



The Messenger

A JOURNAL OF
SCIENTIFIC
RADICALISM

Contents

*A FORECAST OF THE 1920
ELECTIONS*

*PRIVATE PROPERTY
A PILLAR OF PREJUDICE*

*THE CRISIS IN
NEGRO LEADERSHIP*

RENT BOOSTING

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AN ANNOUNCEMENT

This is to announce to our readers in and about New York City, that Mr. R. E. Nicholas, one of our most able and aggressive business men, has just opened the second of his two toggery and haberdashery shops at the Northeast Corner of 141st Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City. The other shop will remain at its present location, 520 Lenox Avenue.

We not only take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Nicholas but also to urge our readers to patronize and support a young man who is so capable, aggressive and fearless as Mr. R. E. Nicholas.

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EDITORIALS

THE COUNTER GERMAN REVOLUTION

THE counter German Revolution has failed. Bravo! to the "iron battalions of the proletariat." Dr. Wolfgang Kapp, General Von Luettwitz, the tools of the powerful junker-militarists who attempted to seize the state power, are now standing in the shadows of the gallows. Their coup d'etat miscarried. And from all reports, class conscious, militant, revolutionary labor is now in the saddle.

Soviets have already been proclaimed in several of the large industrial centers, and it is reported that the organized Sparticides are prepared to march on Berlin. It is also rumored that Daumig, the theoretician of the German Socialist movement, was heralded as the Lenin of Germany.

Of course, the counter revolution was inevitable. For the Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske crowd had out-Kaisered the Kaiser. They represented in Germany the same forces the Kerensky group represented in the evolution of the Russian Revolution. They were doomed to fall, and though they may rise to power for the nonce, they cannot stand.

The militarists-capitalists-junkers have unleashed forces which they cannot recall. The monarchists and capitalist-political-democratic forces, represented by Dr. Kapp and Ebert, would now fuse, in order to combat, what they consider their common enemy—the Independent Socialists and Spartacists.

The Allies were silent until the counter-revolution collapsed. Now, they hold the threat of an economic blockade and probable military intervention of Germany, unless bourgeois law and order is restored.

The international capitalists are already having hallucinations over the eventual alliance between Soviet Russia and Soviet Germany. The highly organized, efficient, technical brains of Germany, cooperating with the resources and man-power of Russia, are indeed no inconsiderable power for the capitalists' governments, presently torn with internal strife, to contemplate facing.

Labor broke the backbone of the counter-revolution with the general strike. This is labor's day in Germany. And only a labor government will stand.

A German labor government will precipitate a labor government in Austria, Hungary, Poland, Italy, France and England.

RENT BOOSTING

AT last the tenants are aroused. They are bent upon reducing rents. Their spontaneous, constant and threatening mass strikes against rent gouging, have disturbed landlords, courts and legislators. Both the landlords and tenants are agreed that something must be done quickly.

Some of the more enlightened and liberal real estate owners would limit the return on the assessed valuation of real estate to 10 per cent. It is even reported that a very prominent real estate owner advocates that the Health Commissioner seize the property of profiteering landlords and administer it in the public's interest. This, of course, is not to be taken seriously. The small landlords insist that 10 per cent. is inadequate, and demand a return of 200 per cent. upon their investment.

Mayor Hylan has called a conference between the investors, the building materials capitalists, and labor to formulate and discuss plans to begin an apartment-house building boom. It is estimated that no less than one hundred million dollars will be employed to relieve the housing situation. It is true that more houses will operate to reduce rents. Yet, it is obvious that this relief is, at least, a year off.

But the tenants, long suffering and patient, demand immediate relief. The only solution to this problem of immediacy is: a limitation upon rent, just as, during the war, a limitation was placed upon the price of sugar.

Now, 10 per cent. is entirely too much to be made upon real estate investments. The legal rate of interest, 6 per cent., is ample, high. The big real estate owners can make millions in profits on 1 per cent. This reduction in the rate upon investments will, undoubtedly, force the small real estate operators out of the field, that is, those who only have 10, 20 or 30 thousand dollars with which to operate. That means, that Negro real estate operators will become a matter of history. For a thousand dollars, the return, at 10 per cent. on 10 Thousand Dollars, is not sufficient to maintain a little landlord for a year. Yet one per cent. on an investment of a million dollars, which, by the way, represents the normal investment of the middle class real estate owners, will net ten thousand dollars in profits for a year. Now, the investments of the big real estate operators involve from 250 to 500 millions. The big landlords have hundreds of thousands of tenants, whereas the little landlords have not more than 25, 50 or 100 from which to collect rent. Therefore, in order that little landlords might realize a reasonable in-

come, they must realize from 100 to 1,000 per cent. on their investment, and even that will not make them rich. Hence, the little landlord is nothing more than a workingman collecting rents for a living. It is clear, then, that the profiteering of the little landlords is a greater cause of suffering than the big landlords. For the little landlord must receive ten times more out of his tenants than the big landlords. Of course, the big landlords have no more interest in their tenants than the little landlords. They simply can afford to receive less. However, in the final analysis, the big landlords are a more deadly foe of the tenants than the little landlords, for they are more powerful and can more successfully resist the demands of the tenant class. They have the funds to corrupt and control courts and legislators. The only force which big landlords respect is the **organized might of an awakened and enraged people.**

If the people are in earnest, and want low rents, let them stop voting for the representatives of their landlords, the Republican and Democratic parties. Meanwhile, organize mass rent strikes. Rent strikes cause the landlords to lose money, and they don't want to lose money.

A blow in the pocket-book is the only blow the landlords will heed.

WHEN LABOR IS AWAKENED

THE suppression of free speech, a free press and free assemblage is deliberately done with a view to prevent labor from receiving knowledge, calculated to awaken it. Capital is not asleep. It knows that it cannot continue to rob labor when labor awakes. It knows, too, that labor will not awake so long as economic, political, social and historical knowledge is withheld from it. Capital knows that labor will continue to believe that capitalism is the only system of society which should or can endure. Capital knows that while labor sleeps, it (capital) can boost the cost of living; force down wages, imprison labor's children and wives in industrial pens; deport and jail the champions of labor; pit native worker against the foreign worker, and the black against the white worker.

But when labor awakes, trades, religious, nationality and race lines will cease to divide it. Labor will no longer be content with "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," but labor will demand and get the "full product of its toil." Labor will no longer be deceived into voting for its enemies—the Republican and Democratic parties. Labor, awakened, will depose its fakers and skinners, such as Gompers, the Chiefs of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. Think of W. G. Lee supporting General Leonard Wood, who ruthlessly put down the steel strike in Gary, Indiana! Gompers would, in the face of the lessons of experience, "reward labor's friends and punish its enemies." When will labor awake?

EUGENE DEBS—CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

DEBS is our candidate. He is the plain people's candidate. For he represents their economic, political and social aims and strivings. We don't wait until political conventions meet and select candidates. We don't wait to find out who will offer the biggest "slush fund." Our principles are not purchasable. The Socialist party is poor. Debs is poor. If we wanted money we would go elsewhere. He is now languishing in prison because he fought the battles of the people during the perilous days of the war. The Democratic and Republican parties—the tools of Wall Street—put him there, but the people, aroused and awakened, will take him out. Debs will poll millions of votes. If labor had sufficient brains he would be elected. It is, indeed, regrettable that the Negro press has already been bought and paid for with the yellow gold of Wood and Lowden, who represent steel and railroads. None of the capitalist brood will represent the people. Hoover is the tool of the packers, who are robbing the people through high food prices. McAdoo is the protege of the arch Negro hater and political acrobat—Woodrow Wilson. Bryan has a diarrhoea of words and a constipation of thought. Sixteen-to-one Bryan won't win. Palmer started his campaign with the indorsement of Georgia. He would reduce the country to the silence of the Sphinx by deporting all who thought and dared to speak or write. Butler of Columbia, Senator Harding, Hiram Johnson, Governor Coolidge, are of the same stripe and ilk. All of the candidates for the presidency are agents of the enemies of the people, except Debs. Debs is the man of the hour. He has borne the burdens that would break the stoutest souls. Let us elect Debs. Let us release Debs. Long live Debs!

THE FRIENDS OF NEGRO FREEDOM

THE Friends of Negro Freedom will hold their initial convention in Washington, D. C., May 25th, 1920. We had first thought of Monday morning, May 24th, for the convention opening, but so many scholarly and reputable ministers have stated their desire to be present through the entire affair, that the promoters changed the date to allow them to preach Sunday and travel Sunday night and Monday.

