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THE
MESSENGER

"ONLY RADICAL NEGRO MAGAZINE IN AMERICA"

Edited by

Chandler Owen — A. Philip Randolph



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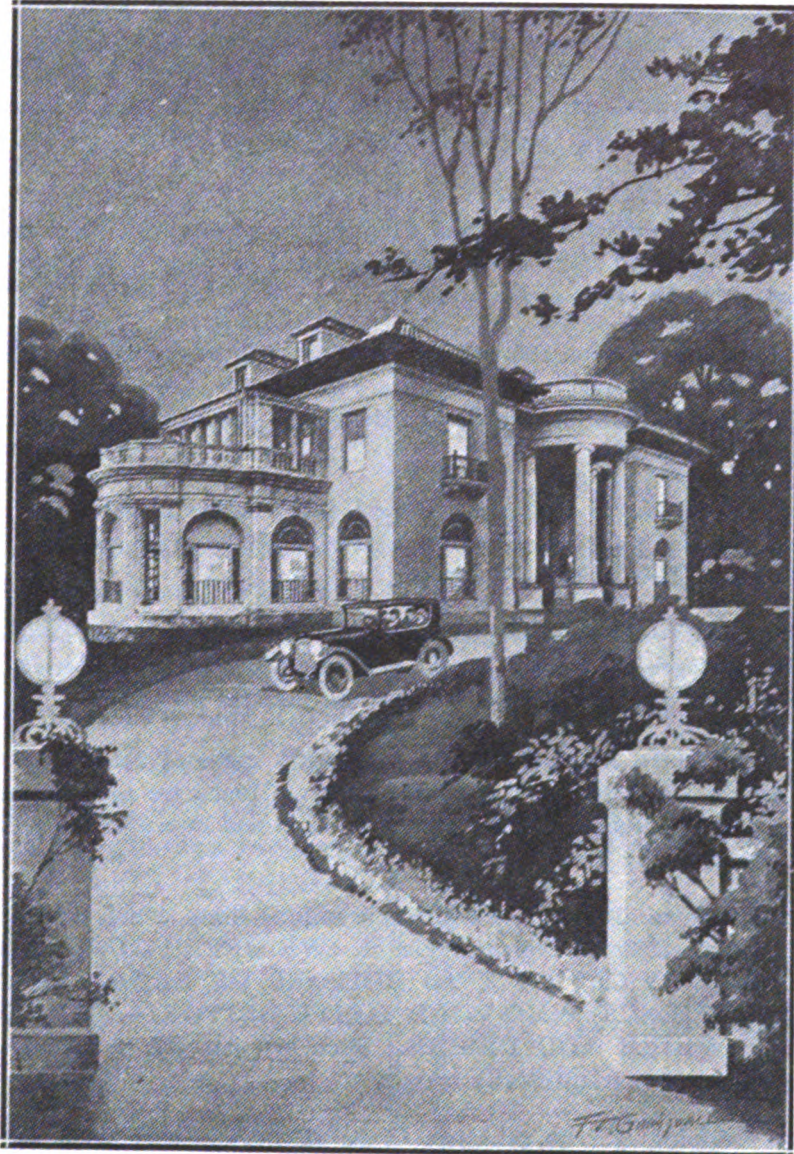
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Promotion of Labor Unionism among Negroes and of Socialism.

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EDITORIALS

NEGRO LEADERS TO PRESENT WAR AIMS TO NEGROES

Some of the most notable Negroes in the country have been chosen to present the war aims of the United States to the Negroes. It is, indeed, very timely, and necessary that Negro public opinion should be enlightened as to the aims of this country in the war.

It should be explained to him how his economic, political and social condition will be improved by the sacrifice which he is making in this world blood-bath. He ought to be informed by the government how the reconstruction program after the war will affect lynching, disfranchisement, segregation, peonage, vagrancy laws in the South, tenant farming, the crop-lien system, representation in all of the departments of the government and the education of his children.

We doubt very seriously that the persons selected will present these problems to the country and the methods for their solution.

The reasons are: (1) the leaders have not had a modern scientific education in economics, politics, sociology and world politics; nor have they had the necessary contact and acquaintance with the radical movements, political and economic, that are producing rapid, violent and stupendous social changes throughout the world in general and America in particular, (2) the capitalist forces which caused their selection would not permit them to present a fundamental solution for the economic, political and social problems of the Negro even if they had the requisite qualifications.

The new Negro will keep keen vigil over these big Negro leaders.

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THE PASSING OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The Republican Party is obsolescent if indeed it is not obsolete. The Republican party is dying, if indeed it is not dead! The Republican party is vestygial. It has performed whatever usefulness it ever did perform and it now lurks to cause disease.

The world is passing through stages of social revolution more rapidly than anyone had dreamed. The democratic currents are striking America. Changes have been produced. The few and the many are divided into sharp classes. The Republican party represents the few. The great masses, the many, are not represented by that party—no not even remotely. No sane man can longer afford to maintain and support a party which does not represent him. No sane working man then can afford to support the party of his bosses, the party of his exploiters. The average man—white or black—has about the same thing in common with the Republican party that a dog has in common with a flea. It is to the interest of the dog to get the flea off his back. It is to the interest of the flea to suck blood out of the dog. The analogy is complete. It is to the interest of the people to get the Republican party off its back. It is to the interest of the Republican party to suck blood out of the people, exploiting

the masses for the unscrupulous, wicked and mercenary, special interests and labor haters.

All that was necessary to destroy the Republican party was light—information given to the people. All that was necessary to maintain the party—was ability to keep the people in darkness and ignorance. The same applies with equal force to the half-measure, quasi-liberal Democratic party under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson. Both parties are only wings of the same foul bird—capitalism. They play see-saw for the consumption of the people. Sometime one is up and sometimes down. A perpetual political prize fight is carried on to which the people have one right—the right to pay the gate receipts. The bosses of the old parties divide the gate receipts 60 to 40; hence the fight between them is always to determine who shall get the 20 per cent difference. The appearance of Socialism as a permanent political factor has thwarted their evil designs, and with it has started the overthrow of the two old wicked parties. The most obsolete, archaic, reactionary and antiquated Republican party has gone first. May it henceforth be consigned to the limbo of forgotten dreams. Its passing is a blessing, as its existence for the last forty-five years has been a curse to this nation and an international menace.

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NEGROES ORGANIZING IN SOCIALIST PARTY

The new Negro is awakening. After having been the political Rip Van Winkle of America for fifty years, sleeping in the cesspools of Republican reaction, he has at last opened his eyes. In New York City, in the very heart of the Negro settlement, there has been organized the Twenty-first Assembly District Socialist Branch which includes all white and colored Socialists in the district. The branch has grown to about one hundred members in two weeks, all of whom are dues paying and in good standing.

The new Negro leaders are pointing out the Republican party as the worst fraud under which Negroes have been laboring. The Democratic party is openly against the Negro. The Republican party is ever striking him a blow in the back. Either one or the other of those parties has been in power for the last fifty years, the Republicans the greater part of the time. The Jim Crowism, segregation, lynching, disfranchisement and discrimination are as much the work of the Republican as the Democratic party. Jim Crowism railroads was upheld in a decision by Chas. E. Hughes. Lynch laws thrived under McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. The Grandfather disfranchisement laws were passed under the guardianship of the Republican party. The Sumner Civil Rights bill was declared unconstitutional by the Republican Supreme Court.

