

the New Yorker

**A JOURNAL OF
SCIENTIFIC
RADICALISM**

DECEMBER, 1920.

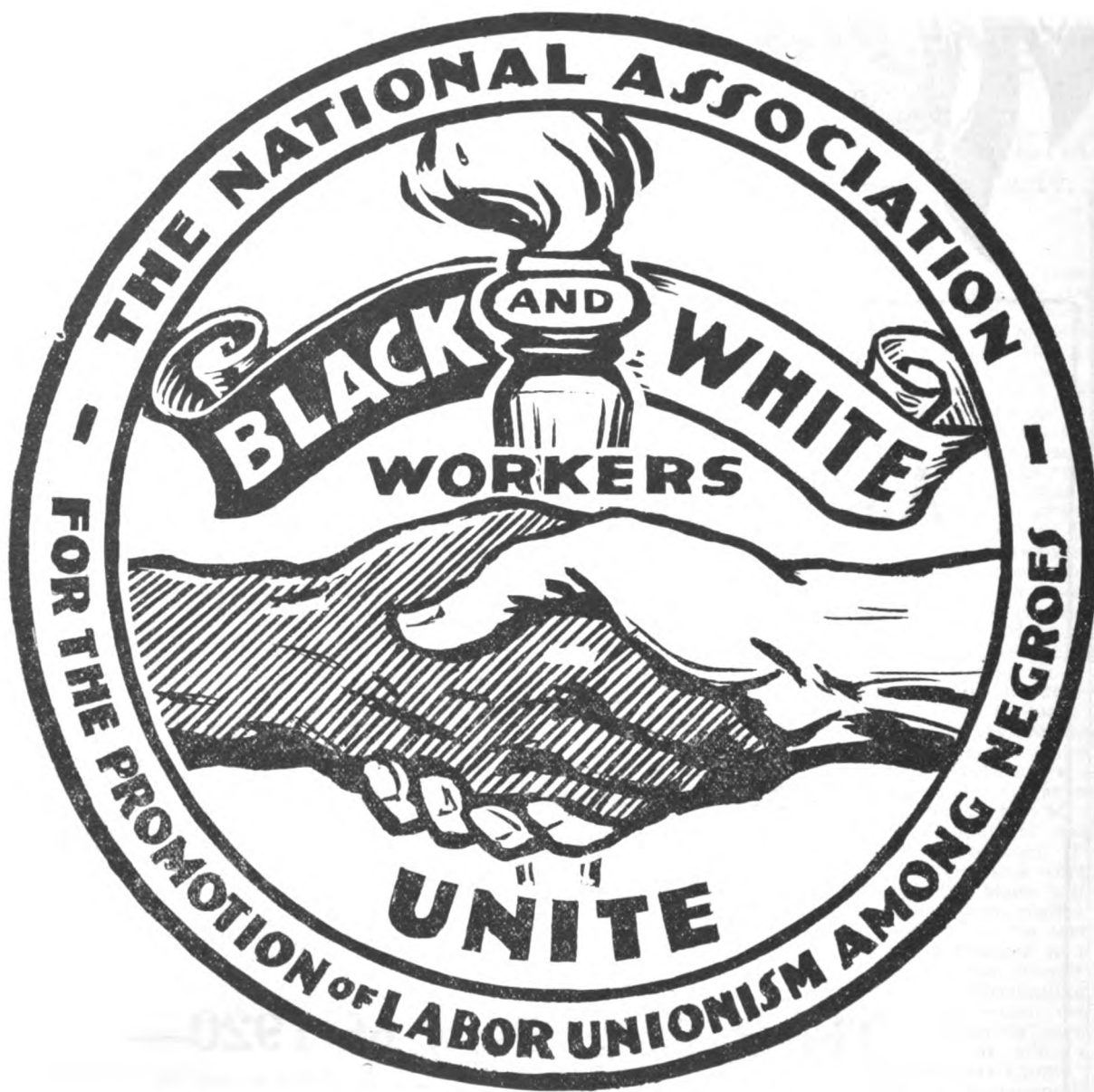
15 cents per copy \$1.50 per year.

An Open Letter to America on the Ku Klux Klan

Three Schools of International Thought

The Passing Show of 1920— Woodrow Wilson

A British Commission to Investigate America's Negro Congo



CHANDLER OWEN
PRESIDENT

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
SECRETARY-TREASURER

ADVISORY BOARD

JOSEPH D. CANNON
JOSEPH BASKIN
CHAS. W. ERVIN
EDWARD F. CASSIDY
M. FEINSTONE
JULIUS GERBER
MORRIS HILLQUIT

JAMES H. MAURER
ANDREW WEINEIS
JACOB PANKEN
MAX PINE
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN
A. I. SHIPLACOFF

OFFICES: 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City

THE MESSENGER

15c. per Copy
20c. Outside U. S.

A Journal of Scientific Radicalism

\$1.50 per Year
\$2 Outside U. S.

Published Monthly by the MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., Inc.

Main Office: 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York.

Telephone, Morningside 1996

VOL. II.

DECEMBER, 1920.

NO. XII.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. EDITORIALS	163
2. ECONOMICS AND POLITICS	169
3. EDUCATION AND LITERATURE	172
4. WHO'S WHO	177
5. THE OPEN FORUM	178

Application entered for Second Class Mailing Privileges at Post Office, New York, N. Y., July 6th, 1920.

Editors:

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH CHANDLER OWEN

Contributing Editors:

GEORGE FRAZIER MILLER
W. A. DOMINGO

Phone Connection

J. P. FANNING

Manufacturer of

Fine Havana Cigars

122 West 135th Street, New York

Try the Old Reliable Duff's Hats

Best Made Hats At Reasonable Prices

Also Harlem Agent for the

John B. Stetson Hats

DUFF'S HAT STORE

136 LENOX AVENUE

(Near 116th Street Subway Station)

STUDY

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIALISM

A Correspondence Course for Beginners
Prepared by David P. Berenberg

Fee \$4.00

THE RAND SCHOOL

Offers This and Five Other Correspondence
Courses in Socialism

For Information

Write to Room 301—7 East 15th St., New York City
Ask for Folder

During the presidential campaign don't miss reading
ART YOUNG'S MAGAZINE
of Humor and Satire, Illustrated

GOOD MORNING

Out the 1st and 15th of each month
A three months trial subscription is only
\$1.00 and the yearly rate is \$3.50

Send in your subscriptions

GOOD MORNING COMPANY

7 East 15th Street New York City

MARRIAGE

As IT Was, Is, and SHOULD BE. By Annie Besant. That intensely interesting Brochure, 25c. The Scarlet Review, No. 1, 25c. each. Diana, A Psycho-Physiological Essay on Sexual Relations, 25c. The Crucible (Agnostic), 4 samples, 10c.

RAYMER'S OLD BOOK STORE

1330 First Avenue Seattle, Wash.

CO-OPERATION

For information on organizing
co-operative societies apply to
CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE OF AMERICA
2 West 13th Street New York

Mention THE MESSENGER

An Appeal To Reason

1. The International Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Federation appeals to Negro workers to join hands.
2. It draws no race or color line.
3. The Negro hotel waiters have been, and are the cat's-paw of the hotel employers. When a strike comes, they are used as scabs; when the strike is settled, they are thrown out. This ought to be a lesson to you, Mr. Negro Worker.
4. The International Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Federation, will put a stop to this.
5. Mr. Negro hotel worker, do you want more wages, shorter hours and better conditions under which to work? Then join the hotel workers' union.
6. The Hotel Employer is not strong enough to hold the Negro hotel worker on the job. The organized hotel workers are.
7. If black and white hotel workers unite, they can control the hotel industry.
8. If they allow the hotel employers to divide them with the wedge of race prejudice, they will be robbed and exploited, underpaid and overworked. Workers, black and white, unite!. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have all to gain!

New York Main Office:

133 WEST 51st STREET

Harlem Branch Office: 2305 Seventh Avenue.

BRANCHES:

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
327 Livingston Street
Telephone: Nevins 2714

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
Secretary, H. Chernow
278 North 13th Street

NEW HAVEN, CONN.
153 Crown Street

NEWARK, N. J.
49 Bank Street

Int. Hotel Workers
124 Eliot Street—Boston, Mass.


ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.
108 S. Arkansas Ave.


BRIDGEPORT, CONN.
Secretary, C. Barbero,
333 Soundview Ave.
STRATFORD, CONN.

A CO-OPERATIVE ENTERPRISE
CONDUCTED BY
CLOTHING WORKERS OF NEW YORK
Amalgamated Clothing System
High Grade Custom Clothing Made to Measure
Mail Orders Filled
NEW YORK CLOTHING CUTTERS' UNION BUILDING
827 Broadway (Near 12th Street) New York City
Phone Stuyvesant 5566-3257

Subscribe for
The MESSENGER

You can help the Bakery Workers by demanding the Union Label when buying Bread.



The International Journeymen Bakers' and Confectioners' Union of America

Greetings to the colored and white workers of the World—to all liberal and radical thinkers and workers for the World's New Day.

The Editors



CHANDLER OWEN



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Editorials

PEACE ON EARTH!

IN a few days you will hear much talk about, Peace on earth; good will toward men! This despite the twenty or more wars going on in the world, the war to end war, the League of Nations, the burning of Negroes in America, the British Black and Tan reprisals in Ireland, the massacres of Jews in Poland, the starvation of Hindoos in India, the murders of Haitians by American marines and the Horthy white terror in Hungary.

So long as one man plants, plows and produces, while another plucks, plunders, and parasites on what that other produces, there will be no peace on earth and consequently no good will toward men.

THE OPEN SHOP

ORGANIZED labor wants the closed shop; capital wants the open shop. When labor has the power it enforces upon capital the closed shop in which only union men may work. When capital has the power it enforces upon organized labor the open shop in which either union or non-union men may work. In other words each party enforces its demands when strong and each yields respectively when too weak to enforce its demands.

During the war when jobs were plentiful and labor scarce, labor enforced the closed shop. Now that the war is over, trade has fallen off, factories are closed and closing and unemployment is increasing hourly, capital is reintroducing the open shop. It hopes to cut down wages, increase hours and lower the conditions under which labor will work. Capital is therefore, discharging men by the tens of thousands; then advertising for thousands through employment agencies at a greatly reduced rate of wages. Another way of aiming a blow at labor is to close the factories or plants for several weeks and months so as to make labor apply for work on any terms, chief among which are the open shop with its train of disadvantages to the workers.

It is regrettable that the closed shop in America has frequently connoted some discreditable things. It was sometimes closed to Negroes, closed to race and color, closed to foreigners, closed to Jews, from which the term has acquired a bad name, an unpleasant social odor. This was due to the triumph of American race prejudice. The closed shop must hereafter close by unionizing every person in the shop without regard to race, creed, color, nationality, sex or previous condition. The term will then once more secure dignity—a true and desirable and democratic significance.

FRIENDS OF NEGRO FREEDOM

THE campaign is over. We have taken three weeks of vacation. We are now ready for a winter of vigorous activity. Shortly after X'mas the MESSENGER editors will make a long swing around the country setting up locals of the Friends of Negro Freedom.

Our first effort will be confined to two things—the cooperative and forum. One will save money for Negroes during the panic; the other will supply education. Detailed writing on both will follow in our New Year number.

FOUR POWER CONSORTIUM

THE four power consortium is simply a loan made to China by four great powers—Great Britain, France, United States and Japan. We know very little about it from access to original documents, but Mr. Morgan and Lamont have stated that the one important thing for us to know is that *various* governments have assured them that all contracts will be supported by their respective governments. That means our army and navy will be the collecting agencies of American bankers and investors who are exploiting the Chinese people.

Attention of Negroes needs to be directed to the irrelevancy of color in this four power consortium or pact. White Englishmen, Americans and Frenchmen join with yellow Japanese in robbing and exploiting yellow Chinese. Profit prospects are stronger ties than the blood bond. Interests are common so the alliances are advantageous. The same white nations, Great Britain, France and the United States also combined with Japan (a yellow nation) to exploit, rob and oppress Russia (a white nation). The profit stimulus like politics makes strange bed-fellows—strange consorts and a strange consortium.

THE NEW SECRETARY OF THE N. A. A. C. P. **R**ADICAL opinion among Negroes forced the selection of James Weldon Johnson as the secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is unquestionably a wise selection. It recognizes three important demands—race, radical tendencies and ability. Johnson merits the unique distinction of being the only Negro, to our knowledge, whose work has been responsible for precipitating an international investigation of the methods of oppression of darker peoples. His articles in the *Nation* have borne fruit.