The success of the conference has been assured by the almost immediate response of the persons invited to sign the call. Mr. Archibald Grimke, President of the District of Columbia N. A. A. C. P. Branch, was the first to respond. Following fast on the heels of his communication came acceptances from Dr. Carter G. Woodson, Dean of Howard University College of Arts and Sciences; Freeman H. M. Murray of Washington, D. C.; E. B. Henderson, Secretary Fairfax County Branch, N. A. A. C. P.; Arthur W. Mitchell, real estate operator of Washington; Edw. H. Evans, Secretary N. A. A. C. P. Branch, Petersburg, Va.; Rev. R. W. Bagnall of Detroit;

Lawyer C. Francis Stradford of Chicago; Neval H. Thomas of Washington; T. J. Pree of Newport News; Carl Murphy, Editor of the Baltimore Afro-American; Edgar P. Benjamin, one of the most successful lawyers of Boston and a man of very unusual ability; W. H. Tibbs of Chicago; Charles Campbell, Editor of the Detroit New Era; Dr. A. A. Kellogg of New York; Grace Campbell, Supervisor of the Empire Friendly Shelter in New York, and a score of other men and women whose names stand for the highest type of intellect and integrity.

We propose, in this issue of the Messenger, to give some detailed information as to what we expect to do, and how.

First, organization. The nucleus of the organization must first proceed from the cities and towns. It should include men and women, young and old. The organization must be non-partisan, but not non-political. By that we mean that persons of any political faith will be eligible, but the organization intends to use its full political power in the interest of Negro freedom. The organization will be non-denominational and non-religious, but not anti-religious. Persons of any denomination and religion, or of no religion, shall be eligible.

Members of other races should be eligible, but the organization should be led by the race in whose interest the organization is working. For instance, no one expects to see the Friends of Irish Freedom led by Japanese or Malays, but by Irishmen. No one expects to see the fight of the Jewish people against pogroms or their fight for Palestine led by Frenchmen or Chinese, but that fight will be led by Jews. Each group is glad of all the assistance it can get from friends and well-wishers, but it knows that the group which will be most responsive and vigorous in leadership is the race or group which is subjected to the proscriptions, injustices, prejudices and discriminations against which the organization is supposed to be fighting. The problem is not different with Negroes. **At the present time there is not a national organization alleged to be fighting in the interest of Negroes which is controlled, in any considerable degree, by Negroes.** On the contrary, their leading organizations are controlled and officered by persons who are neither members of their class nor members of their race. (Who can successfully refute this?)

Next, the organization should be international. It is no more possible for Negroes in America to be indifferent to what takes place in Haiti, Egypt or Trinidad, than for New York Negroes to be indifferent to the fortunes of Negroes in Florida. The success of Negroes in one place encourages and emboldens Negroes in another. And the enslavement and persecution of Negroes in one section encourages and emboldens the persecutors and oppressors in another. The same is true of revolutions. The French Revolution seeped through Europe and affected every country on the continent, as well as America. The Russian Revolution has already affected every nation in the world. The

example of their success was a dangerous example to tyrants. That is why every country of Europe combined for a quarter of a century to crush the French Revolution, and that is why all of the big nations have combined to crush the Russian Revolution.

ECONOMIC PHASES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE ORGANIZATION

Every local, as the different branches will be called, should have four committees on:

1. Labor unions
2. Tenants' Leagues
3. Cooperative business
4. Boycott

1. The Committee on Labor Unions should study the groups of Negro wage earners and decide which ones are most ready or ripe for organization. At the same time, it should constantly carry on propaganda among Negro wage earners to induce them to unionize. Upon deciding that a group are ready for organization, the Labor Unions Committee should organize them. The National Office will always be in a position to give additional counsel and advice on such matters, and the Labor Union Committees of all locals should make a special study of trade unionism, industrial unionism and all lines of their functions.

2. The Tenants' League Committee is equally as important as the Labor Union Committee. Just as most Negroes work for a living, most of them rent houses to live in. This means that most of them are tenants, that most of them have to pay rent. They are gouged on rent, just as they are underpaid on wages. Therefore, nearly 90 per cent. of all Negroes will be vitally interested in a tenants' league in every community. The Tenants' League Committee must study the rent problem, the economics of rent, tenants' leagues in other cities, the success with which they have met, etc.

3. The Cooperative Business Committee is highly important. Negroes pay entirely too much for food, fuel and clothing, just as they pay too much for rent. At times, they talk of forming Negro business, as though a Negro business man was any the less a robber than a white business man. The most shameful rent profiteering in New York is done by Negro landlords on poor Negro tenants. Hence, it is necessary for Negro consumers, housewives and family heads, to organize cooperative businesses, where they buy for themselves and sell to themselves, receiving back the profits which are divided among themselves. This method is very simple and elementary and will be explained clearly and fully at the convention.

The Cooperative Business Committee must study the Cooperative Movement of America, and of the European countries, and push its work vigorously by disseminating education in its line.

4. The Boycott Committee's business will be to study the boycott. In every community there are large numbers of white stores (and some

colored) which are discourteous, or that overcharge. This committee should have such things reported to it in order that it might investigate and inform the membership and the public with what places they should refuse to trade. The boycott is a powerful weapon because it strikes a blow in the pocket-book—the most vulnerable spot of any business man. The organization will soon find that the Boycott Committee is being sought by many businesses to get its O. K.

This, briefly, covers the economic phases and functions of the organization.

EDUCATION

Next, Education and Propaganda. An organization is weak or strong in proportion as its membership is uninformed or well informed. Education, therefore, must be the cornerstone of the Friends of Negro Freedom. Colonel Ingersoll once said: "To teach the alphabet is to inaugurate a revolution; to build a school house is to construct a fort."

The Education and Propaganda Committee shall be deputed to organize a weekly forum for each local, to be known as the "Educational Forum of the Friends of Negro Freedom." It should discuss all vital, pertinent questions, giving precedence, of course, to those which particularly affect the Negro.

The National Executive Secretary or some person or Committee to whom such work is assigned, should send out to each Forum each week a report on the current issues affecting Negroes directly or indirectly. The Forum will discuss its own local problems and also the national issues affecting Negroes in their economic, political and social life.

The Forums, when organized thoroughly, will constitute a well regulated Chautauqua to be lectured to, from time to time, by the National officials, also by experts and specialists from the big universities or from municipal departments in those cities and centers.

There will be a monthly official organ as well as press releases.

NATIONAL DAY FOR FRIENDS OF NEGRO FREEDOM

By the setting aside of a day for celebration, nearly all great movements have given great publicity to their work and aroused the enthusiasm of their followers. The labor and Socialist movements added a considerable impetus to their organizations by the setting aside of May Day, or May 1st, for their international holiday. More in point is the Irish Race's setting aside March 17th, St. Patrick's Day, on which they have great parades, mass meetings, etc., to keep the cause of oppressed Ireland and its determination to be free, before the world.

The Friends of Negro Freedom must do the same thing. On or about May 25th, which is neither too cold nor too hot for parading, the organization must proclaim a national holiday, to be celebrated annually. The local in every city, town or county should organize a parade

with appropriate floats and banners. The parade should be followed with large mass meetings in the afternoon or night. It should also serve as a great membership drive day, while girls should sell tags to raise propaganda funds. Negro businesses should close. Negro papers should carry editorials on that day and a black border on the paper to mourn our lost rights. Buttons should be worn. Negro children should be taught to revere the day for what it portends. All mail should bear seals.

When twenty-five cities in which there are large groups of Negroes hold such parades and celebrations, the news will spread over the whole world. Europe will discount this alleged land of the free and home of the brave, as the land of the lynching bee and the home of the slave. America will be compelled to change her manners or go down in the estimation of the Society of Nations.

The convention must set this day and work forward to it. It will be a powerful propaganda movement for Negro Freedom.

The next issue of the Messenger will deal with **Membership, Finance and Politics** in the organization.