Lastly the Republican party is the party of plutocracy, of wealth, of monopoly, of trusts, of big business. But the Negroes—99 per cent of them—are working people. They have nothing in common with

big business and their employers. They ought to belong to the workers' party. And that is the Socialist party. The object of the employer is to get the greatest amount of work from the laborer and to give the least amount of pay. The object of the laborer is to get the greatest amount of pay for the least amount of work. In a word, the interests of the employer and the employee are opposed.

What Negro workers need is more wages for their work, shorter hours for leisure recreation and education, and better conditions under which to work. The party which stands for these things is the Socialist party. It is also the party which stands at all times and in all countries against race prejudice. Indeed many of the finest workers in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are Socialists. Instance Miss Mary White Ovington, its vice-president. Let the colored people throughout the country get into the Socialist party. Organize in the branches. No prejudice will be found anywhere and you will become a power to be feared and respected throughout this nation.

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MIGRATION AND POLITICAL POWER

The Negroes have come from the South in large numbers and they are still coming. Before the movement is stopped it is not improbable that from three to four million Negroes may come into the North, East and West.

Let them come!

As they leave the chief "land of the lynching bee and the home of the slave" they secure better industrial opportunities, education for their children and political power. From states in which they were disfranchised they go into states where they have a man's right to vote—the right to be freedmen in fact.

With better industrial opportunity the Negroes secure wealth. They have something to fight about.

With better educational opportunity the Negroes secure information. They then have light to see how to fight—a lamp for guidance.

With the possession of the ballot the Negroes have political power—ammunition. They then have something to fight with.

Men don't fight very strongly unless they have something to fight about, and they don't fight very effectively unless they have something to fight with. As the Negro migrates North and West he secures political power to help himself in his new abode and at the same time to strike a blow for his less favored brothers in wicked "old Dixie."

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MRS. HOWARD GOULD AND THE NATIONAL CIVIC LEAGUE

The United Civic League has been bought and paid for by a white lady from the South, Mrs. Howard Gould of North Carolina. The name of the organization has been changed to the National Civic League whose object is to remedy all of the social, political and economic ills from which the Negroes suffer, for a membership fee of one dollar a year. Mrs. Gould, by the way, supported Woodrow Wilson in 1916 for president. The United Civic League supported John Purroy Mitchell in 1917, who, by the way, defended the Birth of the Nation, a picture based upon the writings of Thomas Dixon—a friend of the Negro!

It appears that the Negro needs a Southern white

woman of brains and character, and a Democrat on the side, to lead them.

Everybody, it appears, is planning the Negro's salvation! What is the Negro planning for himself?

—————:o:—————

BOLSHEVISM AND WORLD DEMOCRACY

Bolshevism is the Banquo's ghost to the Macbeth capitalists of the world whether they inhabit Germany, England, America or Japan. It is a foreword of a true world democracy. The Soviets represent the needs and aims of the masses.

Bolshevism has already defied the imperialist vultures to lay their cards of secret diplomacy on the table of justice before the High Court of World Opinion. It has led the world in making a concrete application of the principle of self-determination of smaller nationalities.

Ukrania, Finland and Persia have been permitted to achieve their own destiny.

A sound and just economic, political and social programme of reconstruction is gradually being adopted.

Bolshevism is not yet one year old in Russia. Russia is still at war with a great nation and is virtually without help from her former allies. One-hundred and eighty-seven millions of peoples have been delivered from the autocracy of the Czar—a people 85 per cent of whom are illiterate.

Bolshevism has given these peoples a new hope, a new promise, a new ideal—economic and political freedom!

Will Bolshevism succeed? The Tories of England and America asked the same question about the American people after the revolution of 1776. The Bourbons of France doubted the power of the French people to exist without the rule of the aristocracy—after the revolution of 1789. Governments are living organisms which have structure and function and are governed by the laws of growth. Hence, the Russian people must be helped; not hindered, they are still young.

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AMERICAN LAWLESSNESS

Lawlessness in America proceeds apace. Since the United States' declaration of war 247 Negroes have been lynched—many of them burned at stake. A few whites have also been victims, such as real labor leaders, I. W. W.s, and men alleged to be pro-Germans.

It is a sad commentary on the country that there was no official utterance condemning this vandalism and Hunism so long as loyal American Negroes were lynched. But the lynchers got drunk with the lynching sport spirit and hanged a German alien in Collinsville, Illinois, named Arthur Prague. Immediately the local, State and National authorities got very busy. The State of Illinois paid \$197 for Prague's funeral expenses. Attorney General Gregory addressed the American Bar Association warning them against a repetition of this lawlessness in the country. In Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart's "The Southern South," he points out that in the last twenty years over one hundred thousand men have taken part in the lynching of Negroes, while not a single one had been indicted—much less punished. Not so when an alien enemy was lynched. Eleven men are now on trial for the murder of Arthur Prague. Last July the East St. Louis riots raged for three days under the eyes of tens of thousands. Prominent and "respectable" citizens took part. But no one of them was ever tried or even indicted for murder.

How rapidly the wheels of justice move when an alien enemy is touched! And how slowly those wheels grind when loyal American black citizens are murdered, lynched, mobbed,—burned at stake! We cite these cases to let the government and the public know that it is not giving the Negro a square deal, and we know it. We do not propose to wink our eyes at these injustices and pretend we are satisfied. The government is drafting Negroes to fight. It asks their loyalty. They are giving their lives; they are buying bonds; they are purchasing thrift stamps; they are forming circles for war relief; they are soliciting for the Red Cross; they are doing their part and more throughout the country. And for all this, what is the pay? Discrimination, Segregation, Jim Crowism, Disfranchisement, Lynching—burning at the Stake! American lawlessness is putting America in a bad light and we would advise her to square her deeds with her words, especially with her loyal colored citizens.

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THE INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY OF ENGLAND

Economic, political and social discontent in England has found an intelligent expression through the Independent Labor party. The brain and hand workers have finally united to capture the government of England, not merely to change the political machinery but to effect a fundamental, comprehensive and thorough going social reconstruction of England and the British empire.

The whole world is awaiting the reign and rule of labor. The Tories and the Liberals of England are aghast with fear. The war has disillusioned and disenchanting the common people and the sleeping dragon—labor—has been awakened to his power. Now, the working world is adopting scientific methods to achieve its aims. Labor of America would do well to study the methods of labor across the sea.

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NEGRO WOMEN IN POLITICS

The entrance of Negro women into politics will not change materially the political course of the Negro. They, like their white sisters, will be largely influenced by their male companions.

It is discouraging and painful, however, to think that the Negro women will be led, like dum-driven cattle by the old, fossilized, ignorant, venal and discredited Negro leaders, to the Republican slaughter-house to be offered up to the gods of campaign slush-funds and job-hunting.

For 50 years the Negro men have voted the Republican ticket and to-day, though there are 12,100,000 Negroes in the country, they have not a single representative in Congress; they are still lynched; they are still disfranchised, jimcrowed and segregated in the South. No Republican or Democratic president has protested against these evils and injustices. Yet both parties have had the power to abolish these conditions.

