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VOL. IV.

MAY, 1922.

NO. 5.

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# From Coast to Coast

By CHANDLER OWEN



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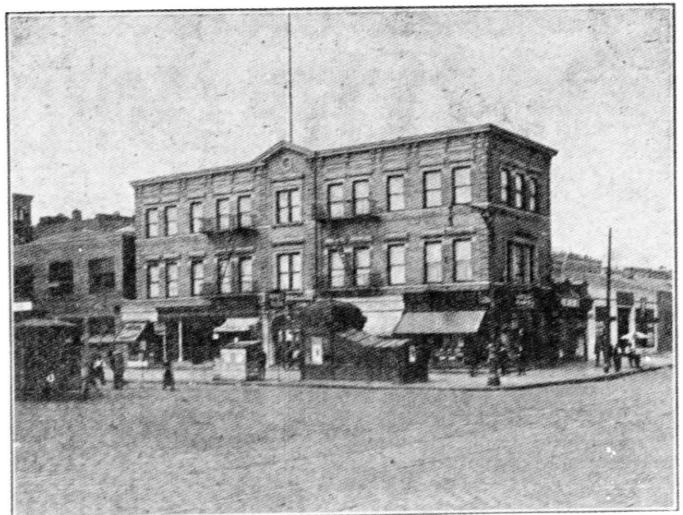
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A. PHILIP RANDOLPH      CHANDLER OWEN

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

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State of New York.

County of New York.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared A. Philip Randolph, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the MESSENGER, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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

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

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

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is \_\_\_\_\_. (This information is required from daily publications only.)

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of April, 1922.

(My commission expires March 30, 1923.)

JOSEPH L. PRITCHARD.

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# Editorials

## AGAIN THE DYER BILL

**T**HERE are few subjects that engage our attention more than the Dyer Bill, the Russian Famine and General Amnesty for political and class-war prisoners. To us, these are three of the most immediately important questions before the workers. Some concerted, definite federal action must be taken against lynching. Certainly federal legislation is not going to stop lynching any more than Prohibition laws stop the sale of whiskey, or laws against theft stop stealing. But the Dyer Bill will, at least, create and crystallize a deep sentiment against lynching and also furnish a broader and surer ground for the punishment of the lynchers. The very fact that the lynch-ridden South violently opposes the bill, should supply ample reason for its adoption. Although there is much talk about the ineffectiveness of the Eighteenth Amendment which makes the manufacture and sale of liquors a crime, the liquor interests spare no pains in agitating for its repeal. The fact is, the federal legislation against the sale of whiskey, destroyed over a billion dollars worth of property. Albeit several states had adopted prohibition laws, federal legislation was still sought, for it was seen that it would be more comprehensive and effective. The American psychology is one of quasi-respect for federal laws and officials. Even Negro federal officials seem to elicit no little respectful consideration from the whites in the South. Dr. Crum could have only been maintained in the position of the Collector of the Port of Charleston, S. C., by Federal power. True the South raved; yet it sensed its impotency to resist federal action.

We make no fetish of the federal government. At best, governments stand for and do little where workers are concerned. They are instruments of class oppression. But until the workers capture state power, they must drive the capitalist state to adopt measures bringing them certain forms of economic, social and political relief. We know that the master class only adopt such measures either when they reap an advantage or fear the violent revolt of the workers. But the motive of the capitalist government is not so material when the relief is achieved. We know that neither Harding nor Hughes loved Debs, but they feared the growing power of Debs in jail. For instance, they hate Russia, but they had to pretend to be interested in sending food to starving Russia, because of the demands from the people. That is why they have sent what relief they have. Thus labor must force a show down on the Dyer Bill. It can be done. Just continue to mould public sentiment.

## THE UNITED FRONT

**A**T the opening of the War, the workers international organizations collapsed. Upon the advent of the Russian Revolution, schisms grew and flourished among them. Lefts and rights, near-lefts and near-

rights, centrists, so-called "reds," "whites," "yellows," and what-nots, struggled for ascendancy in the Socialist Movement wherever such a movement existed. The result was that it was torn asunder. Today, the Socialists, Communists (of many varieties), the Socialist Labor Party, the Farmer-Labor Party and the Workers' Party, all various political efforts of the wide working masses, are weakened and demoralized, powerless to beat off the savage assaults of capitalism, drunk with power, riding heedlessly upon the steed of black-reaction. Witness the Open Shop Campaign, euphemistically dubbed the "American Plan," the numerous efforts to crush the only workers' republic, Soviet Russia, the attack on the eight-hour day and the determined onset upon the workers' standard of living, seeking to reduce its to a pre-war status. In the midst of the greatest crisis of labor, a faint cry is heard for a "United Front." In Berlin, April 2nd, representatives of the Second, Third, and Two and a Half Internationals, met for the first time, in conference. It was a momentous hour. Violent recriminations threatened to destroy the conference, but in obedience to the proletarian trend of the times, it "carried on." Agreement was finally reached for the calling of a future international conference of all the workers to prepare the foundations for a United Front. This is as it should be. Let these various factions unite even though they retain their autonomy. This is the workers only hope—Unity

## THE COAL STRIKE

**T**HIS is the biggest single strike of the year. It involves 600,000 workers. They are fighting to maintain a living-wage standard and to save their organization from destruction. It came at the most disadvantageous period—a period of wide-spread unemployment, when 6,000,000 men are tramping the streets. This renders the chances of success of the strikers all the more problematic. History shows that when the workers are at their lowest ebb, they seldom respond to the call of unionism. Since that is true, it imposes upon the workers the need for redoubled educational work. The workers must create and develop their own press, churches, schools, theatres and forums to prepare the toilers for "the day." Ownership and control of the basic industries is the task ahead of the workers. There is no other solution of labor's struggles. The present panic has clearly demonstrated the futility of rigid trades lines in the labor movement. With the amalgamation of the coal, railroad and transport workers, the coal, railroad and shipping interests would be compelled to capitulate. Of course, it must be a real amalgamation, not a nominal one; one much more real than the "Triple Alliance of England, which had its tragic ending when one of the group was attacked. We must insist, too, that the Negro worker be accorded a just meed of

consideration. This observation is occasioned by the unfair attitude of the Big Four Railway Brotherhoods toward the Negro railway workers. It must be said to the credit of the coal miners that so far as we know, they draw no color line; they organize workers of all races, creeds, colors, and nationalities.

