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Who Halted the Ku Klux Klan Probe?

The French People and Social Equality

THE MESSENGER

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Editorials

HALT KLAN PROBE!

THE Congressional Committee which started the probe of the Ku Klux Klan suddenly and without ceremony halted the investigation. So far no reason has been given for this precipitate action. Equally queer is the sudden silence on the part of that part of the press which just a few weeks ago was so pronounced in its opposition to the Ku Klux theives and bottleggers.

We wonder why the halt in the probe, the cessation of exposure on the part of the press. Surely the New York *World* is surprised at this sudden halt after having collected the mass of testimony gathered in by that metropolitan organ. Assuming then that the *World* is surprised (*shocked* or *stunned* would not be too strong) why does not the *World* ask the question itself?

We are not surprised at what happened. We predicted it in speeches and in writing. We warned of the official white-wash on the way. While we are on this, we warn our readers (Negroes in particular) to guard against the same fate to the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill! What has become of the Tague, Dyer and Gallagher resolutions calling for the Klan investigations?

The editors of the MESSENGER have no faith in most of these investigations. They are simply methods of lulling the people into a false sense of security. The usual end of them is an official whitewash.

The Klan will lie low for a while; then it will renew its depredations and atrocities—this time, no doubt, leaving off the Jews and Catholics as the butt of its attack. Then it will have a free hand to kick around the Negro, to break strikes, to club strikers of all races, creeds and colors.

Meanwhile the New Negroes will prepare for all eventualities!

THE NEW YORK CAMPAIGN

THE New York mayoralty campaign is on in earnest. The candidates of the Democratic, Republican and Socialist parties respectively, are appealing to the voters. The Socialist party, led by that indefatigable team—Judge Jacob Panken for Mayor, Harriet Stanton Blatch for Controller, James Oneal for President of the Board of Aldermen—is conceded a quarter of million votes even by its opponents. There are two Negroes on the ticket for Alderman and Assemblyman.

The Socialist platform deals scientifically and courageously with the traction, school, taxation, unemployment and municipal ownership problems. In non-biustering but unmistakable terms it presents its claims to the support of the working class. It steers clear of romance; it deals with political realism. Genuine radical it guards against erraticism. No school

boy academic casuistry creeps in about “*reform*” or “*revolution*.” It calls for every forward step in winning the war between those who work and between those who work the workers. In this great class war it realizes that many battles will have to be fought ere the victory is won. It therefore, properly and intelligently, proceeds to appropriate every economic, political and social advance step on the road to the new social order.

Let the workers vote for every member of the Socialist Party ticket. Make your mark beside the arm and torch of labor and of light!

RAILROAD STRIKE

WITH this writing it is not certain that the railroad strike will or will not take place. One thing seems clear, however, viz., that the railroad owners desire a strike. For the railroad owners this is the most opportune time for them to feed fat the grudge they bear the railroad unions. The union chiefs are at sea. They are afraid of capital, and not too confident that their men will abide by their decision. Being some of the most backward and unprogressive unions in the country, they have consistently denied Negro railway workers a union card. They may yet live to reap the whirlwind of this foolish, anti-labor policy. Negroes can't be blamed for suspecting the fairness of organized labor when it only takes cognizance of their power when a crisis arises. Witness the belated move of the A. F. of L. with respect to organizing Negroes in transportation. The following news item speaks volumes on the subject of labor politics of the American Federation of Labor.

NEGROES IN RAILWAY SHOP

ORDERED TO FORM UNION

Memphis, Tenn., Sept. 30.—Ten thousand negro employees in Southern railway shop centres, including Atlanta, Birmingham, Dallas, Little Rock, Memphis, Nashville, New Orleans, Knoxville and Chattanooga, today were ordered to organize immediately and affiliate with the six shop crafts union.

Organization of all Negro rail employees in the South is said to be an emergency measure adopted by the American Federation of Labor as a preliminary toward mobilizing a union labor army in nation-wide battle against wage reductions.

Of course, we want Negro and white labor to join hands, but we want white labor to accept the Negro worker's hand upon a basis of brotherhood and not upon a basis of opportunism; for this is no more than White capitalists do to white and black labor alike.

POLITICAL AND CLASS WAR AMNESTY

STILL we cry for amnesty! In America, labor is too backward to force the financial and political autocrats to let go the spokesmen of the workers. As

yet, no mass demonstrations have been made by the workers in the interest of political and class war prisoners. The chief agitation has been conducted by liberal organizations, such as, the Civil Liberties' Union. Along with the general wave of economic liquidation, the workers' morale has slumped to a distressingly low water mark. Now that the Treaty of Peace with Germany has been formally ratified there is no longer the slightest excuse for President Harding and Attorney General Daugherty to equivocate with general amnesty. Let Eugene V. Debs go. Let Ben Fletcher, Walter T. Nef and Doree, the I.W.W. prisoners, go. Let all men and women imprisoned for opinions they hold, go. Such is the mandate of an outraged humanity.

Walter T. Nef, a former secretary of Local 8 of the I. W. W. of Philadelphia, completes with this issue, a clear, masterly and conscientious analysis of the I. W. W.'s policy and position during the war. He has left no ground for the Harding administration to stand upon with its false charge that the I. W. W. preach and practice the doctrine of sabotage, anarchy and violence. His arguments are cogent, direct and unanswerable, based upon hard, indisputable facts.

We want our readers to ponder carefully the statement of Walter T. Nef, and to dispatch a telegram forthwith to Harding and Daugherty, demanding that the I. W. W. prisoners be released. They have committed no crime; on the contrary they have served nobly and unselfishly their class and humanity. They only sought to articulate the grievances of their fellow workers, when pressed to the wall by the heartless hand of organized capital. Can America afford to admit that it is a crime for men and women to struggle to live? Every day that the jail bars hold political and class war prisoners behind them, is an admission that the right to life and the pursuit of happiness can only be enjoyed by the rich, and that it is criminal for the workers even to aspire to the same. When will we remove this stain from the name of the country?

UNITED MINE WORKERS TO STAY UNITED

A news despatch reads:

Indianapolis, Oct. 4.—A ban against union coal miners belonging to the Ku Klux Klan was placed today by the convention of the United Mine Workers of America. Without discussion, the delegates amended the union's constitution to provide that miners joining the Klan shall be expelled from the union and Klan membership must forfeit their membership to join the union.

The United Mine Workers are to be commended for deciding to take this courageous course. It needs to be remembered, however, that Negroes constitute a large proportion of the Mine Workers Union, and the decision to prevent any disunion by the Ku Klux was in effect a decision to remain United. Otherwise there would be a cut throat race competition in the coal mines—a competition which would all but destroy the fuel diggers' union.

THE FRIENDS OF NEGRO FREEDOM

THE Friends of Negro Freedom have become very active in Philadelphia. On Sept. 23rd they held

a record breaking meeting at St. Peter Claver's Hall, when the Rev. W. H. Moses was given a much needed chastisement for his defense of the Ku Klux Klan. The huge hall was packed to capacity, hundreds electing to stand. Most of the daily papers reported the meeting, two of them giving considerable space and running the account in Saturday's and Sunday's editions.