WHAT THE COOPERATIVE MEANS TO THE NEGRO

COOPERATIVE buying could reduce the cost of living for the Negro some 25 or more per cent. It would also serve as a splendid means of developing ability for economic organization—organization of

whose benefits the masses of black working people would be the beneficiaries. As the cooperative movements of Europe afford employment to thousands of workers, so will young colored men and women, coming out of high schools and colleges find in such institutions an unparalleled opportunity to exercise and demonstrate their ability in technical management, etc. It is a matter of general opinion among Negroes that those who are trained and educated have no opportunity to put their acquired knowledge to use. Such is true to a very large extent. Hence, as an immediate and effective solution of this problem of supplying employment for the large number of educated Negro boys and girls that are being produced yearly, the cooperative plan of conducting the business of supplying the needs of the consumer is worthy of the most painstaking attention of the Negro.

The white workers in the railroad, clothing and mining industries are resorting to it as the solution of their problem of the high cost of living. It is a democratic institution which is not run in the interest of a special few. It is the most feasible form of business which can be conducted by the Negro and organized workers. One must be aware, however, of the large number of fake business schemes masquerading under the name of the cooperative.

THE BLUE LAW ATAVISM

THE principle of atavism is operative no less in the social than in the biological field. A return to social prototypes is the socio-biological theory, from which alone, the recrudescence of "blue-lawism" can be explained. The autocracy of the priestcraft in social habits and thought during the Medieval period is its historico-social progenitor. It is, too, interesting and illuminating testimony of the intellectual decay and stark social reaction which follow wars, while it, also, portrays the uniform behavior of the monistic development of society. As the Espionage Act in America, the ukase against "dangerous thought" in Japan, and the Defense of the Realm Act in England were framed to control political and economic thought during the war, so will movements grow for the control and regulation of our social conduct.

For if it is necessary to have Burleson, Palmer, Sweet, Lusk, et al; to straight-jacket our political and economic thinking; why not defer to the dictatorship of brothers Pussy-foot Johnson and Anthony Comstock? One is as logical, necessary and socially beneficial as the other. Besides, they are two souls with a single thought; two wings of the same bird.

GENERAL WRANGEL

GENERAL BARON PETER WRANGEL, another of the military ikons of international capitalism, has fallen. One by one, the counter-revolutionary forces, bent upon destroying the workers' republic in Russia, are being destroyed. Denikin, Yudenich, Kolchak, all of the military Napoleons of desperate capitalist diplomatists, perish before the onward march of the victorious Soviet Army.

The Red Army of Russia is the only existing military organization which has justified its *raison d'être*. It is fighting to preserve the fruits of the October and November revolutions which overthrew Czarism,

gave the factories to the workers, land to the peasants, food to the people, and peace to Russia. Lashed by the fear and hatred of a recrudescence of the knout, the pogrom, banishment to Siberia, and the cruel and irresponsible dictatorship of the House of Romanoffs; and filled and inspired by the dreams and hopes of a world of peace and justice, the fight against Wrangel and his ilk, by the "iron battalions" of the Russian proletariat was more than a war: it was a holy crusade for a workers' world.

WHAT DOES BREAKING THE SOLID SOUTH MEAN TO THE NEGRO

THE Solid South is broken. The states of Tennessee and Oklahoma were captured by the Republican party. Of course, the Solid South was doomed ultimately to break-up. Serious students of politics knew that it was founded upon political and economic quicksands—the quicksands of a moribund and obsolete bourbon, feudo-capitalistic economy. With the passing of the Solid South will come the political enfranchisement of Negro men and women. The white South is being industrialized. Industrial and financial capitalism is invading and claiming it. The political democratization of the South is bound to follow in the wake of its dissolutin; after which recourse will be made to the same means of deception and repression that are employed against white workers of the North, East and West.

As Mark Sullivan, the political correspondent for the *N. Y. Evening Post*, remarks, in reporting the appearance of President-elect Harding in New Orleans, "the opinion of the South today is that its products need protection, and it views the Republican party as the party of protection," assuming that the Republican party will be no different from a Democratic party on the South and the Negro. Indeed, it is not possible for the Republican party to champion the cause of the Negro and cater to the South at the same time. One or the other must, and will be sacrificed, and experience has taught us to expect that the Negro will be offered up as a holy sacrifice to the bloody God of Race Prejudice.

It is quite likely that the Republican and Democratic parties will allow the Negro to vote in the South just as the Socialists are allowed to vote in New York. In the North the Socialists get the vote but not the count.

Either method amounts to actual disfranchisement. However, it is evidence of progressive change that the Old Solid South has broken. It means that the Negro of the South will, in the near future, be raised to the political plane of the Negro of the North. Of course, that does not mean very much in terms of political and economic advantage. Yet, the Negro is justified in fighting to break up the Solid South, and for the right to vote, though it be of little immediate political consequence. For, in reality, the ballot is of no value to the Southern whites.

With the break-up of the Solid South, capitalism in America becomes truly national.

GOMPERISM IN POLITICS

GOMPERISM in politics might be tersely stated in the now notable phrase: "rewarding friends and punishing enemies." In terms of political results to the workers, it is merely empty verbiage. Wherever Gompers sought to punish labor's enemies, they won, and, with the aid of Gompers' mighty pen and voice, labor's alleged friends seldom won.

It is simply proof of the emptiness and impotency of Gompersism. Probably the recent political repudiation of the slogan of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies," will arouse the workers to the false leadership of Gompers. Let us hope that Gompersism in politics is dead, and that it will soon die in the councils of labor; for Gompers is about as valuable to the American Labor movement as Wrangel is to the Russian Revolution.

THE ELECTION

THE election is over. Harding is elected president.

The Republican party has won a large majority in each house. The Democrats have been defeated in unmistakable fashion. Beyond this the average man has no fundamental conception.

To the political scientist much more is discernible. He reads first an election of hate. He sees a vote not so much for Harding but very much against Wilson. He sees the repudiation of Burleson, the condemnation of Attorney-General Palmer, the repudiation of Secretary Daniels.

The League of Nations was also feared as a war producer. Hateful memories of war were aroused and people felt they must vote against the League, lest every war of Europe would be dragging them in.

A vague belief that the administration in office is responsible for the high cost of living, the unemployment and the panic was also traceable.

Negroes, of course, were Republican by habit. But the imperialism in Haiti, lynching throughout the country, segregation at Washington in government departments came near creating a solid block out of the Negro voters.

The significant thing about the election is the big vote polled by the man in jail—the Socialist candidate for president—Eugene V. Debs. Debs was given nearly one million votes. Ida Crouch Hazlitt writing in the *New York Call*, Oct. 25th, said her observation and experience constrained her to believe the Socialists were robbed of two million votes. Any close observer and student of ballot frauds knows this is not any exaggerated estimate, but on the contrary a very conservative one. This means that Debs actually received about three million (3,000,000) votes.

Again, the Farmer-Labor Party approximately was accorded 1/4 million votes. It is conservative to say that with limited organization, little money, few or no watchers, they too were robbed of at least three times their vote. This would give them one million.

Labor, then, including the Socialist and the Farmer-Labor vote received actually a vote of six million.

Ida Crouch Hazlitt not only states that the Socialists were robbed of two million votes. She also states that the two million votes stolen were given to the

Republicans. What applies to the Socialists here applies with equal accuracy to the Farmer-Labor Party. So what does this mean? Simply this. Of Harding's 16 million accorded vote, three million belonged to some group of labor. Therefore Harding actually received about 13 million votes, while labor represented by Debs and Christensen polled about four million votes.

This is a very good showing for labor with the handicap of the American Federation's reaction, and its fool policies of rewarding friends and punishing enemies.

Capitalist parties may steal the votes to keep labor from knowing its power, nevertheless *capital knows labor's power*. All of which is very disconcerting to capital.

Finally the election was a reversion to reaction. It was just such a reaction as has followed all wars. The most reactionary candidate was elected. *Harding stands for all the things that the people voted against*. He is for the League of Nations, for profiteering and profiteers, against labor unions, for espionage, for conscription and universal military training in peace time, for war with Japan, Mexico, etc., against the use of the Force Bill to suppress the Ku Klux Klan, a straddler on the Negro question but nevertheless for sacrificing the Negro wherever the Negro's interests conflict with the white south. He is also for imperialism.

The election was a disappointment to liberals. As the *Nation* very truly predicted—it was an election by disgust. Not that Harding was hated less but because Wilson was hated more.

Political reaction for the moment is enthroned.

CLASS WAR AND POLITICAL PRISONERS

PRESIDENT WILSON has pardoned the German bomb agent and spy, Herr Von Rintelen, from the Atlanta Prison. The remainder of the conscientious objectors have also been released. The class war and political prisoners, however, still remain in jail. Our so-called liberal President has greater appreciation of an agent whose work was to bomb and blow up American ships at sea, than he has of Eugene V. Debs—one of the world's greatest leaders and prophets of the new order of society.

President Wilson, it is true, has all to gain and nothing to lose. He could not be repudiated more completely than he has been. He yet has an opportunity though, during his remaining three months, to perform a few acts of justice and fair play and thereby mitigate the shame, chagrin and political calumny which history holds in store for him.

SELF GOVERNMENT

SOUTHERN whites are wont to assert that Negroes are incapable of self government. Their own behavior sheds light upon their capability to govern themselves. For instance, they attempted to solve the cotton price slump by night riding and burning the cotton. Wherein do they excel the wild men from Borneo or the inhabitants of the Fiji Islands in the art of government?

THE PANIC

IN September we wrote an article on "The Coming Panic." We predicted unrest, increased and increasing unemployment, low wages and no wages, with prices falling, but not nearly so fast as wages. Since September we have been richly corroborated by events. Factories are closing daily. The *New York Times* reported that on November 28th there were two million men unemployed in the United States. Factories are announcing new closings daily. The Pennsylvania Railroad has laid off thousands of men. Fifty thousand men are unemployed in Detroit. Fifty thousand are unemployed in Dayton. Seventy per cent of the men's clothing workers are out of work in New York. Ladies' garment workers, fur workers, capmakers, all are also out of work by the hundreds of thousands. We predicted the failure of banks and they have failed by the dozens. We predicted low wages and no wages. The unemployment attests to the latter and evidence that employers are cutting wages is overwhelming. We predicted falling prices, but not such fast falling as in wages. W. Jett Lauck, the economist and statistician, points out that prices have fallen 2 and three quarters per cent, a negligible amount. This follows one of the laws in economics known as an economic paradox, namely, *that prices fall less rapidly than wages and prices rise more rapidly than wages.* The panic is here as we predicted, and the end is not yet. The worst is truly yet to come.

PROPOSED BRITISH COMMISSION TO STUDY THE AMERICAN NEGRO CONGO

THE NATION, America's leading liberal magazine, has instituted an investigation of British atrocities in Ireland. It has raised a fund to cover the expenses, secured fair and impartial judges, to take testimony, and selected another committee to go to Ireland to get first hand evidence. It has also called witnesses representing all factions to testify before the committee taking evidence at Washington. This is a commendable effort to get at the truth which Mr. Villard and the *Nation* have inaugurated.

The *London Globe* is peeved over this intermeddling in British affairs. Its November 27th edition says: "Great Britain never inquired into American policies in Mexico, the "water cure" in the Philippines or the burning of Negroes in the South."

Quite true, but even so, it is not too late. Atrocities are still going on in Haiti; our Mexican relations are as rotten as ever; and Negroes (would you believe it?) are still being burned in the United States.

The MESSENGER Magazine wants to suggest a course of action for British liberals and laborites on the American Negro problem. It is quite as acute as the Irish question.

We propose that the London (labor) *Herald*, the (liberal) *Manchester Guardian*, or the *London Globe* raise a fund for investigation of burnings and lynchings of Negroes in America. Select a similar set of reputable scholars and public men as judges. Select a committee to visit America and get first hand evidence on Negro lynchings. We will propose a tentative slate, but another may be followed. To illustrate a committee composed of five of the following: Robert Smillie, Norman Angell, J. A. Hobson, Sydney Webb, Arthur Henderson, Ramsay McDonald, E. D. Morel, Bernard Shaw, Philip Snowden, John Ratcliffe, Bertrand Russell—would be quite satisfactory.