### WHY SHOULD THESE MEN BE RELEASED?

The purpose of this appeal is endorsed by: Mrs. George Biddle, George Burnham, Jr., Miss Fanny T. Cochran, Pres. W. W. Comfort, Dr. Franklin Edgerton, Samuel S. Fels, Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, Dr. Jesse H. Holmes, Dr. Rufus M. Jones, Frances Fisher Kane, Rabbi Jos. Krauskopf, Mrs. Wilfred Lewis, Mrs. Ellis D. Lit, Mrs. S. G. Morton Maule, Harrison S. Morris, Miss Sarah G. Tomkins, Col. S. P. Wetherill, Jr., Mrs. James D. Winsor, Dr. Lightner Witmer.

In the name of Justice they ask President Harding to pardon four Philadelphians unjustly convicted and now serving long terms in Leavenworth Prison.

Edward F. Doree, sentenced to 10 years, Benjamin H. Fletcher (Negro) sentenced to 10 years, Walter T. Nef, sentenced to 20 years, John J. Walsh, sentenced to 10 years.

Philadelphia Civil Liberties Committee, E. Lewis Burnham, Chairman, 1400 Morris Building, Edward W. Evans, Mrs. Eliza Middleton Cope, Miss Mary H. Ingham, Edmund C. Evans, Miss Sophia H. Dulles.

1. *Because they stand convicted under war-time legislation only.* Even if they were guilty, they should now be released, since we are at peace. The activities charged against them would not now be crimes. England, France, Italy, Germany and Austria have released their offenders against war-time laws. All the German spies, such as F. Von Rintelen, caught red-handed in acts of violence against the United States in war-time, have been released. All conscientious objectors and Eugene V. Debs, who admitted making a speech against the draft and the war-policy of the government, have recently been released. On no principle of reason or justice can these Philadelphians be held to be more guilty than those men, even if the government's contentions be admitted.

2. While a Jury's verdict has declared these men guilty of violating the Selective Service and Espionage Acts, we shall produce evidence to show that their actual intent was quite the contrary. They were convicted because the jury implied that they approved of the acts of others which in fact they never approved of. Morally they are certainly not guilty of anything of the sort. A careful search through the printed record of the trial, fails to convince an impartial inquirer that any of these four men ever advocated opposition to the Government's war policy, or any of the laws of the land.

3. On the contrary, two of these men, Nef and Doree, repeatedly counseled their friends and acquaintances, orally and in writing, to accept service under the draft and not to oppose the war or any war-time legislation. They were asked to take part in meetings opposing the war and the draft; and they refused to do so.

4. The labor unions of which these four men were leaders did valuable service to the government during the war. Their war-record is striking proof of the innocence of their leaders.

5. The atmosphere and circumstances of the trial were serious obstacles to a fair and just verdict. The men were tried in the summer of 1918, during a period of War Hysteria. "*The verdict rendered was a fore-gone conclusion from the beginning in obedience to a public hysteria and popular demand.*" The trial lasted for months; the printed record of the case covers nearly 3,000 pages, besides which there are enormous quantities of exhibits that were never printed. Yet the jury took just *twenty-five minutes* to "consider" this evidence and find 98 defendants (including these four) guilty on all four counts of the indictment. Before the trial various agencies of the government by illegal means seriously hampered the work of preparing the defense, and so in effect deprived these men of their "day in court."

### IN SUPPORT OF THESE STATEMENTS

We submit the following condensed account of the case. The facts are based on a careful investigation, and are supported by reliable evidence. The evidence can be verified by anyone who wishes to take the trouble to do so.

Walter T. Nef, a native Swiss, but a naturalized American citizen was Secretary-Treasurer of Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union No. 100 (I. W. W.) of which union John J. Walsh, an American citizen, and Benjamin H. Fletcher, an American Negro, were organizers. Edward F. Doree (born in Philadelphia; his father was French, his mother Swedish) was Secretary-Treasurer of Textile Workers Industrial Union No. 1000 (I. W. W.). All four men had their homes in Philadelphia. Nef and Doree were the most prominent and influential I. W. W. leaders in the city. Both Nef and Doree are married; Doree has a child, a boy of five.

### THE CHARGE AGAINST THESE MEN

These men were convicted of conspiracy on four counts.

But in the case of two counts—forcible hindrance, by strikes, etc., of the execution of certain federal laws, and injury to various persons in the right of furnishing materials to the United States—the conviction was reversed by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

*The only charges of force or violence or sabotage made against these men fell under these two counts, on which the conviction was reversed.*

*It is therefore absolutely untrue that they stand convicted of any crime involving the use, actual or contemplated, of force or violence—whether against the government, or against any individuals.*

The two counts on which their conviction stands charge conspiracy to violate war-time measures, viz., the Draft Act and the Espionage Act.

It is charged that they conspired to persuade draft eligibles not to register for the draft, or to desert after being drafted; and that they conspired to cause insubordination and mutiny in the armed forces of the United States.

### POSITION OF THE I. W. W. UNIONS IN PHILADELPHIA

The Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union No. 100 comprises longshoremen, stevedores, sailors, and other marine and dock workers. For years it has completely controlled the Philadelphia water-front. This was true throughout the entire period of the war.

Enormous quantities of war munitions were loaded from this port during the war, *all of which was loaded by members of this I. W. W. union.* And there was not a single accident during the entire war, on any dock or ship loaded at the Philadelphia port.

Of the more than three thousand members of this union, every single one who was of draft age registered for military service; and there was not a single "conscientious objector" among them. More than seven hundred were in the army (including four captains and twelve lieutenants). Five hundred saw service in France. Several score gave up their lives for their country.

