system. They would feel a responsibility they never will feel so long as management is wholly in the hands of capital.

2. The savings in the costs of operation of a genuinely unified system would be enormous.

3. The Government, in taking over the roads, would squeeze the water out of their present capitalization. This would result in a saving of six to eight billions. Mr. Plumb believes that the true

value of railroads securities is not their par value (\$19,000,000,000) but their market value today (\$13,700,000,000)—possibly less.

4. The Government pays lower interest on capital than private corporations. Says Mr. Plumb:

"The saving to the public would commence immediately, for the difference in the interest paid for capital by the Government and capital provided by private investors is from two to two and one-half per cent. on the capital account. This on a capital account of \$12,000,000,000, would be from \$240,000,000 to \$300,000,000. So the real saving, assuming the conservative estimate of twelve billions to be correct, would be from \$380,000,000 to \$475,000,000."

Of course, it is to be expected that the plan would be labeled Bolshevistic and opposed by the rabid capitalists, as an unwarranted invasion upon the rights of private property. Any proposal, the adoption of which, results in the curtailment of profits and the recognition of the rights of labor, however little it might be, is a blow at the very foundation of government, law and order. Capital is merely startled for the nonce at the defiance of labor and its arrogant insistence upon its rights to participate in the control, government and ownership of industry. It raised the cry of "revolution" with a view to prejudicing public opinion against the innovation, not that it thinks that the Plumb Plan means democracy in the railway industry, but because it knows that each step forward by labor, and each retreat by capital, emboldens and strengthens labor and weakens capital. Capital knows that labor will not stop with a reformist measure, such as the Plumb Plan, but that its ultimate and inevitable object and end is the complete abolition of the present capitalist system, in which the railways, factories, mines and land are owned, operated and developed in the interest of the few at the expense of the many. Capital is not ignorant of the fact that the tripartite method of ownership, control, operation, and management, while a concession to labor, leaves the majority ownership, control and power in its own hands. The fact that labor has but one third representation in the management is sufficient proof. For to maintain that the Government represents the public, is merely bandying with words. The Government represents that class of society which has the power to control it, which is, the moneyed—the propertied class. Who is so dumb as to maintain that a ditch digger has as much influence with the President, Congress, the Supreme Court, or any part of the Government as has Rockefeller. The operating officials, with their capitalist psychology and capitalist interest are more responsive to the mandate of capital than of labor. Capital's representation is two to one in the Plumb scheme. The Plumb method of control and management of the railroads, however, is an improvement upon the old Simon-pure method of private control. Enlightened capitalists will accept it, or something like it, in order to hold back the rising tide of revolution.

Capital will surrender a part of the loaf of profits, in order that it might avoid the necessity of being forced to give up the whole loaf. Don't be deceived, Labor. The Plumb Plan does not represent industrial democracy in the railway industry.

MR. GRIMKE AND "THE CRISIS"

ELSEWHERE in this issue we publish a poem by Archibald H. Grimke. While the poem itself is interesting and courageous, dealing with what we know to be unquestioned fact, the correspondence of certain publications which refused to publish the poem is very interesting. The poem was submitted to the *Atlantic Monthly*, February 15, 1918, and the *Atlantic Monthly* replied:

Dear Dr. Grimke:

"We hate to believe that the soldiers would not have been hanged had they been white, and as for the evidence, we think that there is some solid foundation for this opinion. We have, however, read your earnest and ardent lines with great interest.

"Yours faithfully,
"The Editor."

On April 18, 1918, Dr. Du Bois of *The Crisis* replied:

"Mr. Archibald Grimke,
1415 Corcoran St., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

"My dear Dr. Grimke:

"Please let me have again the poem on the soldiers which was accidentally returned. I may be able to use it in the June number.

"Very sincerely yours,
"W. E. B. Du Bois."

On May 4, 1918, Dr. Du Bois wrote the following letter to Mr. Grimke:

"My dear Mr. Grimke:

"Your abused poem will have to come back again. We have just been specially warned by the Department of Justice that some of our articles are considered disloyal.

"I would not dare, therefore, to print this just now. I am sorry.

"Very sincerely yours,
"W. E. B. Du Bois."

Almost anyone after reading this poem would very naturally wonder why *The Crisis* magazine, supposedly published by and for Negroes, could not publish this poem written by a scholarly man. Expressing a forceful fact, and tendered by the most influential Negro in the N. A. A. C. P., it is not surprising that the *Atlantic Monthly*, a reactionary organ, could not publish it. But why would this be true of *The Crisis*? The logic of the poem is absolutely sound, too. Examples are not far to find in corroboration of Mr. Grimke's implication that the soldiers would not have been hanged had they been white. Take East St. Louis for an example. There the soldiers handed over their guns to the civilians to shoot down the Negroes and the picture of the soldiers were photographed. No soldier was arrested, court martialed or reprimanded for it, and why? Simply because they were white. In Siberia the 332d Infantry mutinied. In time of war, mutiny is punishable by death, but the men were not even punished in any way (we simply use this illustration to demonstrate the inconsistency of the government but we have a keen appreciation of the American soldiers revolting against fighting their Russian brothers).

This action throws further light upon Du Bois and makes us ask once more, is the N. A. A. C. P. for the advancement of colored people or for the advancement of certain people?

UNIONIZING OF NEGRO WORKERS

ALMOST every conceivable branch or form of human effort by hand or brain is being organized to exact more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. The actors have just ended a protracted and bitterly fought strike by securing every demand except the closed shop. (Let us hope that they will be sufficiently intelligent to continue the fight for that.) It is reported that even the Catholic priests struck against giving early "mass" in Rome. The police of London have already gone on record as committing their organization to the policy of refusing to enforce a law which is against the interests of labor. How excellent! In Boston, the police have organized and struck for a living wage. In 65 other cities, they are organizing to use the only weapon they have to improve their conditions—the strike. And the teachers in the public schools and the professors in the universities, under the pinch of the high cost of living, have come to realize that they have interests in common with hodcarriers and street cleaners. Hence, we have in process of formation a union of university professors.

Rumblings from the church are heard, and it is reported that the preachers will strike and let the people go to hell! Hippocrates, too, is not asleep. The doctors have challenged the public and threatened to compound and administer no more pills unless they receive shorter hours and more pay. Even the middle class bourgeoisie are organizing against the power of the trusts on the one hand, and the demands of labor, on the other. And the end is not yet.

These separate, distinct and individual organizations of brain and hand workers will seek and adopt the most effective method for exacting their demands. They will come together, they will consolidate into one big union of labor, just as the individual capitalists of the 60's, 70's, 80's and 90's combined, consolidated into trusts in order to increase their power to exploit labor as a producer and a consumer.

In the midst of this unrest, this change, the question of the position of the Negro worker comes from both Labor and Capital. Capital is afraid the Negro worker is awakened and awakening. Revolutionary labor is trying to awaken him. Capital is desperately manipulating the Negro press, pulpit and politics, to keep the rank and file of Negroes asleep. But when Negro labor does awaken, Capital, ever shrewd, alert, resourceful and artful, will lead him into the least objectionable group of organized labor, the American Federation of Labor. Already the A. F. of L. crowd has been tipped off by Wall Street to wink at the discontented black workers, and to teach them of the virtues of the American Separation of Labor. Negro leaders, who have been and are now opposed to unions, on the ground that

they constitute "white trash," will turn right about face and sing the praises of Gompers and the American Federation for the Perpetuation of Race Prejudice, when the nod from their white capitalist masters comes. Anything is preferable to industrial action along industrial organization lines, that is, so far as the capitalists are concerned. If it is possible to keep labor divided into trades that bargain and negotiate contracts with the employing class, such contracts to terminate at different dates, capital will remain serenely entrenched in its position of power and control. If the great masses of unskilled workers can be persuaded into believing that political action alone will achieve the ends aimed at; if the Negro workers can be prevented from recognizing anything in common with industrial actionists, the present social structure will remain intact, undisturbed. But it is a part of wisdom that one should always be wary of accepting the advice of his opponent. It is a safe rule to adopt just the opposite course recommended by one's enemy. Hence, Negro workers had better watch this sugar-coated ipecac pill in the form of the American Federation of Labor. Resolutions adopted in the convention of the A. F. of L. are not worth the paper they are written on. Have you not the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution that amount only to a scrap of paper so far as their enforcement is concerned? Execution and administration are far more important than professions.

Besides, even if you were actually accorded every right in the American Federation of Labor, you cannot fare any better than the white workers who are constantly camouflaged, misled, deceived and faked by an autocratic, capitalist-controlled Executive Council.

The Negroes and Industrial Workers of the World have interests not only in common, but interests that are identical. For example, those who largely constitute the Industrial Workers of the World are unskilled. So is the Negro. They are migratory workers and have no political rights. Neither has the Negro. Hence, the Negro and white migratory workers have no political action. The suffrage laws of residence have disfranchised the white migratory worker. The Southern states have disfranchised the Negro, along with the profiteering landlords who move both of them so fast that they can't stay in a house long enough to vote. Hence there is no other course then to adopt but industrial action. Think of an unskilled, unfranchised worker joining an organization that is not interested in unskilled labor, black or white, and which counsels its members to vote for those men and parties that supposedly favor labor—meaning invariably, of course, deserving Democrats and the Democratic Party.

The Negro who is disfranchised must join other voteless workers. The Negro who is largely the unskilled worker in industry, must join that organization in which the workers are organized upon the basis of industry, thereby giving the skilled and unskilled equality of rights.

THE FORT SAN HOUSTON COURT MARTIAL

A

SPECIAL article appears elsewhere in *The Messenger*, giving detailed and first hand information on the Ft. San Houston trial, when about twenty Negroes were executed and fifty-seven were sent to Leavenworth Prison. The evidence seems clearly to exonerate the men in Leavenworth who were alleged to have participated in the riot of Ft. San Houston. Just now the country is discussing, reviewing and remedying the harsh and unjust court martials of white soldiers in France and the United States but not a word will be said concerning these Negroes unless some organs of the character of *The Messenger* and *The Crusader* will raise their voices in protest.

We ask the attention of all fair-minded white men and women and colored men and women to a respectful and careful reading of the article. Let us know what you think about it after you have finished reading it. If you think the men are innocent, kindly write letters to your Congressmen and Senators asking special attention to their cases. Thank you.

The Editors.

GOMPERS—THE CHIEF STRIKEBREAKER

T

O even the casual observer of the present industrial war, the attitude of Samuel Gompers, the chief labor leader, must be amazing. However, his orientation in the ranks of organized labor should not occasion any undue surprise. For he proceeds from the premise that Capital and Labor have interests in common; that the object and aim of labor is a "fair day's pay for a fair day's work"; that harmony and peace between labor and capital must eventually come.

It never occurs to him that even his unsound formula—"a fair day's pay for a fair day's work"—will prevent industrial peace because of the ever-present question as to what constitutes a fair day's pay and a fair day's work. His slogan merely tends to destroy the morale of labor by setting up a false goal. In this respect he would break the strike of class-conscious, militant labor against a system of wage-slavery; he would dissuade labor from its revolutionary aim that to the worker belongs the "full product of his toil."

One of his most signal acts of betrayal of, and treachery to, labor, was his strike against the international solidarity of labor by indorsing the most colossal, dark and sinister conspiracy against the march of industrial democracy in the annals of labor history—the League of Nations. He accepted and recognized the meaningless and absurd statement in the League of Nations that "Labor is not a commodity," as a great concession to the toilers. Think of it! How stupid! Here he is, chloroformed with a bit of capitalist deception which is about as valuable to labor as the belief of a hungry man that a brick is a sausage, or of a janitor, that he is a superintendent, though he receives only janitor's wages.

But the climax of his anti-labor activities comes when he orders the striking police of Boston to go back to their jobs, and counsels all government employees against striking. The striking police were upon the eve of victory. The various labor groups were about to call a sympathetic strike, when Gompers, the chief labor leader, steps in and breaks the strike. Governor Coolidge receives the assistance of the A. F. of L.'s chief by refusing to re-instate the striking police. A splendid lesson for labor whether in the employ of government or private interests! How can labor expect a capitalist government—a government controlled by the combined capitalists and manufacturers—to protect the interests of labor? Besides, capital knows that if the police are organized in the interests of economic justice, that it will not be able to suppress other groups of labor striking for more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. Again, it is not far from a strike by the police to a strike by the army and navy. And it must be remembered that nothing enables capital to maintain its hold on the factories, mines, land, railways and public utilities except the capitalist-made law which is enforced by the police, the army and navy, groups of labor with uniforms on which are calculated to deceive them (the soldiers and police) into believing that they are part of the ruling class. But witness the Boston police strike where striking policemen are beaten and shot by guardsmen and other civilians recruited to police the city. When the slaves ask for more bread, the labor fakir tells them to be good Americans, whatever that means; and the capitalist mercenaries and gunmen shoot them down. The time is coming, however, or is here, when capital will not be safe in trusting any part of labor to protect its property, or to enforce its mandates against any other part of labor. Capitalists will have to police and defend their own property, and that is impossible. For less than 20 per cent of the population are capitalists. Even the spies within the ranks of labor will have no influence. Labor leaders will no longer be allowed to break strikes, for labor will know what the solidarity of labor means. It will know that solidarity cannot come so long as labor is divided into, and organized upon, a basis of trade. It will know that "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work" is a sham and a mockery. It will realize that the legal recognition of labor as not being a commodity, is like the non-recognition by the African ostrich of the rising simoon, by burying its head in the sand. It will understand that not until the Government is in the control of labor can it forego the use of its only weapon—the strike—for more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. This is no less true of government employees than of any other kind. Labor must scrap its Gomperses and consign them to that oblivion from which they ought never to emerge before it can face capital in a finish fight.

MEXICO

IN the leading editorial entitled "Oil Is Power," in the Sunday edition of the *New York Times*, of September 14, a strong plea for the United States Government to prevent the Mexican Government from controlling its own resources, is made.