Then let the judges invite to appear before them A. Philip Randolph, Chandler Owen, James Weldon Johnson, W. E. B. DuBois, Mary White Ovington, Martha Gruening, John E. Milholland, Morris Hillquit, Scott Nearing, John Haynes Holmes, Chas. A. Beard, Lillian Wald, Marcus Garvey, Jane Addams, R. R. Wright, William Pickens, Oswald G. Villard, Monroe Work, John Sharp Williams, John Hope, Hoke Smith, Joseph Schlossberg, James K. Vardaman, Samuel Gompers, Thomas Watson, Fred C. Howe, Senator Curtis of Kansas, Archibald Grimke, William Haywood, Carter G. Woodson, Thomas Dixon, John Mitchell, Jr., Neval H. Thomas, Robert Russa Moton, Ida Wells Barnett, William Monroe Trotter, Moorefield Storey, John R. Shillady, F. P. Walsh, Dudley F. Malone, Basil Manly, George Frazier Miller, Bishop John Hurst, Grace Campbell, Kelly Miller, E. K. Jones, Geo. E. Haynes, W. A. Domingo, W. N. Colson, Emmett J. Scott, Algernon Lee, Chas. W. Ervin.

It is always easier to examine conditions in another's country than in one's own. The reason is the same as the one for not allowing contestants to sit as judges on their own cases.

Who will second this motion and give us a lead? We are perfectly willing to allow the British public to pass on our American Congo.

An Open Letter to America on the Ku Klux Klan

FELLOW AMERICANS:

In addressing you as fellow Americans we include all persons residing in the United States. We speak upon grave matters concerning which no liberty loving person can be indifferent.

Some months ago it was announced that the Ku Klux Klan was reorganizing in the Southern States. Many so-called "respectable" citizens sponsored the move. Various Southern governors and members of southern *alleged civic* bodies could be found among the roster. Governor Bickett of North Carolina refused to join, but replied to the invitation with a

strong condemnation of this vicious organization. The ugly undercurrent of this criminal stream, however, was too powerful to be checked by anything other than a strong dam of counter organization, along with wide spread publicity. The puny dykes of incoherent individual opposition were swept away by this black recrudescing tidal wave of southern barbarism.

Votes for women—Negro as well as whites—gave to the new organization a pretext parallel to the excuse for its predecessor after the Civil War—votes for Negro men. The members of the Ku Klux Klan

began night riding. They burned cotton supplies. They paraded in their gruesome dress. They lynched and killed. They murdered, according to a report of the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*, forty Negroes in Florida who were attempting to vote at the presidential election, Nov. 4th.

The tendency of crime like disease is to propagate, if unchecked. Therefore, drunk with power, this savage society has announced its intention to organize throughout the North, East and West. Indeed an interview in the *New York World* of November 27th from the *Imperial Wizard*, Col. Wm. Joseph Simmons, announces that an Order will be set up in New York City. Simmons also goes on to say, "Recently great and favorable interest in the character of the work of the organization has been manifested in various states of the North and West, among which are Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Michigan, Illinois, Nebraska, the Dakotas and especially California." (Watch this reference to California, the hotbed of anti-Japanese prejudice and race baiting.)

A word next about the early Ku Klux Klan. It was so criminal, barbarous, and disgraceful that Congress passed the Force Bill by which it was vigorously and speedily suppressed. The memorial to Congress called attention to the fact that not only had Negroes been massacred and murdered, but that more than one thousand white men, known or suspected to have been sympathizers with the Union Cause or the North, were foully murdered as "dam" Yankees. When their cases were called for trial in court, they were represented by one of the ablest attorneys in the United States (Johnson). We say *represented because after hearing the evidence he refused to defend those Southern Huns. Instead he delivered a diatribe against these criminals whom he represented and threw them upon the mercy of the court, summing up as follows:*

Sinclair's *Aftermath of Slavery* states:

"Their leading lawyer was the noted and learned Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, who, after hearing the evidence, much of it confessions by the Ku Klux themselves, his honest nature revolting, refused to make a plea for his clients, but left them to the mercy of the Court, saying: "I have listened with unmixed horror to some of the testimony which has been brought before you. The outrages proved are shocking to humanity; they admit of neither excuse nor justification; they violate every obligation which law and nature impose upon man; they show that the parties engaged were brutes, insensible to the obligations of humanity and religion."

This is the same Klan of criminals, the same clan of political prostitutes, the same order of ossified and fossilized tyrants, the same barbarous band of southern bourbons, the self same clique of clay eating crackers, the same counterfeit knights of Sir Galahad, the same murderous marauders and yeggmen masquerading as Americo-Americans—who are offering a discarded and discredited and derelict organization of the past to the World's great new day.

Not only is this Ku Klux Klan opposed to the Negro; it is also opposed to *Labor*. Under the guise of building up an organization to suppress the Negro race, it hopes to appeal to short-sighted labor to remain dormant and still while it perfects its machine against both. Only recently was the Ku Klux Klan used against the miners in Alabama. And all of these so-called Americo-American organizations are generally, if not invariably, used against Labor. It is true of the American legion. It is true of the Loyal Legion and many other patriotic fakirs. Most anti-Negro groups are also anti-labor. Surely most people remember that Congressman Blanton of Texas was as anti-labor as he was anti-Negro. Most southern Congressmen are. Burleson, Palmer, Daniels, Wilson—all are anti-Negro, and anti-labor, too.

Moreover, just as the spirit of mob violence which permeated the nation and atrophied its conscience, from long practice in lynching during the war—so this Ku Klux Klan will not be limited to cruelties to Negroes. Even now it is vaunting its Americanism, the fore-runner of all kinds of Trojan Horse frauds and labor attacks.

Again, this Ku Klux Klan threatens religious liberty. Already Georgia (its seat), Florida, the back door to Georgia, and Alabama have passed anti-Catholic laws. These night riders are burning Catholic churches, persecuting the priests and threatening the very life of the Catholic church in the South. Very shortly this rabid anti-Catholic spirit will result in the lynching of Catholic priests, laymen and nuns; their churches and convents will be burned down; their communicants run out.

Next, this Ku Klux Klan is anti-Jewish. Most reading people remember the tremendous anti-Jewish sentiment created by Tom Watson of Georgia not many years ago—a sentiment which resulted in the unjust lynching of Leo Frank. It was probably due to the vision and the memory of the Jewish merchants of Birmingham, Alabama, which recently caused their refusal to join the anti-Catholic crusade, despite the threats of boycotting their businesses.

The Ku Klux Klan is anti-foreign. It divides the people into national rivalries, intensifies national prejudice—the passing of which should be desired and is desired by every thinking and liberty loving person. In very truth, this Klan feeds on the manna of race prejudice. It thrives in the South; finds its next most responsive chord in California—both of which are the seats of black and yellow races—the Negro and the Japanese.

Lastly, this Ku Klux Klan is a menace to American traditions and professions of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Liberty like other social plants, is dependent upon its environment. It grows in certain soils and dies in others. It may be starved or stimulated according to what it feeds upon. Destruction of life, liberty and property, denial of civil, political and religious liberty, the subversion of the constitution to prevent Negroes from voting, vetoing the laws in an actionable sense, oppressing labor, inciting to violence—these are against *avowed* traditions of America, at least.

In very truth, we are confronted with the question whether we shall have the Black and Tans of Ireland

here in America. Shall we import the Black Cossacks of the Czar? Do we want to try a little of Horthy's white terror of Hungary? Do we need Attila and his Huns? Shall the Black Hole of Calcutta be repeated? Shall Leopold's atrocities in the Congo be revived? Do we want the Amritsar of India? Do we seek to outdo the Turk's massacres of the Armenians? Shall we countenance the subjection of women in the world's period of expanding democracy by denying Negro women the vote? Shall we permit the rise of the Inquisition in America as against either Catholics or Protestants? Shall we open our door to pogroms on the Jews? Shall we sit idly by while our Japanese relations are so complicated that by murder of a few men of a different hue our beloved country will be pushed into war, destroying the lives of our young men, making veritable stumps of our young manhood, and sending them on their journey of life armless, legless, maimed and mutilated?

We believe all good Americans are opposed to the foregoing contingencies. We believe they are ready to condemn this Ku Klux Klan spirit. We believe, however, that they have not taught seriously of its consequences.

We are, therefore, as the executive secretaries of the Friends of Negro Freedom, calling upon the labor movement of the country officially to condemn it. We call upon the American Federation of Labor, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, International Ladies Garment Workers, United Hebrew Trades, Socialist Party Branches, the Socialist State, National and Local executive committees, Debs and Stedman, the Fur Workers, United Cloth and Cap Makers of North America, the Industrial Workers of the World, the Brotherhood of Painters, United Mine Workers, the Railway Brotherhoods, the State Federations of Labor and all central bodies, like the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York, to condemn this Ku Klux Klan.

We next call upon other organizations, and individuals to condemn the Ku Klux Klan. We call upon the United Labor Education Committee, the Young Democracy, the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, the Friends of Irish Freedom, Friends of Freedom for India, the National Consumers League, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Women's International League for Peace, the Non-Partisan League, the Cooperative League of America, the Workmen's Circle, the Forward Association, the Jewish Socialist Federation, the Inter-church World Movement, the Teachers' Union, the Civic Club, the City Club, the Single Tax Society, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., the Union League Club, white and Negro churches of all denominations.

We call upon the radical and liberal press in particular to write editorials of exposition and condemnation. We appeal to the Nation, New Republic, Freeman, Searchlight, New York Call, Jewish Daily Forward, Milwaukee Leader, Jewish Times, Seattle Union Record, Butte Bulletin, the New Majority, Liberator, Good Morning and other radical and liberal organs to sound the tocsin.

Yet he who would be free must himself first strike the blow. Hence we urge Negro civic organizations, fraternal societies, etc., to denounce this Ku Klux Klan. Let the following ones speak—the Pythians, Odd Fellows, Elks, Masons, Universal Negro Improvement Association, N. A. A. C. P., National Urban League, the St. Lukes and Alpha Phi Alpha.

Besides we call upon the other so-called American press which claims to stand for the best in American traditions, such as the New York World, the New York Globe, the New York Tribune, the Boston Transcript, the Springfield Republican, the Hearst papers to condemn this American anarchy.

We call upon president-elect Warren G. Harding to make special mention of the anti-American and criminal character of the Ku Klux Klan in his inaugural address and to recommend in his first message a Congressional Committee to draft legislation for its complete annihilation and its speedy extirpation from the American continent.

We also call upon the state and municipal bodies, aldermanic chambers, and city councils, legislatures and assemblies, to draft state and municipal legislation to supplement that adopted by Congress.

With respect to labor unions and the Socialist Party we urge that they adopt resolutions prohibiting their members joining the Ku Klux Klan under pain of expulsion.

We would request all bodies adopting such resolutions or laws and all papers writing such editorials to send copies of same to the *Friends of Negro Freedom*, 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City, for codification and further publication.

Colonel Simmons calls himself the *imperial wizard of an invisible empire*. The day of empires has happily almost passed. The Romanoffs have gone. The Hapsburgs have fled. The Kaiser is in exile. The Czar of Bulgaria is no more. The premiers of the powers that made the Peace of Versailles have all been repudiated and overthrown save Lloyd George. All of which is the adumbration of the new day,—the passing of reaction—the decay of empires—the renaissance of the spirit of political, economic and social democracy. Secret forces, invisible empires, wizards and witchcraft,—these are dying echoes of yesterday—not the nascent voice of to-morrow.

Verily mankind is exchanging old worlds for new—new worlds in which race prejudice cannot thrive, religious bigotry cannot flourish, national hatreds cannot survive, and class antagonism will cease to be. The new world is a world of brotherhood in which the Black and Tan will be unknown, the white terror vanished, the Black Cossack's unwelcome, the Amritsars and the Black Hole of Calcutta only vestiges and relics of sunless climes, the Ku Klux Klan a byword and a hissing, condemned and not condoned.

This is a true *American program*, and we urge in the name of the Friends of Negro Freedom, that Americans respond to the call ere it is too late.

Economics and Politics

THREE SCHOOLS OF INTERNATIONAL THOUGHT

By THE EDITORS

TURKEY was once known as the sick man of Europe. Thanks to European and American secret diplomacy, all Europe is now sick, and America is not well. Philip Gibbs, the English novelist, says that, "Europe is dying." This is the verdict of radicals liberals and conservatives alike. The great war has been followed with many little wars. There is no peace anywhere, and there seems to be no general agreement as to what shall constitute a solution.