The Philadelphia Forum of the Friends of Negro Freedom is held weekly, on Sunday. It is the center of education upon current questions. Prominent public men and women have spoken before the forum and others are scheduled to speak shortly. The program which has been completed up to Feb. 5th, includes the following speakers:

Hon. L. C. Dyer, Cong. from Mo.—Nov. 6th.

Hon. W. S. Vare, State Senator—Nov. 13th.

Hon. H. W. Watson from Pa., State Senator—Nov. 20th.

Hon. Joseph Walsh, Cong. from Mass.—Nov. 27th.

U. S. Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wis.—Dec. 4th.

Miss Lodson Hall, Dec. 11th.

Mrs. Laura Guckley—Dec. 18th.

Robert W. Bagnall—Jan. 8th.

Congressman Thos. J. Walsh of Mont.—Jan. 22nd.

U. S. Senator Boise Penrose from Pa.—Jan. 29th.

Congressman Martin B. Madden of Ill.—Feb. 5th.

The Forum is the modern educational institution. The thinking Negroes of Phila. are to be congratulated upon its development in that city.

KEEP IT UP!

September 13, 1921.

Editor of the MESSENGER:

The Savoy Theatre, San Francisco, recently announced a showing this week, under the management of Jefferson Asher, of Thomas Dixon's notorious anti-Negro picture, "The Clansmen." Protest by colored citizens led to its prohibition by the police. Asher then applied for a restraining order to keep the police from preventing the appearance of the picture. But on Monday, September 12th, the day announced for its presentation, over 200 Negroes gathered before the theatre with the avowed intention of keeping Asher from putting it on. The manager thereupon dropped his application, withdrew "The Clansmen," and substituted "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari." This act, by the way, is a bit of poetic justice, as this German-made play had been "prohibited" by the American Legion in Los Angeles, largely made up of motion picture "extras" who didn't like competition from Germany.. Asher apparently has a sense of humor; in Los Angeles he substituted "The Money Changers," a picture by Upton Sinclair!

Public sentiment in this city is with the protestants against "The Clansmen," and many white citizens joined with the Negroes in preventing this insulting picture from being shown.

MIRIAM ALLEN DEFORD.

San Francisco.

The foregoing letter came to us just as we were going to press. It represents just the spirit which we are constantly trying to quicken in Negroes. Plan to stop these race stigmatizing shows everywhere. Gather

before the theatres and show your determination and power.

Besides, right along you will find *many white citizens* who will join with you if you display intelligence and courage. The "*Negro first*" *folly and fallacy* will be exploded while Negroes can prepare the way for genuine racial co-operation for the common good.

Congratulations to the San Francisco Negroes. Keep up the good work!

Congratulations to the many white citizens! That is the spirit.

FRENCH PEOPLE REMEMBER OUR BOYS

ACCORDING to the director of the International Exchange here at Vermillion, South Dakota, there are many French people, particularly young ladies, who are seeking correspondence with interesting young men of America. They wish especially to remind the boys that France has not forgotten them for their brave deeds of valor, and the friendship that has been endeared by the memories of their sojourn. Many of the young ladies who have asked for correspondents are students on various subjects, such as art, literature, music; and on topics pertaining to other subjects mutually interesting. The young ladies some of them, make it emphatic to say that they wish to correspond with the brave Colored boys as well as with the white boys; for they say that they do not wish even one American to think that he has been forgotten.

International Exchange,
Vermillion, South Dakota.

The MESSENGER,
New York City,
Gentlemen:

I think that you will find the enclosed announcement interesting enough to publish in your magazine; and I wish to say that this information is not second handed, but I have received the same from the director himself.

Very truly yours,
C. G. WINEGAN.

The above correspondence speaks for itself. Of course, our position is well known on this matter, yet we cannot overemphasize it. The young colored men will find it an excellent method for learning French by entering into such correspondence. Besides they will be able to get information on European questions—subjects upon which they are now sadly uninformed. The French cultural mind, too, is worthy of contact in exchanges on art, music and literature. Again, it affords much-to-be desired social communication between the races from which most Negro Americans are unhappily excluded.

Therefore, let the young colored men in the schools and colleges, as well as those out in life, avail themselves of this genial opportunity which will be a non-patronizing and mutual exchange.

THE Negroes of Virginia have nominated an independent Republican ticket with the following candidates:

Governor, John Mitchell, Jr., Richmond, Va.;

Lieut. Governor, Theodore Nash, Portsmouth, Va.; Attorney General, J. Thomas Newsome, Newport News, Va.; State Treasurer, T. E. Jackson, Staunton, Va.; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Mrs. Maggi L. Walker, Richmond, Va.; Secretary of Commonwealth, F. V. Bacchus, Lynchburg, Va.; Corporation Commissioner, Jacob L. Reid, Roanoke, Va.; Commissioner of Agriculture, A. T. Brickhouse, Exmore, Va.

This is tangible evidence of their revolt against "lily whiteism" in the south, that they realize the Republican party, both state and national, is agreed that

"Nought's a nought,
Figure's a figure,
All for the white man,
Nothing for the 'nigger.'"

Nevertheless, so long as Negroes still support the reactionary principles of the Republican party their condition is no better. If the present group of candidates were elected the Negro masses would shift from exploitation by white bosses to exploitation by Negro bosses. The masses of Negroes will have yet to organize against their Negro bosses. If there is any doubt about this, it will be easily removed by a dispute with a Negro employer over the pay envelope. Or, better still, let some one examine the wag scales of the businesses controlled by most of these Negro candidates. There is some hope, however, in this gesture. A dead body of unquestioning loyalty to the Republican party has begun to move. Shunted on its course later we may expect to move it in the right direction.

WARREN G. HARDING

ACCORDING to the Washington, D. C., Tribune: In a recent interview with a group of colored men who went to invite him to address a meeting in October, the President gave them to understand that his "mind was definitely made up as to the [administration's] policy with reference to colored people."

Mr. A. H. Grimke, acting as spokesman for the committee, extended the President an invitation to address the opening meeting of the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P., in October. He said: "The colored people have been under a great strain for the past eight years which they hoped would be relieved by your administration; and the colored people are especially anxious to hear from you as to what they may expect as citizens."

The President informed the committee that with the many calls for his appearance and speeches at this time and the future date some time off, he could not promise them, but that if public business would permit he would be present or send them a message.

It is alleged that he also stated that he had definitely made up his mind as to the [administration's] policy with reference to colored people and had decided that he would appoint no colored man to office in the South, but that he may appoint some in the North.

He said: "I may be dreaming, but it seems to me that the colored man of the South has his only opportunity by falling in the ranks behind the leadership of white men, until such a time as he may be able to control the Legislature. I may be wrong in

this, but I am determined, live or die, sink or swim, to adhere to this policy."

This is quite a significant statement following the meeting of the Virginia State Republican Convention in Norfolk and the kicking out of the colored brother.

The colored people of this country were surprised and shocked at this utterance from President Harding. They should be neither. Nothing could be more natural considering their relations.