This union had a service flag, and also an Honor-List of members who had bought Liberty Bonds.

Both the flag and the list of bondbuyers were hung conspicuously in the union hall during the war. The union itself, as an organization, bought with money in its treasury \$1,000.00 worth of Liberty Bonds.

Remember that this is the union that was led by Nef, Fletcher and Walsh, whom the government accuses of counseling and aiding resistance to the draft and insubordination and mutiny in the armed forces of the United States.

*Not a single strike* occurred among these I. W. W. longshoremen in Philadelphia in the year of 1917. If the leaders had been trying to impede the progress of the war, as charged by the government, they could easily have found pretexts for strikes that would have caused endless trouble and delay in the shipment of munitions and war supplies.

## Economics and Politics

### Gandhi and Non-Violent Resistance

By BLANCHE WATSON

"Victory is complete if non-violence reigns supreme in spite of arrests. We have stipulated to go to prison without feeling angry or injured.—And if we are neither cowed down nor provoked to violence but are able to continue National work, we have certainly attained Swaraj. For no power on earth can stop the onward march of peaceful, determined, and godly peoples."

M. K. GANDHI.

Much has been said and written about the economic bases of revolution, but it has taken a "Saint,"—one who declares that he is a religious man trying to put religion into politics—to come the closest to proving this premise. The spinning-wheel is deciding India's destiny to-day! It is the crux of the unique program that Mahatma Gandhi has laid down for 300,000,000 people who have declared that the time has come for the British to get out of their country. It is the instrument that will make British occupation less and less profitable as the days go by,—and there are those who say that if the Profit is taken out of this business of "protecting" India that British rule will cease forthwith.

The Spinning-wheel is the symbol on the new Indian flag—and well it may be, for it and Mahatma Gandhi together have put the fear of God into the British Raj, as never a fighting-man of the old type has done in a hundred and sixty years of this foreign rule that Indians now say must go. "England could never have held us all these years," says Gandhi, "had we not cooperated with her. If then we would

be free we must refuse to cooperate in any way with any part of the machinery of her domination." But the rejection side of the problem is not all. Non-cooperation has a positive as well as a negative side, and the positive side provides for the building up of a virile, independent, and self-disciplined India. It means the building up of the ancient Village organization system, the reviving of Indian industries, the creation of Indian arbitration courts, the starting of new schools—the opportunity to live as a free nation. It is a call to one-fifth of the human race to cease to cooperate with the government that is demoralizing *both* Indians and Englishmen, and build a new and a better government.

But this is not all. Behind this weapon there must be always the non-violent attitude. Non-violence in word, thought, and deed must mark every step of the way to Self-Government. "Every step forward," he has declared, "must be taken with the greatest deliberation and calmness. ... An outbreak of violence would retard our progress and may even indefinitely postpone Swaraj. ... The Struggle is prolonged to the extent *that we fail to understand the implications of non-violence.* ... If Non-cooperators get angry and retaliate, *THEY LOSE THE BATTLE*,—whereas if they suffer, they win *WITHOUT FAIL* and without delay."

Gandhi is in prison. Something is happening in India but the censorship lets little or nothing through. Gandhi said to his followers on his departure for his six-year sentence, "Carry on the program with clock-work regularity and speed of the Punjab express."



If India were running rivers of blood however—as was predicted by those people of little faith in the great principles of Gandhi, that have never been without and advocate, be it said, from the time of Lao-tze, the venerable Chinese sage even down to the present day—we should hear of it, so, no news may be taken for good news.

Just before his arrest, Gandhi wrote in comment upon a letter of appreciation from an English lady:

“This is a terrible struggle. It is NOT based on hate though men who hate are in it. It is a struggle that is based on love, pure and undefiled. If I felt any hate towards Englishmen or those who in their blindness are associated with the administration, I have the courage to retire from the struggle. A man who has the least faith in God and His mercy—which is His justice—cannot hate men too at the same time he must hate their evil ways... This struggle therefore is intended to make friends with Englishmen and the whole world.”

Gandhi has declared that he has a message for the whole world, that his is the universal gospel, that the welfare of humanity is his goal. Recently he said more explicitly that the aim of the Non-cooperators should be to hold up the ideal that government in the future must rest not on brute force, but on moral force. And, inexplicable as it must seem to many—indeed to most of us—Gandhi has most sincerely at heart the spiritual advancement of the oppressors of his people as well as of the oppressed Indians. This is the logical outcome of his oft-expressed thought that the rule of the British was quite as demoralizing to the British as to the Indian people. Gandhi is far more than a nationalist leader. He is without a doubt, a supreme religious teacher, as well as one of the noble line of exemplars of the non-resistant theory, that includes Isaiah, St. Francis, Tolstoi, and our own Thoreau. The core of his spiritual message is the establishment of Moral or Truth force as the basis of relationship between governments; the elimination of all racial prejudice within the human family; and the substitution of Love for antagonism and ill-will. He looks beyond India to the various dominions where Indians are discriminated against, and beyond Indians to the rest of the world. He knows that what all religions teach is right—only the teaching has never been completely applied. He desires that India shall teach to the world the greatest lesson of all time, that consistent Right must prevail far more surely than Right which calls on Wrong for aid. “Not that resort to arms is wrong when people have no other”; says an editorial in the Bombay CHRONICLE—“Not that honest anger under oppression is a sin; BUT BOTH ARE IMPERFECTIONS... The world deems George Washington and De Valera great men and splendid patriots. Many in the world deem Lenin and Trotsky the same. On these the imperfect way to freedom *was forced*—the way of honest anger and bloodshed. But on Mahatma Gandhi and India lies no such compulsion. We cannot but believe that the great God has so adjusted these modern circumstances called “economic conditions” as to allow India *alone of all the nations of the earth*, to prove to a distracted world that God is its

ruler and that God’s law must prevail. For we in India are so strong in our position. We are unsailable *if only we preserve faith in non-violent co-operation.*”

This is all very well, but it will be asked and these are the sentiments of a MOHAMMEDAN what about the India of to-day? Says the New York NATION speaking of Gandhi:

“Consider the man. In the space of a few years he has done more for his people than any government in centuries. He has been the bearer of new hope and human dignity to the Untouchables; he has been the weaver of bonds of unity between the Moslems and Hindus whom the British would keep asunder; he has fought the liquor traffic which was debasing his people, and the infamous opium monopoly, by which for its own profit, the British Government menaces not only India but all mankind. He has given to revolution nonviolent instruments which promise the release of humanity from the seeming necessity of wars for freedom. He has sincerely preached love for the enemy.