Negro men and women need a sound political and economic education. They must realize that 99 per cent of them are working people and that their chief needs are economic: sufficient food, sufficient clothes and sanitary housing. They need to realize that the Republican and Democratic parties will not secure these things for them because they are supported by forces which profit from cheap labor, high rent and

high cost of living. The Negroes' logical party is the working man's party, therefore, not the Republican and Democratic parties, but—the—?

Thus, our advice to Negro women voters is to read, think!

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VAGRANCY LAWS

Some writer once said: "Progress in government has been made by repealing bad laws." History attests to the truth of this proposition. Certainly with the increasing crop of bad laws piling upon the law books of almost every nation to-day, after-the-war reconstruction will have to address itself to the repeal of many bad laws.

Directly in point are the State and National vagrancy laws. It might be well said that there never has been any good purpose to vagrancy laws anywhere. The object has been to force down the wage scale. Under the guise of striking at loafers the unthinking public is deluded. It does not occur to them that most of the so-called loafers are inevitable products of the social and economic system—that hundreds of thousands of people have to be unemployed throughout each year. Even now there is unemployment as was shown by Samuel Gompers when our reactionary legislators were considering the importation of Asiatic laborers.

Now the object of the vagrancy laws of recent date in this country is to break up the radical labor movement. A striker will be declared a vagrant. He may be arrested and assigned to the very work on which he had struck, not only at the same wage, but upon a lower wage. This beyond doubt is the basis of these vagrancy laws, and in West Virginia at the coal mines they are doing just this thing. Least of all should Negroes approve of the vagrancy laws. They belong in this day to the Reconstruction period when the Black Code was adopted. A Negro had to accept any terms, and if he refused, he was arrested as a vagrant, fined anything the magistrate desired; his fine was paid by some plantation owner, lumber operator, or turpentine still controller, after which the Negro could be worked for life. Upon these vicious vagrancy laws peonage in the South was built up. Under the new variety of vagrancy laws, it is the purpose and aim of the reactionary interests to fasten peonage upon the workers, white and black, of this entire country.

We must express a word of reproof for the negligent and shortsighted attitude of the radical and socialist press of this country toward the vagrancy laws. The New York Call had a short, humorous article referring to the Union League Club vagrants, but accepting the law as all right, if fairly applied. But the law is vicious throughout. The reason men do not work is because the wages offered are so low as not to be any inducement, and often there is no work even at that low price. The radical press must emphasize that the use of the four billion dollar profits which our millionaires received last year for the payment of decent wages would set into play all the labor which the country needs. Under no circumstances can any aid and comfort be given to the vagrancy laws.

Hold to the sound Socialist principle. If you work, you may eat; if you don't, you may starve. Then provide sufficient work with wages commensurate with what is produced, and labor will be plentiful and efficient.

PROFITS AND PATRIOTISM

OLD DR. JOHNSON said, "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." If he were here to-day he would say that patriotism is a little barrack behind which scoundrels hide their profits. Recently the "Hog Islanders" and the "Hog Packers" have been in the forefront. Radicals must be pleased with the brutal frankness of the profiteers in adopting names commensurate with their activities. Usually they sail under fine names like "Democratic," Republican or Liberal. But this time the Hogs decided to name themselves appropriately. A hog is a hog. A hog must have dividends. And when Senator Hiram Johnson pushed Baldwin of the Hog Island Ship Corporation, Baldwin told him: "You can't keep a corporation on patriotism. Our stockholders must have their dividends."

We wish our readers would remember this. A patriot must have profits to live on. A worker must have patriotism. Armour's employees received an average wage of \$672 for the year 1917. The two young Morris brothers of the Morris Packing Co., received in salaries \$75,000 each or \$150,000. Mind you, these two young men received slightly more in salaries than 223 employees.

Again, at the beginning of the war these Morris brothers were receiving \$25,000 per year each. But the High Cost of Living made it necessary for them to have an increase of \$50,000 per year each. They had an increase of 200 per cent. But the workers are still supporting families off \$672 per year.

We often wonder whether the profiteers have to increase their profits to make up for their shortage of patriotism—while the workers, who are long on patriotism, need only a little profit (wages) to make them 100 per cent patriots!

One who makes such big profits ought to be patriotic about a system which protects his profits. But the rule seems to work the other way. The profiteer wants a division of labor. He wants the worker to work while the profiteer profits. "Let George do it!" Fighting is the business of workers—not of profiteers. For what good could profits be to a dead man? What value are profits unless one can profit from the profits?

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THE FOREIGNER AND THE AMERICAN

THE history of the peoples of the world reveals that the spirit of intolerance has always been manifested toward foreigners. The connotative meaning of foreigner is, any one who is not native of the adopted country. For instance, the Grecians looked with contempt upon all non-Grecians, and to be more particularistic, the Athenian was contemptuous of all non-Athenians.

Rome, too, displayed a savage disregard and utter disrespect for the non-Roman. The spirit which animated the Roman was, that "he who was a Roman citizen was the prince of all beings."

The literature of England fairly bristles with disparaging references to the French character. There was a widespread opinion in English society that the French people were fickle and their women were immoral.

The French people, in turn, have looked upon the

English as a race of boorish, crude, vulgar and uncultured human beings.

Thus, it is apparent to the student of history that the present American spirit of intolerance has no little precedent in the annals of social history.

The theory of the national psychology is that, "anything which is not of itself, is inferior to it."

The Know-Nothing party of 1852 was anti-foreigner and anti-Catholic. To say that this spirit is vicious, unsound, undemocratic and merits a definite and sharp condemnation and repudiation of enlightened public opinion, is merely to state what ought to be recognized, in the 20th century, as a social and political truism.

The ruling classes have ever capitalized this latent national spirit whenever they have had extra-territorial interests to subserve. Artfully and viciously have the press and pulpit been used to inflame the public's mind against the unoffending foreigner.

In this wild and violent hunting and maligning of persons whose greatest crime is accidental birth, one foot on the other side of some arbitrary national boundary line, makes America's protestations of democracy a hollow mockery.

The spirit of persecution becomes, all the more inane and asinine, in the light of the highly foreign character of the composition of our population; the large contribution which has been made in the fields of art, commerce, science, industry, religion, etc., by the foreign element, and the further fact that every so-called American is a foreigner, the Irish, French, English, Negro, everybody, save the Indian.

The census of 1910 showed that every section of this country is highly foreign, in the sense of being composed of persons who were naturalized or born of foreign parentage, except the southern, which is the most backward and unprogressive. Even the Negro has been infected with this anti-foreign virus. But here the MESSENGER would warn him to watch his steps. Since when has the Negro been imbued with a passion to be consigned to the tender mercies of the native white population of the South, consisting of its Tillmans, Vardamans, Bleases and Hoke Smiths, in preference to the highly foreign population of the North, East and West?

There are 30.64 per cent of whites born of foreign parents and 26.19 per cent of naturalized and un-naturalized, or strictly foreigners, in New York's population.

In Georgia, the whites born in America of foreign parents, constitute 1.07 per cent and the naturalized and unnaturalized whites form 4.45 per cent.