President Harding and the dominant Republican party forces have set upon a determined course to break the solid South. The industrial interests of Dixie have joined hands with the manufacturing, mining, and financial interests of the North and West. The Negro is no issue, except insofar as he is made so by the South's demand for his complete sacrifice in every way. The coal barons of Pennsylvania have joined hands with the coal operators of Alabama. The iron masters of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana have united with the iron kings of Alabama. The ship building interests of New York, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Washington have combined with the ship building magnates of Newport News, Va., and Jacksonville, Fla. The textile mill owners of Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York are one with the textile mill masters of North Carolina. The oil kings of Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia are in oily fraternity with the oil monarchs of Oklahoma and Texas. The railroad magnates of the North own lines in the South, also Northern banks have huge investments in the industries and resources of the South. In other words, there is no difference between the North and South except geographical location. Big economic interests are at stake. One section is the complement of the other.

Both are now industrialized—the North more than the South. The true relation is about this: The South is the field for the securing of raw materials; it is the home of undeveloped resources—the reservoir of cheap lands and cheap labor. The north has the capital, both financial and industrial, to exploit these resources. The South within the last half century has developed its own capitalists who combine with the northern capitalists in the common exploitation of the South.

These are the questions which are actuating the administration policies toward the Negro. They are big economic issues. There is no time to consider whether Henry, Charlie, Sol, Gilchrist, William, or Jim has secured a fat political berth.

This is the new light in which new Negroes must view the political moves of the United States. No longer can they interpret, after the superficial method of some inside information or personal friendship, the great and far-reaching decisions of the American Empire. Least of all can Harding's Negro policy be deciphered by any small thinking.

THE KU KLUX KLAN—HOW TO FIGHT IT

THE "Invisible Empire" of the Ku Klux Klan has become visible. The K(nights) of the Ku Klux have been dragged into the light of day. The invisible has been made visible. The Knights of Night, who live a life of darkness, who move only under

cover of masks, have been unmasked by the splendid journalism of the New York World.

The imperial wizard and his lieutenants are not very much of wizards after all. As a matter of fact, we would favor awarding William Joseph Simmons of Atlanta a mud medal for colossal ignorance. And then when one considers the five hundred thousand followers of this pusillanimous professorette of Southern history, it is easy to understand the Niagara of illiteracy in America and the invisible empire of ignoramus. It is sufficient to note that William Joseph Simmons, president of Lanier University, Atlanta, Georgia, copy-righted a book, and placed it in the library of Congress subject to the view of anybody who wanted to see it and then proclaimed to the world that this book was the greatest secret of civilized southern savagery.

But these savages, bootleggers and thieves must be fought because they are vicious. How shall this fighting be done? Who shall do it?

As we very early insisted, almost a year ago, the Ku Klux Klan thieves and bootleggers must be fought by all against whom their darts are directed, plus all public spirited and far visioned persons.

The Klan announces that it is opposed to Negroes, Jews, Catholics, organized labor and foreigners. Then Negroes, Jews, Catholics, organized labor and foreigners should combine to annihilate the Klan. The Ku Klux Klan uses physical force. The Negroes, Jews, Catholics, labor and foreigners should use all the force necessary to suppress the Ku Kluxers.

The Ku Klux Klan also uses propaganda—a vicious, lying propaganda, which poisons public opinion. It spreads rape lies against the Negro. It represents the Jews as stirring up race war between whites and blacks. It forges mendacious oaths into the ritual of the Knights of Columbus. It represents labor and foreigners as having no place in the country. Obviously these groups, the victims of such misrepresentation, must counter with propaganda just as the World and about twenty other papers are now doing. The light of publicity will drive them to the tall timbers; the truth will retire them to oblivion.

Economically, the imperial wizard says they urge all Klansmen to trade only with Klansmen. In return the Negroes, Jews, Catholics and foreigners should boycott any Klansman's business until he is bankrupt.

Politically, these Negroes, Jews, Catholics, labor and foreigners should, as they can, sweep from political office every known or suspected Klansman and then see to it that none rises to power any more.

Legally, pressure should be brought to bear to have the leaders and organizers indicted, tried and convicted. If legislation does not exist already, Congress should be pressed to enact the requisite laws to disband and outlaw the entire motley crew just as it did in 1872.

In the meantime Negroes, Jews, Catholics, labor and foreigners must not try to carry on any debating society. They must be prepared to protect themselves, must be well armed, must shoot to kill any one who encroaches upon their lives. No tarring and feathering fraternity should be respected except by bullet, brick, bottle, club or some deadly and maiming weapon. A good cold steel lesson is what is

needed. Negroes everywhere, the Knights of Columbus, labor, foreigners and Jews are surely able to give a few lessons at this sort of defense. Also let our Southern Negroes brace up. Get in the mood of hanging together and then you will no longer hang separately. In Mobile, Birmingham and Montgomery, Alabama; in Jacksonville, Florida, Atlanta, Savannah, Columbus and Macon, Georgia; in Charleston, S. C., in New Orleans, La., in Houston, Galveston, Dallas and Austin, Texas; in Richmond, Petersburg, Norfolk and Newport News, Virginia,—Negroes are in sufficiently large numbers to protect themselves against the Ku Klux Klan. Of course, we are ready in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, Trenton, Newark, Boston, Chicago and such places to take care of the situation whenever it arises. *If the Klan were to drill through the Negro section of New York it would never be able to drill back!* The Negroes of every organization are a unit on that. The Ku Klux grafters and thieves and murderers may drill through the streets of Atlanta, Jacksonville, Birmingham and Richmond. Brave Knights of the Ku Klux, don't try it in New York! Probably you have heard already of the organization of Negroes in Trenton known as the "Kan Klux Too." Well, we can Klux all over the North and West and we are rapidly stiffening the back bone of our black brothers in the South so that they "will Klux too", as they *Kan Klux too*.

Lastly, a group of ignoramuses who believe in snake charmers, wizardry and witchcraft, an imperial wizard in an ordinary fraternal hustler—are in no way prepared to govern any empire beyond the baili-

wick of the cotton boll weevil. We know of no set of Negroes who would fall for such transparent clap trap. We have never seen a gathering of Negro peons in the black belt of the South who were so bankrupt in ideas, so poverty stricken in information, who were such intellectual lilliputians that five hundred thousand of them would follow and pay ten dollars each to some fraudulent mental midget, some clay-eating, hook-wormed and pellagraized cracker, posing as a wizard, **usurping the livery of imperialism**, claiming sway over an invisible empire, nay describing himself in terms which to any sane man would be indisputable evidence of a fakir, a charlatan, a quack or a veritable mental moron.

But the **Ku Klux Klan must go**. It must be destroyed. There is no place for the revival of a "Know Nothing Society in an alleged land of the free. Good deeds need no mask. Laudable acts seek no shroud of secrecy. Empires belong to yesterday. Wizardry and Witchcraft hark back to the dark ages. Invisible government has been discredited. The world tomorrow will be visible. The empire will have yielded to democracy.. Wizards and Witchcraft echo yesterday—not the nascent voice of tomorrow. The mask of ignorance and ignobleness will be torn from the lurid face of illiteracy; and where now there is darkness, the miasmatic menace of religious bigotry, the putrescent breath of race prejudice—tomorrow will be held a new world illumined with intelligence, touched by the magic wand of credal tolerance, ionized by the alembic of human brotherhood.