Consider such a man. Consider those who would turn their backs on the principles that have been the means of bringing about such an almost unbelievably changed situation. Does one need to be told that the Extremists, so-called, are in the negligible minority and decreasing every day; and that the Conservatives (called in India the Moderates) are going over slowly but surely to side of this great leader? Nothing succeeds like success—and Gandhi—imprisoned, as he is to-day IS successful beyond the wildest hopes and dreams of the despised pacifists who steadily held to the belief that there was a better way than had yet been tried, to settle the disputes of humans on this planet. The very severity of the repressive acts of the Government, the ten thousand or more in jail to-day—three thousand imprisoned in the space of a month, two hundred in one day in Calcutta—all this extremity as Gandhi has observed, is but the proof that victory is at hand for the Noncooperators. And what can the action of a stupid officialdom that imprisons such a man as Mahatma Gandhi attest, but approaching defeat for the Government?

This blundering move on the part of a well-nigh distracted bureaucracy is proof enough—if proof were needed—that the British are *not* in India for the good of the Indians. More than that, it proves quite conclusively that NO imperialistic governments function in the interests of the people. They exist for the profit and power of the ruling class. “As little to-day in India, as yesterday in Palestine,” says John Haynes Holmes in UNITY, “it is possible for a government to co-operate with, or even tolerate a man who is single-heartedly devoted to the higher interests of humankind. Gandhi, like Jesus before him, is a dangerous man—to Pilate! Therefore he must be led to Calvary.”

But Calvary for Jesus of Nazareth was the triumph of humanity. The descent from the cross began a new day for countless millions. And when the prison doors open for Mahatma Gandhi there will begin, please God, a new day for India’s teeming millions. Far more—there will have been made the beginning of a new era for the whole world.



# Education and Literature

## From Coast to Coast

By CHANDLER OWEN

A year ago my associate and I decided that one or both of us would make a western tour during the past winter to the Pacific Coast. We estimated that it would take from two and a half to three months. We also realized such a trip would be a strain on one man, speaking almost daily, so we planned to alternate—each one speaking every other date. When the time arrived for leaving, the press of work at home was too great for both editors to get off. We therefore decided that editor Owen should be saddled with the task involving hard work, on the one hand, yet keen and extensive pleasure, on the other.

The purpose of this trip was fourfold:

1. To increase the circulation of the *Messenger*;
2. To organize councils for the Friends of Negro Freedom.
3. To present the philosophy of the New Negro, personally, by those in leadership of his manhood movement, in short, to look into the faces of the people and let them scan us, at the same time;
4. To present the Negro problem to organized labor.

The places visited were Ann Arbor, Mich., Chicago, Bloomington, Ill., Indianapolis, St. Louis, Denver, Los Angeles, Pasadena, Calif., Watts, Calif., Riverside, Calif., Oakland, Calif., San Francisco, Sacramento, Calif., Tacoma, Seattle and Spokane, Wash., St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Cleveland.

In all of the above cities I delivered one or more addresses; as a rule one to a chiefly Negro audience and one to a chiefly white audience. I say "chiefly" because white people attended all Negro meetings and Negroes attended all the mainly white meetings. There was no exception to this rule so far as I can remember. Space will not permit a complete narrative of these meetings, nor would it be particularly desirable. I shall, however, give certain fundamental observations.

### *Response by Races to the Meetings*

With the exception of one or two instances the meetings were well attended everywhere. In Chicago I addressed an appreciative audience which unlocked the doors of all groups of varying shades of opinion to my social entertainment. Women's clubs invited me to address them; the Liberal Club of the University of Chicago did likewise; while the Appomattox Club banqueted me and presented me with an audience both sympathetic and intelligent.

It is always pleasant for me to be in Chicago. Attorney C. Francis Stradford, a friend of some years standing whom I met in Columbia University 1913, spared no pains to make my stay enjoyable. Standing side by side with him is my good friend

W. H. Tibbs who built up the circulation of the *Messenger* in Chicago to three thousand copies per month. Messers Robert S. Abbott and Philip Jones, both of the Chicago Defender, always extend the hospitality of their unique establishment for temporary headquarters. Moreover, Chicago is the one place where a good room may be secured at the Vincennes Hotel—a spacious room with private bath, phone and other accommodations so gratifying to the traveller seeking comfort while he works. I cannot detail the splendid courtesies extended to me by so many people here; I must pass on.

On February 5th, I was that evening speaking before the Open Forum of the Unitarian Church, Bloomington, Illinois. A prominent white attorney from the South who practices there, saw the announcement in the press that a Negro would speak on the "Economic Interpretation of Race Prejudice," and he gave it out as his opinion that *the white people there didn't need the Negro's side of the race question*. Evidently the white people of Bloomington disagreed with him, for at 7:30 about 400 white people and a sprinkling of Negroes jammed the main floor and galleries of the church. For fully one hour the audience asked questions when I finished my main address. After the meeting was over, white women and white men stepped up saying: "Mr. Owen, I am from Georgia, I am from Texas, I am from Mississippi, but I agree with all you say." Mr. O'Donnell, Irish owner of the city's leading white daily, said it was the most illuminating address he had heard there, and he extended to me every courtesy he would have accorded any white speaker.