In the meantime, letters of criticism or as support will be welcomed and published if addressed to The Messenger Publishing Co., 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

THE MESSENGER

OF course, by now you have heard of THE MESSENGER MAGAZINE published in New York City, and edited by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, with W. A. Domingo, Wm. N. Colson and George Frazier Miller as contributing editors. If you have not heard of THE MESSENGER or read a copy of it, you are behind the times. THE MESSENGER is one of the up-to-date, scientific, radical publications which is read by large numbers of libraries. It is in the New York Public Library, 42d St. and Fifth Avenue, the largest library in New York. It is in Princeton University Library, Harvard College Library and Clark University Library. It contains so much political science that our Congressmen decided that they could not be without it. Therefore, you will find it in the Congressional Library of Washington. So interesting has it become to the Congressmen that one copy is insufficient, so the Library of Congress has subscribed for two copies (we suppose to give both the Senators and the Congressmen a chance to read it). If you happen to be visiting in France, you may still read your MESSENGER by going to the Bibliotheque et Musee de la Guerre, Rue du Colisee, 39, Paris, where it is ordered by the French Minister of Public Instruction for the benefit of the French Republic. Some of our Congressmen are not willing to wait upon chance of getting it at the library, so they subscribe in person. It is creditable to the Honorable W. B. Bankhead of the Tenth Congressional District of Alabama, that he is informing himself upon the interests, wishes and desires of a very large part of his constituency.

The Honorable John McDuffie of the First District of Alabama, is also a MESSENGER subscriber, who keeps himself informed on the Negroes of Alabama. But whereas Congressmen have to make laws, the courts have to administer the laws, and administration is more difficult and requires greater skill than enactment of legislation. We therefore find Chief Justice Jefferson B. Browne of the Supreme Court of Florida trying the better to understand Negro life and aspirations in his state.

Many able professors, white and colored, are regular readers of THE MESSENGER. Such distinguished economists and litterateurs as Dr. Scott Nearing, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, Prof. H. W. L. Dana, Professor of English and Comparative Literature for many years at Columbia University, Prof. Russell Scott of Shoreham, Seven Oaks, England, formerly Professor of Economics at Vanderbilt University, Professors in the University of Wisconsin, Iowa, and various universities—can all be found upon our subscription lists. Many celebrated publicists and men of distinction like Morris Hilquit, William Gross Lloyd, Archibald H. Grimke, Francis J. Grimke, R. W. Bagnall, Miss Mary White Ovington, Neval H. Thomas, W. T. Hornaday, D. H. Howe, Miss Jessie Wallace Hughan, John Haynes Holmes, William H. Baldwin, Arthur Hayes, and many others are numbered among our readers. Organizations, like the Methodist Federation, the Federal Council of Churches, and numerous Y. M. C. A.'s subscribe.

Read what some critical scholars say of THE MESSENGER:

"You both write clearly, forcefully, in diction that is fine, and with ample knowledge and grasp of your theme. One may dispute your

opinions, but not criticise with much success your presentation." — THOMAS W. CHURCHILL, former President of the New York City Board of Education.

I have just been reading the March number of THE MESSENGER. Opening it in casual spirit with the idea of glancing at a few of its pages, I found myself reading it through with the greatest interest and care. May I congratulate you upon publishing so admirable a paper? It is handsomely printed, well written, and dominated by that thorough-going radical spirit which can alone accomplish anything for truth and righteousness in these chaotic days. I cannot refrain from sending you this word of congratulations and Godspeed.

With all best wishes, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Such is a brief survey of a few of THE MESSENGER readers who now number in the thousands. Verily the MESSENGER goes into every state, into all the West Indies, to the West Coast of Africa, in the Philippines, Cuba, Panama, Great Britain, Japan, Germany, Austria and Italy. With the exception of the last named European nations, hundreds and thousands go into the other places.

Casual readers, wont you join the great army of MESSENGER subscribers and help fight the battles of democracy against autocracy, of equality against inequality, of justice against injustice, of fair play against race prejudice, of intelligence against ignorance, and of science against error? If you are ready to enlist in this army, this great educational union, pay your dues by sending \$1.50 to THE MESSENGER PUBLISHING COMPANY, 2305 Seventh Ave., New York City. Don't put that off—do it today!

Economics and Politics

The Passing of the Republican and Democratic Parties

A Forecast of the 1920 Elections.

By the Editors.

IN 1920 there will be a radical upheaval in the political life of America. It is the inevitable consequence of the economic and industrial change which has taken place in the United States within the last five years, and all students of government know that the political state simply reflects the deeper underlying economic organization. Destruction usually precedes construction. Excavation generally takes place before the new building can be erected. This is as true of social as it is of physical structures. The political structure of America are the Republican, Democratic and Socialist

Parties. Which ones of them will be affected? And how? And why?

The answer to this question is that the changed economic and industrial life of the country will affect all, the effect being beneficial or deleterious to each of those parties, according as the changes are in the direction of, or contrary to, the direction of the conditions which make those respective parties possible. For instance, the hardest blow will be dealt to the Democratic Party. It is more feudalistic than it is capitalistic, and the feudal system is an order of society five centuries removed from the

new order about to come in vogue. It is natural, therefore, that the Democratic Party's membership will be drawn upon by the capitalist party (the Republican), the workingman's parties (the Socialist and Labor Party), the Farmers' or agrarian party (the Non-Partisan League), and the Intellectuals' Party (the Committee of 48). So very reactionary, archaic and antiquated is the Democratic Party that it is entirely out of joint with even the order of society preceding the new order (which is the control of society by the workers). The old Southern Bourbons, plantation owners, and convict slave drivers of the last stronghold of slavery still control the Democratic Party. Strictly speaking, the Democratic Party is a semi-slave feudalistic political machine. It is nearly ten centuries removed from the new order of society, for slavery was the world's second order. We went through communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, and are now returning to some form of communism again. All of the forces then, now at work in the world, are destructive of the Democratic Party in the United States as it now is constituted.

The political upheaval will deal the next heaviest blow at the Republican Party. It is a moribund party. It is now vestigial with the onrush of the new order. It is the political expression of capitalism in America. But capitalism is passing in all civilized and semi-civilized countries. Capitalism is the economic foundation of the Republican Party. No political party exists without some economic foundation. Therefore, the passing of capitalism is compelled to shake the foundation of the Republican Party.

While the coming of the upheaval will affect the Democratic and Republican Parties chiefly by its destructive forces, it will affect the Socialist Party more deeply than any of the others, but in a different way. It will affect the Socialist Party construction. The Socialist Party's organization is in harmony with the new order of society. The very forces which destroy the Republican and Democratic Parties tend constantly to build up the Socialist Party. Why? The old order of society just passing was one in which the few capitalists own the machinery and the sources of production, such as the mines, railroads, factories and mills, while another group, the workers, had to work in the factories, mines, mills or on the railroads. The capitalists received rent, interest and profits, while the workers received wages. In the new order of society there is a constant change in this economic relation. The workers in the mills, mines, factories and on the railroads are increasing their control of industry. With the increase of the workers' control of industry, necessarily follows the lessening of capital's control of industry. With the increase of labor's control of industry necessarily follows the increase of labor's control of politics. In other words, labor's control of industry is nothing more than labor's government of industry, or labor's political control.

With the increase of labor's control of in-

dustry, there is a concomitant increase, *pari passu*, of labor's wages. With the increase of labor's wages there is an inevitable decrease in capital's profits. With the increase of wages, labor has a greater economic power over the government because it has new pecuniary power, or money power, with which to control the government.

With the coming new order of society, the hours of labor are shortening. The jewelers are demanding a 39-hour week. The miners are demanding a 30-hour week. The eight-hour day has been adopted as labor's maximum hour, while the demand for the 44-hour week has already become general in the United States. With the shortened and shortening hours of labor, it will have more leisure for education. With education, labor will use its political power for the benefit of itself, and not for capital, because the only reason that a man will act against his own interests is because he is ignorant or insane.

The increased control of industry, then, the increase in wages and the shortening of hours, all tend to enhance and to advance the political power of labor, which means strengthening the Socialist Party in 1920.

Next, as to the Labor Party. We welcome the Labor Party in the political field. We first thought of it in terms of what Hillquit characterized the British Labor Party in his pamphlet "Socialism Summed Up"—**semi-socialistic**. But its recent convention just closed was more than suggestive. It gave evidence of being a Socialist Labor Party. Its program was radical, thorough and far-reaching. It manifested the intelligence to use all the weapons which capital has been using, or to be accurate and technical, to use the weapons which capital uses, but in its (labor's) own interest. (Heretofore, labor has used the ballot, but for the political benefit of some Republican charlatan or some Democratic political fakir.)