It says: "Today oil is king, because it is supplanting coal as fuel in land and sea transportation, and its uses are manifold in industry. The nation without reservoirs of oil must falter in the competitive struggle, and it cannot wage war." Note the observation that it "cannot wage war." *The Times* is not mincing words, nor is it equivocal; but is frank and clear. A government, under the present system of society, is not organized to serve and accommodate the needs of its citizens, but to compete for the control of undeveloped fields, such as, Africa, Mexico, China, India, the West Indies; and, it must prepare to wage war in order to prosecute its aim.

In a table published by the National Fuel Administration in 1918, it was set forth that this country "marketed 335,315,601 barrels of crude petroleum containing 42 gallons in 1917. Russia's production was estimated at 69,000,000 barrels. Mexico's at 55,292,770. Hence, the present extraordinary solicitude in the welfare of Mexico.

Mr. Edward L. Doheny, in his testimony before the Senate sub-committee investigating Mexican relations, said: "That there would probably be, in the next ten years, 15,000,000 internal combustion engines." He further stated that "the gasoline necessary to run these engines could not be found in the United States." "But," according to Mr. Doheny, "Mexico will supply the deficiency, and that its present full capacity of wells already drilled in Mexico, is 1,000,000 barrels a day, which is more than the present producing capacity of the United States."

In the above mentioned editorial, *The Times* observes, that "the United States cannot allow Mexico to confiscate, by taxation or otherwise, oil interest to which American citizens can show legal title." The citizens referred to, of course, are the Rockefeller and Doheny interests, etc., and the legal title has its sanction in the corrupt régimes of Diaz and Huerta.

However, the workers of America will be sent to slaughter the workers of Mexico in order to rescue the precious fluid from the impious hands of the Mexican barbarians, and place it in the Christianly hands of the American capitalists, who have just finished their crusade to "make the world safe for democracy." Of course it is not nice to remind world opinion of the fact that Washington, D. C., the Capital of the Nation, is not safe for Negroes, who by the way, will be used to extend American race prejudice and "dollar diplomacy" in South America.

A Reply to Congressman James F. Byrnes of South Carolina

By the Editors

IN August 25, Congressman James F. Byrnes of South Carolina asked the indulgence of Congress to listen to his comments on the so-called activities of the I. W. W. among the Negroes of America. Referring to the Chicago and Washington recent race riots and many similar disturbances in the country, he said: "It is manifest that when sanguinary conflicts take place in cities so widely separated and within so short a time, the cause is general and not local." That is unquestionably true. The cause of the race riots is general. Jim-crowism, segregation, discrimination and race prejudice are among the causes and these dastardly practices are quite "general" in the United States.

Byrnes tells us that there has been no propaganda to arouse the antagonism of the white man toward the Negro. That is absolutely false. There has been a two-fold propaganda—the propaganda of the press and the propaganda of conditions. All of the Southern papers and large numbers of the Northern papers like the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune*, constantly carry on race prejudice propaganda. Indeed, some publications are almost devoted to just that function. For instance, *The Harpoon* of Texas, organ of Colonel House, the President's adviser, is the most vicious and inflammatory organ of race prejudice which we have ever seen.

Byrnes further states: "The very generous support of the war by the Negro caused the white people of the nation to entertain for him only the best of good feeling." Yes, this is very obvious. We suppose it is manifest in the increased lynchings of the South, the perpetuation of peonage, the continuance of that disfranchisement which the Negro fought to remove from the German people. What a happy manifestation of "the best of good feeling" on the part of the white people!

As evidence that the Negro is satisfied, Byrnes points out that he is prospering as never before in the history of his race and he says further of the Negro: "He is accumulating money, he is purchasing land, etc." The facts pointed out that the Negro is purchasing land and accumulating money are true. The question of opinion that the Negro is satisfied—is fallacious. This fallacy is based upon the limited knowledge which all southern Congressmen, and most northern men too, have of social science. The possession and accumulation of wealth do not tend to make the Negro contented and satisfied. They have just the reverse effect. And the sociological law, which is a sociological paradox, is that "discontent increases with social improvement." To illustrate: the more we have the more we want, whether it be property, education or rights. The accumulation of wealth sharpens the appetite for more wealth. With knowledge and education the rule is, "those who have least, while needing most, want least; and those who have most education, while needing least, want most." With rights the same rule applies. We, the editors, are all southern Negroes. We grew up in the midst of discrimination. We rode in the Jim-crow car.

We attended segregated schools. We were disfranchised. We knew little of any rights which Negroes had that white men were bound to respect. But with our coming to the North, where we continued our education in the finest white universities, abandoned the Jim-crow car and began to vote, we were aroused from our apathy and slothful contentment. We grew to the place where we desired every right, and each fresh gain stimulated our desires and stiffened our determination. Why is this so? It is this. The taste of liberty creates a reluctance to return to slavery. Again, to hold one's property necessitates the bulwarking it with constant and new accretions. Rights constitute property. To hold the rights already secured requires the augmenting of them with new ones. The Negroes of the North and West are leading the fight on disfranchisement, segregation and Jim-crowism, notwithstanding the fact that they are not disfranchised, Jim-crowed or extensively segregated. But they realize the danger of a disease becoming pandemic, and these dastardly institutions are social diseases in the body politic. Moreover, a man without a disease is more afraid of it than the man with it. After one is attacked by a disease, he reconciles himself to it; but before he is attacked every effort is made to ward off the impending danger. Crime and injustice grow out of social disease germs. Disease germs know no race nor state line. Tuberculosis germs in the white man today find their way into the Negro's system tomorrow. Lynching in Mississippi today is duplicated by lynching in Pennsylvania tomorrow. Lynching in Charleston, S. C., today lifts its hydra-head in Chicago, Illinois, tomorrow. There is no race, state, color, sex nor nationality line. All are in danger while any kind of disease threatens the physical, political or social health of the republic.

Byrnes further observes: "It is evident that the leadership of Moton and others, who, following in the steps of Booker T. Washington, preached conservatism to the race, is now being challenged by a crowd of radicals, who are appealing to the passions of the Negroes and inciting them to deeds of violence. And the recent riots indicate that many Negroes are accepting this bad advice." Mr. Byrnes, this statement is so accurate that we can find no fault with it. We just want to enlarge on it a bit. Yes, your Moton and Washington leadership has gone. Washington is no more, and with him has passed the old me-too-boss, hat-in-hand, good-nigger which you and your ilk so dearly love. The radical Negro leaders have the ear and the hand of the masses. The New Crowd Negroes think no more of Moton than they do of you and Cole Blease and Vardaman! They look upon him as a "good nigger" puppet. We are also appealing to the manly passions of the Negroes and inspiring them to act on the manly and lawful principle of self defense in the protection of their homes, their lives and their property. If this means violence, then you may write us down as **social homeopaths**, in that we believe that violence must be met by violence, whether that violence is of the individual or the mob.

Byrnes then goes on to make a little revelation even to The Messenger staff in stating: "It is unfortunate that some Negro leaders heretofore regarded as conservative have changed their attitude. A fair illustration of this type is W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of *The Crisis Magazine*." This strikes us as more than a revelation; it is a grave charge against Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. While we know that Du Bois is conservative, reactionary on economic and political questions, and compromising in the face of cheap honors and extended epaulets, we had never

from fighting is a fact. That we return fighting has been demonstrated in Longview, Texas, Washington, D. C., Chicago, Ill., Knoxville, Tenn. We think, however, that a little tip might be given to you, Mr. Byrnes. That we return fighting is stating it too mildly. **We return fighting like hell against the hell in this land.** We return fighting for law against the anarchy which the Southern Bourbons of your ilk have unloosed upon our people. Chicago and Washington are indeed but little skirmishes and fights between irritated boys compared with what



Congressman Byrnes of South Carolina alarmed at Banquo's Ghost of the New Crowd Negro.

thought of him as being satisfactory to a Ben Tillman Congressman like Byrnes, until he wrote a little prose poetry on "Returning Soldiers," most of which was neutralized by contradicting statements in the same issue. We hope that Mr. Byrnes will never be able to find in our general position anything satisfactory while he holds his present point of view.

Of course, we agree with what Du Bois says about this being a shameful land. That it lynches, disfranchises, encourages ignorance, steals from us, insults us, are too evident to admit of contradiction. As to the balderdash which Du Bois holds out on its being our fatherland, of course, we understand that as one of Du Bois's neutralizing, saving clauses. That **we return** is a fact. That **we return**

may come in your own state any day unless the rights and privileges, the lives and property of Negroes are protected by constituted authority. There is a sort of gentlemen's agreement among nine out of every ten Negroes in the United States which in strength of determination, undaunted courage, unremitting advocacy, unswerving purpose and inflexible resolution to stamp out the vandalism of the South, compares most favorably with your Irish brothers in their invincible aim and unfaltering intention to throw off the yoke of British tyranny and oppression even though the little island is drenched in blood and tears.

With respect to your recommendation that the Attorney General indict Du Bois under the Espionage Law, we make a counter-recommendation, that

he strike at the root of the evil by enforcing the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution; that he use the Federal law to stop the peonage in South Carolina and the South generally; that he stop you and your ilk from stealing the votes of Negroes; that he stop you from riding into Congress upon Negro potential votes, not cast but counted, in criminal violation of the Constitution of the United States. As a matter of fact, Mr. Byrnes, you had better sit down. You have no right to the floor to make a motion on respect for law and law enforcement. You, who sit in Congress in violation of the Constitution which you have solemnly taken an oath to defend, you who would not be in Congress if Negroes were not illegally deprived of their votes, you who have done most to turn back the hands of this country's clock to the feudal ages—do not come into the high forum of enlightened public opinion to make a motion of respect for law! We immediately retort, "How can I hear what you say when what you are is continually ringing in my ears!"

Mr. Byrnes, you are also concerned about one Lieut. William N. Colson, who was an officer, second Lieutenant of the 367th Infantry. He is a contributing editor to *The Messenger*. You quote him as saying: "No intelligent American Negro is willing to lay down his life for the United States as it now exists."

And again:

"Intelligent Negroes have all reached the point where their loyalty to the country is conditional."

We find no fault with these quotations. An old philosopher once said, "Unbounded credulity is the mark of a weak mind." And it was old Dr. Johnson who said: "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." Do you recognize the difference between submission and loyalty? Loyalty is a quality of volition. It is voluntary devotion to a thing because of love and appreciation held in return for certain rights, privileges and favors extended. If loyalty is blind, it is not an intelligent manifestation of it. No one should be loyal to any flag unless the flag is loyal to him. Should we be loyal to lynch-law? Should we be loyal to disfranchisement? Should we be loyal to your Jim-crow Car? Should we be loyal to your flag that never stands between our charred and blackened bodies roasted by your lawless mobs? What we want to do is to make the American flag so just and fair to every citizen in the land, without regard to race, nationality or color that loyalty will flow freely and not have to be exacted by the whip of the lash.

You next take to task the editors of *The Messenger*, A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, for being Bolsheviks. While you are generally adept at distortion of facts and misrepresentation of circumstances, you have not very greatly misrepresented us. We would be glad to see a Bolshevik government substituted in the South in place of your Bourbon, reactionary, vote-stolen, misrepresentative Democratic régime. In Russia, the franchise, the right to vote, is based upon work, upon the performance of useful service. Negroes perform most of the service in the South. According to Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard, three-fifths of the wealth of the South is produced by Negroes. Practically all Negroes in the South

work. Under the Soviet system, their right to vote would be based upon their service and not upon race or color. Again, they would be rewarded according to what they produced and not be robbed in peonage—a system with which you are well acquainted. So here goes: If approval of the right to vote, based upon service instead of race or color, is Bolshevism, count us as Bolsheviks. If our approval of the abolition of pogroms by the Bolsheviks is Bolshevism, stamp us again with that epithet. If the demand for political and social equality is Bolshevism, label us once more with that little barrack behind which your mental impotency hides when it cannot answer argument.

Our rare gift of prophecy, which appeared in an article entitled "Negro Police Captains," in the July issue of *The Messenger*, was only rare to an incompetent student of political science like you. Were you versed as a Congressman ought to be, in sociology and economics, you would know just as well as we do that all of the cities where large groups of Negroes dwell are magazines of race prejudice dynamite, ready to explode at any moment upon lighting the fuse. To be very frank, your own state is an arsenal at this very moment, where something may happen any day to prove that the Negroes of your state are not so satisfied and contented as you think. You had better look around you—you and all your southern colleagues. You had better cut out your Jim-crow car pretty quick. You had better extend the vote to Negro citizens at once. You had better relinquish your time-worn reaction and make way for democracy unstreaked by race or color lines.

We further note your statement, Mr. Byrnes: "They (the Negroes) in seeking political and social equality are cherishing false hopes and are doomed to disappointment."

* * *

If the two races are to live together in this country it may as well be understood that the war has in no way changed the attitude of the white man toward the social and political equality of the Negro. If as a result of his experience in the war he does not care to live in this land without political and social equality, then he can depart for any other country he wishes and his departure will be facilitated by the white people of this country, who desire no disturbing factor in their midst. If by reason of his experience he seeks social and political equality with the white man, but refuses to consider leaving for parts where it will be willingly given to him, and cherishes the hope that by violence it can be gained here, he cannot too quickly realize that there are in this country 90,000,000 white people determined not to extend political and social equality to the 10,000,000 Negroes, and a resort to violence must inevitably bring to the Negro the greater suffering.

* * *

The answer to this assumption is that if the "war has in no way changed the attitude of the white man toward the social and political equality of the Negro," it has nevertheless changed the attitude of the Negro toward social and political equality, and the latter is important, while the former is not so material. What we have tried to do for years is to change the attitude of the Negro. We think we understand enough about social forces to know that the Negroes' changed attitude will result in a changed attitude on the part of the white man.