Bloomington is a college town. About thirty young colored men and women attend the two schools located there and at Normal, Ill., a twin city. Numbers of them attended the lecture. They told me the presidents of the colleges had announced it to their students during the week. Several faculty members attended the forum, and next morning the President of the Illinois State Normal University invited me to address the entire student body and faculty. I spoke on "How American Imperialism Affects the Race Problem." The students and faculty frequently interrupted with applause and at the end gave me an ovation. A colored physician, Dr. Covington, was most attentive to me, while here.

That evening I spoke in Indianapolis. Through the courtesy and interest of Rev. Williams and Father A. H. Maloney, I spoke at the Bethel A. M. E. Church. The audience was about one third white. Ross D. Brown, from Muncie, Indiana, friend of Eugene Debs and eloquent Negro orator, came over to in-

roduce me. I spoke on the "Truth About Harding's Birmingham Speech." Even the old guard Republicans said there was nothing in my speech that could be refuted and they courteously shook hands commending the address. The next day I organized a Council of the Friends of Negro Freedom here, after which I hastened to St. Louis.

The Business Men's League of St. Louis, under whose auspices I spoke while in that city, had prepared a luncheon reception for me at 1 o'clock that afternoon, but my train arrived at 5 o'clock, too late for it. Attorney Robert N. Owens, not a relative but known for his progressive opinions and policies and respected by everybody worthwhile in St. Louis, met me. I was carried to the best Y. M. C. A. I have seen in the country, where I was given a clean, comfortable, attractive room. It poured rain that night. I was fortunate in not having to speak till the next.

Sure enough February 9th was bright and clear. A fine intellectual audience greeted me at the Metropolitan A. M. E. Zion Church—a beautiful edifice. Questions were permitted and several good ones asked. Wherever possible, I tried to inject the forum idea. I wanted to get the people out of the idea of having a speaker perform and run. Let his talk be subjected to searching criticism or interrogation!

The next day some old college brothers like George Buckner, Messrs. Owens, Abernathy, Gossin, and others carried me on a long motor trip. It was so warm we had to leave our overcoats. We visited the Sumner High School, went thru the entire building from basement to roof. Later I arranged for the organization of a Council of the Friends of Negro Freedom in what I expect to find a good field.

February 10th found me leaving for Denver, Colorado. The passenger agent at St. Louis told me there were no berths obtainable; all were sold out. A plucky Negro pullman porter told me there were plenty. He took my baggage, put it on his car, gave me a seat and told the conductor to sell me the ticket for that berth. It was fortunate, in a way, because I got into a drawing room and observation car, the best accommodations obtainable. In talking with this porter I found he had a daughter in Fisk, another in high school, an educated wife, a beautiful home. He was permeated with race pride and said while he was violating the laws or rules in giving me such information, he was willing to give up his job for the rights of his race. *I thought as I listened to him: what a fine example this pullman porter is for some of our Negro leaders!*

On February 11th, I reached Denver. Mrs. Charles A. Harris, wife of Dr. Harris of the Elite Drug Company which conducts a chain of drug stores, met me along with her father. It was 5:20 P. M., as I recall. I expected to rest that night, but she informed me I was booked to address a big white forum in Painters Hall, at 8 o'clock. Shortly I saw this confirmed by very creditable announcements on the front page of the daily papers. I was carried to my room, and later escorted to dinner by Mr. C. W. Buford, a fine old colored single taxpayer and thorough radical, who was celebrated in Denver for his militant agitation against all forms of racial discrimination.

I was not far from the hall where I was to speak and the audience grew so large by 7:30 that a committee came for me to start a little earlier. I spoke on the "Americanism of Tomorrow." The audience was intelligent and appreciative. There was a sprinkling of colored people. After the address, questions were asked for one hour. Among those in attendance I am informed was Dr. J. H. Tilden who with Lester F. Ward and Lewis H. Morgan constitutes America's greatest intellectual trio!

The next day, Sunday, February 12, I spoke at the P. E. Church of the Redeemer. The church was crowded chiefly by colored people, yet a goodly white representation was on hand. Applause was expressly prohibited under the rules of the church. The people, however, forgot two or three times. I spoke on "The New Emancipation" which seemed to have been one of the people's favorite lectures everywhere.

That evening Doctor Clif Terry, Dr. J. F. Holmes and M. Williams carried me all over Denver on a motor trip. We went to Inspiration Point, high up on the mountain elevations of Denver.

Monday, Mrs. Chas. A. Harris took me to the Opportunity School. It is worthy of some space. Mrs. Griffith, of a charming and strong personality, was the director. She carried us through the building. People of all ages, races, colors, sexes, creeds, intellectual and social standing, are admitted. The student may come at any time convenient for him; select any trade he desires—and nearly all conceivable trades are taught. Both the spirit and the subject matter of the Opportunity School in Denver make it one of the most useful, practical and commendable innovations in the American system of education. If you should ever go to Denver, be sure to visit the Opportunity School!

The Negroes of Denver were very progressive. They had a snap and finish about what they did. All bore marks of being up-to-date. The officers of the American Woodmen are among the largest, and absolutely the best appointed I have ever seen Negroes possess.

Monday afternoon, February 13th, Dr. Clif Terry motored me to the station. I purchased my ticket to Los Angeles. Upon asking for pullman accommodations I was told there were none on the 3 p. m. train over the Santa Fe. I inquired about the Union Pacific, only to be informed there were none on it. The Rio Grande also had a train out about the same time, but this too had no accommodations on it, I was told. I could see the agent was lying and he could tell by my asking: "Are you sure there are no accommodations on there?"—that I didn't believe him. There was such a little traffic at that time that I had been advised I could get my ticket about a half hour before leaving, yet the agent emphasized his canard by saying all the berths had been *sold out two weeks ago!*