At present, there are three schools of international thought and action struggling for control and supremacy. They arrange themselves in the following order: The Quai d'Orsay of France, or the right wing; the Downing Street school of thought and action, or the Center; and the Kremlin of Soviet Russia, or the left wing school.

Now, what does each represent and how are Europe and America responding to these international programs of thought and action.

The plan of thought and action of the Quai d'Orsay is definite, clear and unmistakable. Two main objects engage the attention of France, namely, the destruction of Soviet Russia and the enforcement of the Peace of Versailles. The attainment of these two ends is essential to the stability of the French nation of bankers. If Soviet Russia survives, Poland will either be conquered by the Soviet army or overthrown by a revolution from within. Either of which is a menace to France. With a Soviet Poland as a next door neighbor, capitalist France is doomed. Of this the French bankers are not unaware. This accounts for the strong and inflexible anti-Soviet Russian policy of Clemenceau and Millerand. Besides, France hopes to recover the three billions of francs loaned to the Czar, which have been repudiated by Soviet Russia.

As to Germany, France insists upon receiving her "pound of flesh." Nothing short of the complete enforcement of the peace treaty is even countenanced in Paris. It is felt among the French that the death of Germany is essential to the life of France.

With the cost of living mounting higher and higher, and the exchange value of the franc going down lower and lower; what else is France to do except make Germany pay. And it is the two attitudes upon Soviet Russia and Germany that shape and determine the entire international policy of the French Republic. In support of this policy, she is building up a "Little Entente," composed of Hungary, Rumania, Greece and Czechko-Slovakia.

Among the great powers, Japan and America accept the Quai d'Orsay school of thought and action. They represent the right wing or extreme financial imperialism. They have supported all of the counter-revolu-

tionary forces attempting to overthrow the Russian Revolution. So much for the Quai d'Orsay school of right wing international politics.

A word now about Downing Street or the Center. What is its policy and how does it function? Characteristic of English thought and action, it represents a series of compromises. Downing Street stands neither with the reactionary imperialism of the Quai d'Orsay nor with the revolutionary radicalism of the Kremlin. The wily and crafty British statesmen seek to secure advantage by playing the right wing against the left wing. England would sacrifice either or both schools of international thought and action, if it would benefit her. Of course, the same thing is true of either of the other schools. A policy which is guided by the principle of compromise is necessarily indefinite, hence, it cannot be said that Great Britain has any definite policy either with respect to Soviet Russia or conquered Germany. She sees the futility of the school of the Quai d'Orsay, and her imperialistic interests counsel that she keep her hands concealed in dealing with the Workers' Republic. Therefore, she favors lifting the blockade on Soviet Russia when the Soviet Army is apparently invincible and supports Poland and Wrangel when they seem to be gaining ground against the Bolsheviki. Britain would trade and not trade with Soviet Russia at the same time. She is not sure of her position in the Near East with an hostile, victorious Red Army.

As to the Peace of Versailles, Downing Street stands for enforcing and not enforcing it. Whichever promises the greater advantage will be adopted. She wants the German trade, and she does not think that Germany can pay her if she pays France or anybody else. Only Italy champions the Downing Street school of "Give and Take" world policy.

Now, for the Kremlin. What are its objects and methods? First, its immediate object is to secure peace. The Soviet Government wants peace in order that it may reorganize and reconstruct the economic political and social life of Russia.

The Soviet program of thought and action is essentially revolutionary. All other questions are subsidiary and secondary to the preservation of the Russian Revolution. The Workers' Republic has also adopted a flexible policy which enables it to secure advantage after advantage.

There is no government which supports the Kremlin school of international thought and action. It stands alone as the advocate of a working-class as against a capitalist solution of the international debacle.

Now, a word as to the instrumentalities through

which these three schools of world political and economic thinking propose to function.

The Quai d'Orsay, while tolerant with the League of Nations, doubts its usefulness in reconstructing Europe, and still looks with favor upon the old European doctrine of the "balance of power." France is demonstrating her faith in this principle by attempting to build up a "Little Entente." For France senses the unreliability of both Great Britain and America in backing her position on Soviet Russia, and the enforcement of the Peace of Versailles. She is attempting to improvise a number of different secret compacts and agreements to obviate her reliance upon the League of Nations.

To Downing Street, the League of Nations is nothing more than a convenient makeshift for pretending to favor some supernational organization to achieve world peace. Already Persia has been induced to negotiate a secret pact with Great Britain and France, America and Great Britain are members of a secret agreement. All of which proves the lack of confidence in the League of Nations as an effective agent for securing peace. But England, as usual, takes the position on the League of Nations: "I am for it if it serves to protect what I have and to get what I want; and, I am against it if it doesn't." Downing Street, however, recognizes the bankruptcy of the old "balance of power" system in the present economic chaos and political disorder of the world. Hence, ruling opinion of England will accept the League of Nations with British reservations, what ever that may mean!

Both the Quai d'Orsay and Downing Street oppose

the Kremlin's idea of an international instrumentality for realizing world peace. Briefly, the Kremlin school of international thought and action opposes the League of Nations on the ground that it is an organization of capitalist governments, from which alone, capitalists can hope no benefit. Against the League of Nations, the Soviet Government would offer a league of Socialist republics, where the power to declare wars rest in the hands of those who fight wars.

This is a brief outline of the three broad streams of world thinking. They are guided by certain thinkers and statesmen. Clemenceau stands out as the leading figure of the Quai d'Orsay; Lloyd George of Downing Street; and, Lenin of the Kremlin.

Strictly speaking, the Quai d'Orsay and Downing Street are one as against the Kremlin, for the former represent international capital and the latter represents international labor, between which there is an irrepressible and irreconcilable conflict.

For the nonce the Downing Street school of international thought and action will manoeuvre itself into the commanding position by securing a modification of the policies of the Quai d'Orsay and the Kremlin, seeking thereby to effect a series of compromises in order that the existing European capitalist frame work may endure the fierce storms of working-class revolts.

Eventually, however, the Quai d'Orsay and Downing Street will be driven together by the menacing growth of the power of the Kremlin. Then the issue between capital and labor will have reached its final stage and a world-wide revolution will be the last act of a great world drama precedent to the establishment of a socialist economy.

The Garvey Movement: A Promise or a Menace

IN the October number of the MESSENGER, we indicated roughly the angles from which the Garvey Movement would be discussed. Here, the political aspects of the organization shall engage our attention.

Precedent to our discussion, however, it might not be amiss to observe upon the past relations of the editors of the MESSENGER to the Movement. At one time, the editors of the MESSENGER spoke from the same platform with the moving spirit of the organization in question. Then, the Black Star Line Idea was no part of its effects. Nor were the slogans "Negro First," an "African Empire," "Back to Africa," and extreme race baiting prominent in its program. The representation of Negroes at the Peace Conference was employed as the basis for generating considerable Negro consciousness, and the Negro World, the official organ of the Movement, which was edited by W. A. Domingo, a Socialist, was the leading Negro Weekly propagating genuine radicalism in the country. Moreover, it is no little illuminating that the organization selected as one of its representatives to the Peace Conference, one of the editors of the MESSENGER, a well-known exponent of Socialism which is now derided and condemned by its official organ and spokesmen.

The editors of the MESSENGER have never been members of or affiliated with, in any way, the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African

Communities League. In speaking from the same platform with the founder of the movement, we were chiefly interested in educating its membership in the class-struggle nature of the Negro problem, and retaining the sympathetic attitude of the Movement toward Socialism, which can be attested by a reference to numerous editorials which appeared in the official organ and the speeches of Mr. Marcus Garvey.

Now, as to the policies and principles of the Movement.

Judging from the editorials of the official organ of the organization during the recent campaign, the movement sponsors a Negro party. This, of course, is a natural and logical outgrowth of the doctrine of "Negro First." It must be remembered in this connection that the political program of the said Movement is intended to meet the needs of the 12 or more millions of Negroes in United States and the hundred or more millions of Negroes in the West Indies and Africa.

First, then, let us determine what are the needs of the Negro.

Upon a cursory survey of the political status of the Negro in America, the West Indies and Africa, it will be seen that the Negro is the victim of conditions that find their immediate cause in the politics of government.

First, in the Southern States of the United States

of America the Negro is denied the right to vote; he is jim-crowed or denied the right of equal access to public conveniences; his property is depreciated through the operation of laws of segregation; he is the victim of lynch law, vagrancy laws and peonage. These are his racial disabilities which have the sanction of legislation enacted through the instrumentality of political party action.

The question now arises: Can a Negro party remedy this; can it abolish the jim-crow car, lynching, the vagrancy laws, disfranchisement, and peonage? If it can it ought to be known in order that the Negro may accept it; if it cannot it also ought to be known in order that he may reject it. If it is a sound solution of his civil and political problems, the Garvey Movement's political program deserves the endorsement of all Negroes; if it is not a sound solution, it deserves the condemnation and repudiation of all Negroes.

A word as to the logical implications of a Negro party.

As the Prohibition party nominates only prohibitionists, the Socialist party only socialists; the Republican party only republicans; the Democratic party only Democrats; so will a Negro party nominate only Negroes for public offices, from a police commissioner to the president of the United States.

Indeed, it is inconceivable that a Negro party would name a white man for the presidency of the United States; just as it is inconceivable that a white man's party would nominate a black man for the highest office in the land. For the very racial names of the parties suggest the purpose for which they are formed. Fortunately, we are possessed of some recent political history which factually sets the Garvey Movement on record in this connection. In the recent campaign, the Liberty party, which dubbed itself a Negro party, nominated for president of the United States, Mr. Eason, who was elected leader of the American Negroes by the Negro World Congress which convened in New York City, August 1st, and lasted thirty days. This Congress was held by the Garvey Movement.

Now a word of comparison.

Have you heard of a Jewish party which nominated only Jews for public office as a remedy for their ills, or of an Irish party which nominated only Irishmen for public offices as a solution of their problems? No. Why? The reason is to be found in the fact that the aforementioned groups are like the Negro, minority groups and can never expect to become majority groups. If it were possible for the Irish or Jews or Negroes to get each member of their groups to adopt such a course of action, the end which they are aiming at would be unattainable. For if all of the 12 million Negro men, women and children voted for a Negro president, he could not win. Of course, children don't vote, and Negroes in the South don't vote. Hence, the advocates of a Negro party are pursuing a political doctrine of "impossibilism." Irish and Jews, and other minority groups, who have problems to solve, don't adopt the idea of racial, religious or nationality political party action as a solution of the same.

Moreover, there are other phases to the subject. A Negro party will not only not achieve any political results advantageous to the Negro, but, carrying out the race logic, it will impose a similar course of politic-

al action on the white man. For if it is logical and right for Negroes to combine to control the government for Negroes only, then, it is also logical and right for white men to combine to control the government for white people only.

And when the white or black man once secures control of the government, he is justified in adopting legislation calculated to perpetuate himself in office by throttling his opponent with discriminatory legislation. In fact, this is what happened in the South after the Reconstruction period, and the white South raised the cry of "Negro Domination" in justification of the terrorism, intimidation, persecution, jim-crowism, disfranchisement and lynch law employed against the Negro. During the Reconstruction period the Negroes did not seek to put only Negroes into public office, but the White South pretended that that was their aim. Now, is it not clear as to what the reaction of the psychology of the American white workingman would be upon learning that all of the Negroes of America were combining in a Negro party to capture the government for Negroes only.

Thus, such a plan of political action is not only negative from the point of view of results, but it invites an unspeakably violent revulsion of hostile opposition from whites against blacks. It only serves to lend aid and comfort to the Vardamans, Hoke Smiths, Watsons, Thomas Dixons, Cole Bleases and John Sharp Williamses, in denying the Negro the right to vote. Therefore, if it is impossible for a Negro party ever to win; it will be impossible for it to secure legislation for the benefit of Negroes; and if it is impossible for the Negro party to achieve legislation which will benefit Negroes, then, there is no earthly reason for its existence. Besides, if it will only serve to illicit new forms of antagonisms, then, it is not only of no value, but it is a positive menace to Negroes. So that as a remedy for disfranchisement, jim-crowism, lynch law and peonage, the Negro party is ineffective.