The same is true of Capital and Labor. We lose no time appealing to Capital. We simply

organize labor, for we know that Labor organized and intelligently directed will change the action of Capital, whatever its attitude may be. Maybe you are an old South Carolina hayseed and don't understand psychology. (By the way, is this getting too high for you, Brother Byrnes?) But attitude is a point of view. As a point of view it is subject to modification upon a change of the surrounding conditions. The white man is not immune to such changes any more than anybody else. And you might as well face it once for all that your bugaboo of political and social equality is passing through its metamorphosis. The present and past Southern attitude is moribund. It is passing more swiftly than even Negroes realize. We can do no better than to quote from a letter of a first lieutenant and adjutant of the 367th Infantry, found elsewhere in this issue. He says very aptly: "This social equality bugbear is purely an American institution, anyway. We found none of it in France. Whites and blacks intermingled freely in hotels, cafés, trains and even at dances and parties, while over one thousand Negro stevedores intermarried with white French girls, and I doubt if French honor and prestige have, in any way, suffered for it. Even the Americans found social equality not so distasteful under certain circumstances in France. Many are the times I have seen white officers and soldiers eating, sleeping and mingling indiscriminately with Negro officers and soldiers—on the front. There's a reason!"

This quotation speaks for itself. No comment is necessary. Even Mr. Byrnes can see this point! We pass on to Mr. Byrnes' invitation to the Negro to leave the South if he doesn't like his condition there, and we note the rather interesting offer that the South will assist discontented Negroes to facilitate their leaving. Watch out, Mr. Byrnes, you are talking too fast. Don't you know that the South used every force at its command to prevent the Negroes leaving there during the War. And are you, stupid Congressman, unaware that the North is now packed with labor agents, trying to induce the Negroes to return there?

We note your inaccurate statement that there are 90,000,000 white people determined not to extend political and social equality to the 10,000,000 Negroes. Don't you know that 70,000,000 of those white people have already extended political equality to the Negro? Do you think all of the Negroes are disfranchised? Disfranchisement of the Negroes, sir, is exclusively Southern. As for social equality, there are about five million mulattoes in the United States. This is the product of **semi-social equality**. It shows that social equality galore exists **after dark**, and we warn you that we expect to have social equality **in the day** as well as after dark.

Your lying charge that attacks on white women are generally the cause of lynching are so forcefully refuted by all the facts collected and compiled by white men that we pass over it with the reference to Professor James E. Cutler's book entitled "*Lynching*," which states that of all the lynchings only 34 per cent were for actual or alleged rape.

Again, Mr. Byrnes, you speak of "the natural instinct of the Anglo-Saxon which is greater than constitutional or legislative enactments" as justification for your illegal and unconstitutional dis-

franchisement of the Negro. What becomes of the sham pretense which you have just been making of interest in the Negro abiding by the law? Besides the very constitution and laws which you speak of over-riding by your Anglo-Saxon instinct were made by you Anglo-Saxons. Nevertheless, you are true to Anglo-Saxon traditions. Anglo-Saxon supremacy has been gained by violence, by physical force. The end and not the means has been all that mattered. Constitutions, laws, treaties—have been but scraps of paper when something stood between the accomplishment of Anglo-Saxon aims.

Lastly, you say, "Neither political equality nor social equality is essential to the happiness of the Negro." On the contrary, we hold that both are not only essential, but inevitable. We have made considerable headway along both lines and the period of acceleration is not far away. And even you, Mr. Byrnes, may yet sit with us in Congress or in Pullman and dining cars in South Carolina.

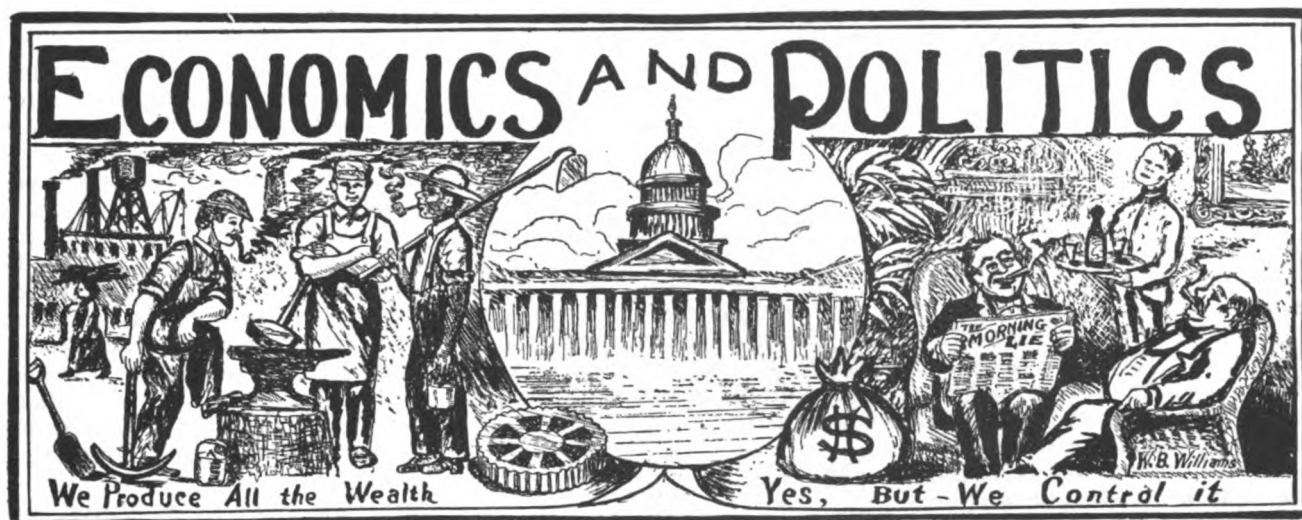
The old order is passing. It is passing in race relations. It is passing in class relations. The old relations are yielding to the magic touch of the new democracy. They struggle to hold their own but are doomed to disappointment, as under the corroding tooth of time they wear away and cease to be. The new order of society is upon us. It is sweeping away the system which maintains you, Mr. Byrnes, and all your ilk. With the passing of the system, the representatives of the system will follow in a slow, sad cadence to the cosmic tread of democracy. For us there is hope; for you despair. We have all to gain; you all to lose. As we watch your frantic alarm and your myopic desperation, we remember that the nearness of a ruling class to the end of its reign can be judged by the rashness of statement and the severity of measures to which it resorts.

The sword of Damocles dangles over your so-called white man's domination! Rumbblings of revolution are heard in the distance! Nemesis is at hand!

SUGGESTIONS FOR GOOD READING

Each month we shall give suggestions for good reading. It is our duty to stimulate the spirit and to supply the direction. Direction comes from light and intellectual light comes largely from reading good literature. This month we desire to address the attention of *The Messenger's* readers to *The Mexican People, Their Struggle for Freedom*, by De Lara & Pinchon; *Social Insurance*, by Seager, and *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, by Lester F. Ward.

All of the above-named books and any books suggested under our Good Reading list may be secured from the Rand School Book Shop, 7 East 15th Street, New York City. Apply there for prices, etc.



Why Negroes Should Be Socialists

A Series of Articles by the Editors.

The Negro and Labor

First—Because the Socialist Party represents the workingman and 99 and 9/10 per cent. of Negroes are working people.

(a) It can represent the working people because their dimes and quarters support it, they own and control it. Every measure, every policy, is referred to the members of the Socialist Party—they rule.

(b) This is not true of the Republican and Democratic parties; Rockefeller, Morgan, Armour, Shonts own and control them because they are large contributors to the campaign funds. And whoever finances the party, owns the party, whoever owns the party controls the party, and whoever controls the party will use it for his own interest.

That is WHY YOU, MR. NEGRO workingman, cannot expect the Republican and Democratic parties, which are owned by big employers of labor, to demand more wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions—the chief needs of all Negroes.

The Socialist Party Would Abolish Wage-Slavery

Second—Because the Socialist Party would abolish wage-slavery. Today you work for wages. With wages you get food, clothing and shelter. Without these things you cannot live. Hence, when wages are low, life is low. And

wages are low because private men own the social tools with which you work. They desire to make profits. In order to make large profits they must pay low wages. This is simple. In other words they give you your life on the instalment plan, in the form of enough wages per week to keep you barely alive. Your wages may be high but the cost of living is also high. A dollar today buys less than a half dollar bought years ago.

Think of it. You, your wife, and sometimes your children toil, toil, toil and for what? Cheap food, cheap clothing, cheap housing. Nothing more than an animal's existence you get. When death comes, it is but a relief from suffering, anxiety, failure, shame, poverty. **Socialism will abolish this.**

ARE YOU OPPOSED TO IT? THEN VOTE FOR IT.

Public Ownership of Public Utilities

Third—Because the Socialist Party would have the tools which produce life's necessities owned by the Government and the Government controlled and democratically managed by the people. The public utilities, such as, the railroads, coal mines, gas companies, street railways, etc., would be operated for service, the public's good, and not for private gain, the capitalists' good.

Post Office and Public School System

Today the Post Office and the public schools are maintained for service and not for profits, because the Government owns and controls them. Under Socialism they will be of even more service to the people, because the people will control the Government.

If private individuals owned these institutions they would be run for profits, and working people, who receive low wages, could not use the mails and put their children in the Public Schools to the extent they do today. The only question in Private Ownership is: Does the business pay; not does it serve the people? And when the business does not pay it is discontinued. But the Post Office and Public Schools would be maintained, even if they had to be run at a financial loss, because their chief aim is to serve the people.

The Negro and High Rents

The Negro suffers from high rents in every city throughout the country. They are the victims of the iniquitous law of "dispossess." They need relief from this damnable social evil. The Republican and Democratic parties cannot, nor do they desire to offer any relief. Why? Because they are owned and controlled by the real estate interests. They serve the landlords, consequently, they cannot serve the tenants. The landlords are to the tenants what the

flea is to the dog. Their interests are opposed. They have nothing in common. Hence, you cannot protect both the landlord and the tenant.

Landlords and tenants, white or black, have nothing in common. The landlords want to get high rents; and his tenants want to pay low rents. The tenants want to get good service, such as, steam heat, etc., and the landlords want to give poor service, and low heat or no heat, because it costs less.

The Socialist Party would prevent landlords from robbing the tenants by taxing the unused land to its full rental value, thereby forcing it into use. The landlords would have either to build or to sell, in order to get sufficient income with which to pay the high taxes. This would operate to increase the supply of houses for rent. So that landlords would be seeking tenants instead of, as now, tenants seeking landlords. In other words, the supply of houses for rent would be greater than the demand, instead of, as now, the demand being greater than the supply. This would force down high rents. Landlords charge you high rents because they know that you have got to have houses. You cannot sleep in the parks when snow is on the ground. Besides, if you haven't got somewhere to stay, the Republicans and Democrats, who are controlled by the landlords, who, in turn, control the police, will have you "locked up" and put in jail, on the grounds that you are an undesirable character. So, there you are!

The Negro tenant is between the devil and the deep sea. He has got to pay high rents to the landlords when he stays in their houses, and high fares to the moving vans when he is dispossessed. Of course, Republicans and Democrats tell you that the poor landlords must get high rents in order to pay high taxes!

**Bless their good old souls!
How could we get along without them, if the landlords were to die, the land would pass away.**

Negroes suffer more from high rents than any other class of people, because they have been confined to a limited area in which to live, on account of the insidious social custom of race segregation. Hence, white and black landlords, by virtue of this fact, can more

successfully exploit them. Now, get this: A Negro Republican or Democrat whom you might elect to office, can do you no good whatever. Because he is a tool of a party which is controlled by the very landlords who rob you through high rents. Some of you rent houses, and yet have no room to live in, because you have got to rent the rooms out to somebody else, in order to pay the rent. Mr. Negro Tenant, can't you see that? If you do, then join the rank and file of the great Socialist movement.

The Negro and the High Cost of Living

Since 99-9/10 per cent of Negroes are working people, they find themselves in a hopeless dilemma, in as much as, when as workers, while needing and desiring high wages, they are compelled to accept low wages, and when as consumers, while needing and desiring to pay low prices, for the things which they produce and need, upon which to live, they are compelled to pay high prices.

This is true, of course, of all working people, white or black, men or women.

This is because the tools which you use to produce the things which you need are owned by men who desire to make profits out of your needs. You must have food and clothing. Hence, the man who owns the factory in which these necessities are produced, can charge you the price he pleases. The workers in the factory, who operate the machinery and produce these goods, must accept the wages offered them or quit, being poor; if they quit they will starve. Such is your plight!

The Republican and Democratic parties receive campaign funds from those men who control the food and clothing supply, etc., and the man who feeds the dog will rub his back, and the dog, in turn, will lick his hand.

Is not that clear, Mr. Negro voter?

The Republican and Democratic parties cannot, nor do they desire to lower the high cost of living, because they serve the food profiteers who rob the people through high prices. While there are millions of dozens of eggs in cold storage; egg speculators are boosting the prices of eggs

above the reaches of the common people.

The Socialists would abolish the high cost of living, by taking the mills, coal mines, factories and land which labor uses to produce life's necessities, also warehouses, meat packing industries, etc., out of the hands of private individuals, whose only desire is to make profits, and would make them public properties and conduct them for the public's good.

The social ownership of social tools which produce necessities for social use, is the only solution of the problem of the high cost of living.

Today both the producer and consumer are robbed. The farmer gets little or nothing for what he produces. He is told that the market is bad, that the demand for his products is low, thereby is induced to accept a price below the market price. The consumer, on the other hand, is told that crops are bad, that goods are scarce and is thereby forced to pay an extortionate price for life's necessities.

Already the price of milk is climbing above the mouth of the babies of the working-class. Milk monopolies harvest millions, while the grim reaper, Death, harvests millions of innocent infants, who are undernourished for the lack of milk. The Socialists would make the city your dairyman and sell it to you at cost.

Do you object to this, Mr. Negro Workingman?

Your only remedy is Socialism. Vote the entire ticket.

(To be Continued)

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Ask for Particulars

The Negro Radicals

The Editors

Among all races there are Conservatives, Liberals and Radicals. The Negro is no exception to the rule. The term "Radical," however, is a relative term, and what may be regarded as radical among one group, may not be regarded as radical among another. Radicalism is like luxuries. It varies with time, place and circumstance. Strictly speaking, most of the men included in our survey of Negro Radicals would not be termed radicals, but if we allow a little leeway, in order to group together the alleged Radical Negroes, it will be more convenient to discuss the subject.

For the purposes of this article we shall consider W. E. B. Du Bois, Kelley Miller, Archibald Grimke, William Monroe Trotter, George Frazier Miller, William Pickens, Francis Grimke, John E. Bruce, and James W. Johnson.