Of course, berth or no berth, I had to be in Los Angeles by the 15th of February, so I started to board the train. Very shortly a Negro porter, with what Booker Washington pointed out as that "*grape vine telegraph*" system of *lingering around to overhear the news*, had picked up the entire argument. He whispered to me, in such a way I hardly knew he was

talking to me: "There are plenty of berths on this train. You get on and I'll see that you get fixed up!" This was doubly reassuring, but I didn't have any qualms, anyway, for I remembered the St. Louis to Denver experience. In a moment the porter asked me in a subdued voice to come outside. I stepped out the door of the waiting room where the porter told me not to tell a white man, who was watching us in the waiting room, what he (the porter) had said; that the white man was a railroad detective. Sure enough I was approached by the white man. He was too interested in where I was going and how I was getting on. I remembered my Virgil: "Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts!" Again I got into the observation car with drawing room, which I *would not have missed during the two days trip from Denver to Los Angeles!*

For more than a thousand and a half miles the train was dashing at incredible speed over the plains, across the mountains, thru tunnels—on, on to the great Western portals. I had heard much of the heavy snowfalls of Kansas, Colorado and Nebraska, but with the exception of a very little, dappled here and there on top of the Rocky Mountains, I did not see a handful of snow from Chicago to California. There was no distinctively beautiful scenery after leaving Colorado Springs. The remainder of one's trip is uneventful till California is reached. For hundreds of miles you are crossing great arid desert wastes, looking at the ugly monotony of the never ending Rocky Mountains. In very truth it is the worst part about California—the going there!

Worthwhile results, however, must be paid for. Reaching California is no exception. You must pay a pretty good railroad fare and then wait patiently, if you can, until the railroads deliver you into the Golden Gates. Especially true is this of Los Angeles. I arrived there 2:40 P. M., February 15th, about the time old Sol's golden smiles are warmest in this city first visited by white men in 1769, and named by the governor of the territory *Puebla de Nuestra Senora la Reina de Los Angeles; which means "The City of Our Lady, the Queen of the Angeles.*

Verily she is a queen! I was immediately struck with its beautiful lay out—wide streets, well paved—residences enmeshed in vines, embowered in palmetto palm, eucalyptus and other trees, surrounded by verdant lawns bedecked with choice varieties of tropical shrubs and flowers.

Mr. Charles Alexander met me, carried me home, after which we motored to the home of E. Burton Ceruti, distinguished colored lawyer of that city, with whom I had dinner. When we returned from dinner, I excused myself—got directions how to reach home—then I went to Central Avenue. We have so many good *Messenger* agents located in this vicinity that I assumed it was a Negro settlement. In this assumption I was not disappointed. I observed a veritable little Harlem, in Los Angeles.

Next day I met Noah D. Thompson, who is on the editorial staff of the Los Angeles *Express*, one of the big white dailies. He was in company with J. B. Bass, editor of the California *Eagle*. I never felt lonesome or homesick from the first hour I struck Los Angeles, but if I had, after meeting Thompson

and Bass, there was never any moment thereafter when I would have had the time or opportunity, for Noah Thompson and J. B. Bass know how to make it pleasant for a visitor. I was booked to speak at the L. A. Sunday Forum—my first address on the Coast. My subject was the "New Emancipation." A huge crowd jammed the place—ministers, club women, lawyers, physicians, businessman, editors, politicians, the great plain people. The response was an overwhelming appreciation. It was just what the people wanted. It was something new Not only new—but true and practical and good!

The chief comment was: "We've had several speakers come here from the East, but what we usually got was the same message from different individuals."

There was a remarkable laying aside of petty prejudices, such as we *seldom* find in the East. Men of all political faiths, religious creeds and economic interests vied with each other in entertaining me! They were good sports.

One prominent minister differed with me on some question. He arranged a big mass meeting at his church and asked me to deliver a certain address to the audience. This was in the afternoon. That night he announced he would reply to me in his sermon. I spoke at his church twice. His reply was weak and easily shattered, but I appreciate the spirit of fair play and the respect for free speech which he manifested.

Sometimes from a half dozen to a dozen ministers would sit on the platform with me. All denominations invited me into their churches,—Methodist Episcopal, A. M. E., A. M. E. Zion, Baptist, Spiritualist, All Saints, Episcopal. They would give over the sermon on a Sunday night for me to address their congregations.

#### *The People and the New Message*

One could hardly imagine the extent to which the people appreciated the new message. I did not grasp it myself, till the Socialist Party arranged a meeting at the Labor Temple, Sunday March 5th. I had spoken in Los Angeles seven times. Admission was free. I was to speak two days hence where there would be no admission. The fee at the Labor Temple was 25 cents and everybody had to spend in addition car fare or some kind of transportation cost, to get there. Nevertheless about four or five hundred of the most representative colored people, along with hundreds of white people, attended the meeting. Many of the most representative white people from Pasadena and Los Angeles were out. They also gave one of the greatest ovations I got in that city.

#### *Narrow Prejudice Wiped Out*

No petty prejudices were in evidence. The Friday Morning Club, The Phys-Art-Lit-Mor Club, the East Side Mothers' Club—all invited me to address them. The colored Republican assemblyman, Hon. Fred Roberts, acted as toastmaster at an exquisite private banquet give in my honor.

The three colored papers reported my meetings—the California *Eagle*, the oldest most established weekly, giving a full account of all my addresses. No only that: Mr. J. B. Bass, the editor, was and

is a life long Republican, but he has an open mind. He not only reported my meetings, but arranged several of them for me, up the coast as far as Seattle, and introduced me to most of the southern California audiences.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People invited me to address its executive board meeting. Noah D. Thompson and the Pacific Coast Improvement Association arranged one of the biggest meetings I had. I addressed them on "New Negro Leadership."

#### *Social Entertainment*

I have visited numbers of cities in which colored people were hospitable. I have been well treated everywhere I stopped. I would not even seem to derogate from my reception anywhere. I have been too solicitously looked after from New York to the Pacific Coast and back again. It is in no sense of disparagement then that I say the people of Los Angeles tendered the best reception I ever received. For nearly four weeks there was hardly a day when my diary did not record breakfast, lunch and dinner engagements, automobile or theatre appointments, dances or banquets.