Economics and Politics

HARD TIMES

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

HARD times, like a shadow of ill-omen, lowers o'er the land. Upon street, in subway and hotel lobby; in factory, church and theatre, muffled whispers of a dreadful winter, escape distressed and listless faces. The air is full of fearful misgivings. The grip upon certainty is loosened. No one seems to be sure of himself. All is shrouded in a cloud of doubt, speculation and conjecture save the matter of the coming winter. Of its awful, catastrophic and terrible ravages, there is unanimity of mind. A sort of instinct for sensing approaching disasters seems to be uniformly developed in periods of storm and stress, by the human species.

In the life of nations and men, crises arise, during such times, issues big and pregnant with imminent peril of life and wealth, fling themselves forward into the forefront of social thought and affairs, obscuring matters of lesser immediate import and significance.

During the terrible days of the World War, whole nations, thought, talked and dreamed in terms of battle. To-day, in Russia, the "Famine" obtrudes itself upon all—tomorrow it may be a counter-revolution.

In the capitalist world, the industrial and financial depression, engrosses minds of all station and degree—high and low, rich and poor.

At every turn, questions flow thick, and fast, such as: When will the country return to "normalcy"? When will prices fall? Will wages fall to a pre-war level? How many men are unemployed? What is the world coming to, anyhow? What is the cause of the present crisis?

These inquiries, however, are not indigenous to the soil of America. They spring up wherever men recognize and sanction the right of one man to exploit the labor of another. In Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and America, the wave of unemployment has risen so high that it threatens to shake the very pillars of capitalist society. It is a part of the litter spawned by a planless system of production and exchange. It has followed as one of the last in a train of direful visitations upon a hapless and distracted world. In the wake of an indescribable holocaust of fire and blood, pandemics, such as Influenza, taking its appalling toll of fifteen millions in human lives; droughts that burn up crops—the prop of life, spreading famine with its withering hand of want, and finally, unemployment, with its forbidding fore-

bodings, clutches the throat of the voiceless, toiling masses and struggles for a strangle hold. Meanwhile the proud masters of the economic foundation of wealth production and distribution, cynically plot to destroy all of our civil liberties, and re-enslave the workers.

Arguments are pressed, in press and pulpit, by the paid gentry of the bourgeoisie, that only high wages force the factories to close and consequent widespread unemployment. Hence, the Open Shop Campaign or American Plan, the myriad injunctions against strikes, the notorious industrial espionage system, the bloody Mingo operators'-miners' war, the inexcusable retention of Debs and class-war prisoners in jail, the ceaseless attack upon Soviet Russia and the brutal clubbing of the jobless by the New York City Police, are calculated to break the will of the militant few and halt the march of proletarian progress. This, of course, is a smoke-screen, set up by the crafty capitalist oligarchs to conceal the anarchy and chaos and misery wrought by their own hands.

But as has well been said: "History teaches that the ruling class never learns anything from history." The lies, persecution and deception directed against the awakened minority, have only served to expose the wicked, corrupt and impotent practices employed to bolster up a social order, in collapse.

Upon a survey of the march of capitalist-imperialism in America, it is clearly seen that no other possible outcome than the present economic debacle could issue forth from a decadent regime.

Following the war-period of unprecedented production, stimulated by abnormally high price-levels, rendering the accumulation of huge profits inevitable, the tide of unemployment rose higher and higher. Wage and job deflation hit the workers, and price deflation drove the middle class business man to cover. Chronic industrial paralysis had settled down upon the country. Now there is a veritable standstill in production, awaiting the liquidation of huge existing inventories piled up in warehouses. The home market has contracted, as the purchasing power of the workers is reduced through ever-increasing wage slashes and wholesale lay-offs and lock-outs. Nor is the foreign market open to American goods at prevailing prices. Foreign exchanges continue to go downward. England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, and Poland are not unlikely to default the payment of their staggering debts. Thus, the signs of an early European industrial recovery, are not the most reassuring.

And despite the fact that the great world powers are reeling under a crushing war burden of some two-hundred and sixty-five billions of dollars, they are unrelenting in their made race for great armies and navies. While the working people of the various countries are being bled white by senseless taxation; while the Governments are laying off government employees and reducing wages, they are maintaining imperialistic military and naval occupations among the weaker peoples as collecting agencies for the rapacious banking cliques of their capitalists.

In England ex-service men are starving to death—the very men who fought for Llyod George's principle of self-determination for small nationalities. While they tramp the streets looking vainly for work, for bread, the King's Royal Army holds the bloody heel

of tyranny, at a cost of hundreds of millions of dollars, upon struggling Ireland and outraged India. Naturally, the wily British diplomats, seek to cancel the eleven billion loan, America made to the Allies. Even Poland, with the Polish mark trenching hard upon the zero point, aided and abeted by France, whose franc is depreciating constantly, as she issues tons of paper money, would start on an imperialistic rampage of conquest against Soviet Russia. And it is estimated by Dr. E. B. Rosa, chief physicist of the Bureau of Standards that more than 93 per cent of the total appropriations of the United States is absorbed by the expenses of the recent and previous wars and the maintenance of the war and navy departments. With the naval and military organization, pivoted upon the backs of the American workers, the Haitians, Santo Domingans, and Mexicans are denied the right of self-determination.

But such is the fruit of a system, under which, according to the Industrial Relations Commission, 2 per cent of the people, in America, own 60 per cent of the wealth, and 60 per cent of the people only own 5 per cent of the wealth.

In 1910, according to Prof. W. I. King, a conservative professor of the University of Wisconsin, a little over half the total national income went into the hands of a small portion of the population in the shape of rent, interest and profits. He gives the following figures:

Percentage of total income distributed as	
rent, interest and profits	53.1
Interest	16.8%
Rent	8.8%
Profits	27.5%
Percent going to wages	46.9

Expressed in terms of money that in 1910, workers received in wages and salaries \$11,300,000,000, while profits and interest absorbed \$12,100,000,000. In other words, although labor created \$24,100,000,000 worth of wealth, it only received 46.9 per cent of the same. The surplus wealth consisting of all above the amount received by labor in the form of wages, went into the hands of the owners of the machines, raw material and land which labor used to create said wealth.

But this was a lean year for the money hogs when we compare it with the halcyon times which obtained while our boys were dying "over there." In succeeding years, as a result of improved machinery and more efficient methods of production, the rate of profits, rent and interest rose, while the rate of wages, i. e., real wages, or the purchasing power of the workers' money steadily went down.

The foregoing facts show that the workers receive less than 50 per cent of what they produce. In other words, if a worker produces \$10 worth of wealth a day, he receives less than \$5. This fact prevents the worker from buying back the whole product of his toil. Hence, this surplus wealth continues to pile up. A part of this surplus wealth is invested in undeveloped countries, creates rivalry between capitalist nations and finally wars. Still the home market is cluttered. At last, overproduction exists, and the factories, mines, mills and farms are closed down and the different allied industries are paralyzed, creating an industrial and financial panic.

This proves that the workers' thrift, industry and

honest efforts produce themselves out of jobs. Hence they starve, not because there is not sufficient food; but because the workers are not able to buy the food which they produced. In other words, they must starve and their children must starve because they produced too much food. The same thing is true of the other necessities of life.