The Labor Party is in harmony with the new order. It is the product of Socialist agitation for years. It has the same basis as the trade unions and the industrial unions have. Trade unionism was logical and effective so long as a painters' union was formed merely to fight against a painting contractor. But when that contractor enlarged his scope to the building corporation which employed painters, plasterers, brick masons, carpenters, etc., the only logical thing for labor to do was to relegate the trade union and form an industrial union which would include all the painters, plasterers, brick masons and carpenters, and not be broken up into several small trade unions, tied by individual contracts and scabbing one upon the other. Now, just as it was necessary for labor to form economic organizations—industrial unions—co-extensive with the trusts, cartels, syndicates and monopolies of capital on the industrial field, so on the political field it is necessary for labor to form its political machine coextensive with the political machine of labor's employers. It was simply suicidal folly for labor to try to function in its employer's political organizations—the

Republican and Democratic Parties. Those machines were not organized in the interest of labor. The organizers and the financiers of the old parties were not laborers; they were capitalists. And he who pays for the party will control the party. He who pays the fiddler will call the tunes. The Republican and Democratic Parties were not organized in the interest of labor, and it is as idle to expect them to function in the interest of labor as it is to expect a sewing machine to grind flour. So labor has at least found itself in America and is not going to use the indefensible argument of the I. W. W. on political action any longer. (It has often been a surprise to the editors that the logic of the I. W. W. could fail so signally upon this point. They recognize that the growth of the capitalist organizations into trusts necessitated the industrial union—or the labor trust, but they neglect the use of the political weapon, when elementary reasoning would dictate the use by labor of every weapon employed by capital. There is no need of having defeated on the political field what is gained on the industrial field—such for instance as Judge Anderson's injunction against the strike of the coal miners.)

Next, the Non-Partisan League. This is the farmers' party. It represents the revolt of the farmers against the exploitation of middlemen, speculators, bankers and loan sharks. It is an agrarian liberal party. The Republican and Democratic Parties have been financed by the exploiters and robbers of the farmers. Therefore, the farmers have revolted against each of the old parties. Why, you ask, do we say it is a liberal and not a radical party? Well, the tillers of the soil live more of the independent life. There is less division of labor. They produce grain, potatoes, raise hogs, poultry, manufacture cheese and butter, often mill their corn into meal, cut their fuel out of the woods—in a word, they lose their sense of interdependence such as the city worker in the factory develops. The peasants of France constitute the middle class or liberal parties. They favor war with Russia because each one has loaned a bond to Russia. The Russian Revolution is the revolution fundamentally of the factory, mill and mine workers. It was accomplished chiefly in the large cities of Moscow and Petrograd. There is another reason for this. Contact is educative, and city workers are more frequently thrown together. The factory is more fertile and fruitful for discussion than the field. The Farmers' Non-Partisan League is likely to attempt to work out its political life through the machine of the old Republican Party. Especially likely is this, in as much as the chief strength of the League is in the Middle West where the so-called radical Republicans abound. Heavy pressure and persecution, however, may eventually line up the farmers with the Labor Party.

Lastly, there is the Committee of Forty-eight. An examination will reveal that this is after all a motley crew of intellectuals, not that there are not splendid characters among them, like John Haynes Holmes and Frederick C. Howe, but because there are irreconcilable forces there. For

instance, the publicity reliance of the Committee is William Randolph Hearst. Some of the chief forces to be fought are universal military training, war with Mexico and imperialism, and Mr. Hearst is the chief barker for all these vicious forces. Moreover, there is no economic basis for a political party of intellectual parasites. (We use the term scientifically and respectfully.) These intellectuals are parasites either on capital or labor. The parasite partakes of the nature of the organism it feeds upon, and its life also depends upon the parent organism. The Committee of Forty-eight, therefore, bids fair to break up into two or more groups, part of the group going with the Socialist or Labor Party, part of the group going with the Republican and Democratic parties, and a part going with the Non-Partisan League.

POSSIBILITIES

What are some of the further possibilities? What do we conjecture? First, the Republican Party will poll a larger vote than the Democratic Party, but on account of the rotten borough system in the South, by which Negro votes are not cast but are counted, the Democrats will choose a larger number of electors and Congressmen than the Republicans.

Second, unless the Socialist and Labor Parties win through their combination, the Democrats will win the election.

Third, in view of this possibility, the Republican Party will either enforce the 14th and 15th Amendments, giving Negroes in the South their vote or reducing Southern representation, or else effect a fusion with the Democratic Party.

Fifth, the solid South will be broken, southern organized labor taking a more enlightened view than in the past.

Sixth, with a break up of the solid South will follow a break-up of the Republican Party with many consequences. (1) The Negro will not vote the straight Republican ticket. Many Negroes in the labor organizations will vote for either the Labor or the Socialist Party. (2) With possibilities of winning through fusion, large numbers of Negroes will take a chance on Labor and Socialism being the winner.

Seventh, the I. W. W. will abandon their moss-back and indefensible political attitude. It is one of the most American organizations in America. Most of its members are citizens. They will appreciate that they can work out their destiny more amicably and easily under a Socialist or Labor government than it can under a capitalist Republican or a feudalistic Democratic government. It will, for the first time, take political revenge.

Eighth, it will be the most bitterly fought election in the history of this country. It will also be the most corrupt. Capital will spend about fifty million dollars in its attempt to defeat Labor and Socialism.

Ninth, Debs will very likely be released and possibly all the political prisoners in order to deprive labor of that appeal. This, however, will simply allow labor to concentrate its efforts in other directions.

PRIVATE PROPERTY AS A PILLAR OF PREJUDICE

By W. A. DOMINGO

IT is a truism of the philosophy of Socialism that the religious and ethical concepts of a people, as well as their general psychology, are mainly shaped by the prevailing economic system; and conversely that analysis of a given psychological attitude will reveal material causes. According to this dictum the ideology of a people, nation or race is but the result of accumulated material influences operating upon their consciousness for generations. So-called innate racial traits and animosities, if traced backward, will be found to be but effects of obscure economic causes. This is as true of race prejudice as it is of any other purely psychic quality of the human make-up. Apologists for racial exclusiveness and arrogance as a rule predicate their intolerance upon the alleged instinctive aversion of one race for another. To prove their contention they point to acknowledged differences of color and physiognomy between, say, the Negro and Caucasian as sufficient justification for their irrational position. However, mere difference is not in itself a cause of physical aversion. Indeed, difference of type in the same species breeds curiosity, and as in the case of the Negro and the Caucasian, and the Hindoo and Caucasian, develops sexual affinity. It is a well-known fact of sexual science that physical repulsion inhibits sexual contact, and physical aversion is the very essence of race prejudice. It is also contended that race prejudice is natural—instinctive. That this is not so, is proven by the fact that race prejudice is not a reciprocal and general trait of humanity. White children and black children play together naturally until they arrive at the age when they react to the influences of their environment. White, black and brown Mohamedans are never concerned about color as they do not live in an atmosphere that is permeated with the tenets of the cult of race superiority. Dogs of various colors and distinctive types manifest no inherent repulsion to each other, but instead, like human beings, mate and produce hybrid types. Even the most rabid upholders of racial intolerance disprove their own theories when they manifest no dislike to wearing black suits, hiring black servants, riding black horses and having mulatto children by black mistresses.

Race prejudice, not being a natural trait of human nature—an instinct—like the desire for food, the fear of death, and the closing of the eyes against a cloud of dust, its cause must be searched for elsewhere. This brings us back to our original proposition: that the psychology of mankind is largely determined by the prevailing economic and physical environments.

Why do the wealth-seeking and more restless types of Caucasians manifest racial intolerance towards peoples of dissimilar racial types? Why do, comparatively, civilized white nations, not bitten by the bug of imperialism, show practically no hatred based upon physical dissimilarities? As

most exactly typifying the form, we will take the Anglo-Saxon, and for the other type, the Slav. In the first place, Anglo-Saxons are essentially a trading people. They acquired this trait largely as a consequence of the physiography and geography of their original home—Great Britain. The essence of trade is to buy cheaply and sell dearly—to get the best of a bargain. Trade brings profit to the trader, especially when he has a keener appreciation of the intrinsic value of articles of commerce than the persons with whom he trades. In order that the steady profits derivable from trade might not be jeopardized, trade routes must be protected. Hence, the need of a powerful navy, since the more important trade routes are in water.

Greatest profits can be derived from trade when one group represents a lower civilization or when that group merely trades in order to supply immediate material needs and not for the gross ambition of storing up wealth.