So much for the operation of the principle of a Negro party in the interest of the Negro in America. What about Africa and the West Indies?

In Africa and the West Indies, the conditions are slightly different. In both places the Negroes have less political privileges and power than they have in the United States of America. They mostly hold the relationship of subjects to the British Crown. One interesting side of the situation there, however, is that they constitute 95 to 98 per cent of the population. It would be quite easy, with intelligence and the right to vote, for the Negroes to capture the government of the West Indie Islands and Africa.

But granted that it were possible for the Negroes to capture the governments of America, the West Indies and Africa, it does not follow that the conditions of the masses of Negroes would be better. Have they not had a Negro President of Haiti, Liberia, and a king of Abyssinia? Would a Negro King, Emperor or Czar give liberty, justice and democracy to black subjects more readily than a white King, Emperor or Czar would give liberty, justice and democracy to white subjects? The Russian, German and Austro-Hungarian peoples did not think so. Are Japanese subjects content with the autocracy of Japanese rulers just because they are Japanese?

Does civil war in Ireland appear to be any less violent because it is being waged between national groups of the same color?

From the foregoing analysis it is apparent that a political party, in order to be an effective and useful instrument, must be built along other than purely racial lines. Modern political science reveals that political action is the reflex of economic interests. A political party is nothing more than a group of persons who agree upon a body of principles which are embodied in a platform, and during political campaigns an effort is made to get control of the machinery of government in order that the said platform may be adopted in the form of legislation. All party platforms are chiefly concerned with economic questions,

other questions entering in as a decoy to groups who are not conscious of their economic interests and who have problems pregnant with an emotional appeal. Shrewd politicians recognize that an appeal to feeling is more effective than an appeal to reason.

Thus a Negro party can only misdirect the political power of the Negro. For an organization which sets itself up as the guide of the Negro in his economic, political and social life to advocate such a form of political action is to expose itself to the criticism of being distressingly unwitting of its political way. However, we want the Negro public to judge upon a basis of fact and reason as to which political program he shall follow.

Education and Literature

The Passing Show of 1920—Woodrow Wilson

By the Editors

WOODROW WILSON is passing. He is passing in politics. He is passing in world drama. He is passing in physical vigor. He is passing as the self-imposed guardian of the world's moral forces. He is passing as a scholar.

Probably the most ardent advocate of Woodrow Wilson would not now deny that he is passing. He is passing in the political life of America. Denied a vote of confidence in the Congressional elections of 1918, he was unmistakably repudiated by the overwhelming vote for Harding in 1920. He asked for a solemn referendum on the League of Nations. The people have spoken and Wilson has the answer. So thoroughly repudiated was Wilson that the solid south was broken. It is not merely a statement of Wilson's passing that we shall attempt here. We propose to explain the reason.

In politics Wilson belonged to the 18th Century. His political philosophy was that of competition. He was an exponent of the early *laissez faire* school. He did not understand that the period of competition in natural monopolies had passed. He thought the high cost of living would be brought down if dealers were forced to compete because (as he thought) each one would be trying to undersell the other. As a matter of fact that day had passed about 1873 when the period of large scale business was inaugurated. From 1873 to 1898 capital was getting ready for the period of monopoly. Since 1898 big business in the United States has been *syndicating, monopolizing, integrating, trustifying* until the last vestige of the competitive era has passed. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law was a harking back to the past also. It attempts to make businesses compete with each other by breaking up the monopoly. All of these attempts were so many ef-

forts to avoid an inevitable conclusion; namely, that monopoly is the logical and desirable development of business; that it makes production cheaper, increases it, eliminates waste; but it also increases power which is dangerous in the hands of a few and must be lodged elsewhere. What then is the solution which Woodrow Wilson could not grasp. This: *Industry must be monopolized, but the power which controls it must be democratized.* This is the only way to enable the many to secure the advantages of the monopoly principle. And this means the introduction of socialism.

Why, you ask, did Wilson not accept the next logical step? Let him answer in his own words: "*The masters of the government of the United States are the combined manufacturers and capitalists of the United States. They have erected upon the forms of democracy an invisible empire.*" These combined manufacturers and capitalists wanted the advantages of monopolies and trusts for *themselves, not for the people.* They made Woodrow Wilson, so he had to listen to *his master's voice* or be broken long ago. It is about as possible to make business go back to the period of competition as it is to make the tributaries of the Mississippi River flow back into the main body or trunk. Trusts, pooling, agreements in restraint of trade, monopolies are here to stay. Their next change will simply be in the extension of the monopoly of the means of production, distribution and exchange to a control by a monopoly which shall be all the people in their collective capacity.

Woodrow Wilson is passing in world drama, but not because his League of Nations is lacking as one of the most pressing needs of world capitalism. The League of Nations is the order of the day for capital—not labor. Labor was opposed to the Versailles Treaty

and the League of Nations. The imperialist treaty, the robbery and stealing, the impossible peace—lost Wilson his popularity. He could no longer fool the people. They ceased following him. And capital must use what tools it has. Hence with Wilson's apparent passing, the French began to approach Harding. Unofficial couriers of Harding began to approach the Russian government concerning trade. Harding had to adhere to diplomatic usage and deny that a French courier had approached him or that Washington Vanderslip represented him to the Soviet government. (Students of political science know that nothing is more probable.)

Woodrow Wilson also is passing in world-drama because he was an amateur in world politics. The wily Lloyd George, the subtle tiger Clemenceau, the crafty Orlando, the shrewd Makino had been schooled by long experience in the twisted and tricky course of world diplomacy. Not so with Wilson. He was a provincial American representing a still more provincial group in America, the Democratic Party of the South. The *Nation*, *New Republic* and *MESSENGER*, Trotsky, Lenine, the British Labor Party—all very properly and promptly charged him with ignorance of European geography. This ignorance ran true to its attributes at all times—dogmatism—unwillingness to take advice from those who know. Wilson, therefore, paid no attention to Colonel House, Lansing, White or any of his advisers. He insisted upon his omniscience in world politics. The European diplomats flattered him. They needed American money. They discovered that he was exceedingly vain and easy for their pickings. After putting a head on each of his fourteen points, making the seas free to British monopoly, converting the open covenants openly arrived at into secret covenants arrived at in the dark—these old European diplomatic foxes, tigers, barons and hyenas turned loose our naive president picked clean as a chicken—and no point of the fourteen pointing to either peace or democracy.

All of this was made the easier since Woodrow Wilson is passing in physical vigor. Political controversy, intellectual pugilism and diplomatic combat use up a great deal of energy. The president has been failing (if indeed he has not failed) in health, for some time. He is no longer equal to the task. With a huge war chest, the Republicans took full advantage of his weakened physical strength.

Again Woodrow Wilson is passing as the self imposed guardian of the world's moral forces. He entered the political arena as a liberal. He frequently pleased the radicals. He was a man for peace. He kept us out of war. He was opposed to universal military training. He was for the Mexican people working out their own problems undisturbed by American oil interests. He was for free speech. He believed Americans should not forget how to kick. He was for freedom of the seas. He was for open covenants. He was for tolerance of difference in opinion. He was the implacable foe of imperialism.

In spite of these lofty professions, in the face of a war to make the world safe for democracy, he inaugurated a reign of terror throughout America. He made of the Constitution a scrap of paper. Freedom

of speech and assemblage became relics of happier days hereafter to be found in the museum of memories. Elected on a slogan of having kept us out of war, he went into war within thirty days after his election. He secured the enactment of the Conscription bill, the Espionage Bill, large navy and army appropriations. He bullied Mexico, invaded her soil without justification, remained there till it pleased him to withdraw, and came away without apology for this unfriendly act. His state department became the spokesman of the oil interests, Franklin K. Lane, his secretary of Interior, actually resigning to become an officer at \$50,000 per year in the Doheny Oil Company, the largest American oil company in Mexico. A cynic once disparaged a tyrant's free speech rules by saying: "I have a right to say what I think, and you have a right to say what I think." Not so in Wilson's judgment. To quote him was a crime. Eugene V. Debs was jailed for ten years because he said what Wilson uttered almost identically in St. Louis. His freedom of the seas was British freedom. His open covenants were closed in the covenanting and closed after having been covenanted. His opposition to imperialism found ridiculous expression in the sacking of Nicauruga, the seizure of Haiti, the dissolution of her regularly elected assembly, the murder by American marines of 3,250 Haitians, attempts by coercion and extortion, such as holding up of the salaries of the ministers and president, to compel Haiti to sign a vicious Convention in favor of a monopoly on foreign exchange to the National City Bank of New York. Russia was unconsciously betrayed by Woodrow Wilson. He and his state department became the allies of every reactionary force which desired to destroy the people's government of Russia. Kolchak, Denikin, Semenov, Yudenich, Wrangel, Poland all found a welcome at our money coffers, munition bins, clothing and food warehouses. Representatives of the defunct government of the Czar became the recognized ambassadors, ministers and plenipotentiaries at the *Wilson Court of Democracy*. Wilson was the epitome of vacillation, changing his mind over night on nearly everything.

Upon one thing he remained firm throughout—the Negro. From beginning to end he held the southerner's traditional position on "keeping the Negro in his place."

As a scholar Woodrow Wilson is also passing. He was always rated too high in certain quarters. The *New York World* made the rather phenomenal discovery that he was the best writer of English in America. A rigid application of the high powered lens of scientific criticism to his works would reveal him as an average scholar—not any exceptional historian or political scientist. He is not in class with McMaster, Beard, Robinson, Patten, Taussig, Karl Becker, Nearing, Myers. His *State and New Freedom* will, when appraised by a non-flattering future historian, be discarded as simple compilations and campaign speeches—lacking in rich, deep, original thought.

We would not close this survey of Wilson without commenting upon his selection of assistants. He seemed to desire no strong man about him. Someone

to flatter his vanity was the Doctor's order. The slight show of independence on the part of Lansing cost him his portfolio in the State Department. Burleson and Palmer and Daniels are the blackest blots upon the Wilson escutcheon. The mere mention of their names awakens a train of memories which all liberty loving Americans are trying hard to forget. The brightest spots in Wilson's administration were Frederic C. Howe, Louis F. Post, Frank P. Walsh and Basil Manly. The historian will be compelled to hold Wilson for the savagery of Burleson, Palmer and Daniels, since he had the power to put them up and take them down, and he always chose to keep them up.

The stench of corruption at Hog Island smells to high heaven. The army, navy, and aircraft production reached a new highwater mark in governmental graft.

As Woodrow Wilson passes from public to private life March 4th, 1921, his friends will probably say to him: "Go in peace and sin no more." He carries a heavy load of sorrow. From a world popularity he has fallen so low as Caesar when Mark Anthony viewed him upon the ground. He fell like Lucifer. He adds corroboration to the philosopher who maintained that public men should retire before they are retired.

Radicals, liberals and Negroes will not shed a tear over the fast approaching "*Ides of March*"—when the American Nero is retired to obscurity and oblivion. Bent in body, broken in spirit, blasted in hope, bowed in affliction,—the world's curtain will fall upon a blighted drama, a veritable tragedy—*The Passing Show of 1920—Woodrow Wilson*.

The Invisible Government of Negro Social Work

The National League On Urban Conditions Among Negroes

"The power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will."

"He who pays the fiddler calls the tunes."

FREQUENTLY we are asked: What is the National Urban League? What are its objects and purposes? What does it do? And how does it do or propose to do that what?

Some superficial student or Urban League secretary would answer this question right off the bat by saying, the National Urban League is a group of the better class of white and colored people working together for better industrial, social and fraternal relations between the races. It does "*Big Brother*" and "*Big Sister*" work, makes industrial and housing surveys in the cities, secures jobs for people, meets travellers coming into cities, gives a few annual fellowships to college men and women in Columbia University and the New York School of Philanthropy, fosters cooperation, fraternity, good feeling and Americanism, and supplies 100 or more people with fair jobs.

The close thinker and deep student of social service will straightway ask: Who finances the National Urban League? Where does it get the bulk of its money? Who are its backers? What is the source of its economic life? In this way he can the more intelligently answer, what is the National Urban League? What are its objects and purposes. What does it do? And how does it do that what? Because the first question what it is, will be determined by those who supply the funds of the Urban League. What its objects are can be ascertained by finding out what are the objects and purposes of those who finance it. It will do what its backers demand that it do. It will do it in the manner directed by its bosses, its controlling contributors. So much for the method of research or inquiry.