Hence, it is not high wages paid the worker that cause hard times, but just the reverse. When wages are high the market expands, for the purchasing power of the worker is higher and his demand is higher. When wages are low the market contracts, for inversely, the purchasing power of the worker is lessened, necessitating a consequent slump in demand. It is elementary, that as the workers receive more wages, they want more goods, and as they want more goods, more goods will be produced, thereby requiring more labor to produce them.

A word about whom these hard times strike hardest.

The two hardest hit groups are labor and the small business man. This means that it cripples all Negroes, for all Negroes fall within one or the other of these two groups. As workers, being usually unskilled and unorganized, they are the first fired, receiving, also, the first cut in wages.

As business men with small capital and being unprepared to await the slow liquidation of frozen capital, they are caught in a dilemma. During periods of industrial depression, prices break. The people's purchasing power is lowered, forcing businesses that have large amounts of stocks on hand, to effect quick turn overs, even at a loss, in order to release capital for emergency business demands, such as facing pending notes. Only the big business man can afford to sell at a temporary loss. For the small business man to sell at a loss, means bankruptcy; still if he does not sell, he becomes bankrupt, because his prices prevent buying—resulting in trade stagnation, for when-

ever there is no trade there is no business and the result is that the enterprise is taken over by a receiver.

Such is the present plight of the Negro worker and business man in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, D. C., Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, etc.

A large number of Negroes have entered projects that have no economic soundness. They have assumed huge burdens which they can not bear, for these undertakings depend upon the Negro worker for funds, and the Negro worker is jobless. He has no funds with which to buy bread to feed his crying children. The inevitable result will be failure. And there is no Negro movement which is prepared to lead, to advise either the Negro worker or the Negro business man. He has no economic statesmanship, and only economic leadership, at the present moment, is vital and imperative.

We commend these hard, cold economic facts to the members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. What is the movement doing for those from whom it expects to get its money with which to float its schemes? The National Urban League serves the Bosses, consequently, it is idle to expect such an organization to help the Negro worker. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is fighting for civil rights. These, while good and necessary and timely, do not touch the big economic problems of the Negro—the problems that most concern his life.

Sad to say, most Negro preachers still worry about Jonah in the belly of the whale, and the Negro press is ignorant.

Thus, the Negro in a threatening economic storm, is afloat upon a sea, without compass or pilot, save what light and leading the bold band of militant Negro radicals lend.

DISARMAMENT

By CHANDLER OWEN

WITHIN a few days the so-called disarmament conference is to sit in Washington, D. C. It is generally considered that the great powers are disturbed lest the peace of the world should be again broken. There is a lurking feeling that the tendency to fight is stimulated by a nation's being well munitioned, equipped—"prepared"—if you please.

This apparent desire for peace, however, is not found to be the motivating cause of the conference by students of world politics. We find, on the contrary, that the burdens of taxation for maintaining armies and navies have soared so high that it is no longer possible to shift all of those loads on the working people, but any further assessments must, as they will, fall upon wealth. This, to say the least, is not a rosy anticipation.

A study of the table for U. S. appropriations in 1920 shows the expenditures to have been distributed as follows:

		Per Cent
I.—Past Wars	\$3,855,482,586	68
II.—Future Wars	1,424,138,677	25
III.—Civil Department	181,087,225	3
IV.—Public Workers	168,203,557	3
V.—Education and Science	57,093,661	1

Total \$5,686,005,706 100
(Analysis by Dr. Edward B. Rosa, of the United States Bureau of Standards)

Commenting upon this table, the American Union against Militarism remarks:

"In 1920 total appropriations for education, science and the stimulation of agriculture and industry were \$59,000,000. A single one of our seventeen new fighting ships costs \$40,000,000, and its upkeep amounts to \$3,000,000 a year. Our navy will cost at least half a billion a year, if the present scale of expenditure is continued."

It was asserted that we fought the last war "to make the world safe for democracy;" that it was a war to

end war—a war to crush German Militarism, in order that the world might disarm thereafter. Let us see how much sincerity was in the Allies' professions. Among the leading allied nations were Great Britain, Japan, and the United States. German militarism was crushed in Germany. Prussia had to accept the most humiliating terms. The allies made a peace with victory. They prepared the terms for Germany and then gave them to her to accept and sign. The German delegates were not even permitted to attend the long half year session of the allied delegates at the Versailles peace conference. Naturally, then, having so completely humbled Germany and the Central powers, one might expect that the allies would be unloading, that they would be reducing their appropriations after 1919 below those appropriations in 1912, when all Europe was in a feverish race for armaments. Let us see the table for three of these allies.

	1912	1921
Great Britain	\$351,044,000	\$1,121,318,000
Japan	93,576,000	282,357,000
United States	244,177,000	1,422,752,000

At a glance it is obvious that both Great Britain and Japan in 1921 have trebled their appropriations for the army and navy while the United States has increased appropriations in 1921 by six times over the same appropriations in 1912.

Has the average reader any conception of the reason? Or does he even know it? Of course, he does not know it, but he does know that these countries are preparing to fight somebody. Nobody else is able to compete with them, so they must be preparing to fight each other.

Bless your soul, that is just about it! If any one will examine the 1921 appropriations of the U. S., he will find that they just about equal the combined

appropriations of Great Britain and Japan. The United States in 1921 appropriated \$1,422,752,000: Great Britain and Japan combined appropriated for army and navy \$1,403,675,000—or a slight difference of about 19 million dollars. In this connection it will be remembered that the U. S. has been constantly prying into the terms of the Anglo-Japanese secret treaty. She has asked repeatedly whether it called for Great Britain's going to war with Japan in the event of war with America. To which Lloyd George has repeatedly replied that all responsible parties knew what the treaty contained. This is an evasion which neither affirms nor denies England's joint responsibility with Japan in the event of a Japanese-American war.

The disarmament conference is to try to save the forces of all the nations concerned. What they want is an armament or preparedness holiday! Each is eager to stop building if the others will stop, yet each must go on if the others continue to arm. At the same time, if each of them continues to pile up this huge burden upon the tired and bending backs of the working people, it must plan to face civil war at home—the revolt of the people—a revolt which may metamorphose into a revolution and sweep away the very foundations of the old order of society—the tottering system of capitalism, and its foster child, a dogged but doddering imperialism.

In the United States out of every dollar of taxation 93 cents are spent for war,—past, present or future conflicts. This cannot go on. Unless a halt is called civilization will have a backwash. The dykes will be opened as the dark waters gush in.

Only aroused, intelligent and courageous world public opinion can save our masters from the mass murder which their system forces them to plot. Let us call the halt

Education and Literature

A VACATION

WE were tired. A long winter of work and worry combined with a sweltering July had brought us upon the brink of breakdown.

Rest, nature's balm, called. Dreams of vacation haunted us. The goddess of Leisure beckoned us on.

Where to go was settled without much deliberation. The Ladies Waist Makers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union had a great resort—The Workers' Unity House, Forest Park, Pennsylvania, in the heart of the Blue Ridge Mountains. It is open to all persons of labor and radical sympathies, so that labor and radical educators, journalists and teachers are welcome.