To promote trade, the English realized that it was best for them to have settled countries with which to trade. This would insure uninterrupted profits to the English if they had a keener appreciation of the value of gold, diamonds and other precious articles of commerce than the unsophisticated natives of Africa, the South Seas and other parts of the world during the last century. Settling these lands involved, in many cases, their conquest. The inevitable tendency of a conquering tribe is to hold the conquered people in contempt. The inevitable tendency of the ones who get the best of a bargain in commerce is to hold their opponents at a mental discount. This is accentuated if the conquered and cheated people are of an opposite physical type. It then becomes but an easy step to associate the conquest and cheating with the superiority or inferiority of physical type as the case might be. The mind of the conquering tribe unconsciously reasons: my type is different from the other type; I have conquered the other type; my conquest is due to my superiority, hence, my type is essentially superior! Add to this an egotistic and self-laudatory history and literature, and it is easy to comprehend that that history and that literature, when referring to conquered peoples, will regard them as being inferior. Given a conclusion that inures to one's benefit and it is a human weakness to have all things and theories conform to the conclusion. Hence, the desperate efforts of theologians and "scientists" in the middle of the nineteenth century who strove to prove the Negro a monkey, not a man. If he could be proven to be a monkey, then, being of the same status as the horse, his labor could be equally exploited to bring wealth, leisure and comfort to the superior animal,—man!

With the Slavs it was different. Because of their land-locked geographical position they were

not consumed with a passion for trade, and even what trade they did was unlike that of the Anglo-Saxon in character, for it was carried on over land routes, which made it possible for both parties to the trade to visit each other's markets and gain a knowledge of respective commercial values. This deprived both traders of any great advantage as to values, which in itself rendered it impossible for Tartars or Chinese to be given beads for diamonds, or Russians shells for furs. This condition deprived the Slavs of the exhilaration of proving their racial superiority over Mongolians because of their ability to exploit them in trade.

Also, in the early days of contact between Slavs and Mongols, there was comparative parity of weapons between the two peoples, and conquests were not confined to either racial type alone. Indeed, the Mongols under Genghis

Khan and Tamerlane made for themselves a military reputation that is respectfully enshrined in the literature and history of Eastern Europe. Unlike Western Europeans, Slavs have known the terrors of conquest by a dissimilar race on such a scale as to command their racial respect. Western Europe, spurred on by its quest for wealth, a purely material influence, learned how to navigate the seas and conquer other lands, but was never conquered to any extent except by members of their own race. Of course, Spain was conquered by the Moors, and that, perhaps, partly explains the Spaniard's freedom from rabid race prejudice, until they have come under the influence of Anglo-Saxon propaganda. The genesis of race prejudice, therefore, was exploitation and conquest of dissimilar races by Caucasians in their quest of wealth. (To be continued)

Education and Literature

BOOK REVIEW

PHASES OF DU BOIS

DARKWATER. By W. E. B. DuBois. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Howe., Inc. \$2.00.

"The Souls of Black Folk" (1903) states the problem of which "Darkwater" is the tragedy. "Darkwater" could emerge only out of the historic background of "The Souls of Black Folk." Though Mr. Du Bois falsely assumed in 1903 that the problem of the twentieth century was the problem of the color line, he gave genuine expression to the spiritual strivings of those who lived within the Veil. The double point of view, one for "mine own people," and one for those of the skin *blanc*, which all black men in a white world possess, is the ever-existent fact. Emancipation was a strange dream and then a poignant disillusionment. Booker T. Washington meant opportunism and expediency rather than principle and justice. There was need for a lofty vision in the land of the new slavery. Then "The Wings of Atalanta" began to whir in the darkness, and education was spelled. Alexander Crummel became "perfect by suffering," but "The Coming of John" was tragic. From this strange mixture of hope and hopelessness sprang the roots of racial culture. There was an abiding faith in the fathers—in their ultimate achievement of freedom. It was a struggle between good and evil, with evil on the successful offensive. But resolutely, "Wed with truth, I dwell above the Veil," was the new hope.

"Darkwater" (1920) is hope deferred. A contemporaneous literary autobiography, it definitely marks Mr. Du Bois as a *poet* rather than a thinker. The essays, sketches, poems, prose-poetry, critiques and short stories therein contained are but reflections of the *artist* himself. "Vates," says Carlyle, "means both prophet and poet"; *vates* stresses the moral and the esthetic in the light of originality, sincerity and genius. These characteristics Mr. Du Bois embodies, but often to the detriment of the scientific and radical. "Darkwater" is a despairing *cri de coeur*; an irrefutable fact of agony. However, Mr. Du Bois is a romanticist of a high order. Mystic, passionate, free spirited, even his more serious essays are never mere prose. They are prayers and panegyrics, strangely wild and picturesque, imaginative, satiric and expressive of heavy feeling. In them is the vigor of Victor Hugo and the sensuousness of Dumas, the elder. Yet Mr. Du Bois is never to be commonly classified after the manner of

the old criticism. A shade or two more of bald reality would make his style comparable to the naturalism of Zola. A lyric outburst breaks in to recall the stimulated onslaught of De Quincey; even over ugliness, lynching and death the prose-poet waxes into song. His use of the themes of death and beauty is mildly suggestive of Edgar Allen Poe, of the arabesque and of grotesqueness. Finally, Mr. Du Bois has *taste*, the power to express the lives of others by the *genius* of his own self-expression.

The creation of life over again is the aim of the *artist*. "Darkwater" comes within Hegel's conception of literature as "an expression of race, age and environment." Because Mr. Du Bois has recreated for us the story of his life from Fisk to Germany, and from Wilberforce to "The Crisis," and made us feel again the joys and sorrows of "The Shadow of Years," he has done what he has set out to do. Yet he has not gone by any means to the uttermost depths. He of the "Talented Tenth" has not always comprehended the mind and aspirations of the man farthest down. And with it all there is too much of reliance on American and European standards of abstract justice rather than on the standards of right, regardless of race, age and environment. The book contains more of rich social experience and impression than solution of social problems. Though the life of the author reacted mightily at the clash of the War for Gold, this reaction failed to provoke a plan of constructiveness. This review follows in general the plan which the author has laid down for himself.

Du Bois, as *idealist*, in his suppressed and poignant "Shadow of Years," was possessed of will and ability. Early discovering the existence of the Veil, it was his boyish delight to excel his white fellows in order to prove the faculty, the *betise* of that Veil. Then, paradoxically, he was sent away from Massachusetts down to a light in the darkness of the South, to Fisk. "Marvelously inspired and deeply depressed," learning meant more learning. Then came trips within and without the Veil—to Harvard and prize and honor, to Berlin, to Paris, to Rome—will and ability plus luck, elysium, but lo, back to "the land of the free" once more. Then came the vexed problem of life, bread and butter versus ideals—Wilberforce at \$750 per year, the Philadelphia Negro, Atlanta University and dreams. Some force must rise to rend away the Veil! Booming, flooding Niagara was the first step, and then,

martyred ground, Harper's Ferry. Men began to listen. Black men wanted a leader chosen by themselves, an interpreter between two worlds. Thus the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was born.

"A Litany at Atlanta" is the bitter cry of a sensitive soul. There is Du Bois, as *suppliant*.

To picture the mind of your overlord is a most difficult task. Mr. Du Bois, in "The Souls of White Folk," straightway challenges the assumption by white men of the title to the universe "for them and their heirs forever." "What is the black man but America's Belgium?" he cries. "Blackness condemns, and not crime." "White Christianity is a miserable failure." "The real soul of white culture is war and rapine." "Dividends," says he, "are the tests of success," as "the world today is trade." In this last sentence the learned author apparently gives up his former *idée fixe* that the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line. He affirms the fact that race prejudice pays and that the war was fought for the wealth and toil of Africa. There is nothing new in this delineation of the author, but Mr. Du Bois has a penchant for delving into ancient history to vindicate the Negro's right to civilization by showing what the Negro has contributed. It is contended, however, that such a brief is unnecessary. We care little about where the Negro came from or what he brought. What we want to know is where he is going and by what way.

"The Riddle of the Sphinx," old as Africa, is a poem of freedom. Du Bois is *seer* and *prophet*.

As *historian*, Du Bois is one of the leading students of African history in the world today. In "The Hands of Ethiopia" he proudly calls for self-determination for Africa, and Africa for Africans as the only goal. It may be submitted in contradiction, however, that no one can subscribe to Africa for Africans any more than he can subscribe for France for Frenchmen or America for Americans. Every internationalist must favor free intercommunication and the basing of citizenship on merit, rather than on race or nationality. The author often falls into inconsistency by slighting the interplay of social forces. He says: "Only faith in humanity will lead the world to rise above its present color prejudice." He should have said, as he implied before, "only when color prejudice ceases to be profitable will it be extinguished."