The language employed by the Congressional Committee investigating the National Security League on page 572 of the Congressional Record of the year 1919, might with equal propriety be applied to the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes. The report of that committee reads in part:

"The National Security League and like organizations in their political activities constitute a serious menace to representative government. Ordinarily their real purpose is concealed, and their appeal is made to the public on some principle in harmony with dominant sentiment. Usually, as in this instance, they have access to almost unlimited wealth, and borrow respectability by the use, in honorary positions, of the names of men of national prominence. If their real purpose were apparent the danger would be relieved."

If the reader will insert *social* in place of *political* activities, and *Negro progress* in place of *representative government*, the quotation will be substantially accurate as applied to the Urban League.

Next let us examine from its own records the contributors to the National Urban League. In a bulletin by that organization entitled, "An Idea Made Practical" we find among the contributors the following:

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE NATIONAL AND NEW YORK URBAN LEAGUES

Jan. 1, 1919 to Dec. 31, 1919

Armour & Company, \$500; Paul D. Cravath, \$200; Mr. and Mrs. Albert J. Erdmann, \$250; A. S. Frisell, \$250; Clarence H. Kelsey, \$50; V. Everit Macy, \$1,250; Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, \$3,500; Julius Rosenwald, Esq., \$2,000; Arthur Sachs, \$50;

Dr. Barney Sachs, \$20; Ella Sachs, \$125; Harry Sachs, \$100; Julius Sachs, \$12.50; Sachs, Paul J. \$65; Samuel Sachs, \$350; Mrs. Samuel Sachs, \$175; Mrs. Walter E. Sachs, \$50; St. John's Institutional Activities, Inc., \$10; Jacob H. Schiff, \$200; Mortimer L. Schiff, \$135; Mrs. Phelps Stokes, \$50; Mrs. Willard D. Straight, \$50; Hon. Wm. H. Taft, \$12.50; Mrs. W. K. Vanderbilt, \$200; A. T. White & Sisters, \$1,400; Wm. G. Willcox, \$300.

These names are more indicative than the special amounts. All are capitalists or capitalist representatives. And these are just a small number of the hundreds.

It needs to be said that certain very reputable and public spirited men like Roger N. Baldwin, Albert DeSilver and a few others may be found among this list. This action is explainable by the American psychology which still deals patronizingly with the Negro. Men like Mr. Baldwin and DeSilver feel that the white race of America has oppressed the Negro so much that they ought to help almost any concern among Negroes which apparently promised to do the slightest thing for his uplift. You constantly find this spirit among liberals and radicals. They are ready to permit a little leeway for the Negro. They will tolerate in him what would not be brooked among whites. They feel that the rule should not be applied with strict rigidity to a group which has been so oppressed, denied so much opportunity in the race of life. To illustrate, during the war the office of the Urban League at 2303 Seventh Avenue, New York, was used as a draft registration center. The Rotary Club again used it in the so-called Boy Scout drive. Now among white organizations it would be an affront to Roger Baldwin to ask him to support an organization which would willingly be used as a draft registration center—a military espionage quarters. Again, a movement emanating from the Rotary Club, which is simply a replica of the National Security League, or the American Defense Society would not have the unmitigated effrontery to call upon either Mr. DeSilver or Roger Baldwin for support. Nor would the Boy Scout Movement, whose dominant purpose is to instill militarism in the boy, meet with any response and support from Baldwin and DeSilver if white groups made the appeal. Of course the spirit which actuates these men is commendable, but the method is decidedly unsound. And method and means are material, for I may desire to give you quinine for your fever, but if I am ignorant of drugs, I may give you cyanide of potassium, resulting in your death, despite my good spirit and my commendable intentions. So the liberals and radicals in the United States must understand quite clearly that the same rules applied to whites must be applied to Negroes.

You cannot support liberalism and radicalism among whites and indorse reaction among Negroes. If so, what is gained on the one hand will be lost on the other.

So much for the contributors—or in other words, what the Urban League is. It is its contributors and

supporters. What about its purposes? This brings us to its industrial and labor program which is its reason for being. All the talk about Big Brother and Big Sister Movements and other nice sounding pretensions is simply so much camouflage or window dressing to conceal the real purpose, its reason for being—its economic program. Eugene Kinckle Jones, General Secretary of the National League on Urban Conditions among Negroes, New York, contributed a paper at the National Conference of Social Work in 1919. The pamphlet is entitled the "Negro in Industry." It is carefully designed to say chiefly non-objectionable things to employers, to take every convenient slap at labor unions, to disclaim any desire for social equality, and especially to make an appeal for a larger number of Negro welfare workers (in order that more patronage may be at his disposal). Let us take a few typical quotations to illustrate and prove these contentions.

....."Sufficient testimony is available to prove conclusively that the Negro labor on the whole was found to be extremely promising. *They were loyal to their employers. In fact they took proprietary interest in their employers' plants.* They were American to the core, and their great advantage was their ability to speak and understand English. *They were not easily inflamed against their employers for imagined grievances*"

This paragraph is interesting in determining the influence of capital upon the Urban League. We learn from its spokesman that Negro labor was found to be extremely promising. Why? Because, says Mr. Jones, *they were loyal to their employers. Loyal to their exploiters, we should say: loyal to employers who overworked them and underpaid them. How did they show their loyalty? Mr. Jones answers, "They took proprietary interest in their employers' plants."* Think of the appeal that made to Rockefeller, Armour, Swift, Morris and their political and legal spokesmen like Taft, Cravath and Wickersham. Negroes, the worst exploited part of the working-class, taking *proprietary interest* in their exploiters' plants. That means they took the same interest in the factories and plants where they worked as if they were the proprietors. Think of Rockefeller and Armour taking the laborers' interest in their plants. Mr. Jones tells us that *they were American to the core.* The American workingmen is the most backward, ignorant, disorganized, reactionary and patriotic laborer in the world and Mr. Jones assures capital that the Negro shares all those attributes. Can't you see Rockefeller smiling with delight! Now Mr. Jones reaches the climax. *"They were not easily inflamed against their employers for imagined grievances."* Isn't that rich? If a group of Negro workers decided that they were being underpaid, over-worked, and were being worked under the most abominable conditions, as the result of which they decided to organize, unionize, present their grievances and, if necessary, strike, why that would be getting inflamed against their employers for

imagined grievances. Do you see the slap at labor? Do you see the bait thrown to Rockefeller? Well Rockefeller gave \$3,500 for this bait!

After commenting on the conditions of work, the condition of the Negro, his migration as the result of supply and demand, Mr. Jones suggests "*A Program for Improvement.*" The very first thing in this program proceeds:

"I suggest however, the following:

1. *That those who know the situation will make it very clear to all persons who entertain the overemphasized thought that to give the Negro opportunity will advance the so-called desire for social equality for the Negro—that the Negroes are a great deal less concerned about this bug-bear than those who talk about it."*

This statement is aimed at the South. It is intended to secure the acquiescence of Vardman, John Sharp Williams, Thomas Watson and Cole Blease. It was probably framed at the instance of Major Robert Russa Moton who is a dominant Negro figure who took the place of Booker Washington on the Urban League Board. Just think, this was the first plank in an Industrial Platform for the Improvement of the Negro. Down with social equality!

Let us make an observation here. The statement is absolutely false. Increased and equal industrial opportunity does, as it ought to, advance desire for social quality. It is an inevitable consequence and one which white labor must and will accept out of sheer enlightened self interest. We cannot work together in factory, mill and mine, and then maintain that we cannot touch elbows in theatre, restaurant and public conveyance. We cannot accept the democracy of work and at the same time maintain the autocracy of leisure. What is gained at democratic leisure in the day will be destroyed by autocratic leisure at night. Moreover, these speeches and papers are prepared strictly for white contributors. They are money appeals. Mr. Jones would not make this speech before an intelligent Negro audience. It is not intended that these speeches will be distributed to colored people. Hence this sychophantic, slavish disclaimer in the dark.

Now comes the patronage appeal. Mr. Jones continues: "I should think that in order to develop Negro workers to their greatest efficiency in our large industrial plants, Negro welfare workers should be employed who will look after the complaints and grievances of the men...."

The opening of new places enables the various social work organizations to get their hands upon the promising young college men and women with a view to stifling their independence, thwarting their energies and sapping their judgment. This is one of the most regrettable phases of the Urban League and other social work organizations with which we shall later deal.

Lastly, how does the Urban League do its work?

Through what means? What channels? Who are its instruments—its tools? The first answer is that the Negro social work organizations employ the same methods and tactics as white organizations. They aim to get hold of intelligent and bright men just as white capital gets hold of men like Dr. Richard Cabot, E. T. Devine, Samuel McCune Lindsay, and others. The first director of the National Urban League was George E. Haynes. He was an A.B. from Fisk, A.M. from Yale, and Ph.D. from Columbia. Suave and cool he marshalled Prof. E. R. A. Seligman, L. Hollingsworth Wood, A. S. Frissell of the Fifth Avenue Bank, New York, and various financiers to support the Urban League. George E. Haynes, however, held the chair of sociology at Fisk University which necessitated his frequently being away from New York. In his absence, therefore, forces were marshalled which eventually resulted in elbowing him out of the League. He is now a deputy in the U. S. Labor Department in charge of a "war baby" sinecure, called the *Department of Negro Economics*. He is known as its director.

The present director of the Urban League is Eugene Kinckle Jones. He is an A.B. from Virginia Union University and A.M. from Cornell. He is a good writer of English, has a fair grasp of economics and sociology, and is an indefatigable worker in any line he attempts.

Supplementing Mr. Jones's work are several young men and women in about thirty-two (32) different cities where there are branches of the work. Most of these young men (there are some notable exceptions) have fair or above average education but little or no initiative, so satisfy themselves with an average salaried position. Their work is largely the collection of scabs for the industrial magnates and capitalists in these cities who finance the League. And just as the overseer is usually harder than the master, the head-waiter a worse slave driver than the hotel proprietor, so some of these young men will resort to very extreme measures to make good with their bosses. We have in mind the case of one young man in charge of a branch of the Urban League in Detroit. Last year the editors of the MESSENGER were planning to spend a week in Detroit at the request of the Socialist Secretary, I. Paul Taylor, of the Auto Workers' Union. The League secretary, John Dancy, probably the least educated one they have, called up or upon nearly every Negro minister in Detroit and requested that they would not extend their churches for us to speak in. Some less independent men like the Rev. Robert Bradby responded, but to the credit of others like the Rev. Joseph Gomez and Father Robert Bagnall the appeal fell upon deaf and indignant ears. The significant thing here is the objects and purposes of the Urban League which cropped out of this tactless move. Mr. Dancy had nothing against us. Normally he would be quite friendly. But industrial magnates who control automobile manufacturing in Detroit didn't want the message of unionism and socialism to reach the Negro workers. Those magnates control

the Urban League because they finance it. And the power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will. He who pays the fiddler calls the tunes.

Truly the Urban League is more completely dominated by capital than any organization among Negroes. It is the Booker Washington's northern and western propaganda tool. It is the northern clearing house of the Major Moton idea. It is the instrument

of Wall Street. In approaching it thinking Negroes, radicals and liberals should watch their step!

The Urban League is an organization of, for, and by capital. The Negro race is a race of workers—of laborers. The interests of labor and capital are opposed. Therefore the capitalist Urban League cannot represent the working-class Negro race.

Who's Who

NEVAL H. THOMAS

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL used to say: "Liberty is cheap at any price." Liberty to speak, liberty to act, liberty to teach the truth to students, liberty to choose one's friends without the leave or permission of any third party—these constitute real liberty.

Among men above the age of thirty-five this spirit and practice is rarely found in the Negro race. Indeed the number of such men is so infinitesimal that to discover such a character is like the sudden glimpse by the weary traveller of an oasis in a desert. It is therefore refreshing to list among our acquaintances a man like Neval Thomas who while free from bluster and brag, is nevertheless as intelligently courageous and independent as any man we know.

Mr. Thomas is by profession a school teacher. He instructs in history at the Dunbar High School, Washington, D. C. There he has very properly arrogated to himself the right to teach his students something more than the American history books record. He explains the real forces in American history, free from effusive praise of the so-called fathers of the country. He presents the history of the Negro showing the work of Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Gabriel and Douglas—not stuffing the children with laudation of some *me-too-boss, hat-in-hand* Negro leader who never had an original thought, nor any which his master did not give him.