Early in August we dropped everything, and with cases packed for vacation, proceeded to Forest Park, where we arrived about three o'clock in the afternoon.

When we motored into the grounds we were greeted by a great arched sign which reads: "Welcome Unity House!" As we stepped out on the spacious porch of the main building a little girl, Miss

Bessie Switzsky, the manager, escorted us to the register. This completed, we received a supply of towels and were shown the way to our room. It was room number 26, in one of the cottages, spacious, airy, light, with a large private bath and a glass door permitting porch exposure.

Dusty and dirty from the travel by train and auto we immediately tested the refreshing utility of the tub. We next attired in regular vacation style,—doffing our hats, collars, ties and coats, and turning in the collars of our shirts.

It was a hot day. The humidity was high. We yearned for water—not to drink but to bathe in, to drink from its cool current of air. Forest Lake affords both. There is something fatally fascinating about water anyhow, but this lake emmeshed between mountains, always placid except for the lapping waters and the paddling oars, veritably lures. And here we spent much of our stay at Unity.

When we returned from the lake it was nearing 6:30, the dinner hour. Persons were stretched all over the green lawns—some taking sun baths, some

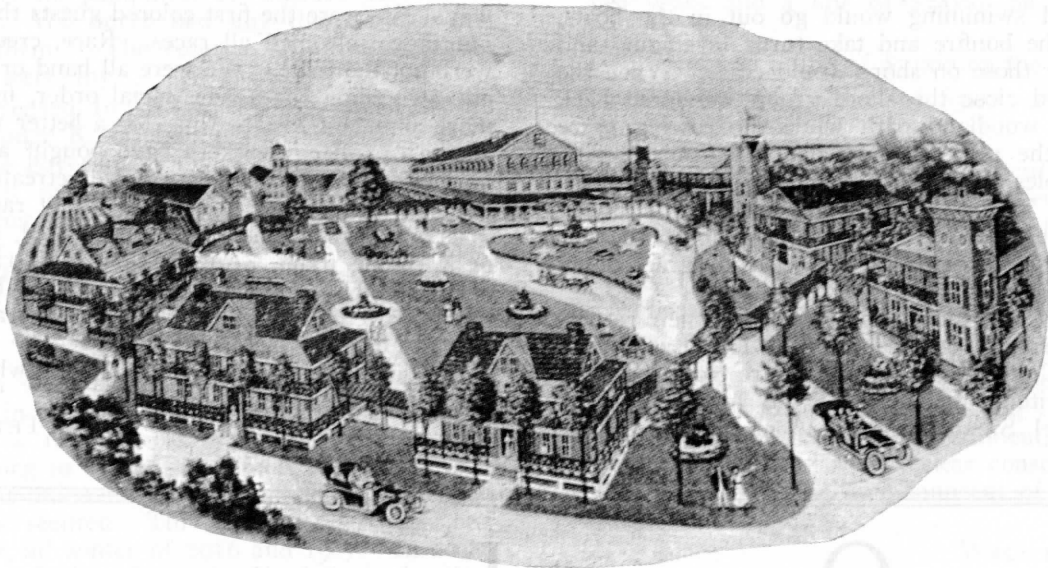
drying after a lake plunge, others seeking the coolness of shade beneath the gentle maples, the giant oaks, the bending birches, the sweet scented cedars.

Suddenly, we saw them rise as though some intense stimulus had actuated them. It had. The dinner bell, described by one cynical fellow as the favorite orchestra there, had rung. To us it was not unwelcome either. We went into the long dining room where we were seated at the administration table. Later we were seated at the artists' table. The evening was clear. For a moment we looked out across the lake and spied the mountains soaring above the tree tops, thrown into bold relief against the velvet purple of the sky. It was beautiful, but we were too

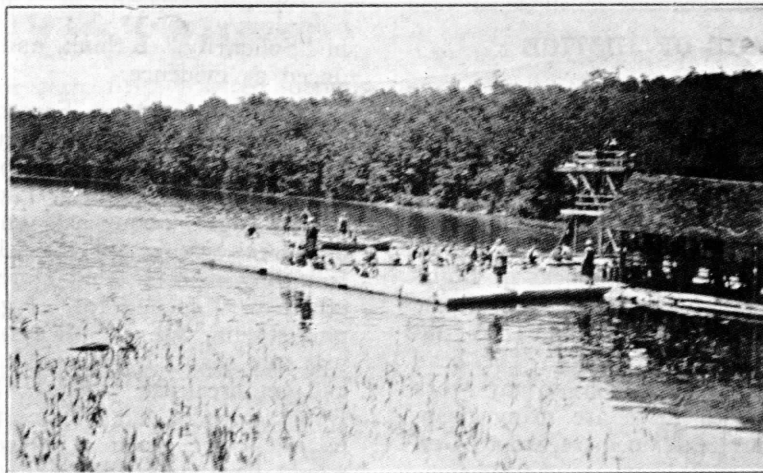
agement anguish, but because we felt the "Call of the Wild" Wolf—Hunger.

Dinner over, we began to examine the physical plant. In this respect Unity House is ample and exquisite. There is one large hotel together with eleven large cottages. Many of the rooms have private baths. Electricity, hot and cold water, are in every room. When one wants to walk,—when the wanderlust pricks and goads,—there are nearly 3,000 acres of land over which he may roam, for the Rand School with its Camp Taminent has 2,000 acres in addition to Unity's 1,000 acres, over which a guest at either place may perambulate to his heart's content.

If it rains at Forest Park, nothing stops but tennis,



Unity House, Forest Park, Pa.



Bathing Pavillion, Forest Park, Pa.

hungry long to indulge our poetic tastes. Utility prevailed over esthetics; we deserted the landscape and gratified our gustatory appetites.

The first morning we missed breakfast in favor of sleep. So rare was such procedure that everybody was sure we were sick. Afterwards we never again missed a meal,—not so much to save the man-

which was our favorite game. Each building is united to all others by connecting sheds which make a complete oval of the lawns and hotel grounds.

When the day was done and the night fall descended upon that park in the mountain forests, nearly everybody sat on the long piazzas, lounged in the lobbies, strolled over the campus, or went to the lake.

The day is over; the cool kisses of twilight lull to leisure, recreation or sleep. At 8:30 p.m. sharp the music strikes up in the dance hall. It is music led by Miss Sadie Beckler, the pianist, and gets the feet panting and the shoulders yearning to trip the toe. Besides, the dance hall is beautiful, shapely in design, flushed with the lake air, and gently located upon the crest of the hill overlooking Forest Lake.

A few nights the dance was cut out in favor of a bonfire. This suggestion came from the very competent physical and recreation director, Mrs. Mildred Fox. By the use of flashlights many would worm their way through a winding path to an opening beside the lake which no doubt has been used many years for a bonfire purpose. Others more adept at canoeing and swimming would go out in the boats, row up to the bonfire and take turns in singing and reciting after those on shore would cease. When the bonfire would close the shore group wandered back through the woodland path while the rowing party paddled to the pier, meanwhile emitting mirth, nay, wafting bubbles of laughter over the rippling but tranquil waves. Then lazily we climbed the hill homeward, loitering the while, quaffed the quickening air from the fresh grasses and inhaled the fragrant odors from ripening grapes.