In the good old State of Tennessee where Eli Persons was lynched, there are only 1.88 per cent of whites born in America of foreign parents and 1.13 per cent of strictly foreign-born whites. In the State of Massachusetts, however, 27.09 per cent of its population are composed of whites born of foreign parents and 39.35 per cent of whites naturalized or unnaturalized.

Ask your leader in which states would he prefer to deliver a speech against lynching, Georgia and Tennessee or New York and Massachusetts? Remember, however, that the dirty foreigners live in New York and Massachusetts and our good old American-native-stock hold forth in Georgia and Tennessee!

CONSCRIPTION

The conscription of our young men, despite their protest, has been fastened upon the American people. The law has been largely obeyed and, except for extreme intolerance of the government to peaceful discussion of the merits or demerits of the law, but little opposition has been encountered. Young men have been taken from their homes. Their family ties have been broken. Their business careers have been blighted. Their professional futures have been ended or so far deferred as to be of little value. In very truth, hundreds of thousands of young men have sacrificed all for their country.

Profit to these young men is not possible. The most humble soldier of our conscript army could be earning more today than the army is paying him, not to mention his freedom from risk of life, limb and health.

But profit to thousands of others, taking no risks on their lives, is possible. The federal income tax report shows an increase of seven thousand millionaires in the United States within the last fiscal year. In 1916 the capitalists of the United States cleared three billion dollars. All kinds of profiteering scandals are rampant through the nation. Young men are giving their all—health, careers, life itself, while profiteers are ringing profits out of their death and suffering, out of their blood and destruction.

Certain real spokesmen of the people are calling upon the government to tax these war profits. La Follette would take 80 per cent. The Socialists would take all except a subsistence allowance. Other more moderate legislators would take 60 per cent. The program of taking all by the Socialists is entirely just. La Follette's program is a close approximation to justice.

Soldiers, sailors, citizens—all persons—are beginning to suspect these sleek plutocrats who preach patriotism with their mouths, but batten off the labor, poverty and suffering of the people. Soldiers, sailors and citizens are suspecting these profiteers who criticize, attack and abuse all real spokesmen of the people like Victor Berger, Hillquit, Nearing, La Follette and Townley.

We strongly advocate the payment of \$100 per month to the soldiers. The three billion dollars profits of 1916 would pay \$1200 to two and one-half million soldiers. This is simple justice to the men who are giving their all. We advocate more taxation, 100 per cent, or La Follette's 80 per cent along with the liberty bonds. Since we are conscripting let us apply the "necessary" evil to property and profits as well as to the lives of our young men.

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A. C. TOWNLEY AND THE FARMERS' NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE

THE recent indictment of A. C. Townley, President of the Farmers' Non-Partisan League, the prohibition of many of the League's meetings, and the general cheap charges of disloyalty, non-patriotism, et al, against the League, reveal that organization to be thoro-going, democratic and useful. It is in reality a farmers' trade union. For several decades the farmers have been rapidly driven to the status of tenant farmers. They have worked hard only to be robbed by the speculators and the middle

men who do little more than manipulate spurious paper. The farmers are bulldozed by the railroads. The roads make them bear the loss of wheat—wheat lost by the railroads themselves in the course of being handled. The railroads own the grain elevators. The grain elevator owners grade the wheat very low in buying it from the farmers and afterwards grade and sell it very high in offering it to the public as consumers. The grain elevator speculators also use crooked scales. In weighing the wheat or produce the farmers are cheated too. The same is true of their hogs and cattle.

You ask why the farmers sell to these blood-sucking speculators. Why in the spring the farmers have to buy seed, fertilizers, machinery, etc. To secure these they must have credit. Loans are secured from the banks. Property, farms, crops, cattle, are mortgaged as security for the loans. If the farmer will sell at the speculator's prices, he will not be pushed. But if he does not, the banks will foreclose their mortgages. Now when it is remembered that the persons who own the railroads also own the banks, the grain elevators and the abattoirs, it makes coercion of the farmers easy. So much for that.

What, then is the crime of Townley and the Non-Partisan League? It is this: The farmers' eyes have been opened by this war which has forced social evolution closer to our gates. They have heard patriotism preached loudest by those whose profits were biggest. Those who have been making the unselfish sacrifices have been as silent as the sphinx. Those who have made the hog-fat profits have been condemning the patriotism of any honest worker who asked for a dollar a week more to meet the high cost of living. In the words of President Wilson: "They are trying to avert suspicion by condemning the thing they are doing themselves." They are crying "stop-thief" with the loot under their own arms. Townley saw the loot so big that it was bulging out—uncovered and unconcealed. Townley told the farmers that while they were getting only \$2.00 per bushel for wheat, the speculators were getting \$15 to \$20 per barrel for flour. Even farmer John Jones saw the disproportion. He went off and thought. He did not grow mad. He had done that too often already. It achieved nothing. Farmer John Jones began to talk this matter over with his neighbor. The message of discontent was passed on. Repulsed by a drunken legislator and ignored by the North Dakota legislature, the farmers decided wisely: "The only way we'll ever get anything is to form our own organizations and elect one of our own." Such assertiveness on the part of plain farmers! They are intoxicated with imagination! "They'll never do such a thing," said the Republicans and Democrats.

But the farmers fooled the old parties. They organized. They elected both houses of the South Dakota legislature. They elected the State Supreme Court. They elected the first congressman they tried to elect—John M. Baer. They have been proselyting. One hundred thousand members now are organized in Colorado, Minnesota, South Dakota, Iowa and Arizona. The drive is on. The

worthless, blood-sucking, scoundrelly profiteering speculators and middlemen are doomed. The farmers will get more money and the consumer can pay less than he has heretofore paid when the mediators are gone.

This makes for better feeling between worker and worker. The worker in the city and the worker on the farm can now see their common interests. Their interests having been seen to be common, their action could be made common. If the agrarian trade unionists and the industrial trade unionists—the farmers, on the one hand, and the city workers on the other—can see that their interests are common, the spread of socialism will be accelerated one hundredfold. America will be made a better place to live in for the great masses who toil, and a worse place to live in for the well organized pirates, parasites, leeches and blood-suckers, who only manipulate spurious paper and take title to the wealth produced on farm and in factory by the workers.

The start has been good. The method adopted is the only one—organization to destroy the present system by the substitution of a new one. *The city worker is robbed by being overcharged for his flour from the very wheat for which the farmer was underpaid. The city worker is underpaid for making the very overalls and shirts for which the speculators and financial pirates overcharge the farmer.* The fight must be made not against the speculator, but the system which produced and perpetuates the speculator. The old order must go. It is going, and will be gone forever. We welcome the dawn of the new era of good feeling between workers, urban and rural. The Non-Partisan League is progressing well. Congratulations to A. C. Townley and the future success of the farmers.

PRO-GERMANISM AMONG NEGROES

At the recent convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a member of the Administration's Department of Intelligence was present. When Mr. Justin Carter of Harrisburg, Pa., was complaining of the race prejudice which American white troops had carried into France, this administration representative rose and warned the audience that the Negroes were under suspicion of having been affected by German propaganda.