The best known man of this group is Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. He secured his title to radicalism by a vigorous and militant fight against Dr. Booker T. Washington, until his death. At that time, Dr. Du Bois was opposed to disfranchisement, segregation, peonage, lynching and the Jim-crow car. He was instrumental in organizing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He was the founder of the "*Crisis*" magazine, which is the organ of the N. A. A. C. P. Prior to the war, the "*Crisis*," which is fundamentally the opinion of Dr. Du Bois, was a very vigorous proponent of Negro radicalism. By Negro radicalism we mean something different from radicalism proper. One usually thinks of a Negro radical not as one who insists upon economic or political radicalism, but as a Negro who opposes lynching, demands the vote, condemns the Jim-crow car, segregation, discrimination and general insult, while an **extreme or ultra-Negro radical means a Negro who insists on social equality.** Any student of political science, however, would readily recognize that all of these above enumerated injustices and conditions are but the results and manifestations of deeper underlying social and eco-

conomic conditions. They are the inevitable consequence of hidden but powerful social forces. That Du Bois has fallen far short of recognizing the true causes of the Negro's abominable condition is evident to any scientific student who will read his books or *The Crisis* magazine which he edits. The reason, however, that Du Bois is unable to deal with scientific remedies is because he cannot diagnose his case and discover through analysis the ultimate and the immediate causes. For instance, in politics, Du Bois thinks that Negroes may select good men, here and there, who will do their bidding. Now the actual good man theory has been abandoned by real radicals for more than a half century. Have not Negroes selected their good men for Presidents ever since the Civil War? Was not Hayes one of their selected good men?—the same Hayes who compromised and sold out their rights to the South upon an old school, underhand agreement comparable only with the secret treaties which Trotsky exposed? On the economic field Du Bois is more bankrupt in sound information than he is on the political field. And the truth is that his economic ignorance is what gives rise to his political misinformation. All economists know that the economic conditions are reflected on the political field. The political organization is very little bit more than the regulative organization through which the economic forces in the background express themselves. For instance, when one man controlled a country or nation, we had monarchy as a political organization representing the king as the chief economic holder and controller of the wealth of the country. When the king was forced to include others in the control of the national resources, a few other men formed the political organization producing an oligarchy—government of the few. Later the electorate was extended to include the landed interests and industrial barons, whereupon we find our so-called republics and democracies such as France, England and the United States. These are repub-

lics and democracies, however, only in name. They represent precisely the economic forces of the United States. As President Wilson himself says: "The masters of the Government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States. They have erected upon the forms of democracy an invisible empire." This is too true. In Washington, the Government is supposed to be located. But it is not so. We have a committee which reflects the wishes of the Government in Washington. The Government of the United States is in New York and, more strictly speaking, is located in Wall Street. When the large combinations of wealth—the trusts, monopolies and cartels are broken up, and the people get the wealth which they produce, a new form of government will then spring forth just as the Soviet Government was an inevitable consequence of the breaking up of the great estates of Russia and assigning the land to the peasants, and the wealth produced in the factories to the workers. It is as impossible to have a political machine which does not reflect the economic organization of a country, as it is to make a sewing machine grind flour. A sewing machine is not made to grind flour. Neither in structure nor aim is it so designed to function.

It is a complete misunderstanding of this, to us, very elementary principle which unfits Du Bois to act as a political or economic leader for Negroes. Negroes are chiefly workers. Ninety-nine per cent of them are working people. It is not possible, therefore, to use the Republican machine, which was organized, designed and financed to represent trusts, monopolies and big business. The Negro does not own the railroads, mines, forests, water power, oil wells, mills, factories, telephone and telegraph communications. His relation to these great titanic combines is that of a consumer or a worker. As a worker the big industrial combinations are trying to work him the longest hours and give him the lowest pay. As a consumer, these same combinations are charging him the high-

est prices obtainable when he buys back the product which he has produced by his toil. The interests of the Republican machine, which controls the Republican Party, are diametrically opposed to the interests of the masses of Negroes who work and toil and sweat and bleed and die while engaged in the industrial warfare by which they attempt to eke out a miserable existence in these United States. This being true, it is not possible to expect that the Republican Party can represent the interests of the Negro any more than it can be expected that a sewing machine will grind flour.

Industrially, Mr. Du Bois says he opposes the I. W. W. because he does not think their methods are feasible. Here again, the doctor shows crass ignorance of economics of labor and industry. The entire modern labor movement has been tending toward the one big union principle for the last two decades. The first transition step lifted its head in the sympathetic strike. But it was found that in order to carry out unity of aim and purpose, an organization of labor must be formed which was co-extensive with the purpose. This brought forth in America the I. W. W., a group of working men who draw no race, creed or color line, not as a sentimental virtue which they dole out with hypocritical unctiousness, but because enlightened self-interest tells them that it is impossible to attain the goal at which they are aiming so long as a deadwood force of twelve million Negro workers obstructs the way as scabs, non-union men or thugs hired by the capitalists. The rise of the Triple Alliance in England including the miners, railway and transport workers again confirmed the soundness of industrial unionism. The Australian workers have adopted the same course. The Canadian workers have done the same. The United Mine Workers of America have just gone on record to combine with the railway and transport workers to form an American Triple Alliance of Labor. All of these developments are germs of the growing idea whose cosmic outlines are the One Big Union. These different alliances are em-

bryonic. They express the trend of labor but they will not stop there. For just as a combination of the railway, mine and transport workers is more powerful than any single group standing alone—this same Triple Alliance will be greatly augmented when it includes in its force the policemen, printers, building trades and all other workers—skilled and unskilled.

The chief need of the Negro is the organization of his industrial power. It is really more important (though both are essential and must be had) than his political power. One who has neither political nor industrial radicalism can hardly be called a radical in the strictest sense of the word. But Du Bois will go on for a while yet wearing the cognomen of "radical" on the ground that he opposes lynching (and all organisms however low in the scale of animal life oppose being killed). The props, however, are fast being cut from under him by the New-Crowd Negroes who are throwing the high-powered searchlight of scientific criticism upon men once supposed to be intellectual titans.

Kelley Miller secured his title to radicalism by replying to Thomas Dixon's "*Leopard Spots.*" He succeeded admirably in showing that a white man ought not kill a Negro without cause, that a Negro ought not be worked without compensation—adequate or inadequate, that Negroes ought to have some education and that the right to vote ought to be extended to some Negroes. Of course, unionism among Negroes is a closed book to Kelley Miller and the new message of Socialism has not even caught his ear. Democracy with him also has many limitations. In 1914, he wrote a very carefully worded mathematical argument against Woman Suffrage. He there showed that we were perpendicularly separated by age, diagonally separated by education and horizontally separated by sex. He stated further, that with years age would change, with training, education would be modified, but neither time nor education had the power to change the sex of a woman. He therefore opposed Woman Suffrage,

however trained, intelligent, alert a woman might be in the science of government, simply because she could not make a man of herself. And this a Negro professor of Sociology in the largest Negro university in the world! A few months ago, speaking in the Church of the Ascension in New York, in reply to a question of some one in the audience, Professor Miller, professor of Sociology in Howard University, solemnly and seriously admitted that he did not know the meaning of the words proletarian and bourgeois. We reiterate then, that judged by a technical standard, Kelley Miller, too, falls far short of being a radical. His reputation rests upon a race defense reply to the reactionary Thomas Dixon in which reply Miller showed great literary ability in the use of satire, repartee and wit.

Archibald Grimke is a Negro radical of a different type from the two foregoing men. His radicalism began with an intense interest in removing injustices against which Negroes are today revolting. He came along with the Du Bois school and early joined in a similar opposition to the Booker Washington idea. A man of nearly seventy years, it is probably too much to expect that he could assume a fundamental radical position at this late date. In politics he still feels so keenly opposed to the Democrats that he is willing to accept the Republicans, regarded by most Negroes as a little bit better than the Democrats, as his chief advance in the political fight. He is a regular reader of *The Liberator* and has caught the meaning of the new message of Socialism. Were it not for the old school training which emphasizes playing politics with the winner, he might even at this late date be a Liberal or a Radical in a technical sense. Facing the question whether he would rather be with the best side or the winning side, has to be answered now in the favor of the winning side—not because Mr. Grimke is a man lacking in courage, but because he naturally feels what most old men feel—that his golden past is behind him and not a golden future before him, that

(Continued on p. 20)

The Social Value of the Uncultured

By George Frazier Miller

The race conflicts precipitated recently in the cities of Washington, Chicago, Charleston, Longview, Knoxville, and elsewhere have provoked many animadversions—the theories of their remote causes have been innumerable; and, doubtless, every theory advanced in explanation of these eruptions possessed its degree of soundness and positive value in the effort at elimination of the evils afflicting the national life.

As highly desirable as is a knowledge of the underlying reasons explanatory of these conflicts for a utilization of such knowledge in the eradication of the evil itself, no effort will here be made at such an exposition. Of quite another matter we purpose at this point to speak.

While we take no pleasure in racial conflicts and deplore most profoundly the bloody combats that disrupt the tranquility of any community life, we are, nevertheless, elated at the dauntlessness of the colored people in the aforementioned contests and the spirit of determination which possesses them in these days of anguish and uncertainty.

Their splendid demeanor and assertiveness, when necessity lay upon them to respond to the attack of their oppressors, challenge our unstinted admiration, and have won for them a constrained respect from those who formerly held them in contempt. While a readiness for a general defense may be accounted for in various ways, there is one outstanding fact or force, highly worthy of our consideration, which entered as a telling factor in the splendid account which, in each case, the colored people gave of themselves; and without which they would, most undoubtedly, have been hopelessly outclassed, and abandoned most pathetically to the viciousness and heartlessness of the white rowdyism that deliberately set itself to the abuse and oppression of the black element of the population.

No review will here be given of the well known arrogance of the white oppressors and their presumption that, at will, they may indulge their accursed vehemence

with impunity, and subject, without redress, the defenseless black man to their murderous and hateful passion.

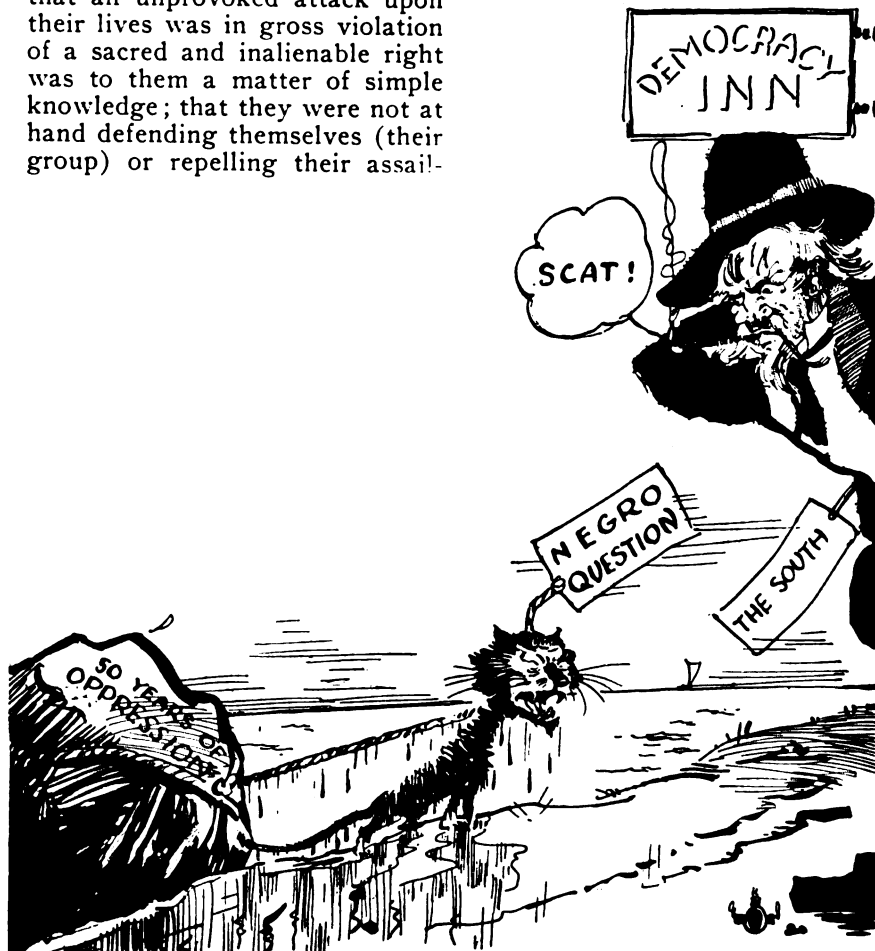
The writer could name, off-hand, a very considerable number of acquaintances in the cities of Washington and Charleston who, according to his most confident belief, were not a factor in the actual fighting—attack or defense—that disturbed the peace of their respective cities.

That they were entitled to defense, and would have been highly justified in making their defense, is unquestionably true; that an unprovoked attack upon their lives was in gross violation of a sacred and inalienable right was to them a matter of simple knowledge; that they were not at hand defending themselves (their group) or repelling their assail-

directed against individuals as such?

Surely the many persons and groups whom the writer holds in mind are not insensible of their rights and the sacredness of their security in the normal pursuits of life; their spirits are proud and assertive of all their manly claims; their sensibilities feel the sore wounding of the contemptible affronts gratuitously heaped upon them; the moral quality of resentment is a strong element of their spiritual constitution, and the in-

**"YOU CAN'T KEEP
A GOOD CAT DOWN"**



ants is, to the mind of the writer, in the absence of positive information, most highly probable. If this supposition be true, what accounts for their absence and their non-participation in a work made necessary by virtue of the assault upon them—upon them because it was a class attack, and not one

dispensability of resistance, to the maintenance of self-respect, is to them an intuitive conviction. Why were they, then, not in the fight?