Du Bois, as the *hopeless*, now writes "The Princess of the Hither Isles" on the poetical theme of love and death, a beautiful white woman and a black man within the Veil.

The standard for the pedagogy of the economics and sociology of the Negro problem was set by Du Bois, as *teacher of men*, at Atlanta University. With America in microcosm at East St. Louis, he justly describes distribution as the problem of the present world. To be sure, he often mistakes the effect for the cause, as he does when he lays the ground for the new order on the basis of a moral system. It may be said, however, that ethical principles are merely outgrowths of a social system. They are the products of the socio-economic order and never the causes of it.

As *moralist* and *mystic*, Du Bois has conceived in three short stories in "Darkwater" very striking and startling imaginative effects, containing much fantastic suggestion

and melodramatic incident. Theophile Gautier has not written a much better ghost story than "The Comet." And "The Second Coming" and "Jesus Christ in Texas," Flaubertian dream literature, are only a little less intense.

Sensitive soul, the ideal of "The Servant in the House," is service without servants. Menial service is the foe of progress.

As a *Socialist* of the Russell-Walling-Spargo point of view, Mr. Du Bois becomes more rational in "The Rulings of Men" than in any other part of his book. Here again he places more faith in the ethical than the economic. Life to him is a spirit—"The Will to Human Brotherhood of All Colors, Races and Creeds." But the creed of Du Bois is static, rarely ever dynamic.

"The Call" is a prose-poem of resolution. "Children of the Moon" is a lyric of aspiration and freedom.

The *panegyrist* now writes on "The Damnation of Women." No finer tribute has been paid to the women of any race! The examples of Harriet Tubman, of Sojourner Truth, of Kate Ferguson, of Mary Shadd and of Louise De Mortie are the rich legacies bequeathed to the women of all the world. Our women are not free. They must be emancipated.

Du Bois is seen as the *hopeful* in "The Immortal Child," the education of whom is the problem of problems. Suppose Coleridge-Taylor had been born in Georgia or Du Bois in Waco. Life is full of the accident of opportunity. The *hopeful* believes in preserving the race by giving abundant birth to children. "Immortality is the present child."

Du Bois is a *wanderer*, a *Bedouin* bent on the Eternal Quest, as he sings of Beauty and Death. A sojourn at Bar Harbor, Jim Crow travel in the South, 1917 and the war, Houston, East St. Louis, impressions of the Grand Canyon, France and Freedom, Toul, Paris and back to America and the Veil—these are the windows of his soul.

"Almighty Death" is a song of life dedicated to Joseph Pulitzer. "The Prayers of God" are the prayers of men. The holy of holies is human beings, intelligence, love and freedom. "A Hymn to the Peoples" is a stirring ode to humanity.

"Darkwater" is primarily a work of *art*. It is the "Black Talented Tenth" in microcosm. There is through it all the expression of pride and faith in race, but in the last analysis the tragic fate of being black in a white world. Based on feeling, but tempered with reason, it must be acknowledged that Mr. Du Bois has performed his function and performed it admirably. It was upon the foundation of *liberalism* created by Mr. Du Bois' personality that the awakening of "The New Negro" had its genesis. But high and far above that necessary foundation is the new thought, the destroying but creating thought. It knows only truth. Freedom will come only when there are no races, no classes, no creeds. The distribution of wealth and knowledge is the problem of the twentieth century. As some one has said: "The hope of peace has passed from liberalism to labor." *Labor* will create a new world, and in that new scheme the Negro must take his place, not as a Negro, but as an equal sharer of all opportunity among equal men.

WILLIAM N. COLSON.

A BRONZED GOD

Bertuccio Dantino

IN a deliberate fashion the man donned his clothes, the cheap habiliments of a working man whose duties were of the regular sort.

"Your views seem very advanced," I remarked. "Where have you studied and what have been the lines pursued?"

"In the public libraries and at home; I have studied whatever would satisfy my greed for knowledge." As he replied he seated himself near me, then resumed his remarks. "I have read many of the works of the great leaders of

thought, and on both sides of all questions where possible."

"No school experience?" I asked.

"Oh, yes, indeed, sir. I had a few weeks in the primary grades of the public schools, but my night studies at home have been my chief reliance for learning."

"You must have had to overcome many obstacles?"

"Surely, I have, sir. The prejudice of the whites against educated Negroes, and the jealousy of my own people, especially the religious

element among them, those taught by the priests, who aim to keep the Negro satisfied with his lot under intolerable conditions, no matter how degrading those conditions may be. In a thousand ways they can discourage one of us who sees the desirability of an education."

"But," I said, "for thousands of years the Negro races in Africa never progressed. They remained ignorant, savage barbarians. Many tribes were cannibals until their inhuman practices were broken up by white invaders. No arts or sciences originated among them."

"I am not prepared to deny what you say. I know that it is true that various savage tribes warred upon each other, and that they have devoured those unfortunate enough to become their captives. I admit that the African Negroes have sold their victims into captivity, abject slavery. I acknowledge that the Negro did not invent gigantic cannon, explosive shells, poison gas and gas bombs. They did not invent airplanes from which to throw such fiendish tools of destruction down upon communities of helpless old men, women and children of other tribes to blow them into shreds of mangled humanity for commercial reasons.

"That gloriously refined and praiseworthy practice remained for so-called civilized peoples to accomplish. I know of no tribes in any section of Africa conspiring to starve the rest of the country by blockades and embargoes fiendish in their ferocity."

For the moment I was nonplussed. I realized that I had found no ordinary man for a conversationalist. We sat silently for several minutes, when he continued:

"You asked me what I have read and studied. I have read ancient and modern histories and philosophies. The works of Marcus Aurelius, Plato, Darwin, Tindall, Huxley, Haeckel, Blatchford, Chapman Cohen, Emerson, Thomas Paine and others. I have mastered some of the sciences by hard and unceasing effort. I have fitted myself to do practical work in electrics and in civil engineering, and have passed competitive examinations with honors."

"And yet you—" I hesitated, not knowing exactly how to express my wonder at his appearing so much like what is called a common laborer. He read my thought, and said:

"Yes, I am employed as a laborer, and all because of the prejudice of the whites.

"How is that?" I asked.

"While employed in a large city on Puget Sound I entered a competitive examination for a position under the National Civil Service—that of a civil engineer. I passed the examination successfully and stood several points higher than the next highest of my competitors. On account of my color the position was given to a white man who stood a dozen points below me."

"I consider such a thing outrageous!" I exclaimed.

"And you are right, according to my sense of justice. But at present, with race prejudice at fever heat, there seems no immediate remedy in sight. The evil exists, and many things conspire to keep it alive."

There was but little bitterness in the man's tones, at which I marvelled greatly. In fact, I mentioned my surprise that he did not express great resentment at his treatment; that he did not show intense hatred for the race that had wronged him so.

"No; I hate no one. I only regret that such things are possible in an era supposed to be civilized."

At that moment I thought of the Honorable Thomas Watson, the noted lawyer-author of *Harlem, Georgia*, and I asked the man if he knew him or of him.

"Indeed I do!" he exclaimed, vehemently. In fact there was so much in his reply that I glanced up inquiringly.

"I confess that Mr. Watson is an enigma to me!"

"How so?" I asked.

"I cannot understand how a man of such great attainments, such an extensive knowledge of history, such a pronounced love for justice, can be such a bitter enemy of my race."

"Is he an enemy of your race?"

"He is—and he isn't."

"I do not understand."

"Thomas Watson is kindness personified to those Negroes with whom he is acquainted and who are, or have been, employed by him. Yet in his writings he is intensely bitter in speaking of my people. One cannot help seeing that he resents any effort on our part to reach a plane of mental or social equality with the whites. He thinks that, as our race has been kept down in the scale of humanity, it should always be content to remain there. It is true that he assails with uncompromising severity the follies of the whites; he adds bitterness to the gall in which he dips his pen when denouncing the crimes or misdemeanors of the blacks."

I could not deny him at all.

"With all his noble qualities and his unquestioned honor, he loses sight of justice when he attacks race problems."

The man sprang to his feet and, with a wish that we might meet again and discuss the subject of our conversation further, he touched his hat politely and disappeared in the forest. When next we met it was in that wonder city, Seattle. (To be continued)

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MILL GRINDINGS

By G. F. M.

Psychology is as sure as mathematics—truckling and resignation beget contempt and denial.

* * *

On the revival of trade with Russia: When lying ceases to be profitable, and hinders the swelling of the purse, the truth will come to light.

* * *

The superficial editor cries: "He should be loyal to the flag under which he lives." We sometimes live in a country, not for love, but because of a strong aversion to committing suicide.