Charles S. Darden, attorney, was always at my service with his car. He first carried me to Venice where I beheld the waters of the Pacific. M. G. Stokes, the real estate broker, drove me in his beautiful Hupmobile out to Costa Mesa where at the home of Fannie Bixly Spencer (multimillionaire daughter of the California Steel King) we twice had lunch. Mrs. Spencer is a radical and a Socialist. It was a beautiful trip thru Orange County. Miles of orange groves where nestling green bushes were laden with clustered orbs of gold, presented a scene of indescribable beauty! Louis Michel twice had me to dinner, and invited me many times more. Attorney E. C. Jennings and Mrs. Jennings dined me in their beautiful home. Dr. H. F. Browning, the dentist, was almost daily doing something nice for me. Mr. & Mrs. Walter Gordon, always entertaining, tickled my olfactory nerves before I reached the table with a delicious southern fried chicken dinner. Mr. & Mrs. S. W. Thompson, with two brilliant children I shall not soon forget, had me as their dinner guest with Noah D. Thompson and his wife, at their pretty home. The Duncan family, with several girls and boys, tendered me an enjoyable repast more than once, at their home on Burlington Avenue. Mrs. Gertrude Gray remembered me generously at dinner and other times. Mrs. Minnie Bell Fortier tendered me a sumptuously served breakfast one Sunday morning. Mrs. Ruby Watson, formerly of Denver, had me at a luscious dinner. Mr. Percy S. Buck went from Los Angeles to Frisco with me and had me at breakfast with him next morning on the train. Mr. & Mrs. Sayer served a toothsome lunch. The only person I knew in Los Angeles was Miss Manila Owens—not a relative, but almost the name. In some way I was in Los Angeles about ten days before I met her. It was an agreeable re-meeting, regrettably delayed. What was lost in time however, was made up in intensive hospitality by the genial Owens family. I was at dinner two or three times here, while I also passed a splendidly enjoyable evening at a dance in

their home. Miss Gertrude Christman, Mrs. Booker T. Washington, Jr., and Dr. H. F. Browning on Saturday carried me to the Grauman Theatre. The last night I spoke in Los Angeles was an all day—all night affair. At 11 o'clock p. m., just after the meeting Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Johnston gave a banquet in my honor which was a veritable little Hollywood affair! Everybody had to speak. Assemblyman Roberts who acted as toastmaster was much at home in this capacity.

Just before the meeting E. Burton and Mrs. Ceruti had entertained me at dinner.

It would never do for me to leave the impression that these persons named were the only ones who wanted to entertain me. Literally dozens extended invitations which I could not accept. At best they made me violate my rules of dieting—forced me to override all laws of rest hygiene.

#### *Other Cities in Southern California*

I delivered speeches in Watts, Riverside and Pasadena. All were good meetings. In Pasadena I had in the audience James T. Phillips, attorney of that city, formerly a professor at the Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute, Petersburg, Va. Mr. Phillips is a versatile educator, and as I saw him here, I thought of what a pity it is that our colored schools cannot pay \$5000 a year to retain a man of this type.

Also in this audience was Alice Park, prominent white educator and publicist who went on the Ford Peace Ship.

#### *Other Meetings*

One night I spoke on "New Problems in Medicine." A crowd turned out. It drew one of my largest houses, stimulated much discussion and thought. At 10:30 that night the German Singers had invited me to address them at Cosmopolitan Hall. I was accompanied there by Charles S. Darden, Titus Alexander, Louis Michel, M. G. Stokes, and Mrs. Lena Morrow Lewis, the latter one of the prominent Socialist platform speakers. Mrs. Lewis (white) was untiring in her efforts to have me meet influential and sympathetic white people. In fact she introduced me all the way up the coast in Frisco, Oakland, and Seattle.

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# The Friends of Negro Freedom

## ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IN INTEREST OF THE NEGRO

IT is idle to discuss what ought to be done unless you organize to do it. To talk and plan entirely without ever acting, is like having an architect's blue print without ever building. Obviously a blue print is not a house—though it is an essential part in the process of building. It supplies direction. It is the light by which to erect the structure. In a sense it is like the railroad track. You cannot run the train without a track. You cannot go where you want unless the track runs in the right direction. At the same time you may have the track, and it running in the right direction, yet the train will not get where you want to go until power is applied. Nor is it sufficient merely to have potential power. A car load of coal per se will not run the train. It has to be organized in the furnace, vitalized by fire, before it will give forth heat and create the wondrous power of steam.

In recognition of this fact a group of independent, intelligent, clean, public spirited Negroes assembled in convention at Washington, D. C., May 25th to 30th, 1920, and organized the Friends of Negro Freedom. Among the founders are such men as Chandler Owen, and A. Philip Randolph, well known as editors and founders of the MESSENGER Magazine, which is authoritatively considered as one of the gems of English literature and a high water mark in political science journalism. These two men have probably done more to make the Negro problem national and international than any group of men in America. Their magazine is in the libraries of Harvard, Princeton, Clark, the New York Public, the Library of Congress and the French National War Library. It is fairly safe to say there is hardly a paper or journal in America which has not written about their unique work.

T. J. Pree, Newport News, Va., President of the National Brotherhood Workers of America.

E. Elliot Rawlins, a successful New York physician and prominent in public life of the community.

C. F. Stradford, able and brilliant Chicago attorney.

H. B. Taliaferro, Detroit, attorney, and active in leadership of Alpha Phi Alpha.

Neval H. Thomas, Professor of history, Dunbar High School, Washington, D. C., and well known as a fearless advocate of Negro rights. Frequently appears before Congressional Committees.

W. H. Tibbs, active in the New Negro work in Chicago, Ill.

Carter G. Woodson, the Dean of Howard University College of Arts and Sciences, Director of Journal of Negro History and probably the best Negro historian up to the present time.

Louis T. Wright, New York physician, bacteriologist of distinction, has written articles which have been published in several of the most scientific and reputable medical journals.

J. Milton Sampson, former Professor of English at Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

R. W. Bagnall, former rector of St. Matthews P. E. Church, Detroit, Michigan and President of the Detroit N. A. A. C. P. Branch, now Director of Branches for the N. A. A. C. P.