They are by no means cowards—they are not of that cringing, skulking breed that fears to take
(Continued on p. 24)

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

By Rothschild Francis

(continued from last month)

Legislature and Judiciary

The present judiciary to a student of history resembles the Star Chamber of the Middle Ages. The laws in practise date as far back as 1743, mostly written in Danish. The method of court procedure always holds a person guilty until he proves himself innocent. In short, you are termed a prisoner at the bar. Perhaps Danish lawmakers got this idea from the methods of procedure practised in the Inquisitional Courts of the 13th century founded by Pope Innocent III. The courts at present (in spite of the fact that the American flag flies on the islands) are private. With the essentials of the law written in Danish, the judge not properly posted with the knowledge of American court procedure—and a lawyer ignorant of the Danish language to defend you, how can justice be given to us? What is ridiculous to the mind of a radical is the following: Two years ago a Democratic Congress approved of a bill, originally called Flood's Bill, and now known as "An act to provide a temporary government for the Danish West Indian Islands acquired by the U. S." The act maintains in Section II that the judgments, orders and degrees of this (Star Chamber) nicknamed the court, are final, except sections 239 and 240 of this code. Consequently the present judiciary is not American in make-up, and an immediate change is sincerely wished for among the people of the Virgin Islands.

Our political situation is something deplorable. This same act

referred to above, supports the Colonial law for the Danish West Indian Islands published at Amaliansborg, April 6, 1906, which made the franchise monetary. Now since this same act declares in Section 7, "That all military, civil and judicial powers are vested in the governor and such person or persons as the President may appoint"; and since the last paragraph of Section 18 (Colonial Lak) reads: "Within ten years from entering into operation of this law, the provisions concerning franchise contained in this section are to be revised"—it is consequently self-evident that either the governor or the Colonial Council could request the abrogation of this section 18. We want a manhood suffrage and are not demanding more than the founders of this republic demanded from imperialistic England in their day. The members of the Colonial Council, being at that period all merchants, planters, or their agents, did not want the franchise changed from monetary, knowing that nine-tenths of the working people could not qualify. The law reads: "A man in St. Croix or St. John must either own a property that is calculated likely to yield a yearly rent of at least \$100., and in St. Thomas at least \$140 (or in the preceding year has had a clear annual income of \$300." But laborers in St. Croix get from 30c. to 35c. per day and are only regularly employed during a certain period of the year, so that it is not possible for them to purchase property and to have the clear annual income required, with their low

wage. The same condition exists in St. Thomas, except that the men are paid from 81c. to \$1.50 per day, but these men only work about four times in a month. A few mechanics who run shops and whose incomes can't be estimated with any certainty, together with a few clerks (who must do their employer's bidding) have the franchise. The majority, however, are political paupers. In a population of 10,000 only 231 can vote.

The Working People's Committee, a body whose leaders represent every element in the islands, made a special study of this situation and have devised ways and means to better conditions. They propose to boycott the profiteering merchant class, to establish cooperative groceries, restaurants, markets, clothing stores, drug stores, etc.—to organize an industrial union and conduct classes in economics. Such things will bring these plutocratic parasites of society to their senses and give the poor people their inalienable rights (1) a voice in the affairs of their island home. (2) the right to eat clean food, wear good clothes, live in better homes, read good books and raise their standard of living.

Cooperation and perseverance are necessary. Let us stop looking up into the skies for help. It appears to me that our aerial helper is either dead or sleeps too soundly. Let us, therefore, break the shackles of fear and superstition, remembering that "He that would be free must himself strike the blow."

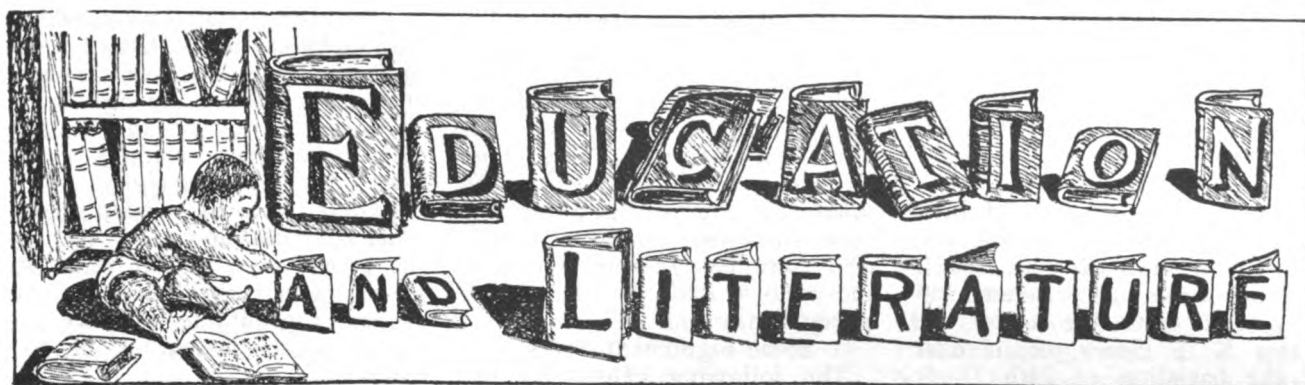
(Continued from p. 18)

the years are short and that no new policy can be entered upon which consumes some considerable time before attainment. His fight as president of the N. A. A. C. P. of Washington, D. C., has been marked by courage, persistence, unswerving loyalty to the Negroes' cause. His organi-

zation in Washington has been the backbone of N. A. A. C. P. movement in the United States. In truth, outside of Washington it cannot be said that the N. A. A. C. P. has any actual functioning organization, and this is due in large measure to the unremitting advocacy and the dogged resolution of Archibald H. Grimke.

This article will be continued next month to include:

WM. MONROE TROTTER
GEORGE FRAZIER MILLER
WILLIAM PICKENS
FRANCIS J. GRIMKE
JOHN F. BRUCE
JAMES WELDON JOHNSON



A Court Martial Tragedy

(First publication of facts gleaned from official documents and interviews with soldier-prisoners by a white investigator)

"Court-martials are made to convict." This is a military maxim centuries old. Never has its truth been more clearly demonstrated than in the record of 22,000 court-martials made by the American army during the brief period in which the nation was engaged in the European war.

Recently the daily press has been giving the people a glimpse of the brutality of American military law administered by shriveled-souled martinets. The courageous action of Brigadier-General Ansell, of the Provost-General's Department, has exposed the fact that thousands of soldiers, many of them mere boys, have been thrust into Federal penitentiaries and "disciplinary barracks," sentenced to long terms for offenses which were ridiculously disproportioned to the heavy punishments meted out to them. The reaction now forming is now setting in favor of justice for these men.

The Tragedy at Houston

On August 24, 1917, Associated Press dispatches carried to the daily newspapers everywhere throughout the country the shocking details of a revolt of colored soldiers stationed at Houston, Texas. The horrible massacre of innocent white men, women and children of Houston was depicted by the story, which was skillfully "played up" by experienced newspaper men. The brutality of the Negro soldiers, who were represented as running amuck, was cited to fan the flames of racial prejudice against the offenders. The latter were condemned even before the affair was dispassionately investigated.

Not one voice was raised in their behalf.

The public was later informed that the colored soldiers had been removed to Fort San Houston, at San Antonio, Texas, where a court-martial would be held to determine guilt and to mete out punishment. Details of this court-martial were not given to the public. Then, one day in December, press dispatches contained the news that thirteen of the Negroes had been secretly executed the day previously, and that they had met their fate bravely.

It is the purpose of this article to give briefly some of the facts pertaining to this affair. Some of these facts I have obtained from the record of the court-martial proceedings, which comprise three printed columns of some 700 pages; other facts I have secured personally from some of the convicted colored men who participated in the tragedy at Houston and who are now prisoners here at Fort Leavenworth, Federal Penitentiary, of which institution I am also a prisoner of the class war. It has been difficult to secure the confidence of these poor fellows. Many of them have been convicted by "framed" evidence wrung from their own comrades by army inquisitions through the use of the vilest and coarsest methods of coercion. It is no wonder that some of these prisoners, fresh from their nerve-wrecking ordeal, have no faith in any member of the white race. I am glad to be able to give a little light upon this affair, even at some personal risk.

Facts Alleged by the Prosecution

The statements following were contained in the case of the prose-

cution, as found in the records of the Court-martial proceedings:

Companies I, K, L and M of the 24th U. S. Infantry, comprising a battalion numbering 23 officers and 645 men, were stationed about two blocks west of the city limits of Houston and about four blocks east of Camp Logan, divisional headquarters.

A Court-martial made up of fifteen officers and comprising three brigadier-generals, eight colonels, three lieutenant-colonels and one major, convened at Fort San Houston, San Antonio, October 20, 1917, and concluded its sessions November 28, 1917. Sixty-four Negro soldiers of companies I, K, L and M., 24th U. S. Infantry, including one sergeant and several other non-commissioned officers, were placed on trial. Col. John A. Hull was Judge-Advocate, and Major D. V. Sutphin, Assistant Judge-Advocate. Major H. S. Grier, Inspector 36th Division, was appointed counsel to defend the prisoners. The record clearly shows that he was a very complaisant counsel, frequently agreeing with the prosecution when the latter objected to anything. This, however, appears to be the case generally in court-martials, where counsels are appointed to "defend" prisoners, and the same military prisoners here at Leavenworth Penitentiary have told me that they were advised by their counsel to plead "guilty" so that they would secure light sentences. Upon following this very convenient advice they were given heavy sentences.

The prosecution charged that on the night of August 23, 1917, from 125 to 150 of the 24th In-

fantry Negro soldiers disobeyed the commands of their officers, seized arms and ammunition, marched into the city of Houston and inaugurated a reign of terror, massacring white men, women and children in cold blood.

The charges, stripped of their verbiage largely, were as follows:

1. Violation of the 64th Article of War, in that the prisoners wilfully disobeyed the orders of Major K. S. Snow, commander of the battalion of 24th U. S. Infantry.

2. Violation of the 66th Article of War, in that they had mutinied, upon the same date, and had broken out of camp, seizing arms and ammunition.

3. Violation of the 92d Article of War, in that they had "deliberately" killed fourteen men in the City of Houston, on the same date, including an officer in the army and a private.

4. Violation of the 93d Article of War, in that they had "deliberately" and feloniously assaulted white residents of Houston with military rifles, with intent to murder.

Each accused pleaded "Not Guilty" to each and all charges.

Dozens of witnesses, including police officers of Houston and residents of that city as well as a large number of members of the battalion of the 24th Infantry, to which the accused belonged, testified for the prosecution.

The record shows that testimony of the prosecution was to the effect that on the night of August 23, 1917, Negro soldiers of the 24th Infantry battalion referred to, well armed and commanded by acting Sergeant Vida Henry of I Company, had invaded the city, killing and wounding these people above referred to. Just preceding this invasion over 2,000 shots had been fired toward the city by members of the battalion after somebody had yelled, "Here comes the mob! Get your guns!" There had been two outbursts of such firing, which the officers had been unable to prevent, as there was plainly evident at that time a period of intense excitement among the soldiers, who feared that a mob was coming from Houston to attack them.

Throughout the 700 printed pages of the Court-martial Proceedings a discerning eye can

readily perceive the vicious racial prejudice of the white witnesses of the prosecution, and the fear and reluctance to testify of the Negro soldiers who were witnesses for the prosecution. One can also easily perceive, that the soldiers of the 24th Infantry had been stationed among a people who were clearly their enemies, and who would show them no mercy at any time.

Some Significant Facts

The following causes leading up to the revolt of August 23, 1917, were agreed upon by both prosecution and defense as statements of fact. The reader will readily grasp their great significance as pertaining to its case:

There had been a number of instances wherein trouble had occurred between the Negro soldiers and white men at Camp Logan, where the 24th soldiers performed guard duty, over the enforcement of the Texas "Jim Crow" law, which required segregation of Negroes and whites. It would appear that this could have been avoided by the exercise of a little judgment upon the part of commanding officers.

There had been a number of clashes between soldiers of the 24th and policemen of Houston, resulting in strained relations. There is no question of doubt that city police officers had brutally beaten soldiers of the 24th unnecessarily, showing the most outrageous racial prejudice. This brutality had appeared to be the regular thing at Houston in the handling of Negro soldiers who had been placed under arrest.

The epithet, "nigger," commonly applied to all Negroes by a certain type of Southern people (this was even the case by many of the prosecution's white witnesses), is regarded by many Negroes as a dirty slur against their race. Its use was resented by the 24th Infantry men when applied to them.

Negro soldiers of the 24th serving as military policemen, had been ordered by their officers to co-operate with policemen of Houston in handling 24th men who violated city civil laws. It appeared that they were willing to obey orders, with a view to preventing racial trouble, but white policemen of Houston refused to co-operate in this manner with "niggers."

The following statement, which was included in the list of facts agreed to by both prosecution and defense, is extensively significant as an indication of the feeling among the colored soldiers of the 24th. Analyze it carefully:

"There may have been many other contributing causes, such as the recent race riot at East St. Louis, which it would not be proper or profitable to call especially to the attention of the court."

("Why not? If some of these causes had been called to the attention of the court would they have constituted a disgraceful reflection upon the damnable record of the American people for mob violence against the Negro race?")

The immediate cause of the revolt by the colored soldiers, agreed to by both prosecution and defense as a statement of fact, follows:

On August 23, 1917, Policeman Sharks of Houston had slapped a colored woman of the city in the face. Private Edwards, of the 24th, who was under the influence of liquor, interfered in the woman's behalf. Edwards was badly beaten by Sharks and arrested. Later on in the same day Corporal Charles Baltimore, colored soldier of the 24th, then acting as a military policeman in the city, approached Sharks and asked him for his version of the affair with Edwards, stating that it was his, (Baltimore's) duty as M. P. to report the matter to his superior officers at the battalion camp. In answer to this request Sharks struck Baltimore who, armed like all the 24th M. P.'s, with a club only, ran away. Sharks fired three shots at him, pursued him into a house nearby, compelled him to come out from under the bed, where he had taken refuge, beat him heavily over the head with his revolver, and placed him under arrest in the city jail. A rumor spread to the 24th Infantry camp that Corporal Baltimore had been murdered and that a mob of white men would come out from Houston that night to attack the camp and kill the colored soldiers. Although the prosecution's testimony shows that an officer of the 24th had gone to the city jail, secured Baltimore's release and taken him back to camp, there was intense

excitement among the Negro soldiers and a strong feeling that they were to be mobbed that night. (No one but a Negro fully realized just what that word "mob" means when violence is to be used against them.) Let it be said here that it is admitted that there was a crowd of some 3,000 white people assembled in front of one of the Houston fire stations on the night of the 23d of August, 1917. For what purpose were they there assembled?