Both Unity and Camp Taminent gave their respective guests some good concerts. The Labor Day Concert of Unity, however, was a rare treat. S. Goldenberg, baritone and actor of the Jewish Theatre, sang; Marcel Silesco, of the Vienna Opera House

(the world's greatest, most critical opera house) graced the occasion with his dulcet tenor. Here was a master, grand opera singer. On this occasion one of the editors of the MESSENGER was pressed into service—not to sing, but to speak—to appeal for funds for starving Russia. After some debate as to who should do it, Owen was finally saddled. He took up a collection of \$256.65.

Two things stood out at Forest park—one, the no lock on rooms, and the other, the absence of race prejudice. No rooms were locked; no keys. The workers were there for vacation, not to steal from fellow workers.

No race prejudice. The malicious leer of its breath was not to be seen, heard or manifested in any way. We were the first colored guests they ever had, but they welcomed all races. Race, creed and color were not the issue. We were all hand or brain workers, struggling for a new social order, fighting for a more abundant life, battling for a better world.

The organized workers have bought and are running one of the choicest cloistered retreats of the millionaires—running it ably and without race prejudice, whether in dance hall, in bathing pool, on lake pier or in dining room. And this, let it be remember—in America, the America of the lynching bee, the Jim Crow Car, the Ku Klux Klan, the disfranchised Negro, the black peon, the proscribed!

Gentle reader, is this not a lesson which labor is teaching those poisoned by prejudice?

THE EDITORS.

Open Forum

A MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE

(Continued)

On July 16, 1916, I left the office in Philadelphia and went to work as a longshoreman and worked most of the time on ammunition and powder, general cargo for Murphy, Cook & Co., and sometimes on lumber, to which I can get many members to testify. There have been no explosions on the docks of Philadelphia or on any ships out of that port and all the ammunition was loaded by members of the I. W. W. and there were no guards on the docks. The head foreman, called "Billboro," can testify to my work as a longshoreman. Besides there are many members who can testify to my position in regard to Germany and the war.

As I stated before Honorable Judge K. M. Landis before sentence was passed, I know of no conspiracy and if there had been a conspiracy against the government then explosions and obstructions would have taken place. But there were none. We had lots of members on the Panama Line, which is under government control, and there was no trouble. Besides the members liked to work on those boats and no time was lost on any trips. The Bulletins testify to this, I think. The Bulletins were published

in "Solidarity," I think, and "Solidarity" was introduced as evidence.

I was arrested on September 29, 1917, about 8 o'clock in the morning at home, having just returned from work for Murphy, Cook & Co., at Wilmington, Delaware. The federal officers were at the house Friday night, about half an hour after I had left, and were asking for me. I read in the paper the following morning that Doree was arrested and that others were looked for. I got off at West Philadelphia station, where I always get off going home, and was told that I was wanted. I then started to wash and get breakfast when U. S. Deputy Marshal McDevitt came in and told me to come with him. Had no one come when I finished my breakfast then I would have gone to the Federal Building myself.

After being released on bonds I went to work again on the waterfront and worked two days when we were told we had to go to Chicago to appear there. When we got there we were told that we were not wanted, that it was a mistake.

In the evidence on the General Executive Board, presented by the prosecution, I am on the list for prospective secretary-treasurer of the I. W. W., and it looks as if I were convicted on this account, and will state that I have never known of it as I was

not notified by Wm. D. Haywood at any time. I have never been consulted in this respect. It was a complete surprise to me.

Now I will state that the federal officers took several copies of "The Deadly Parallel" from the store room at Philadelphia. When these leaflets were received I never sent any away as I did not agree with the comparison made with the A.F. of L., but believed that there should have been a comparison made, from the standpoint of principle, to the German Social Democrats on the Sub-Socialist Congress. The declaration of the I. W. W. was made before the A. F. of L. declaration and not in comparison with the A. F. of L. declaration.

There were no pamphlets of Gustave Herve's in Philadelphia. We never had any there and would not handle them. The records should show that there never were any.

Now, in regard to strikes, I have stated before Honorable Judge K. M. Landis that there were none to oppose the government that I know of and would not take part in any. There were small strikes, however, along the coast. When I came to the East in December, 1916, there were strikes almost continually on boats in the different ports for more wages, some asking for a 25 per cent bonus, some 50 per cent, 75 per cent and others 100 per cent of wages paid. The members of the International Seamen's Union were talking of striking in the spring for a raise in wages. The increase in the cost of living made a raise necessary. The shipping companies, refusing to recognize a union, made a chronic condition that union men were fired when non-union men could be secured. This brought on strikes, one after another, all winter of 1916 and 1917. In order to stop this I had written to Norfolk and other places that a \$10.00 flat raise would be better than continually one crew after another asking for different bonuses, and would be more lasting in the long run, besides it would be best for an organization of labor.

On about April 10th or 20th, 1917, I wired to the different ports to ask for \$110.00 flat increase on all ships, as members in Boston were already on strike for a \$10.00 raise and they got it. This was practically settled. Then on May 1 the International Seamen's Union asked for a \$15.00 raise, \$60.00 a month, and we then asked for \$60.00 a month also. This second raise was forced by the International Seamen's Union of the A. F. of L. and was for better conditions and not to oppose any government.

During the latter part of August, 1917, I was called to Boston by the members of Boston to try and help settle a strike there. I was in Boston four days and appeared before a state official at the Capitol Building, and no settlement could be affected. I left the next day and went to work again in Philadelphia on the waterfront. James Phillips may know the names and can testify to this. This strike was not to oppose any government. There were no other strikes to my knowledge during war time and absolutely none in opposition to the war program.

There is one other matter. I heard a telegram read by Honorable Judge K. M. Landis, dated August 4, 1917, to someone in Arizona, stating that

the lumber workers and agricultural workers were on a general strike and that the *M. T. W. reports action*. This is as big a surprise to me as the news that I was on the list for secretary-treasurer in case Haywood should be arrested. I was not in the office in Philadelphia from July 16, 1917, except visit there three or four times, and do not know of any strike which should have taken place nor of anyone taking any steps to call a strike. I know that I would not have approved of such a strike.

This is about all I can think of now. In conclusion wish to state that I have been found guilty and given a sentence as follows:

Six years and a fine of \$5,000 on the first count;
Ten years and a fine of \$5,000 on the second count;

Two years and a fine of \$5,000 on the third count;

Twenty years and a fine of \$5,000 on the fourth count.

All the above sentences to run concurrently, making it a twenty-year sentence in the Federal Prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, and a \$20,000 fine.

I feel that I am absolutely innocent of obstructing the federal government and the state government in the prosecution of the war program, military or otherwise.

If I have to serve, in view of the foregoing, twenty years in prison for obstructing or even having in mind to obstruct the government, then I can go to the penitentiary with a clear conscience of being "Not Guilty" and being innocent of the charges I was convicted on.

WALTER T. NEF.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

vs.

HAYWOOD, et al.