In keeping with the ultra-patriotism of the oldline type of Negro leaders (?) the N. A. A. C. P. failed to grasp its opportunity. It might have calmly and frankly informed the Administration representative that the discontent among Negroes was not produced by propaganda, nor can it be removed by propaganda. The causes are deep and dark—though obvious to all who care to use their mental eyes. Peonage, disfranchisement, Jim-Crowism, segregation, rank civil discrimination, injustice of legislatures, courts and administrators—these are the propaganda of discontent among Negroes. The only way to remove this general unrest and widespread discontent among Negroes is to remove these cankerous causes.

The only legitimate connection between this unrest and Germanism is the extensive government advertisement that we are fighting "to make the world safe for democracy," "to carry democracy to Germany; that we

are conscripting the Negro into the military and industrial establishments to achieve this end for white democracy four thousand miles away, while the Negro at home, though bearing the burden in every way, is denied economic, political, educational and civil democracy. And this, despite his loyalty and patriotism in the land of the free and the home of the brave!

Col. Robert G. Ingersoll once said: "Between inevitable evils we have the right of choice." The Negro may be choosing between being burnt by Tennessee, Georgia or Texas mobs or being shot by Germans in Belgium. We don't know about this pro-Germanism among Negroes. It may be only their anti-Americanism—meaning anti-lynching, which historians and scholars like Prof. Cutler of Yale concede to be strictly "American." We should like to assist the government investigate this pro-Germanism among Negroes. It might bring to light the fact that they are still so absorbed in suppressing American injustices that their minds have not yet been focused upon Germany. Meanwhile we shall be on the watch for the real basis of this alleged pro-Germanism among Negroes should any new facts arise.

PROHIBITION

Prohibition, like woman suffrage, has become the political football of the United States. The politicians are for it or against it only insofar as it is expedient—politically. The West has become so strongly prohibition territory that one with presidential aspirations must be a prohibitionist. In the individual states the politicians watch the way prohibition straws blow. Nothing sane, scientific and constructive thus far has been done or suggested by American legislators on the prohibition question.

The British Independent Labor Party, however, has suggested a program of "temperance." It advocates that the government take over the manufacture and sale of intoxicants and dispose of them strictly for the enjoyment of the people. It notes particularly that where the government does not run the business for profits there would be no inclination to secure the maximum consumption which gives rise to drunkenness and its kindred evils. In short, the government runs business for the public welfare. Private enterprise of every kind is resorted to in order to induce the public to buy more intoxicants. The more intoxicants bought the more money the brewery interests can make.

Prohibition is not an easy question of "yes" or "no," as some might think. We grant that it is "harmful consumption" in the economic sense. So is tobacco, and the same is true of tea and coffee. But the question is: Does the individual who uses such goods get more enjoyment therefrom than the injury which he sustains? And, secondly, Is the injury sustained by the individual sufficiently injurious to others, or of enough social injury, to justify society in restraining the individual for the public good?

Lastly, should we have prohibition or temperance? To this we can hear our prohibition friends replying that temperance is not possible if the drinker can secure his drink. Again we ask, Cannot the kinds of drinks be so limited as to achieve the ends of temperance? Already the law has achieved something of the kind by limiting the per cent of alcohol which may

constitute beers, etc. It may yet be found desirable to put the country on a light wine and beer basis. Italy and Germany have been on such a basis for years, and those countries have little trouble with drunkenness. Moreover, the German citizens, with their wine and beer "gartens" are among the most husky, healthy and robust people in the world.

The writer has never taken a drop of any intoxicant in his life, but we are much inclined to the opinion that "use without abuse" is applicable to the liquor problem just as it is to tea, coffee and food for that matter, because Lester F. Ward says, "Immediately after food is taken in excess of need, it becomes poison."

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REASONS WHY WHITE AND BLACK WORKERS SHOULD COMBINE IN LABOR UNIONS

First, as workers, black and white, we all have one common interest, viz., the getting of more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions.

Black and white workers should combine for no other reason than that for which individual workers should combine, viz., to increase their bargaining power, which will enable them to get their demands.

Second, the history of the labor movement in America proves that the employing class recognize no race lines. They will exploit a white man as readily as a black man. They will exploit women as readily as men. They will even go to the extent of coining the labor, blood and suffering of children into dollars. The introduction of women and children into the factories proves that capitalists are only concerned with profits and that they will exploit any race or class in order to make profits, whether they be black or white men, black or white women, or black or white children.

Third, it is apparent that every Negro worker or non-union man is a potential scab upon white union men and black union men.

Fourth, self-interest is the only principle upon which individuals or groups will act if they are sane. Thus, it is idle and vain to hope or expect Negro workers out of work and who receive less wages when at work than white workers, to refuse to scab upon white workers when an opportunity presents itself.

Men will always seek to improve their conditions. When colored workers, as scabs, accept the wages against which white workers strike, they (the Negro workers) have definitely improved their conditions.

That is the only reason why colored workers scab upon white workers or why non-union men scab upon white union men.

A scab who is ignorant of his class interests does not realize that it is necessary to sacrifice a temporary gain in order to secure a greater future gain which can only be secured through collective action.

Every member which is a part of the industrial machinery, must be organized, if labor would win its demands. Organized labor cannot afford to ignore any labor factor of production which organized capital does not ignore.

Fifth, if the employers can keep the white and black dogs, on account of race prejudice, fighting over a bone; the yellow capitalist dog will get away with the bone—the bone, to which we refer, is profits. No union man's standard of living is safe as long as there is one man or woman who may be used as a scab.

MISS MARY WHITE OVINGTON'S LETTER TO THE MESSENGER

EDITORS of the MESSENGER:

I want to express to you my pleasure at the publication of a magazine, edited by colored men, that makes as its cornerstone the solidarity of labor, and the absolute need of the Negro's recognizing this solidarity. As a socialist of many year's standing, I have looked closely at the young colored men and women, graduates from our colleges, hoping to find some of them imbued with the revolutionary spirit. I have found a few, and I have been especially happy to see, here in New York, two good socialists of college training who are giving up their life to the spread of socialist thought.

I was at Harlem at the mass meeting at the Palace Casino during the mayoralty campaign, and I saw and heard the crowd cheer Morris Hillquit. Never have I known a candidate to be given a more intelligent reception. I know that you were responsible for that meeting and that it was only possible because of the faithful propaganda that you had preached on the street corners and wherever a hearing could be found.

Expressing therefore my deep appreciation of your work and of your stand, I want, however, to take exception to the sweeping manner in which you indict all the present leaders of the Negro race. I have no desire to defend them, they are all too able and too well-known to need defense, but I would like to point out a few mistakes that I am sure you will be glad to have rectified.

First, it is quite erroneous to say that the MESSENGER is the only colored New York publication that has consistently stood for woman's suffrage. *The Crisis* has stood for woman's suffrage since its inception, nine years ago, and has fought for it continuously.

Second, it is difficult to understand, unless you have failed to study into the matter, how you can hold the opinion that Dr. Du Bois has not stood for the Negro's entrance into the labor union and against his being a scab. He has "knocked" the labor unions that closed their doors on the Negro but only because he wished them to enter. You must realize that you begin your work at a time when, owing to lack of immigration, the Negro has industrial opportunity that he never had before. You have done excellent organizing work, I know, of which you may be proud; but Dr. Du Bois, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have been working along the same lines. Indeed; to-day the A. F. of L. is well aware of our existence, and finds us something of a gad-fly.