There appears to be no doubt that fourteen white residents of Houston had been killed and eight others wounded on the night of August 23, 1917.

Long after the conclusion of the court-martial's proceedings on November 28, 1917, it was announced that all of the prisoners had been found guilty on all charges, a typical court-martial verdict.

After a mockery of a trial, in which they were condemned, before they were tried, and in which the entire proceedings had been conducted secretly, it was appropriate that thirteen of them should be done on the gallows of San Antonio, December 11, 1917.

The Prisoners' Side of It

From information given me by members of the 24th Infantry who were victims of this court-martial and who are now inmates of this prison—intelligent young men whose faces indicate no criminal tendencies, men who look one in the eye and whose statements have impressed me as being truthful ones—the colored soldiers of the 24th were in great fear that a mob numbering thousands of armed white men were to come out from Houston on the night of August 23, 1917, and to attack them. Even the testimony of the prosecution showed that there was such fear in the battalion camp. Racial feeling ran high against the Negro soldiers and there was a strong and well-defined feeling among whites that Negroes had no right to be wearing uniforms on Southern soil.

It is also shown by testimony in the court that the colored soldiers had asked each other on that night this question:

"Why should we go to France to risk our lives in battle for these white men who abuse us and mob us here at home?"

The rulers of America have yet to answer that question. When the answer is given let them remember the bloody pogroms at East St. Louis and a thousand other places.

Let the fair-minded person who investigates the train of causes leading up to the affair at Houston sum up the conclusion thus derived and, without extenuating the crime of these Negro soldiers, render judgment justly.

Back of it all was there perhaps this feeling among these Negro soldiers: "I have been trained to the use of arms, taught to walk erectly and to value myself in proportion. Why should I submit to being beaten and abused constantly by these white men, many of whom I can easily see are inferior to me mentally and physically?" Again, here is a question which requires an answer.

These colored soldiers remembered the affair at Brownsville, in this same state of Texas, during the administration of President Roosevelt, when their comrades of the Negro 25th Infantry Regiment had revolted against oppressive conditions. Perhaps they remembered the cruel treatment meted out to Mexicans by Texas "rangers" and other "peace" officers. On every side they saw the terrible ring of brutality which encircled them, come closer.

Desperate, feeling that there was no hope of justice for them, let us try to sense the feeling of these soldiers when, believing that a mob of white men were coming to attack their camp, Sergeant Vida Henry of I Company ordered the men to fall in "that night of August 23, 1917." Listen to this statement made to me by one of the men here who was a participant in that march:

"Had the older officers of the 24th Infantry been on duty with the battalion at Houston, this trouble would never have occurred. Had Major Snow not revoked the passes and had he allowed the men to go to town as usual, I don't believe there would have been so much unrest among the men. This action showed that the officers must have been afraid that the soldiers would have been attacked when they were out of camp without their arms. The men were marched

out of camp in military formation by Sergeant Vida Henry. A large majority of them knew not where they were going but were simply obeying orders from Sergeant Henry. I believe the men were under the impression that they were going out to establish a skirmish line to protect the camp. They knew nothing of the Sergeant's intention. When the men realized fully what they were doing, a vanguard and a rear-guard had been thrown out by the leader to prevent anyone from falling out."

In explanation of this statement the soldier prisoner informed me that many of the company of officers had been with the battalion from one month to three months only, and that many of the non-commissioned officers were at student camp in Iowa. The permits revoked by Major Snow were passes to go out of camp to attend an entertainment given by colored people in Houston on the evening of the revolt. Testimony presented by the prosecution showed that Major E. S. Snow, battalion commander, left the camp soon after the firing commenced. The shepherd deserted his flock.

During the march of the mutineers, not over 100 in number, into the city of Houston, the Houston policemen who had manifested their courage upon a number of occasions by beating and manhandling colored soldiers when the latter were unarmed in the city, dared not face the soldiers when they carried their rifles and bayonets. With the exception of four or five policemen who went out to investigate the reported riot and who were killed or wounded by the soldiers, the gallant members of the "force" preferred to remain away from the scene. As one of them expressed it in his testimony for the prosecution during the court-martial. "Why should I go out there and get hell shot out of me?" For it was Houston policemen that Sergeant Henry and a few others were after and not innocent men, women and children, as the Associated Press dispatches had stated. If innocent men were killed or wounded it was because of the great range and penetration of bullets fired

by the high powdered military rifles.

It may be stated here that Sergeant Henry, leader of the outbreak, realizing the terrible fate which awaited him if he returned to camp, blew out his brains with the rifle he had carried.

In reply to my question: "When somebody on the night of August 23, 1917, yelled "The mob is coming! Get your guns!" and where a mad rush was made, the men thought a mob was coming, didn't they? Now was there a mob, or were their shots fired into your camp that night?" I received the following answer:

"Yes, the men were expecting the camp to be attacked. One shot was fired from the East side of camp (nearest town). Whether it was fired from the city side of the short street which divided our camp and the city, this one shot was fired, the firing commenced all over camp. I saw no mob, but one man was killed in Company M, whether by his own men or not, I don't know. But M Company was fired on from the East. (The city was on the east side of the camp.)"

This man gave me the following as some of the local conditions prevailing which the 24th Infantry men were compelled to face:

"We were told upon our arrival at Houston that the citizens had petitioned the commanding general protesting against sending Negro soldiers to Houston. Some fellow, a Prohibitionist, had handbills struck, calling the people's attention to the fact that thirty thousand Negro soldiers would soon be in the city, and that if they allowed the city to remain "wet" to prepare to suffer the consequences. He said, "Remember Brownsville!" This was

to refresh the people's memories as to the riot which had occurred at Brownsville, Texas, between the 25th Infantry (colored) and citizens of that place during Roosevelt's administration. This trouble of ours had been brewing for us from the very first day of our arrival at Houston. We had to walk lots of times on account of street cars being filled up behind the "Jim Crow" signs, yet Mexicans and other workmen were allowed to sit **any place.**"

Reverting to the trial, I asked him the question: "Just what pressure was brought to bear upon the members of the 24th Infantry to compel them to testify against their comrades, and how was it brought and by whom? He replied:

"The men were arrested out of camp, and when they were confronted by the Investigating Board they were told that the "goods" were on them and that they would all hang unless they told all that they knew on the other men, and in the end they were promised immunity. Just what that immunity was I do not know. The Board consisted of Captain Preston, Captain Fox and Lieutenant Leany." Here were "third-degree" methods used by army officers which would do credit to the rotten detective department of any large American city.

Let the reader picture in his mind the threats made by army inquisitions to their helpless victims in the trap, with the terrible sinister shadow of the gallows used by the torturers to extract "evidence" from the prisoners.

When the court-martial closed on November 28, 1917, the prisoners knew nothing as to their fate. That was a refined form of

cruelty to keep them in suspense. They were tried secretly, so far as their relatives and friends and general public were concerned. They were condemned secretly, and thirteen of them were executed secretly on December 11, 1917. Here is the statement of one of the prisoners now at Leavenworth, as made to me:

"The date of execution was kept secret, absolutely so that no friends or relatives knew anything about the execution until after it was all over. The place of execution was heavily guarded for weeks after the execution, so I was told by our guards. This was to prevent the bodies from being taken up and burned by civilians. We knew nothing of the verdict until after the thirteen men were hung. Our sentences were not read to us, but were given to us verbally by the Judge-Advocate, Col. J. A. Hull."

May those facts sink deeply into the minds of fairminded men who are now protesting against the many miscarriages of justice because of the brutal and obsolete military laws of the American army.

Two other court-martials were afterward held on other members of the 24th Infantry because of the Houston affair. Five men were executed on the second one and others were imprisoned as were the men of the first court-martial. At the third court-martial, one man was executed and others imprisoned. At the present time there are 57 of the 24th Infantry men here at Leavenworth Penitentiary, sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and 9 more are at the Fort Leavenworth Military Prison.

(Continued from p. 19)

its chance in the open contests of life; they belong not to that groveling element that puts physical life above honor; that would endure all indignities for the mere privilege of breathing.

What then, you ask, is the explanation of their absence?

It is the spirit of retirement superinduced by culture. That training which brings one to an appreciation of, and abidance in, the delicate features of refinement causes a recoiling with a shudder

from the coarser displays of life: the higher the culture the more revolting become the coarser indulgences of the day, so that a man may be brought to that high pitch of refinement which impels him to the attitude once taken by an eminent citizen of America and expressed in language now made memorable by the questionable sincerity of its sincerity: "There is such a thing as being too proud to fight." The more intense the devotion to the refinements of society, the greater becomes the

spirit of insistence upon the maintenance of the dignity of the gentleman; and mixing in a street broil or riot is regarded as out of harmony with, and wholly destructive of, the genius of noble manhood and of the modesty befitting womanhood.

To such a man will come, from time to time, the internal contest between the maintenance of his gentlemanly dignity and the instinct of self-preservation. His feeling of personal dignity and

(Continued on p. 31)

HER THIRTEEN BLACK SOLDIERS

ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE

She hanged them, her thirteen black soldiers,
 She hanged them for mutiny and murder,
 She hanged them after she had put on them her
 uniform,
 After she had put on them her uniform, the uniform
 of her soldiers,
 She told them they were to be brave, to fight and,
 if needs be to die for her.
 This was many years before she hanged them, her
 thirteen black soldiers.
 She told them to go there and they went,
 To come here and they came, her brave black sol-
 diers.
 For her they went without food and water,
 For her they suffered cold and heat,
 For her they marched by day,
 For her they watched by night,
 For her in strange lands they stood fearless,
 For her in strange lands they watched shelterless,
 For her in strange lands they fought,
 For her in strange lands they bled,
 For her they faced fevers and fierce men,
 For her they were always and everywhere ready to
 die.
 And now she has hanged them, her thirteen black
 soldiers.
 For murder and mutiny she hanged them in anger
 and hate,
 Hanged them in secret and dark and disgrace,
 In secret and dark she disowned them,
 In secret and dark buried them and left them in
 nameless disgrace.
 Why did she hang them, her thirteen black soldiers?
 Why did she bury them in nameless disgrace?
 They had served her, her faithful black soldiers,
 They had served her without flinching,
 They had served her in peril, in fever, with wounds.
 For her at her bidding they marched ready to die,
 For her they gave their bodies to wind and rain and
 cold,
 For her they marched without turning or tiring to
 face her enemies,
 For her they charged them and their cannon,
 For her they leaped over danger and breastworks,
 For her they clutched out of defeat, victory,
 For her they laid their all at her feet, her thirteen
 black soldiers.
 But she hanged them in anger and hate,
 And buried them in nameless disgrace.
 Yes, why did she hang them, her thirteen black
 soldiers?
 What had they done to merit such fate?
 She sent them to Houston, to Houston, in Texas,
 She sent them in her uniform to this Southern city,
 She sent them her soldiers, her thirteen brave sol-
 diers.
 They went at her bidding to Houston,
 They went where they were ordered.
 They could not choose another place,
 For they were soldiers and went where they were
 ordered.

They marched into Houston not knowing what
 awaited them.
 Insult awaited them and violence.
 Insult and violence hissed at them from house
 windows and struck at them in the streets,
 American colorphobia hissed and struck at them as
 they passed by on the streets.
 In street cars they met discrimination and insult,
 "They are not soldiers, they and their uniforms,
 They are but common niggers,
 They must be treated like common niggers,
 They and their uniform."
 So hissed colorphobia, indigenous to Texas.
 And then it squirted its venom on them,
 Squirted its venom on them and on her uniform.
 In their black faces the venom splashed,
 Into their brave heads colorphobia sunk its fangs,
 And covered with foul slime her uniform,
 The uniform of thirteen black soldiers.
 And what did she do, she who put that uniform on
 them,
 And bade them to do and die if needs be for her?
 Did she raise an arm to protect them?
 Did she raise her voice to frighten away the rep-
 tilian thing?
 Did she lift a finger or shy a word of rebuke at it?
 Did she do anything in defence of her black sol-
 diers?
 She did nothing. She sat complacent, indifferent
 in her seat of power.
 She had eyes but she refused to see what Houston
 was doing to her black soldiers,
 She had ears but she stuffed them with cotton,
 That she might not hear the murmured rage of her
 black soldiers.
 They suffered alone, they were defenseless against
 insult and violence,
 For she would not see them nor hear them nor
 protect them.
 Then in desperation they smote the reptilian thing,
 They smote it as they had smitten before her ene-
 mies,
 For was it not her enemy, the reptilian thing, as well
 as their own?
 They in an hour of madness smote it in battle
 furiously,
 And it shrank back from their blows hysterical,
 Terror and fear of death seized it, and it cried unto
 her for help.
 And she, who would not hear her black soldiers in
 their dire need,
 She, who put her uniform on them, heard their
 enemy.
 She flew at its call and hanged her brave black
 soldiers.
 She hanged them for doing for themselves what she
 ought to have done for them,
 She hanged them for resenting insult to her uniform,
 She hanged them for defending from violence her
 brave black soldiers.
 Loyal to the last were they and obedient.

"Attention!" she said to them, her thirteen black soldiers,
 And without fear or bravado they marched at her bidding, singing their death song,
 They marched with the dignity of brave men to the gallows,

With the souls of warriors they marched without a whimper to their doom.
 And so they were hanged, her thirteen black soldiers,
 And so they lie buried in nameless disgrace.