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THE SACCO-VANZETTI VERDICT

NICOLA SACCO and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Italians who were active in the industrial struggles of their countrymen for the past ten years, are awaiting death in the electric chair. After a seven weeks' trial, in which more than 150 witnesses testified, a jury in Dedham, Mass., brought out a verdict of guilty. The charge was that the labor organizers had taken part in the murder of two payroll guards in South Braintree, Mass., in April, 1920.

The verdict has aroused a storm of protest, especially among the Italians here, who, of course, followed the trial and the evidence most closely. American individuals and organizations have also taken up the protest. The verdict was crushingly unexpected, and so far unwarranted by the evidence that many New Englanders wholly out of sympathy with the social views of the condemned men have denounced it.

The evidence was highly circumstantial. Only a jury behaving under the influence of the insidious drug of class and race prejudice could have given credence to the "identifications" of the defendants by men and women of doubtful reliability, especially when more than a score of eye witnesses, some of whom had seen the bandits as close as ten feet away, testified that Sacco and Vanzetti were not among them. Only a jury searching for an excuse—any sort of an excuse—to send two "alien reds" out of this best of all capitalist worlds could have swept aside alibis of both men. By ten witnesses, five of them Americans, Sacco proved that he was in Boston when the South Braintree crime was committed. By eleven witnesses, again five of them Americans of indubitable character, Vanzetti proved that he was in Plymouth, 25 miles away, at the time of the shooting. A far-fetched theory of the prosecution connecting a scratch on a bullet with a gun belonging to the Italians was disapproved on the witness stand by men like J. Henry Fitzgerald, of the Cold Automatic Company and James E. Burns, of the United States Cartridge Company.

If Sacco and Vanzetti die they will be paying the death penalty for their loyalty to labor. Their activity on the picket line marked them as victims of the plutocracy. The court-room was deliberately staged like a desperate melodrama—armed guards by the dozen, "frisking" for hidden weapons, etc.—to create the impression that the men were bad characters. The judge made prejudicial rulings throughout the trial and in his instructions to the jury betrayed his antagonism towards the men whom he was judging.

Appeal is being taken to the higher courts. It is not unlikely, however, that as in the Mooney case, the final appeal will go to public opinion. The workers in Italy are agitated over the verdict and demanding justice. The case is being discussed in the Chamber of Deputies in Rome. But with the workers of America lies the power to save the men.

242 Camp Street, Georgetown, British Guiana, S. A.
September 28, 1921.

Dear Mr. Randolph,

More power to the elbows of Mr. Owen and yourself. I am becoming a sort of pest to you; forgive

me. I feel myself in duty bound to inform you that about three weeks ago, I was pleasingly surprised by getting the July MESSENGER; and yesterday I got the August number.

I am so hypnotized by the psychological chemistry it applies to social, industrial and labor problems, that I very much regret my misfortune to seek the acquaintance of such a scientific workingman's laboratory. Words fail me to express adequately my utter astonishments at, as well as my intense admiration of, the courage of your Comrade and yourself—and the ability you display. May the New God of Humanity learn to appreciate and reciprocate the efforts of her two foremost prophets, A. F. R. and C. O.

I mean to worship at this shrine of the MESSENGER. I hope to get it from now on. How long shall it be before organized labor will demand the whole of what it produces?

I am still anxious to see your description of Woodrow Wilson's "Invisible Empire" which is mirrored on the public canvas by some speech he made somewhere

Kindly accept my thanks and best wishes for the July and August Angels of the working classes, I remain,

Faithfully yours,
JOHN HENRY PILGRIM.

COMMITTEE OF FORTY-EIGHT
15 East 40th Street
New York City

(Special News Service)

THE general strike called by the Railroad Brotherhoods may have been a tactical blunder. The psychological effect upon public sentiment may be distinctly unfavorable to them. But if the facts were generally known the reaction might be quite the opposite.

The responsibility for provoking the strike rests squarely upon the shoulders of the Railroad Executives, who by their intentional and insidious misrepresentations have deliberately deceived the Public as to the facts, particularly as to the wages they are paying their employees, and have made it appear that the reason for the collapse of private ownership is entirely due to the high wages demanded by their employees. This is absolutely false.

The official figures issued by the U. S. Railroad Labor Board show that the Railroad workers, instead of enjoying undue prosperity have been receiving an average wage of only \$1,695 per annum, which has now been cut 12½ per cent and reduced to \$1,484, or less than \$29 per week. As against this the minimum standard of comfort on which the average man can support himself and his family has been fixed by the Bureau of Applied Economics at \$2,000 per annum.

Do the Railroad Executives mean that they are unwilling to pay their employees a living wage or that they cannot do so and operate the Railroads successfully?

Under these circumstances it is no wonder that the threat of a further cut of 10 per cent precipitated a strike.

Railroad wages increased only 36 per cent (this has now been cut 12½ per cent) between 1914 and

1920, but the cost of fuel, furnished by the coal companies owned and controlled by the Railroad Executives has increased 500 per cent during the same period. Why? Because when the Railroads were ordered to technically segregate their coal properties from the Railroad interests the insiders grasped this golden opportunity to organize coal companies of their own, who raised the price of coal to fabulous figures, sold it back to the Railroads and pocketed the difference. Then they shamelessly turned around, unloaded the deficits arising from these and many other similar transactions upon the Government under the pernicious guarantees contained in the Esch Cummins Law, collected these amounts from the taxpayers, and are now demanding another \$500,000,000 from the long suffering Public through capitalizing their debts and requiring that the War Finance Corporation (on behalf of the Federal Government) guarantee their bonds.

Do the people realize that not a single railroad has ever paid off a single bond? Do they know that no sinking funds have ever been set aside for this purpose? And that the Railroads today have no intention of ever doing so?

Does the individual railroad bondholder realize that the only chance he has of collecting his principal is by selling his bonds to another individual as ignorant as himself?

And finally, does the man on the street know that the Railroad employees instead of receiving the high wages we hear so much about are being paid an average of only \$4.54 per day?

The Committee of 48 has put these facts squarely before the Railroad Executives and they were shamed into silence. But the American public are differently constituted—it is safe to predict that with the same information before them they will place the blame where it belongs.

And it is not unreasonable that they will rally to the support of the Committee of 48 in their determination to put a new political party pledged to Government ownership of our transportation system into the field in time for the 1922 Congressional elections.

COMMITTEE OF FORTY-EIGHT

October 27th, 1921.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUG. 24, 1912,

Of THE MESSENGER, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1921.

State of New York.
County of New York.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Chandler Owen, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and

says that he is the Managing Editor of the MESSENGER, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The Messenger Publishing Co., Inc., 2305 7th Avenue, New York; Editor, A. Philip Randolph, 148 West 142nd Street, New York; Managing Editor, Chandler Owen, 103 West 141st Street, New York; Business Managers, None.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.) Messenger Publishing Co., Inc., 2305 7th Avenue, New York; A. Philip Randolph, 148 West 142nd Street, New York; Chandler Owen, 103 West 141st Street, New York; Robert Godet, 32 West 136th Street, New York; Victor R. Daly, 261 West 134th Street, New York.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) A. Philip Randolph, 148 West 142nd Street, New York; Chandler Owen, 103 West 141st Street, New York; Robert Godet, 32 West 136th Street, New York; Victor R. Daly, 261 West 134th Street, New York.

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