In academic independence Mr. Thomas ranks as high as Dr. Scott Nearing, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, Professor H. W. L. Dana, Charles A. Beard and Cattell formerly of Columbia, and Schmeer, Schmaulhausen, Glassberg and Berenberg of the New York high and public schools. He maintains that his contract to teach did not and does not carry with it a deed of trust upon his mind, a mortgage upon his soul, a surrender of his principle. And this principle was put to a severe practical test about one year ago. The editors of the MESSENGER, Chandler Owen and A. P. Randolph, were booked to speak in Washington, D. C., at the Dunbar High School auditorium and Mr. Thomas was slated as chairman. Some *hat-in-hand* Negro leaders called the attention of the reactionary Senator Reed Smoot to the fact that Negro Bolsheviks (as it was put) were going to use the school auditorium. True to form, Senator Smoot threatened to use his influence to block the school's appropriation if we spoke. Mr. Thomas was warned

of his association with the Negro radicals and pressure brought to bear toward securing his withdrawal. But they had reckoned without their host. His answer was swift, unequivocal and courageous. Mr. Thomas replied: "I do not control the Dunbar High School building and therefore cannot say that the meeting shall go on there; but if Messrs. Owen and Randolph speak here, wherever they speak, I shall chairman the meeting." The meeting was held January 20, 1920 in the John Wesley Memorial Church at 14th and Corcoran Streets. The house was filled even though a high admission fee was charged. Mr. Thomas did act as chairman.

Not to be completely flouted, his enemies and our enemies presented the matter to the president of the school board in the District of Columbia, but were again routed when the president announced that "*outside of the school hours and the school building he had nothing to do with the activities of a teacher, unless those activities were criminal or immoral and thereby reflected upon the school system and personnel.*"

Most men who hold good or fairly good jobs feel quite contented with their position and have little concern for other activities. Not so with Neval Thomas. He is active in most vigorous race and social uplift organizations. He is a moving spirit in the N. A. A. C. P., the Friends of Negro Freedom and in the political and educational world. His heart is always in the securing of larger appropriations for the school equipment and teachers of Negro boys and girls. He is a gadfly to the sycophant and servile Negro politicians and self-appointed race leaders. He is energetic, quick-witted, a good writer, forceful advocate, effective newspaper correspondent, agile controversialist and courageous leader.

It does not follow, however, that we always agree with Mr. Thomas. We were sharply at variance with him on the Emmet Scott-DuBois controversy. We appreciated that he was trying to show that Scott had done as much or more than DuBois. But we felt the proper and sound position was to show that both Scott and DuBois had been derelict and compromising in the performance of their duty to Negroes during the war.

Despite our slight differences here and there with him, Neval H. Thomas, courageous and intelligent, is a fine figure for our Negro youth to emulate.

SAMUEL UNTERMAYER

THE present housing investigation in New York City was largely due to the revelations concerning the Building Materials Trust, that were made by Samuel Untermeyer. Under a masterly cross-examination of witnesses, he has disclosed the existence of an amazing collusion between corrupt labor leaders and various dealers in building materials. Will he be permitted to follow out the logical thread of his findings? It has been discovered that the combination to hold up the prices of building materials is national in scope. Hence, the remedy must be national. We should like to see Samuel Untermeyer named as the chairman of a national commission on housing conditions throughout the country. Of course, we are not so naive and unsophisticated as to believe that an actual and genu-

ine remedy of the housing problem would be devised by him. The forces that shape and determine affairs in America would not permit him to devise any such measure to solve the problem. However, the findings of such a nation-wide investigation conducted by an able, respectable, liberal of the type of the subject in question, are useful propaganda material for the radicals. It is also a tribute to the courage of the man that he even dared to defend the Rand School of Social Science when persecuted by the Lusk witch-hunters.

Samuel Untermeyer is one of those enlightened capitalist representatives whose intellectual acumen enables him to perceive the trend of world events, and who seeks, through liberal reform measures to stem the rising tide of revolution. And if revolution must come, he would have it be a peaceful one.

The Open Forum

My dear Randolph and Owen:

• This is to tell you that it was a set purpose of mine to call at the office of the MESSENGER and see you when I was in N. Y.

A cold confined me to my room in the morning and we (Wood and self) had to leave early in the evening to fill meeting engagements in N. J. Therefore my disappointment.

Wishing you success and good luck.

(Signed) SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

I happen to be on the Coast now, and I want to testify to how exactly you hit the nail on the head in your editorial on "The Japanese Problem" on pp. 143 and 144 of your November issue.

The greatest active barbarity in the country for the present is this anti-Japanese propaganda and mania. But as you indicate, it will very likely prove to be a situation where barbarian meets barbarian.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) WM. PICKENS.

Letter from Mr. William Ellery Leonard, of the University of Wisconsin.

2015 Adams St., Madison, Wis.

Nov. 1, 1920.

Mr. Chandler Owen and Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
Editors of THE MESSENGER.

Gentlemen:

I've been intending to write you for some months expressing my appreciation of the thoughtful and vigorous work you are doing and of the help I have derived from your paper in understanding the Negro and his problems. Particularly significant have I found your analogies of the earlier Negro-philanthropic movements as conditioned by and of course controlled by the dominant whites and, consciously

or no, in the interests of conserving the present economic system, (Tuskegee, etc.) *Your "New Crowd" has another, and to me, more promising policy and program.* I wonder what my father's old friend Frederick Douglas would have said. By the way, why don't you sometimes remind the young Negroes of that great man—perhaps getting out a popular edition of his autobiography?

I write also, to say that my publisher, B. W. Huebsch, will soon be sending you for review notice a copy of my last volume of poems, "The Lynching Bee," which has some interesting subject matter for your race. You will note, if you get time to read it, that I am strictly avoiding any sentimental appeal. I even make the poor creature that is lynched guilty of rape and brutal rape (which in lynchings of course is by no means always the case)—but I go on to unfold the idea that even on that basis the lynching is a hideous mockery of civilization and the lynchers more horrible than the creature they torture, etc. I'm sure the thoughtful Negro will get my point: the poor savage in my poem is as far in intelligence and responsibility from a civilized negro as from a civilized white.

Very truly,

(Signed) WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD.

(Copy)

REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE

Ministere de Instruction Publique and Des Beaux Arts
BIBLIOTHEQUE ET MUSEEE DE LA GUERRE

Paris, Le 22 Juin 1920.

Mr. Chandler Owen,
Editor, THE MESSENGER,
2305 Seventh Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Sir:—

On October 24, 1919, you were kind enough to let

us know that all the copies of your esteemed periodical published since 1914 and prior to September 1919 (which we had taken the liberty to request you for) were being forwarded to us. We regret to have to confirm our letter to you of January 5, 1920, stating that the copies in question have not yet come to hand. As we are most anxious to have a complete file of the MESSENGER on our shelves, we should be greatly obliged to you if you would kindly inquire into the matter at your earliest possible opportunity. Have the copies been actually despatched, and lost through the post? Perhaps (if we are not asking too much) you would find it possible to let us have another complete file for the dates referred to above?

I desire to emphasize the fact that the MESSENGER is most important to us for light on the Negro question, and we sincerely trust that you will accede to our request.

The last current issue received is that of May (5), and, if you can let us have the numbers published since that date and place us again on your mailing list for all future issues, we shall be much indebted to you.

Thanking you in anticipation, I beg to remain,

Sincerely yours,

P. FONTANA, *Secretary General.*

Concerning The Messenger Editors

To the Public:—

We wish to state that the MESSENGER editors have no secret agreements, compacts or understandings with anybody; and if anybody thinks that there is some secret agreement which will reflect upon the integrity, independence or courage of the MESSENGER editors, if exposed, we not only invite such person to publish same but we will grant free space in the MESSENGER for such publication.

Again if anyone will name a single responsible radical, liberal, labor union, socialist group or individual alleged to have repudiated the editors of the MESSENGER, we will produce in the next issue from the parties named a letter of refutation.

Signed (The Editors.)

New York, November 6, 1920.

Mr. Chandler Owen,
2305 Seventh Ave., New York City.

Dear Mr. Owen:

Our attention has been called to statements appearing in the *Negro World* of Nov. 6, 1920 and the *New York Amsterdam News* of October 27, 1920, to the effect that you have been removed from the Executive Committee of The League for Mutual Aid, because of alleged irregularities in the management of the MESSENGER.

This statement is wholly without foundation. The Executive Committee of this organization not only has never taken such action but has never even considered it. Nothing has ever been written or stated by any officer of this organization which could be so construed. I am at a loss to understand how any such

(Copy)

THE "A. L. P."

Agence de Librairie et de Publications.
Order No. 271 New York, Nov. 19, 1920.
THE MESSENGER Publishing Co.,
2305 Seventh Ave.,
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Kindly enter a subscription of one year to your magazine, starting January, 1921, to be sent to the following address:

AGENCE DECIENNÈ

20 Rue du Persil
BRUSSELS (Belgium)

Please send the bill to our New York office, less the regular agent's discount, and cheque will be forwarded to you at once.

Very truly yours,

THE "A. L. P."

Agence de Librairie et de Publications.
(Signed) M. SLOOG.

entirely unjustified statement could have been made.

Very truly yours,

ROGER BALDWIN, *Chairman.*

League for Mutual Aid and Director National Civil Liberties Union.

New York, December 8, 1920.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
Editor of the MESSENGER,
2305 Seventh Ave., New York City.

Dear Comrade Randolph:

The letter of Mr. _____, undated and written to one of our Locals, claiming that he had a conference with myself and Mr. Budish asking for support for the MESSENGER, is unqualifiedly false. I never met the man and, in any case since I was informed by you that he is no longer connected with the MESSENGER, I could not discuss this matter with him.

I have already warned our Locals, and I shall do so again, not to send any contributions to any person claiming to represent the MESSENGER but to direct all their contributions directly to the following address: Mr. A. Philip Randolph, Editor of the MESSENGER, 2305 Seventh Ave., New York City.

Fraternally yours,

M. ZUCKERMAN, *Gen. Sec'y-Treas.*

United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America.

Resolved that the 21st A. D. of the Socialist Party at its regular weekly meeting held at its headquarters on Thursday, November 11th, declares as false, misleading, and vicious, statements which recently appeared in the *New York News, Negro World,*

New York Age and other Negro newspapers, to the effect that this branch had preferred charges to Local New York, Socialist Party, against the Editors of the MESSENGER, Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph, for mis-appropriation of campaign, or any other funds, rightly belonging to the branch.

And further states that the relationship between the branch and the two comrades, is now, as it has always been of the most cordial and fraternal character.

—————
New York, December 10, 1920.

Messrs. A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen,
Editors of the MESSENGER,
2305 Seventh Ave., New York City.

Dears Sirs and Brothers:—

The *Amsterdam News* of October 27th, and the *Negro World* of November 6th, came out with the statement that the liberal, labor and radical organizations, which had been supporting the MESSENGER, had repudiated Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph, Editors of the MESSENGER.

This statement is a great revelation to us—as far as our organization is concerned—for, at none of our meetings was the question of repudiating the Editors of the MESSENGER even taken up or discussed.

It is true that our Organization has received several communications from a man by the name of ———, which communications were full of slanderous assertions against these two brothers, but we paid no attention to them, and, moreover, we did not consider these assertions as anything more than mere stupid, slanderous, malicious, attacks upon the characters of the leaders of the great, growing, organized labor movement amongst the Negro toilers—for the purpose of hurting that movement, and retarding its development—or, better still, STOP ITS PROGRESS.

We want to assure you, Brothers Randolph and Owen, that far from having any thought or intention of “repudiating” you, you are most welcome to appear at our Board at any time with messages from the thinking masses of our Negro Brothers.

Fraternally yours,

LOUIS LANGLY, *Secretary,*
N. Y. Joint Board Cloak Makers.

—————
December 6th, 1920.

Messrs. A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen,
Editors of the MESSENGER,
New York City.

Dear Comrades:—

I have learned with astonishment and indignation of the scandalous charges directed against you and against the MESSENGER and published in the *Negro World*. Among those who are at all familiar with the work of the Socialist Party here in New York and elsewhere, such charges could have no effect except to arouse amusement by their absurd falsity and a feeling of contempt toward their authors. The unfortunate thing is that many persons who are outside the Socialist Movement and who are not personally

acquainted with you may suppose that these stories have some foundation in truth.