Edgar P. Benjamin, one of the most successful and able Negro lawyers in the United States, with offices at 34 School Street, Boston, Mass.

Grace Campbell, only colored woman Probation officer in New York.

William N. Colson, Bachelor of Laws from Columbia University and lieutenant 367th Infantry, having served in France during late war.

W. A. Domingo, contributing editor of the MESSENGER, and one of the best journalistic writers of the day.

Edw. H. Evans, Secretary Petersburg N. A. A. C. P. Branch.

Rothschild Francis, member of City Council, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, U. S. A.

Archibald H. Grimke, President of Washington, D. C. Branch of N. A. A. C. P., winner in 1919 of the Spingarn Medal, and well known for distinguished service in fight for the Negro during the last forty years.

Dr. A. A. Kellogg, a reputable New York physician.

E. B. Henderson, Secretary Fairfax, Va. Branch, N. A. A. C. P.

David I. Martin, Director of the Martin-Smith Music School of New York, one of the most successful in the country.

George Frazier Miller, rector of St. Augustine's P. E. Church, Brooklyn, for twenty-five years. Also an able speaker, writer and advocate.

Arthur W. Mitchell, real estate operator, Washington, D. C.

Carl Murphy, editor of the Baltimore Afro-American.

Freeman H. M. Murray, author, scholar and publisher of Washington, D. C.

During the last two years the time was not ripe for doing much organization work. The Negroes were too confused with Garvey's erroneous views and also they were caught in the industrial depression, with its consequent unemployment and panic.

The situation has now changed. In every burg, for nine thousand miles, we found the Negroes disillusioned with the Garvey views. We also noticed a marked improvement in employment.

Organizing of councils of the Friends of Negro Freedom has now been begun in Chicago, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Denver, Los Angeles, Oakland, Seattle, Spokane, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Cleveland, Philadelphia and New York. Within a few weeks one of our Secretaries will go to organize Cincinnati, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Boston, New Haven and Baltimore.

# A Call to Solidarity!!

Local 8 of the Marine Transport Workers of Philadelphia, affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World, call to the workers of all races, creeds, color and nationality to Unite.

If we would maintain our standard of living, and prepare for the final emancipation of the workers, we must organize our labor power upon an industrial basis.

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

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

In this period of industrial depression and black reaction, only solidarity can save the workers.

Let workers of all races, creed, color and nationality, organize to liberate the class-war and political prisoners. Let us organize to build up a new Brotherhood for mankind where there are no race, class, craft, religious or nationality distinctions.

**Workers: Organize, Agitate, Educate, Emancipate!**

## **Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union, Local No. 510**

PHILADELPHIA BRANCH

121 Catharine Street, Philadelphia, Pa.



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Until the workers of all races, creeds, nationalities and colors are joined hand in hand against their common foe—the capitalist exploiters, for the achievement of a common aim—their emancipation, their fight will be futile, useless.

As long as the **black and white** working dogs keep fighting over the **bone of race prejudice**, the **yellow capitalist dog** will run up and grab the meat in the form of **big profits**.

Race wars like wars between Nations are fought for the benefit of the **Owning Class**.

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# What Leading Thinkers Say About The Messenger

The MESSENGER is of exceptionally high standard. That it marks the entrance of the Negro problem upon a wholly new period of development, is not altogether unlikely.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

\* \* \*

As a former professor of English, permit me to congratulate you both on the skill and vivacity with which you both write. But far more important to me than the style of your writing is the substance—the courage and significance of what you have to say.

H. W. L. DANA,

Former professor of English and Comparative Literature for ten years in Columbia University, New York City.

\* \* \*

The MESSENGER shows a masterly grasp not only on our particular Negro problem, but on world problems as well.

ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE

President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Washington, D. C.

\* \* \*

The MESSENGER is a pioneer in clearing the way to union between black and white workers on the only solid ground there is—organized resistance to the exploiters, organized power for a radical goal.”

ROGER N. BALDWIN

\* \* \*

A large group of young colored people are beginning to realize these economic truths, and have a *brilliant mouthpiece* in the MESSENGER.

OSWALD G. VILLARD,

Editor, *The Nation*.

\* \* \*

We rely upon the MESSENGER for light on the Negro question.

P. FONTANA.

French Minister of Education.

\* \* \*

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.

Part of a letter from PROF. WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD, of the University of Wisconsin.

\* \* \*

The MESSENGER is a very excellent publication, with splendid articles on general political and economic problems written by able journalists.

NEW YORK JEWISH DAILY FORWARD.

I want to express to you my pleasure at the publication of a magazine, edited by colored men, that makes its cornerstone the solidarity of labor, and the absolute need of the Negro's recognizing this solidarity.

MARY WHITE OVERTON.

\* \* \*

The editors have a thorough knowledge of the economic history of the United States. Some of the best studies in economic history have appeared in the MESSENGER, studies that are worthy of a wider reception among white workers as well as among Negroes.

THE NEW YORK CALL.

\* \* \*

You both write clearly, forcefully, in diction that is fine, and with ample knowledge and grasp of your theme. One may dispute your opinions, but not criticize with much success your presentation.

THOMAS W. CHURCHILL,

Former President of the New York City Board of Education.

\* \* \*

The work which the MESSENGER is doing is vital.

SCOTT NEARING.

\* \* \*

May the MESSENGER continue the noble work it has undertaken to enlighten the colored worker in this country upon his being exploited by the master class.

PETER MONAT,

*Secretary-Treasurer,*

New York Joint Board of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

\* \* \*

It is edited by two as well read, well educated and competent Negroes as there are in the United States.

THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

\* \* \*

“THE MESSENGER, the monthly magazine published in New York, is *by long odds* the most able and most dangerous of all the Negro publications.”—*Report of U. S. Department of Justice to U. S. Senate.*

I regard the MESSENGER as a good publication.

WILLIAM BROSS LLOYD.

\* \* \*

I am all admiration of the unique style and high standard of your magazine. Every Negro who appreciates clean journalism should be proud of it.

CLAUDE MCKAY.