* * *

We love our country in proportion to our country's fostering our general interests and safeguarding our native rights in life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Our revulsion is equal to our country's aversion.

* * *

He who proclaims "Every man has his price" furnishes thereby satisfactory evidence that he has his.

* * *

For the edification of Mayor Hylan: It is all a delicate matter of taste—one man is as justified

in abominating RED as the crowning crop of a Mayor's dome is in throwing fits over its selection as the color of a flag—except as the Mayor might offer the extenuation that he had no choice.

* * *

For the delectation of a black Assemblyman: Oh, the pathetic sight of a member of a disfranchised people, a people cuffed and kicked and battered and bruised at will, currying favor with the oppressors of his people by helping them to maltreat and oppress others!

* * *

To a peripatetic schoolman lecturing in the South and charging the unrest of black folk to radical propaganda: A professorship in philosophy is no proof against the affliction of asininity.

* * *

On the riots of Washington, Chicago and elsewhere: Every end should be approached in the light of adequate means, and every application of force must consider the obstacle to be removed. The man who claims his rights often needs the accompaniment of an axe and a gun.

Who's Who

PROF. HARRY H. JONES - - - THE CRISIS IN NEGRO LEADERSHIP

UNDER the above title in the March Crisis, Prof. Harry H. Jones, of Wheeling, W. Va., writes one of the best articles we have seen in that magazine. The article is dispassionate, fairly well reasoned and sincere. With but a few exceptions, Prof. Jones quite accurately sums up the position of the Left Wing, or radical group, of Negroes, as well as the position of the center group. He then proceeds as follows:

"The struggle, as I see it, is between the Center and the Left Wing. And the issue is joined on the proposition whether the Negro is to wage his struggle in the belief that he can ultimately secure his full American rights, according to American standards of justice, industry and government, or whether he is to ally himself with those who believe that his salvation is to be found in state Socialism. The Center has these points in its favor: The spirit of equality running through American legislation; the capacity of the nation to respond to high ideals in national crises; the active support of many fair-minded whites in their fight to secure justice for the Negro; a splendid record of achievements in the race's behalf in securing legal nullification of the Grandfather Clause, residential segregation and peonage. It has successfully opposed segregation of Negroes in Federal employment and discrimination in Civil Service; it has contended against legislation by the states and cities, tending to discriminate against Negroes; it has fought against moving picture plays that fostered race feeling; it has carried on strong propaganda against lynching and mob violence; it has given strong support to the race in industry, educa-

tion, religion, politics, and culture, and has built up effective organizations in all parts of the country, to promote the welfare of the race and of the nation."

That the fight is between the Center and the Left Wing we agree. But whether we secure our rights by American standards or European ones is entirely irrelevant and immaterial. Besides, no such line can be drawn with any degree of scientific accuracy. The only thing which we, the leaders of the Left Wing, would consider at all is, the power of measures, methods and means to secure the end aimed at most quickly and most cheaply.

Mr. Jones continues to enumerate what he regards as certain points which the Center has in its favor, among which is "the spirit of equality running through American legislation." We do not intend to engage in satire in this article, but this expression would not seem to emanate from a sane mind. Why, it is elementary that the spirit of equality runs through neither the letter nor the administration of American law. And this is true in every part of America, and especially so where most Negroes reside—in the South. To what, pray, does Prof. Jones refer, anyhow? Surely he is aware of the Jim Crow car laws, the disfranchisement in the South, the laws against intermarriage in 37 states, and

THE UNEQUAL ADMINISTRATION OF THOSE LAWS in all the different states when applied to the Negro. Does he not also know that the Sumner Civil Rights Law was declared unconstitutional years ago, while the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have been dead letters since 1876? So far from the spirit of equality running through American legislation, we find the spirit of inequality, injustice and prejudiced administration running through the entire warp and woof and fabric of American law.

Prof. Jones' optimistic microscope next discovers "the capacity of the American nation to respond to high ideals in national crises." What ideals? What national crises? And when? We are pretty acute and alert students of history, and we have not made this discovery. The professor would have obliged us greatly by specifying a little. We have never known this nation to respond to high ideals in a crisis. We have just passed through a great one—the world war. How did it respond? Let the N. A. A. C. P. record answer. In the same issue of the Crisis, in which the article of Mr. Jones appeared, the annual report of the N. A. A. C. P. points out that—

"During the year 1919, 78 Negroes, 4 American white persons and 2 Mexicans were lynched—a total of 84 persons. Ten of the Negroes were ex-soldiers, and one a woman.

"The association pointed out to the public the increase in the cruelty and ferocity in lynchings, as shown by 14 Negroes burned at the stake—11 before death—during the year 1919. It called attention to the fact that during the year 1918, 13 victims were taken from the hands of peace officers, or out of the jails, while in 1919 there were 34 such victims; and that during the years 1918 and 1919 convictions against lynchers were secured in only two cases, in one of which fines were imposed upon 12 men, and in the other prison sentences upon 15 men."

In addition to the above facts, there were 28 race riots in which more than 100 Negroes were killed. Besides, after the declaration of war, within the first year, 247 Negroes were mobbed and lynched, segregation infested the army, General Ballou issued the iniquitous Bulletin 35, the Government employed agents to give out lying propaganda against Negro soldiers in France to the effect that they had tails—while despite the great need of unity within the nation, the most petty racial prejudices, reigns of riots, and orgies of mob violence swept the country. In other words, during this most trying time, in a gigantic national crisis, the nation showed no ability to respond to any ideals except the ideals of anarchy, lawlessness, mob violence, lynching, autocracy and falsehood.

Let us illustrate again from the Civil War. This, too, was a national crisis. What did the nation do, and how did it respond? In the first place, Lincoln and Congress would not use Negro soldiers so long as it was possible to avoid using them. They even had the unmitigated effrontery to offer Negro soldiers half pay. True it is the Emancipation Proclamation was issued, but only as the inevitable consequence of a reluctant threat. The nation had no intention of putting the Proclamation into effect and no desire to do so. Lincoln, therefore, issued the Proclamation conditionally, the condition being

that the South should lay down its arms before January 1, 1863. Space does not permit our going further into the discussion, but all deep students of history are thoroughly agreed that no high ideals but only the most sordid, mercenary reasons dictated the entire course of the Civil War. The same is true of the Mexican War, which Grant properly characterized as the most wanton, cruel, and inexcusable war of history. The alleged Revolutionary War of 1776 had no ideals attached to it, either. It was a fight between the American exploiters, autocrats and plutocrats, and the British plutocracy over the right to exploit the rest of the American people. Surely, no one would assign any high ideals to this nation in the Spanish-American War. Here was a fight of the sugar and tobacco interests of the United States to get control of Cuba and this necessitated pitching the Spanish exploiters and robbers out. Therefore, we go even further, and challenge Prof. Jones and any member of the Center to show a single instance in which this nation has responded to high ideals in a national crisis.

As to the rest of the previous quotation from Mr. Jones' article, it is a sort of padded talk which social workers engage in, and would ordinarily be expected from Dr. George E. Haynes or E. K. Jones of the Urban League. We refer to such statements as "it has given strong support to the race in industry, education, religion, politics and culture; and has built up effective organizations in all parts of the country, to promote the welfare of the race and of the nation."

These padded, loose statements are simply adroit modes of saying nothing. They are used only when a writer has no specific information to support his contention. It is not necessary, therefore, to answer the rest of the quotation, so we pass on to the next phase of the article. Prof. Jones continues:

"The Radicals are called upon to consider these questions: If the masses of Negroes should accept their leadership, what adequate substitute can they offer the race for the possible alienation of the support of many fair-minded whites who do not accept their principles? Judging from the present attitude of the white working class in America toward the Negro, what assurance can induce him to believe that the white workers will be willing to give him a 'square deal'? Where has their idea of State Socialism functioned successfully for any reasonable period? Did not Germany, the most highly organized Social State in the world, display the same weakness and injustice which they claim inhere in Representative Government? Considering the present strength of the Socialist Party in America, how long must the Negro wait before that party can render him any practical assistance?"