I hope that you will be able to get just redress for the great wrong which has been done to you, and to publicly brand the circulators of these stories as conscienceless slanderers. If I can in any way help to this end, I shall be very glad to do so.

With best regards, I am,

Fraternally yours,

ALGERNON LEE.

—————
*Director Rand School and Treasurer New York
Socialist Party Local.*

—————
Dec. 13, 1920.

To the Public:—

During the past two months, there have been circulated by certain individuals and newspapers statements to the effect that the Editors of the MESSENGER had been repudiated in many quarters. The undersigned, regular contributors to the magazine, have given this matter their close personal scrutiny. They have found these statements to be either false or malicious, or both false and malicious. A survey of the facts shows nothing to impeach the integrity of the individuals maligned; nor is there any evidence of the wholesale repudiation as alleged.

The contributing editors feel that the work of the MESSENGER is indispensable to the cause of Negro workers. They, therefore, hasten to express their confidence (1) in the general principles for which the MESSENGER stands; and (2) in A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen. We write this for due consideration of our many friends who may have been laboring under falsely created assumptions.

WILLIAM N. COLSON
W. A. DOMINGO
GEORGE FRAZIER MILLER.

—————
Six months ago I offered my resignation as a member of the MESSENGER Staff. My action was due to my onerous duties elsewhere and my consequent inability to keep in touch with the every day work of the MESSENGER. At that time owing to the crisis through which the magazine was passing—I was requested not to sever my relations until a later date. I would be greatly pleased if you would release me at this time, because of the reasons above stated.

I have enjoyed my association with you. If the MESSENGER can maintain its high and clean standard, and insure a continuous and regular existence—it will no doubt be numbered among the most brilliant journals in the country. I am in hearty accord with its principles, and wish to express confidence in its editors.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM N. COLSON.

Upon advice of counsel not to let certain detailed facts out for the moment, we have withheld publication of dozens of checks, undated letters and post-mark dated cards of acknowledgement, etc., signed and received by persons not in the employ of THE

MESSENGER, acknowledged as a rule upon our stationery as though we were getting same, and secured since July 24th, 1920.

The contributing editors have had access to this data.

PINSKI-MASSEL PRESS

INC.

Printers

84 BOWERY

NEW YORK

Books, Magazines, Newspapers in all languages.

Compliments of

The United Book Binding Co.

84 Bowery

New York

Christmas Greetings



WE the Philadelphia Transport Workers extend our heartiest greetings to the workers of the world without regard to race, creed or color. We urge all workers to form One Big Union to secure a better understanding under more efficient organization.

We are the only organization in America which has uniform wage for engineers, holemen, truckers, riggers, and water boys.

Of our three thousand and five hundred paid up members, over two thousand are Negroes.

All Atlantic Seaboard workers will please write to us:

**MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS INDUSTRIAL
UNION, NO. 8, INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF
THE WORLD (I. W. W.)**

121 Catharine Street

Philadelphia, Pa.

TO THE NEGRO
SOCIALIST WORKERS

Receive our message of cheer and greetings. The Jewish Socialist Workers deeply appreciate the hardships you are up against and the tremendous value of your work.

On with the struggle for a better and brighter day.

**THE JEWISH SOCIALIST
FEDERATION**

Greetings from

LOCAL 25.

**LADIES' WAIST MAKERS
UNION, I. L. G. W.**

Education

Put Your Purse in Your Head

¶ We have a full line of appropriate Books on Socialism, Sociology, History, Economics, Politics, Labor, Science, Drama, Music and Fiction. Also Pamphlets.

¶ Come in and look them over.

¶ Mail orders promptly attended to.

SOCIALIST PARTY BOOK ROOM
ROOM 5, 1325 ARCH ST., PHILA., PA.

A Book's a Gift that's Never Forgotten

**Greetings to our Colored
Brothers and Sisters through
the coming year**

**JOINT BOARD of CLOAK,
SKIRT and REEFER
MAKERS' UNION**

L. LANGER, Secretary.

Fraternal Greetings**International Journeyman****Bakers' & Confectioners'****Union of America****Comradely Greetings****NEW YORK JOINT BOARD
OF UNITED CLOTH HAT
AND CAP MAKERS OF
NORTH AMERICA****GREETINGS**

Local District Council**Amalgamated Metal****Workers****Compliments of
the Season****INTERNATIONAL
FUR WORKERS' UNION**

GREETINGS

FROM THE

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

EMBRACING MANY NATIONALITIES, COLORS
AND CREEDS

Now engaged in a struggle with employers who have locked out their workers in order to turn labor conditions back from 1920 to 1910, from conditions of civilization to the barbarism of the sweat-shop.

WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY IS OUR SHIBBOLETH

In this sign we have won and shall continue to win

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

SIDNEY HILLMAN, *General President*

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, *General Secretary-Treasurer*

AUGUST BELLANCA
HYMAN BLUMBERG
SAMUEL LEVIN
LAZARUS MARCOVITZ
ANZUINO D. MARIMPIETRI
ABRAHAM MILLER

PETER MONAT
SIDNEY RISSMAN
FRANK ROSENBLUM
MAMIE SANTORA
NATHAN SIEGEL
STEPHEN SKALA

THOMAS UZARSKI

Compliments
KING'S SOCIALIST
LOCAL

Phone: Franklin 2507

POINTER'S CAFE AND ICE CREAM PARLOR

FOR THINGS GOOD
TO EAT AND DRINK
EVERYTHING SANITARY

New Jersey Avenue and L Street N. W.
CORAL J. POINTER, Prop. Washington, D. C.

Telephone Stuyvesant 6665

Republic Machine & Motor Co.

**SEWING MACHINES
ELECTRIC MOTORS**

ELECTRIC WORK IN ALL ITS BRANCHES
ELECTRIC PLANTS INSTALLED

23 EAST 15th STREET
G. OLLENDORFF NEW YORK CITY

Get THE MESSENGER
2305 Seventh Avenue
New York City

RATIONAL LIVING

61 Hamilton Place, New York

Health Conservation, Social Hygiene, Industrial Hygiene, Personal and Sexual Hygiene, Child Hygiene, Plain, Drugless Treatment of Disease, Birth Control, All Truths from All Medical Schools, Fighting Dishonesty in the Healing Professions, Answers to Subscribers' Questions, Art, Freedom in the Bringing-Up of Children, Vegetarianism, Fighting Superstition.

Rational Living is an independent illustrated monthly devoted to the teaching of rational methods of living, an educational guide for manual and mental workers. It is not sensational. It has in view the plain, ordinary people, and not the extraordinary athlete. It is scientific, ut popular. It saves you money.

THE DECEMBER ISSUE OF RATIONAL LIVING IS OUT. It contains all the articles advertized in the last number of the Messenger and more. Among many other articles: Dr. Maries Stopes, of England, on Birth Control; Influenza; Labor and Industrial Hygiene; Women in the Textile Industry; Food and the Child.

The January issue will appear within a few days. It will contain a large number of interesting and educational articles. Here are but a few: Fighting Disease in Soviet Russia; Exercise, Good and Bad; Water as a Remedy; Labor and Health; Stammering; the Breakfast; Pictures by Ranoir and Van Gogh.

40 cents a copy. 4 dollars a year in United States value.
Corresponding rates for shorter periods.
No free sample copies

Stock may be purchased in the
DOUGLASS THEATRE
BALTIMORE, MD.

by seeing

I. E. JACKSON

AGENT'S OFFICE
1212 Pennsylvania Avenue Baltimore, Md.

Madam R. G. Trent
Instructor in Dressmaking

By the most accredited Parisian and American methods
...**Creator of Original Styles...**
Designing and Sketching Patterns A Specialty

Scholars desiring information may call up
MORNINGSIDE 1709

168 W. 128th Street New York

The MESSENGER is offering a three (3) months' trial subscription for 40 cents. If you send a check, send 10 cents extra for exchange charge. This is an excellent opportunity to get a thorough and scientific knowledge of world politics, the conflict between labor and capital, and other problems of political, economic and social significance. Subscribe today; don't delay!

CHANDLER OWEN
AND
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

WILL BEGIN A COURSE ON

**Internationalism and
The Negro Problem**

January 5, 1921, at 8.40 p. m.

AT THE

**RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL
SCIENCE**

Courses are also offered by correspondence in
Socialism, Co-operation, Economics and
the Labor Movement. For information
about fees of courses apply to the

RAND SCHOOL

7 East 15th Street

New York City

Hair
Woman's Crowning Glory

Have beautiful hair by using LaRose Hair Preparations. It will grow the most stubborn hair if instructions are carefully followed. Learn to take care of the hair at home. I will send one jar of Shampoo, one box of Pressing Oil, one box of Hair Grower, with printed instructions how to care for the hair. Price \$2.00

If troubled with any scalp disorder which prevents the hair from growing, send stamp addressed envelope to Mme. Rosa L. Burger and I will mail you instructions how to have a healthy scalp and grow long beautiful hair with LaRose Preparations.

LaRose Hair Grower, per box 55c.

LaRose Pressing Oil, per box 50c.

LaRose Shampoo, per jar 50c.

Agents Wanted! Liberal Commission

Write today!

These goods are put up only by

MME. ROSA L. BURGER

3402 Indiana Ave.,

Chicago, Ill.

Comradely Greetings

I. L. G. W.

Most everybody would take a "chance at playing the races" if they knew the winning horse. And thousands of people take "the chance" without knowing and lose. But the sensible investor knows he cannot get something for nothing and what is worth having is worth paying for. So that we are pleased to make the

A N N O U N C E M E N T
OF THE OPENING
SALE OF STOCK
IN THE
DOUGLASS AMUSEMENT CORPORATION
At \$10.⁰⁰ Per Share

7 per cent participating Preferred

Ownership of which gives the holder an interest in the valuable property
of the corporation:

THE DOUGLASS THEATRE

Now under construction on Pennsylvania Avenue near Lanvale Street, Baltimore Md., and an **OPPORTUNITY** of having a theatre of your own and sharing in the profits, at the same time putting your money in a **SAFE AND SOUND INVESTMENT** that will pay you big returns in **DIVIDENDS**, and constantly increase in value.

THE SITE—of this magnificent theatre (now in course of construction) is on Pennsylvania Avenue, between Lanvale Street and Lafayette Avenue, and is the best location for a building of this kind, anywhere in the city.

THE GROUND was purchased for cash—there are no mortgages or ground rent—such is our faith in the possibilities of Baltimore as a theatrical money-maker, and we have already commenced the building of the theatre.

THIS THEATRE will cost four hundred thousand dollars (\$400,000) and will be as beautiful as the Dunbar Theatre in Philadelphia.

THAT THE colored people of Baltimore may have the opportunity of having a theatre of their own, and at the same time share in the profits, we have organized the Douglass Amusement Corporation, incorporated under the laws of Maryland and Capitalized for \$500,000.

AT THIS TIME we are offering for sale a limited number of shares of the 7% Participating Preferred Stock at Ten Dollars a share. Ownership of this stock gives the holder an interest in the valuable property of the Corporation, which will be made profitable by the production of the finest theatrical productions obtainable.

THE FACT that the Dunbar Theatre in Philadelphia under the same guidance has been able to pay a dividend of 8% during the first year of its operation, should prove conclusively to anyone that this latest venture will pay handsome Dividends to the investor.

IT SHOULD NOT be necessary to present any greater arguments in favor of purchasing this stock than the fact that the building is now being erected and the personnel of the management of the Corporation.

IF YOU ARE interested in the Race to the extent of desiring a theatre or theatres where yourself or family can go freely and see the finest Broadway productions presented by capable artists, investment in the Douglass Stock will make this possible.

IF YOU ARE interested most of all in putting your money in a safe, sound investment, which will pay big returns in dividends, and constantly increase in value, then here is the safest, surest investment offered to the colored people of any city.

THE RESPONSE which has come to the efforts of the Corporation thus far has been highly gratifying. Baltimore has rallied grandly to the idea of a theatre for our people and owned by our people.

THIS ISSUE OF STOCK IS LIMITED ! ! ! NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT ! ! !

Do not let tomorrow find you undecided what to do.

Delay may mean another lost opportunity over which you may have many regrets.

E.C. BROWN CO., Fiscal Agents

MAIN OFFICE

427 SOUTH BROAD STREET

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Branch Office: 1212 Pennsylvania Avenue, Baltimore, Md.