The Social Experience of the Negro Soldier Abroad

Lieut. William N. Colson

During the late war Negro soldiers formed a portion of every considerable branch of the United States Army which went overseas. Many thousands of these men still retain unforgettable impressions of England, Belgium, Luxemburg, Italy, France and Germany. In 1918, there were in the French Republic alone two hundred thousand black men from the United States. At that time over five hundred thousand Senegalese and Moroccan fighters were then already on European soil. The Negro Americans included about sixty thousand fighting men and one hundred and forty thousand stevedores or quartermaster corps personnel. The principal fighting units were the 92d Division, composed of thirty thousand men of all branches and the 369th, 370th, 371st and 372d Infantries, composed of about three thousand six hundred men each. There were fifteen Pioneer Infantries and other units. The stevedores or quartermaster corps personnel were known as labor battalions. The fighting units were mobile, the labor battalions, either mobile or stationary. The quality of the men in the labor battalions was as high as that of the fighting regiments. The stevedores were commanded by white non-commissioned and commissioned officers coming principally from the southern United States. Negroes acted as line officers in the 92d Division and the 370th Infantry.

Naturally, it was in France that the Negro Americans had most of their experience abroad. Their experience in England was merely transitory. They saw Luxemburg and Italy only as small and detached units. They formed a fleeting but definite idea of Belgium and occupied Germany (Alsace-Lorraine) for a brief period immediately after the armistice. But it remained for France, the

France of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, to give them a taste of social experience which will long outlive the bitter memories of either the sound of battle or the toil of labor. France has solved and exemplified for black men from America the answer to the most fundamental of all human questions—the world-long struggle for freedom.

Wherever the traveler goes in France, the words "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" constantly meet his gaze. Those are the immortal words on every "arc de triomphe," on every popular monument, on money and on stamps. The basic idea of liberty, equality, fraternity permeates every part and section of French life. The structure of society is almost devoid of class distinction. Customs are easily appropriated and readily discarded. Law, because sanctioned by the people themselves, is held in great respect. French democracy forbids the further ascendancy of church and army. Science, art and literature have reached their greatest height in the free atmosphere of a liberty loving people.

The French family is of the most amiable type. The individual member, social, self abnegating—is characterized by impulsive human sympathy,—it is his desire to make life more happy, not only for the other members but for all who come in contact with the family.

Intellectual candor is another striking characteristic of this people. Their morality is based on logic rather than on ethical feeling. It is this faculty for the truth, coupled with the reflex of their history and traditions growing out of the French Revolution, which give the Frenchman his fearless and always modern ideas about race, sex, religion, color of

the skin and general morality. Brieux and Lavedan have well expressed French morality in their familiar dramas.

It must also be remembered that Socialism is a very vigorous force in the Republic. Socialists play an important part in the politics of every *department*, and it is they who are responsible for most of the advanced social legislation of both department and state. Labor forces in France have been marshaled by this powerful class for many years. MM. Jaurès, Vaillant and Hervé were among the most potent figures before the war. Today sees perhaps the greatest of all living French Socialists, Anatole France, again exerting a nation-wide influence. It is these great forces of life and freedom which make the undying principles of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" real.

Into this fair country, the Negro Americans came. We saw them unloading the big ships at the great sea ports, Brest, St. Nazaire, Bordeaux, Marseilles, Le Havre and Cherbourg. We saw them stocking warehouses at Tours, at Gievres, Dijon and at Is-sur-Tille. There was one steady stream of them from the coast to Chaumont and from the Saône Valley to Epinal, Nancy and Verdun. Their units were billeted in small villages of the Vosges from Bourbonne-les-Bains to Corre and Passavant and later from St. Dié to Raon l'Étape. They were stationed at Blois, Vierzon, Paris, Bourges, Le Mans, St. Aignan-Noyers, Nantes, Langres, Belfort, Thann and Marbache. They went on leave to Savoie, to Brittany and to the great cities. It is safe to say that with the exception of deliberate limitation by the American military authorities, the Negro soldiers gained a fairly representative view of French life and manners.

Because of the large number of men used in the world war, soldiers were billeted in the homes of the French population, rather than placed in barracks. Very often a town of five thousand population would house seven thousand five hundred soldiers, who would live in the cellars, lofts and barns. All vacant rooms in dwelling houses were utilized. In many cases the family made use of a lesser amount of space in order to care for the warriors. This arrangement was the greatest single factor in giving the Negro soldiers of the United States that social experience which forms the basis of the most compensating lesson of their mission abroad. They came in close contact with the family, the inner manifestation of French life and democracy.

Briefly stated, the principal points of social contact which the Negro soldiers had, were the towns, the cafés and restaurants, the leave areas and the great cities. In each one of those groups of places, they enjoyed with the French, the common every-day experiences of life. It is needless to say that the **French took the Negro soldiers on terms of absolute social equality, just as they took Englishmen or Belgians on terms of absolute social equality.** Of all the American soldiers, the good natured Negro, who learned the French language and manners so easily, was without a doubt the best liked American. Hundreds of unsolicited testimonials, verbal and written, attest to this undeniable fact. Many are the reminiscences with which black men refer to their fair treatment in all parts of France. Once the fine nature and high character of the Negro Americans became manifest, the French people opened their homes welcomingly to them. They wined and dined them at every opportunity. They made invidious comparisons between the whites and the blacks, but **always in favor of the blacks.**

When the riots between French and American soldiers and sailors occurred at Brest, the French made it emphatically clear that American Negroes, "**camarades,**" could walk the streets without molestation. To show how well the French people received American Negroes, **various estimates place the number of marriages of American Negroes and French girls between one and two thousand.** Though most of these marriages were among the **bourgeoisie and proletariat, a surprisingly fair percentage was found among women of culture and refinement.** It was quite the custom for Negro officers to spend their leaves with French families to whom they had become endeared. Barring misunderstandings, due to differences in language, American Negroes in France enjoyed the highest degree of social equality compatible with current conditions.

While enjoying unrestricted social equality among the French population, Negroes saw among other things: Negro deputies in the French Chamber; French Negro officers commanding French soldiers, white and colored; no color or caste discrimination whatsoever; in short—a country characterized by the fullest social, religious and political equality for every class and race and nationality.

French publicists have discovered with disgust the American brand of prejudice. *L'Avenir* of Paris carried the following editorial comment soon after the riots in Washington:

"Until now the Negro population of the United States has accepted this condition, but war has developed in them the spirit of revolt. This is why: American Negroes came to France in thousands and mixed in our public and national life like anyone else."

Indeed, the social experience of the American Negro abroad will continue to produce, from the present time on, the most favorable and proper reactions. Remembering the pleasantness of

French life, he will not rest until **he has caused to be ushered into the United States, a state of complete and uncompromising economic, political, and social equality.** This program will call for the benefit of every enjoyment, privilege and immunity which the **white race does or will possess in America.**

When the question of American race prejudice was brought before the French Chamber of Deputies in 1919, by two Negro legislators, MM. Boineuf and Lagrosillière, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"The Chamber faithful to the immortal principles of the rights of man, condemning all prejudices of religion, caste or race, solemnly affirms the absolute equality of all men, without distinction of race or color, and their right to the benefit and protection of all the laws of the country.

"It counts upon the government to impose upon all respect for these laws, and in particular to pursue with energy all the measures to prevent infractions of the penal law committed upon national territory, **no matter who be the authors or the victims** of these infractions, and it moves the order of the day."

Thus France will always be looked upon by American Negroes as the one shining example of democracy in this narrow world. Along with political and industrial democracy, Negroes in the United States will demand, with unflinching eye and uncompromising attitude, that freedom of association which France so gladly, willingly and ungrudgingly guarantees. This freedom of association will call for the immediate and complete abolishment of Jim-crow laws, free and untrammled access to public places, and the speedy and eternal discontinuance of all discriminatory practices imposed by American legislative or administrative bodies because of race, creed or color, or previous condition of servitude.

Suscribe to the Only Magazine



Judge Terrell

Among all peoples, certain men are elected or selected as leaders. Their place in the vanguard is presumably based upon their ability and desire to guide and direct the actions of the people to the people's advantage and interest. It is axiomatic, and is removed from the realm of debate: that an individual or race must first be before he can be **anything**. Where life is in doubt all striving for a higher life is, and must needs be, held in abeyance. Ambition is born of a belief that its ideal can be realized. Nobody but a fool will apologize for living. And none but fools will permit anyone else to apologize for their defending their lives when assaulted by a rabid, hunnish, frenzied mob. And, especially, is it an unspeakable and nameless betrayal of faith for a supposed leader to enter an excuse in the public press for the manly and courageous stand of his followers in defense of their life. Some of our readers might think that the existence of such a leader is an anachronism; some might think that he is the product of a diseased imagination; some might think that it is inconceivable that a people could be so ignorant and stupid as to select one so cowardly, cringing, spineless, ignorant and assinine.

But when an examination of the character and work of the Negro leaders is made, however, it will be found that they, to a lesser

degree, sad to say, than the leaders of any other people, embody the elements of courage, independence and intelligence. The subject of this survey, in "times that try men's souls," together with Emmett Scott, another handy Negro of the rich white folk, sought to win favor in the eyes of the Huns of America, by berating, deriding and decrying the will of Negroes to "acquit themselves like men." But Terrell has long since demonstrated his ability to serve both the South and the North, the Democrats and Republicans, the whites and the blacks without wounding the feelings of either. What Negro can receive the support of Congressmen from the lynchocrat South and at the same time defend Negroes, the victims of lynch-law? Terrell holds his position under all administrations, Republican and Democratic. He satisfies Hoke Smith, John Sharp Williams, Vardaman and Lodge. Terrell was one of the first to meet and greet Woodrow Wilson when he returned from the Peace Conference, which is sufficient of itself to disqualify any Negro leader for future service to his race, and to merit the sharp, bitter and unrelenting condemnation and repudiation of colored people everywhere. The masses of Negroes must understand that he who is not for them, whether he be white or black, is against

them; and that a leader's worth to them may be determined by the character of those who support him.

A bold, aggressive, militant, fearless, radical Negro who is really fighting in the interest of his people will be condemned, not endorsed by Wilson, and that infamous pack of Negro-hating, Negro-baiting Southerners in the saddle at Washington. Judge Terrell has played the role of a "Big Negro Leader" long enough at the expense of the rank and file. It has been thought quite sufficient to give him a slice off the political loaf, while to the large masses of the Negroes were doled out the crumbs. While Negroes are maligned, ridiculed and spat upon, lynched, disfranchised and jim-crowed, mobbed, maimed and mutilated, despite their record in wars for America, Judge Terrell and Scott, tools of the "bloody shirt," traitors to the million cries of black men, women and children for justice and liberty, counsel that Negroes lie down and die like dogs, instead of standing up and fighting like men! Think of it, and Negro leaders too! The imprecations of coming posterity armed with knowledge and courage shall fall upon the impious heads of those who have committed the unpardonable sin of selling their people for thirty pieces of silver. .



A Most Interesting Controversy

Each month many letters of interest to our readers find their way into the MESSENGER'S office, but few of them prove more timely and interesting than the following letter from William T. Hornaday, Head of the N. Y. ZOOLOGICAL PARK, President of the AMERICAN GUARDIAN SOCIETY, Vice President of the ARMY LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES and a member of the Board of Trustees of the AMERICAN DEFENSE SOCIETY. Victor R. Daly, the Business Manager of THE MESSENGER and formerly an officer in the 367th Infantry makes reply, which is also published here for the benefit of our readers. Since Mr. Hornaday addresses his letter to the "Friends of the MESSENGER" we would be pleased to have those of our

readers who are interested to reply to Mr. Hornaday, in order that he may learn how Negroes are thinking nowadays, and in order firmly to establish in his mind the fact that as civilization has advanced, so has the Negro, and consequently, the Negro of today is a different type altogether from the Negro whom Hornaday's forefathers took up arms to free from slavery.

We are so thoroughly in accord with the entire tenor and substance of this reply by the Business Manager, that we do not deem it necessary for the editors to reply in person.

THE EDITORS.

New York Zoological Park,
September 11, 1919.

To the Negro Editors, Promoters
and Friends of *The Messenger*,
Radical Negro Magazine, 2305
Seventh Avenue, New York.

Sirs:

To me it is a matter of duty that I should write to you in regard to the course you are pursuing toward the Negro race. I am quite sure that nothing that I am going to say will affect your course in the least; but after I have placed it on file with you my conscience will be clear so far as you are concerned.

I was born in the North. My parents were "black abolitionists." All my brothers and uncles who were able-bodied and of military age fought in the war on the northern side for the suppression of slavery. I was too young to enter the conflict or I, too, would have taken up arms to terminate the injustice of slavery toward the Negro race.

I am a subscriber to *The Messenger* and it is no exaggeration to say that I am amazed and horrified by the spirit of race hatred that it manifests, and the evil effects upon the Negro race that

it is calculated to produce. I regard you, the founders, editors and particular friends of *The Messenger* as the worst enemies of the Negro race with whom I am in any way in touch at this time!

At the very moment when there is the greatest need for peace between the black and white races in the United States, you are stirring up hatred and inciting armed conflict. In proof of this assertion I cite the cartoon on page 17 of *The Messenger* for September, entitled "The New-Crowd-Negro Making America Safe for Himself." That cartoon is enough to make the blood of every white man who is not a Bolshevik or a professional Negro-lover, stir and quicken very perceptibly.

The gulf between the black and white races in the United States already is deep enough, and wide enough! You are holding out to the colored race the bait of full "social equality"; but you should know without being told—and I think that you do know perfectly well—that never while the world stands will there be "social equality" in the United States between the black and white races.

Really, it seems to be your deliberate intention to provoke a general armed conflict between whites and blacks of this country. I can understand why the Bolshevik white men who are supporting *The Messenger* should adopt that course. They believe in wreck and ruin, in the hope of getting something tangible out of it for themselves which they do not possess just now; but a sensible Negro should not be so unwise as to be deceived by the insane ravings of any Bolshevik, any I. W. W.'ist, or anarchist or socialist of any class.

Really, it distresses me to see colored men lied to, duped, deceived and led completely astray to their own undoing by the Bolsheviks who are trying to wreck the world. It is currently believed that *The Messenger* was founded by radical socialists, and I know that it has the public approval of Morris Hillquit, John Haynes Holmes, Scott Nearing and others of their kind and class. I am not addressing myself to them. They would gladly see the Negroes of America assist them in their campaign of revolution. I am addressing myself to the men who owe

their freedom to the great Civil War, in which hundreds of thousands of northern white men gave up their lives for the cause of union and freedom in the United States.