As to the first question, we radicals answer that for every one of their lukewarm, old school, qualified equality white friends we can easily pledge ten thousand or more thoroughgoing, radical white friends, whose friendship is based upon mutual interest. As to the assurance of white workers' willingness to give Negroes a square deal, we do not depend upon professions of friendship or flowery promises, but only intelligent self interest. The position of white labor is already changing rapidly in its relation to Negro labor, not because white labor likes Negro labor any better, but because it realizes that the only way white labor can raise

its standard of living is to raise the standard of living of its competitor. This sound position will be taken by white labor as rapidly as it becomes more intelligent and class conscious. Labor is very intelligent in the New York garment trades. We therefore find 3,500 colored girls in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, thousands of longshoremen in the Transport Workers Union, about 4,000 Negroes in the Metal Workers Union, a few hundred in the Cap Makers Union, the Fur Workers Union, and a growing tendency to let down the bars to Negroes in every union.

Prof. Jones wants to know next, where our idea of state Socialism has functioned successfully for any reasonable period. In answer, we wish to state, first, that our political philosophy is Socialism, and not state Socialism. For more than two years, now, it has functioned in Russia, where despite the poverty and illiteracy bequeathed to the population by the old, moss-back, maimed and distorted autocracy of the Czar, the people have shown a greater power to rally to the fruits of civilization than any country of Europe. We can only refer our readers to the very illuminating reports of Col. Raymond Robins, Mr. Wm. C. Bullitt, and Albert Rhys Williams, who were sent to Russia by President Wilson and the New York Times, respectively, to bring back antagonistic reports, but disappointed them by bringing back the facts, all of which were highly favorable to Russia. The fact that Russia has been able to defeat 23 nations, including America, England, France, Italy, and Japan, shows a powerful efficiency in Socialist administration.

The question relative to Germany is ambiguous and beside the point. In the first place, surely the Professor did not regard Germany as being a Socialist state under the Kaiser. What happened in Germany was simply a great deal of social legislation exacted from a reluctant government because of the power of Socialism. To what weakness does the Professor refer? And what does he mean by Socialism versus representative government? Why, we regard Socialism as being the very essence of representative government. Let us clarify the term. When we speak of people being represented, we mean the adoption of laws and the administration of government in the interest of the people. Therefore, it cannot be claimed that the American government, or the German government, under the Kaiser, were representative governments, when they represented the banking, railroad, and industrial interests, rather than the people.

Mr. Jones' last question is, "Considering the present strength of the Socialist party in America, how long must the Negro wait before that party can render him any practical assistance?" The question reveals that the Professor does not appreciate a very elementary point in history—the power of minority parties. It is a mistake to assume that a party must have a majority to render one practical assistance. The fear that the minority will become the majority is a powerful sword of Damocles held over the head of the majority party at all times. The Left Wing group holds that the greatest power the

Negro possesses is his power to combine with the Socialist present minority and assist it in becoming the majority. No one pays for a sure thing, but when one's position is uncertain, he immediately becomes a factor. To illustrate: No campaign will be made next fall in Georgia, Mississippi, or Alabama, because it is known in advance that those states will be Democratic. No strenuous campaign will be waged for the National Ticket in Pennsylvania, because it is fairly well known in advance that Pennsylvania will be Republican. But in the states of New York, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, West Virginia, California, and Massachusetts, a bitter fight will be waged. Why? Because these are known as doubtful states. The people in them think. They vote not by tradition, entirely, but by opinion, and their opinion is susceptible to change upon the presentation of evidence. We might say further that the Negro in this country will get no consideration from the Republican Party, except that which is forced upon it by virtue of the agitation and organization of the Left Wing group. Why? The Republican bosses know that the Negro is Republican. The Democrats feel that they cannot get his vote, and the Republicans feel that nobody else but themselves can get it. Does the Professor believe that the present Congress would pass a Jim-Crow car bill in the face of the coming election, if there were 50,000 Negro Socialists in the country? Why, of course not. Already the Left Wing group has made the Negro problem national. **It has forced more discussion of the Negro problem within the last twelve months than the entire group of Negroes have been able to produce within the last fifty years.**

With respect to the power of Socialists to do things in the minority, Mr. Morris Hillquit points out in his *Socialism Summed Up*, page 59:

"With all their handicaps, the Socialists' work in national law-giving bodies is not devoid of direct and important results. The Social Democratic Party of Germany boasts of a large number of reform measures, principally in the field of working men's state insurance, factory laws and taxation, which have been enacted through its direct initiative.

"In France the Socialist Deputies have secured the passage of laws reducing the hours of labor of government employees, extending the power of municipal administration, and improving the system of state accident insurance and old age pensions. In Denmark the Socialist representatives in Parliament have caused the adoption of a system by which the labor unions receive government subsidies for their unemployed members. In Austria, Sweden and Norway the Socialist parties have been largely instrumental in extending the popular suffrage, and in Italy, Belgium and Switzerland they have succeeded in forcing the adoption of substantial reform measures of various characters.

"But more important than the achievements in the domain of national legislation have been the practical results of local Socialist politics. This is quite natural. While the Socialists so far constitute only small minorities in the national councils of the world, they have already succeeded in securing full control of numerous cities and towns in all modern countries. In Germany, France and Italy the Socialist municipalities count by the hundreds.

"Austria, Belgium, Holland and the Scandinavian countries likewise contain large numbers of cities, towns and villages fully controlled by the Socialists, and no less than 2,000 municipal councils in Europe have Socialist representation of varying degrees of strength. Even in the United States, in which the political ray of

Socialism is practically in its infancy, the Socialist Party is in control of more than 50 cities and towns and has elected about 1,000 public officials to local offices."

This is a record of what a minority party can do. It is evidence of very practical assistance on the part of the Socialist Party for the working class, and the party in every country has now advanced far beyond its strength at the time Mr. Hillquit wrote this book.

Lastly, Prof. Jones writes: "These days are intense. The nation sits on a power keg. No set of men has the right to advocate new principles, unless their principles can stand the test of human experience and needs." Our answer is, first, that our principles can stand the test of human experience and needs. Our next answer is, that this is not necessary. Progress takes place by charting new seas. We advance in proportion as we swap off old superstitions for new facts. If the principle laid down by Prof. Jones were adopted, no progress would ever take place. The slave holder would have said, "We have no experience of freedom, therefore, emancipation cannot be tried." In biology, Darwin could not have proclaimed the theory of evolution, on the ground that it had not already been proclaimed. Columbus could not have discovered America, because there was no experience of its having been discovered before. No airship could have sailed because men had no experience in having sailed one previously. Robert Fulton would have been estopped from starting his steamboat, on the ground that none had ever been started before and therefore

it might not stop after it had got started. The telephone, the telegraph, the microscope, electric power, the steam engine, wireless telegraphy, the submarine—all would have died in the brain of the inventors on the ground that none previously existed. Of course, we are thoroughly aware that this type of reasoning is so commonly taught in colleges like Oberlin and in our own colleges of Columbia, New York City College, Cornell, Harvard, etc., that only the iconoclastic mind examines, discredits and discards the mass of rubbish and intellectual junk with which the gangways of the mind are cluttered by the capitalistic colleges and universities.

The position of the Left Wing is the only sound and defensible position for the Negro, just as it is the only sound position for other racial groups. The Center is trying to straddle between a few sound principles and many fallacious principles, and the fallacious principles negative the entire possible good of the sound ones. The Negroes, however, are fortunately seizing the program of the New Crowd Left Wing radical group of Negroes. They are following the program courageously and intelligently. They are rejecting the Center and the Right Wing, led by Du Bois and Moton, respectively. This new orientation has produced a crisis in Negro leadership—a contest which must go on until one group triumphs over the other. With a calm and sure faith the Left Wing patiently awaits its day of triumph which is speeding hither at an accelerated rate.

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Messrs. Randolph, Owen, Miller,
Daly and Colson.

Dear Friends:

I think the time is ripe for a new organization such as you have in mind. I am with you in this work. Therefore, you may sign my name to the call for the convention to meet here May 24th next.

Ever cordially yours,
ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE.

Sure. I shall be glad to sign the call.
NEVAL H. THOMAS.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, Editor,
The Messenger, New York City.

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I shall be very glad to cooperate with you in forming your national body. If my name will be of any service to you, you are at liberty to use it.

Respectfully yours,
C. G. WOODSON,
Director.

Mr. Victor R. Daly,
2305 Seventh Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Shall be very glad to be put down as one of the signers of a letter to call a convention in Washington, May 24th, which will consider an economic, political and social programme.

Very truly yours,
CARL MURPHY,
Editor.

Chandler Owen, Esq.,
2305 Seventh Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Owen:

Yours of March 4th relative to proposed call for a convention in Washington as explained in enclosed article received. You have my hearty consent to use my name as a signer to the call, and I wish the movement and you every success.

Yours truly,
E. P. BENJAMIN.

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