We all enjoy hurling epithets, and I won't say anything about "criminal incompetence and cringing compromise," but when you call the Negro leaders "a laughing stock among the whites," I wonder what whites you may mean. And who are your great radicals, Hart and Seligman? How long since?

But I hope you will go on, both of you; and having had the satisfaction of hitting every head in sight will settle down to the all important matter of

educating colored and white to an understanding of the solidarity of the working class. Class consciousness, internationalism, these alone can save the black races of the world. Indeed, this war has shown that they alone can save all mankind. Yours is the great, new message of to-day. Russia cried it to the Austrians and to the Germans, to the English and to the French, and the governments held down the people and kept them silent, strangling the answer they might have sent. The government will strangle the answer here or make it a mockery, but the message must have its answer and the wealth of the earth be given to those who own it by their toil.

I talked with Lincoln Steffins some months ago, and spoke of an especially outrageous piece of color discrimination, one that I cannot think of without anger, the retirement of Colonel Young. When I was through, Mr. Steffins said something like this:

"Miss Ovington, when are the colored people going to understand that their persecution is not a matter of race. Persecution is everywhere and its basis is economic. I was in Poland for some months and I talked with many Poles. They told me of the persecutions they had suffered and I sympathized with them for they were terrible. Then I went to Lithuania and I talked with the Lithuanians and they told me too of their sufferings, and they were terrible, *and the Lithuanians were persecuted by the Poles.* And so it is throughout the world. Do not let the colored people strive only to elevate a group that in its turn will persecute. Let them see that persecution comes when one class is held down by another class, and that only as you recognize the class struggle can you effectually fight persecution."

I met Mr. Steffins again, a few nights ago, and I spoke to him of his former talk. "I want you to know," I said, "that I have found two young colored men who are carrying to their people the message of which you spoke. And they are right here in New York."

"Tell them," he made answer, "that they are in the right and to go ahead with their work."

And so I give you his message and hope that as you go on with your work you may hold your light bright, free from egotism or injustice.

Mary White Ovington.

\$300,000,000 TO LABOR—\$800,000,000 TO CAPITAL

The principle of the extension of government supervision over private enterprises moves apace. The government is being forced to curb and check the cupidity, greed and avarice of private interests. It is gradually realizing that the conscienceless profiteering of big business during this war is the worst and the most insidious and brazen in the history of the country.

Director General of Railroads McAdoo has already laid his heavy hand of discipline on some of the recreant presidents of the railroads. High officials have been charged by responsible labor leaders with conspiring to defeat the government's operation of the system.

As a result of this increased extension of government control over the railroads, 2,000,000 employees have received an increase in wages of \$300,000,000. The Negro railroad employees have been given the same wages of white employees doing similar work.

Even women workers have been given equal pay of men doing similar work.

Of course, the government has also awarded an increase of \$800,000,000 in increased freight rates to the railroad owners. It shows that a thing is very good or bad according to the use to which it is put and the use to which an instrument is put depends upon who controls it.

Now if the railroads were owned by the government and the government was in turn controlled by the people, the \$800,000,000 awarded to the owners in increased freight rates, would be applied to reducing the cost of service to the public and to still greater increases in wages to the employees.

At the present time title of ownership in the property of the railroads rest with private stock-holders and the government is insuring them a return on their investment based upon the most prosperous three-year period of their existence.

These facts are simple and plain. The workers must control the government. This can only be achieved through a party controlled by the workers. There is no party in this country which is controlled by the workers except the Socialist party.

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS

The Negro has had a pathetic and unpromising history in American politics.

His eventful and hapless career began under the shadows of the institution of slavery, from which he had just emerged. He was played upon by two forces, viz., the open opposition from his former masters,

on the one hand, and the fraud and deception of the white carpet-baggers, who swarmed South, like vultures, to prey upon his ignorance and credulity.

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD

We have but to take a glimpse into the history of the Reconstruction period, to witness his tragical

political flight, wrought by a paradoxical combination of his Northern Republican friends and his Southern Democratic enemies.

During this period the Negro was a political football between his former slave-masters and Northern political adventurers. The economic basis of this contest was the power to tax; to float bonds; to

award franchises; in short, to gain control over the financial resources of the newly organized States. These were big stakes for which to contend. Hence, the carpet-baggers used the enfranchised Negro to assist them in securing control over the Southern State governments and the Southern politicians fought the Negro viciously to prevent this Carpet-bagger-Negro political ascendancy.

This period of storm and stress gave birth to two significant social organizations, the Union of Loyal League of Negroes and the Klux Klux Klan, which attempted to protect the political interests of the Negroes and Southern whites, respectively.

They only served, however, to engender bitterness; to breed and to foster suspicion and hate between the races, which resulted in lawlessness, crime and general social anarchy. These, too, were natural political and social consequences of the Reconstruction policy. The inordinate lust for power, overweening ambition to rule, the instinct to secure an advantage, impells individuals and social groups to adopt the philosophy of force, the policy of fraud, or the method of education; whichever policy is available, and is recognized as likely to secure the more permanent results.

Such were the political vicissitudes of the Negro in the South. The Klu Klux Klan and the tissue ballot were social and political inventions of intimidation to discourage the Negroes' participation in politics. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution, the Federal Army and the carpet baggers were designed to protect the Negroes' suffrage, in order that the Negro might entrench, reenforce and fortify the Republican party's control over Congress. The lessons of this period had been hard, bitter and disappointing to the Negro. The army, the arm of protection of the Federal government, had been withdrawn. The Negro office-holders and their Republican supporters had been hurled from power. The Reconstruction legislation had been emasculated from the statute books. The Southern States had begun a systematic and organized campaign of nullification of the freedom and enfranchise-

ment of the Negro. In fact, the Negro had been reduced to serfdom. And in 1876 the last vestige of Reconstruction governments had disappeared. And it cannot be maintained by the sober and dispassionate historian that the Negro had legislated and administered the State governments wisely and well. As he had ignorantly fought with and tilled the fields for his former masters to maintain slavery, he had also voted to strengthen his Republican political masters, to dominate the government, only to be forsaken, neglected, naked to his enemies. No Negro, with a genius for leadership, had arisen in this period. So much for our reconstruction history.

SUBSEQUENT POLITICAL COURSE.

What has been the subsequent political course of the Negro?

The complete scheme of the Negroes' disfranchisement was in process of development in the South. The South had resented and ignored the fourteenth amendment which had demanded a reduction in representation in Congress, if the Negroes' suffrage was restricted. Intermittent cries against this political brigandage were heard, but finally subsided. The South continued to weave a fabric of law, the "Grand father clauses," which gave legal sanction to an already general custom of Negro disfranchisement. The Republican party, pretended friend and defender, had assented. Yet, the Negro remained a Republican. Why? First, the Reconstructive legislation of the Republican party had forged the "Solid South." The "Solid South" was dominated by the Democratic party. The Democratic party had striven to maintain slavery. It had been the father of the "Fugitive Slave Law," the nullification of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and Chief Justice Taney had handed down the famous Dred Scott's decision, which gave constitutional sanction to the extension of slavery into new territory.