I call upon you to **come out from among the Bolsheviks, and have nothing more to do with**

Dear Mr. Hornaday:

Your letter of recent date has come to my attention, and in the absence of the editors, I cannot refrain from filing these few remarks with you in order that my conscience may be clear. The editors will probably reply to you personally upon their return. I am addressing these lines to you, not in behalf of the "Messenger" but as one who served as a 1st Lieutenant in the army for nearly two years and a winner of the "Croix de Guerre" in France. Naturally, I am highly interested in what you have to say since I am one of the "promoters and friends" of *The Messenger*.

To begin with, the fact that you hail from a family who took up arms during the Civil War on the side of the North for the suppression of slavery, is of no intrinsic value to me or any other Negro, for it is a historical fact that had there been any possibility of saving the Union at the expense of slavery, that institution might still be in existence in the United States. We don't find any white Americans nowadays taking up arms to terminate any injustices against Negroes.

As to the accusation that we are the worst enemies of the Negro race with whom you are in touch, I can readily understand your position. Being a Northerner, and therefore dependent upon Negro-hating, southern press despatches for your information concerning the great mass of Negroes in this country, you are probably under the impression that just as we are the worst enemies of the race, so Cole Bleese, Vardaman, Byrnes and Hoke Smith are the best friends of the Negro—or perhaps chance has never thrown you in touch with one of these gentlemen. If you ever have the pleasure of meeting one of them, just mention casu-

ally, you know, that you are the son of "black abolitionists"—and await results.

But to pass on, you are perfectly justified in stating that at this moment there is the greatest need of peace between the black and white races in the United States—but even greater than that is the need for peace between the black and white **workingmen** in America. It is to the promotion of this peace that *The Messenger* has devoted itself. In proof thereof, we call your attention to the accompanying seal.



Does this look as though we are desirous of fomenting racial friction? Of course, it amazes and horrifies you. In the present great World Struggle between Capital and Labor, by very dint of your position, you are bound to be on the side of the great capitalist group, whose very existence depends upon the exploitation of the masses. And what a death blow it would be to your group here in America if the iron battalions of the twelve million Negro workers could be mobilized as an "army of manœuvre" on the side of American Labor. This is our deliberate purpose—**your** uncanny nightmare. You have used the term "Bolshevism" and "Bolshevist" several times in your letter. So many and varied meanings have been put upon these words by the prostitute press that I am at a loss to know your interpretation of them; but if you interpret them to apply to the above outlined purpose of *The Messenger*, then classify me, too, a former United States Army Officer, as a Bolshevist.

Finally, I come to the real gall—the question of "social equality." You call upon us to "come out from amongst the Bolsheviks," you plead with us to

permit the Bolsheviks to set it back still further. Do not betray your own race into the hands of the men who would wreck the government if they could, and whose colleagues in Russia have wrecked Russia, and now are drenching it with blood and blasting it with famine.

Yours very truly,
W. T. Hornaday.

The Reply

warn Negroes against affiliation with the I. W. W.'s or Socialists. You attempt to appeal to our patriotism as American citizens. And what do you begin your appeal with? The unqualified manifesto that "never while the world stands will there be social equality in the United States." In other words, you have condemned us forever to the dirt and filth of a Jim-crow car. You brand us and our posterity as an inferior race of people. You forever perpetuate the dastardly practice of lynching, which is only an outgrowth of social inequality. You point the finger of scorn at us and leave us to the tender mercies of the institutions of segregation and disfranchisement—all of which are founded upon the rock of social inequality. In very truth, you slam the door of opportunity in our face and still call upon us to turn a deaf ear to those who advocate a change—a revolution as you like to call it. What kind of human beings do you take Negroes to be, anyway? Do you realize that the recent "world flame" was brought about by even less causes than this? Poles, Jews, Irishmen, Armenians, Koreans were never treated any worse than Negro-Americans. Why shouldn't we give ear and even hand to a movement that promises a change for the better? This social equality bug-bear is purely an American institution, anyway. We found none of it in France. Whites and blacks intermingled freely in hotels, cafés, train and even at dances and parties, while over one thousand Negroes stevedores intermarried with white French girls and I doubt if French honor and prestige have suffered in any way for it. Even the Americans found social equality not so distasteful under certain circumstances in France. Many

are the times I have seen white officers and soldiers eating, sleeping and mingling indiscriminately with Negro officers and soldiers—on the front. There's a reason!

In conclusion, as to your absurd statement that the Washington and Chicago riots have put the race back twenty years, then you imply that America's entry into the war to repel a so-called unprovoked attack by Germany, put this country back fifty or a hundred years. Has any man ever put himself back for defending himself and his home? Would you have all men cowards? Well, the Negroes of Washington and Chicago have left no room for doubt in your mind, I hope, that they at least are no cowards. No, we do not advocate armed conflict but we do advocate armed resistance. If you were set upon by a mob of five hundred men bent on lynching you, and you had a gun in your hand I suppose that you would offer it to the man nearest you, out of courtesy? We stand with those who stand with us, and against all those who stand against us. If you have any criticism to make on this policy, we would be glad to hear it.

Trusting that these few lines may be of some assistance to you in your effort to clear your conscience, I am,

Yours very truly,
Victor R. Daly.

(Continued from p. 24)

sense of "propriety" may assert themselves very strongly; and, when so, he says: I would lose caste to mix in a street broil, and rowdyism is incompatible with my station in life: such indulgence would inevitably result in my expulsion from my social group.

So culture affects us, and leads, oftentimes, to the forfeiture of immunity against assault and the affliction of any wrong.

In that case culture itself becomes an offense; a contributory element to degradation; and one, in the face of the demands for self-protection, could wish him-

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

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

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

self a ruffian, and could sorrow that culture in him had ever conduced to the subordination of the native disposition to proper assertiveness and self-preservation. This observation brings earnestly to mind the need which presses hard upon many of us to recover from the soothing and deceitful voice of a culture (?) that lulls to inactivity and timidity when the stern voice of duty calls to resolute action to annihilate those forces of evil that, presuming upon our weakness and cowardice, visit us with their wanton abuse and bloody lust.

In the light of these indisputable conditions, upon whom could we have depended (leaving out of the present consideration the soldiers recently returned from the field of battle, whose spirits are still vibrating with the fire of militarism) in these inter-racial battles, for the safeguarding of our homes and the lives of those who are dear to us? Who, aside from the soldiers, performed these noble and enviable exploits in giving the "Hun in America" a dose of his own medicine?

It was the man we call uncouth—the man unaccustomed to the

exactions of the drawing room and the etiquette of the social board. His life had not been disciplined with the graces of society; he knows little or nothing of society as that term is understood in educated circles, he is wholly unconcerned with what elegant people think of him. His abandoned spirit often leads him into a carelessness of his own life—and the more utter the cheapness of his own life the more complete his disregard of the lives of other people.

Such people are usually unoffending when let alone—the "happy," easy-going, uncultured element of the community!

They can be found and duplicated in any district of the land.

The social value of these uncultured is beyond estimate, and we of the "cultured" folk owe them a large debt of gratitude for their splendid and cherished service in the conflicts into which they were recently drawn by their economic antagonists, their political and social oppressors.

Some may say this is a false estimate of crudity, and if the estimate were true, crudity would be placed at an altitude far beyond the reach of culture. That is not the claim of this writing. We are not here attempting a comparative study of the two conditions, but endeavoring, in the absolute, to point out the value, to a certain element of society at large, of another element of that group that can and will measure up to the demands of the time when confronted with a certain crisis.

If, further, we might be permitted to make a comparison, we venture the assertion that the spirit of self-defense, and the determination to respond unflinchingly when the occasion calls to fight the battles of life, to ward off every attack, to redress every grievance, to take reprisals upon assault, to defend one's rights at every angle, and one's life to the utmost, is more highly to be prized than a thorough knowledge of all that Aeschylus or Euripides ever wrote. I would rather be a crack shot when shooting is needed than be the most finished Homeric scholar in the land.

NOTICE

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS,
SOCIALIST BRANCHES,
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THE IRISH AND THE NEGRO

P. O. Huaithe

On page nine of your July number in an article on "Negro Police Captains" I note a reference to Irishmen and the astounding statement, "the race which Negroes as a whole dislike most."

Why should you hate the Irish? A nation that never wronged a man because of color? We have suffered like you. We have been chained together in the same slave ships and sold into serfdom by the same tyrant—England. Twenty thousand Irish boys and girls were sold into slavery in the Virginian Colonies and the West Indies by Oliver Cromwell, the father of the British brand of "democracy." The Irish historian, Prendergast, gives the names and bills of lading of the ships that carried us off to slavery. Sometimes when a full load could not be obtained, the vessel cruised the African coast to make up a cargo; they had no fine "jim-crow" laws then. I have seen the original of the contract made to Messrs. Sells and Leader of Bristol, England, dated September 14, 1663, by Captain John Vernon, agent of the English commissioners in Ireland "to supply two hundred and fifty women of the Irish nation, above twelve and under fifty-five years of age. Also three hundred men of same ages" for export and sale.

Our blood was mixed with yours to such an extent that D'Arcy McGee, the historian, pointed out that among Negro sailors of British ships about 1,800 could converse in Gaelic with the old Irish women that ran lunch counter near the docks where the ships unloaded. There is evidence too, that Negro groups in the West India Islands were exclusively Gaelic speakers a century ago. Is it not possible that the distinctive West Indian type of features comes from our Irish blood, from those poor Irish slave girls sold into the same slavery with your ancestors by the same power—England?

In Ireland we have no color line, although the last papers I received from there reported rioting in Cardiff and Liverpool where the English mobs killed some "niggers"—Arabs who had been imported by capitalists to cut down wages, just as they—En-

glish capitalists—imported Chinese coolies into South Africa after the gold mines had been captured from the "Hunnish" Boers.

Our Dublin University and medical schools were, before my departure four years ago, the abode of dozens of students from India and Egypt who had been turned away from the exclusive English and Scotch colleges. We did not think of them as "inferior" races, they were just exploited people like ourselves.

As many of these Egyptians and Indians studied explosives instead of medicine in their spare time, the British Military General, who is the supreme power in Ireland, has since decided to keep Ireland an exclusive white residential district.

All this will show that the man of color should not have any marked ill feeling against the Irish as a race. We are the only white subject nation denied self-determination by the same Peace Conference that would not admit your race delegates.

Like yourselves we are not fit to govern ourselves, and President Wilson told us that ours is a "domestic question" and no concern of the big international financiers who controlled things at Versailles in the interest of our "mother country—England."

An Irishman, John Boyle O'Reilly, unveiled the monument and wrote the famous ode to Crispus Attucks in Boston fifty years ago emphasizing it was a man of color who was the leader and first victim of the riot that led to the Boston Tea-party and the War of Independence.

Casement, whom England hanged, battled for years for the inarticulate man of color, and the *Crisis* at the time of his execution, parroted the English cry of "traitor."

Also remember that thousands of good Irishmen found a grave while battling for your emancipation from slavery. Their natural love of liberty made them leap to the task, and in conclusion I hope that colored men will wean themselves of the alleged dislike of the Irish.

Yours in the Gaelic,
P. O. Huaithe.

(Continued from p. 31)

We sorrow at the degradation of men, and would assist all, if we could, to attain to the heights that come within the reach of their capability, but so long as we are afflicted with white scum in America we may stand in pressing need of the uncultured among ourselves.

Great were their deeds when some of us, hemmed in through a mistaken voice of culture, soothed ourselves into a state of non-combativeness with the assuring counsel: we are too proud to fight.

Their glory is unheralded, their names not written in light, their voices not heard upon the stage of oratory, but their deeds are resplendent, and unknown, most of them, we extend to them grateful praise—and tender tribute do we pay to those who fell in defense of the right.

"Let not ambition mock their useful toil,

Their homely joys, and destiny obscure;

Nor grandeur hear with a disdainful smile

The short and simple annals of the poor."

2951 Tilden St., Wash., D. C.,
July 19, 1919.

The Messenger Editors:
Dear Comrades:

I am delighted that there is being made articulate, the identically sourced problems of Negroes and all Radicals. The *Messenger* has been cruelly needed, and I hope that when either—or both—of you are in Washington you will unfailingly let me know (before hand) that we may arrange a discussion of ways and means for connecting up these two great social undercurrents.

I belong to the Socialist Party and have felt for a considerable time that the two streams of just discontent should be made to flow into one broad one.

Please find enclosed my check for one year's subscription, and believe me, most sincerely, wisher of best of all luck for *The Messenger*.

Margaret Hatfield.



A ring in his nose,
His hair in a knot,
His dress a fig leaf,
His hat a pot;
Of course he was
A Hottentot.

He said he was sent
By the rest of the tribe,
As a sort of official
Hottentot scribe;
To get the story
With data, and facts.

Of lynchings, and roastings,
And such other acts;
As have recently happened
In this civilized land.
Because the Hottentots
Have on hand,
A particular matter,
A feast so to say;
At which they would like,
To make criminals pay,
For their crimes, in the modern,
Civilized way.
And mainly, he said,
Where the Hottentot fails,

Is in keeping them conscious
While he pulls out their nails;
And he would like to learn,
(’Twill be something to boast,)
How to keep them alive
While they slowly roast.
He would have said more,
But I covered his mouth;
And into his ear,
I shouted, “Go South!
There without doubt
You will find a lot,
Who would gladly teach this
To a Hottentot.”



J'ACCUSE

The world in silence nods, but my heart weeps:
See, welling to its lidless bleary eyes, pour
Forth heavily black drops of burning gore;
Each drop rolls on the earth's hard face, then leaps
To heaven and fronts the idle guard that keeps
His useless watch before the august door.
My blood-tears, wrung in pain from my heart's core.
Accuse dumb heaven and curse a world that sleeps:
For yesterday I saw my flesh and blood
Dragged forth by pale-faced demons from his bed
Lashed, bruised and bleeding, to a piece of wood,
Oil poured in torrents on his sinless head.
The fierce flames drove me back from where I stood:
There is no God, Earth sleeps, my heart is dead.

—Claude Mc Kay.

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—George W. Blount.

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