On the other hand, the Republican party had been the party of the North, the refuge of the fugitive slave, the home of the abolitionists, Wendell Phillips, Garrison, Lovejoy, and Sumner, was in power when freedom came. It had used the Negro as an office holder and continued to distribute political crumbs in the form of collectors of internal

revenue, deputy collectors, registrars of the treasury, ministers to Hayti, Liberia, and such places, that required no administrative ability, no intelligent understanding of the methods, objects and principles of government. In truth, the Negro office-holders were mainly of the "rubber stamp" variety. But it was sufficient that the Republican party had awarded jobs, to secure the indiscriminating and unquestioning devotion of the Negro. Thus, the Negro became as staunch a Republican as the Irish a Democrat. It was considered race treason for a Negro to profess any other political faith.

Here and there, an eccentric Negro had claimed to be a Democrat, but his claim was considered lightly. It is true that in New York City, a tiny fraction of Negroes had bolted the Republican ranks and joined Tammany Hall, seeking political jobs.

There had also arisen among the Negroes a political schism, namely a belief in the virtue of dividing the vote. In support of this political heresy, it was maintained that by dividing the vote the Negro would be able to secure the good will of both parties; it was further maintained that it would create fear within the Republican party which would result in its giving the Negro a fairer consideration, and that the Negro would be sure of political preferment, regardless of which party was in power. And in 1912 and in 1916 a few Negro leaders had professed sympathy for Woodrow Wilson as the Democratic presidential nominee.

The formation of the Progressive party of 1912 had marked another important rift in the Negro Republican voters. The love for Roosevelt, the expectation of jobs and the general dissatisfaction with President Taft's attitude towards Negro job-holders in the South, had produced this alienation.

In the mayoralty election of New York City, in 1917, occurred another change in the Negroes' political course. This change resulted in 25 per cent of the Negroes voting the Socialist ticket. This vote, too, it might be observed, was achieved despite the fact that heretofore there had been no Socialist vote among Negroes in New York State.

These movements have had their leaders. Who were they and what did they stand for?

TYPES OF NEGRO POLITICAL LEADERS EVOLVED.

During the Reconstruction period the Negro leaders were unschooled, credulous, gullible. They had been led by the Republican agents from the North, the carpet-baggers.

Ex-governor Pinchback, Lynch, Moses, etc., had been accomplices to most shameless raids upon the funds of the States, destructive legislation and the issuance of spurious, inflated paper.

In Congress, White and Bruce had done one thing, they had been loyal to the Republican party. During the long years from the passing of Negro representatives in Congress, no Negro of large vision and intelligent grasp of the forces in politics had arisen.

Booker T. Washington had become prominent in the industrial development of the Negro, but had counselled the "let alone policy."

Bishop Walters, W. E. B. Du Bois, James Monroe Trotter, and Rev. James Milton Waldron—Negroes of national standing and prominence—had turned Democratic. Their object was to make the Republican party repentant. These men had a vision of the rise of a radical Negro; they had recognized the failure of the Republican party; they had not caught the message of Socialism and they were still ruled by the belief that the test of the political progress of the Negroes was the number of jobs he held. They had not realized that out of 12,000,000 Negroes but a tiny fraction could become job-holders. The value of workmen's compensation legislation, widows' pensions, social insurance legislation, measures reducing the cost of living, shortening hours of toil and increasing the wages of the masses, had escaped them.

In the Republican party, Chas. W. Anderson, Ralph Tyler, W. T. Vernon and W. H. Lewis are figures of national proportions. These are men of the old school who make much over what they style as, "playing the game of politics," which in other words simply means getting next to "campaign slush funds" and landing a rubber-stamp job. Their positions rest upon their ability to echo the will of the masters through flamboyant oratory and their unquestioning obedience to the Republican machine.

Even the generous student of politics cannot accord to them any fundamental understanding of the

relation between politics and the business of getting a living, the social purpose and economic basis of modern legislation and the scientific methods of administrative government.

They with the ward-heeler-politician identify their personal prosperity with that of the race and insist that their holding of a government job is an unmistakable sign of the Negroes' political progress.

Negro leaders, generally, have been creatures of the Republican or Democratic parties, which hold them in leash and prevent them from initiating anything fundamental in the interest of the Negroes. This brings us to the consideration of the appointment policy.

INFLUENCE OF THE APPOINTMENT POLICY

Aptly and truly, too, has it been said that the "power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will" or expressed more popularly "he who pays the fiddler will call the tune."

Since Negro leaders have been the appointees of Republican and Democratic bosses it is but natural that they would obey the voice of their masters. And the Republican and Democratic bosses are servants of the employing or capitalist class which thrives upon low wages and high prices, the ignorance and degradation of the workers of which 12 per cent are Negroes.

This principle, however, of appointing members of the servant-class to positions in the government or to places of race leadership, has been uniformly adopted by the ruling class in all parts of the world. The social experience is that a member of an oppressed class, invested with power by the master-class becomes the brutal oppressor and exploiter of his class. Note the vicious character of foreman, head-waiters, who are recruited from the working class.

Great Britain employs 250,000 natives of India to hold in subjection 300,000,000. She has also applied this same rule in Ireland and successfully exploited these peoples for 800 years.

Hence, it is apparent that the Negro leaders, the hirelings of the Republican and Democratic bosses who are in turn the agents of anti-labor forces, are the worst enemies of the race.

THE GROWTH OF THE MOVEMENT FOR NEGRO ELECTIVE REPRESENTATION

The movement is conceived in the idea that those whom the people elect will represent them. But, in the light of the history of government, it cannot logically be maintained that all persons elected by the people will represent the people. For instance, during the Reconstruction period the Negro office-holders and legislators, represented the carpet-baggers and not the people. To day all legislators are elected by the people, but the people suffer most from poverty and ignorance, hence, it cannot be maintained that the present government represents the people, if by representation we mean the enactment of legislation for the relief of human suffering and the improvement of social conditions. The people elect but the capitalists select.

There are three main conditions to a representative's representing those by whom he is elected. First, his chief interests must be identical with those by whom he is elected; second, he must be the member of a party organization which is controlled by his constituents; and, third, he must be sufficiently intelligent to understand his class interests.

To illustrate: If a real estate owner is elected to the legislature from a district composed largely of working people, his tenants; his chief interests would lie with the members of his class—the real estate owners and in opposition to those who elected him—the tenant-class. If a measure was raised to abolish the "law of dispossession," who would wonder as to how the real estate owners would vote, despite the fact, the measure would be palpably in the interest of those whom he was presumed to represent.

Again, suppose the representative's chief interests are identical with those of his constituents, and is also the member of a political organization which is controlled by forces which are opposed to the chief interests of his district. Is it not plain as to how he would vote? The history of politics is clear on this point. The lack of regularity would result in his political death. Note the fate of Ex-governor Sulzer of New York who opposed the Tammany machine which created him. Note Roosevelt's plight who bolted the Republican machine in 1912.

Lastly, given that the two foregoing conditions are satisfied, if the representative was not sufficiently intelligent he might be used as the most effective opponent of his own and his constituents' interests.

Thus, it is apparent that the election of a Negro by Negroes, is not enough and does not guarantee Negroes, of whom 99 per cent are working people, that their chief interests as working people will be represented.

Just as the election of a woman, by women does not guarantee that their chief interests will be represented.

Witness Jeanette Rankin, woman representative from Montana, lining up with the Republican and Democratic parties in unquestioning support of the capitalists, despite the fact, women and their children are the chief sufferers from long hours of work and low wages in factories and mines.

Witness the election of the Negro assemblyman, E. A. Johnson, from the 21st Assembly district of New York City, introducing a bill to permit children of the tender age of 12 when they are out of school to be exploited at work. Note, too, that he cited as his main reason for this bill, the recent exodus of Negroes from the South and the likelihood of idle Negro children getting into mischief in the streets of New York. This bill was condemned by educators and union leaders, on the ground that children are in need of play and recreation as much as they are in need of book learning. Work stunts the bodies and arrests the mental growth of children.

Here, two facts are evident: first, that the Assemblyman was ignorant of the fundamental recreational and educational needs of children; second, that he is a part of the Republican machine, which represents the factory and canneries interests which make millions out of child labor. Here then is a clear case of a Negro being the father of a measure, from which Negro children will be the chief sufferers, being as they are in more need of education and wholesome recreation.

However, I might observe that I am simply predicating of the Negro representatives what is true of all white representatives of the capitalist parties, Republican and Democratic.

Will the entrance of Negro women into politics change the general tenor of things? My answer is no.

The history of women in public affairs, black and white, warrant me in taking this position. Their traditions, education and environment, are similar to those of the men and they may be expected to follow the same course of political thinking. They will also be influenced by their male companions.

However, I might observe here, that Negro women, especially, may profit from the political blunders of Negro men. It is admitted by both white and black that the Negro men have made a mess of politics. It is further admitted that, during his entire political career, he has been nothing else but a Republican, so that the logical deduction is that to follow in the course of the Negro men is to make a similar mess of politics.

THE RISE OF POLITICAL RADICALISM AMONG NEGROES

The political radicalism of the Negro has been marked by three definite movements: First, the entrance of the Negro into the Democratic party; second, the transition to the elective idea of representation; third, and the most fundamental and significant of all is, the change from the old parties to socialism.

The last of these changes has been the result of the rise of a new type of leaders. The old Negro leaders have had the intent to serve the interest of the Negroes, but they have lacked the knowledge as to how they could best serve them. And it is recognized to-day that the possession of an intent to do good without the knowledge is more fatal than the possession of knowledge without the intent. To illustrate: History attests that during the early Christian era, Marcus Aurelius was the most savage persecutor of the Christians, yet he was one of the most upright of men and it is maintained that he persecuted them on the ground that he was saving them from the consequences of their folly. His intent was to do good. Even Protestant historians accord to those who maintained the Spanish Inquisition, honest intentions, while they murdered, massacred and outraged the heretics of their day. The suppression of free speech, the freedom of the press and the lynching of Negroes and I. W. W., are based upon the intent to subserve the country's interests. The system which produces these

conditions, determines the social consequences of the policies, adopted by both good and bad men. Thus, it is apparent that an individual's power to do social and personal mischief is, in proportion to the intensity of his belief in the rightness of his act and the absence of knowledge as to its social consequences. An ignorant man may take bicloride of mercury for quinine; the result is death, though his intent and desire was to live.

THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

Thus it is obvious that the hope of the Negro lies, first, in the development of Negro leaders with a knowledge of the science of government and economics, scientific history and sociology; and second, in the relegation to the political scrap heap, those Negro leaders whose only qualifications are the desire to lead and the intent to do good.

The old Negro leaders have been factors in producing and perpetuating a patent contradiction in American politics: the alliance of a race of poverty, the Negro, with a party of wealth, the Republican party.

The Republican party has been an instrumentality in American politics of abolishing agricultural feudalism of the South for the establishment of industrial capitalism of the North. Industrial slavery has been substituted for human slavery.

But how is the Negro to know which party to support. Before answering this question, may I observe that a party is a body of individuals who agree upon a political programme and who strive to gain control of the government in order to secure its adoption. Its campaigns are made possible by a fund created by those persons who desire the adoption of its programme. It is natural and plain then that those who supply the funds will control and direct the party.

Now, it is a fact of common knowledge that the Republican and Democratic parties receive their campaign funds from Rockefeller, Morgan, Schwab, Shonts, Ryan, Armour and other capitalists. It is also, a fact of common knowledge, that the chief interests of these capitalists are: to make large profits by employing cheap labor and selling their goods at high prices to the public.

Thus, since the chief interests of the workers are more wages, less work, cheaper food, clothing and shelter; it is apparent that their chief interests are opposed to those of their employers—the capitalists which are represented by the Republican and Democratic parties.

Now, since almost all Negroes are workers, live on wages and suffer from the high cost of food, clothing and shelter; it is obvious that the Republican and Democratic parties are opposed to their interests.

But since neither the Republican nor Democratic parties represent the Negroes' interests, the question logically arises as to which party in American politics does?

I maintain that since the Socialist party is supported financially by working men and working women and since its platform is a demand for the abolition of this class struggle between the employer and the worker, by taking over and democratically managing the sources and machinery of wealth production and exchange, to be operated for social service and not for private profits; and, further, since the Socialist party has always, both in the United States and Europe, opposed all forms of race prejudice, that the Negro should no longer look upon voting the Republican ticket, as accepting the lesser of two evils; but that it is politically, economically, historically and socially logical and sound for him to reject both evils, the Republican and Democratic parties and select a positive good—Socialism.

The Negro like every other class should support that party which represents his chief interests. Who could imagine a brewer or saloon-keeper supporting the Prohibition party?

It's like an undertaker seeking the adoption of a law, if possible, to abolish death.

Such is not less ludicrous, however, than that of a Negro, living in virtual poverty, children without education, wife driven to the kitchen or the wash-tub; continually dispossessed on account of high rents; eating poor food on account of the high cost of food, working 10, 12 and 14 hours a day, and sometimes compelled to become sycophant and clownish for a favor, a "tip," supporting the party of Rockefeller, the party of his employer, whose chief interests are to overwork and underpay him. Let us abolish these contradictions and support our logical party—the Socialist party.

PSYCHOLOGY WILL WIN THIS WAR

BY CHANDLER OWEN

"Shoots, not shouts, will win this war," says Roosevelt. No doubt shoots will do their part, but every intelligent and far visioned statesman is recognizing that shouts are equally necessary.

Patriotism and morale are more the products of shouting than of shooting. And when the shouting is accompanied by sense and explanation, it is a weapon more feared than any shooting. The power of argument is great. La Follette scared all of our shooters with his sharpshooter shouting. Shouting about profiteers; shouting about taxation; shouting about free speech; free press and free assemblage! The Socialist party, to the best of our knowledge, has not shot anybody nor recommended that anybody be shot. No, not even a profiteer. But it shouted out so much logic, so much plain sense about the hog fat profits of the shouting patriots, so much explanation of the stay-at-home—"let George do it" variety of defenders of the flag, that Roosevelt and Root wanted them rooted out and shot. A. C. Townley and the Farmers' Non Partisan League have not organized with any ammunition that was shootable, but their shoutable explanations and principles seem to have shot every plutocrat, aristocrat and profiteer in the West and the Northwest. Scott Nearing, one of the leading Social economists of America, who places popular liberty above popular slavery, has never shot a soul that we know of. But they claim his shouting shot into Wall Street while the explosion of his logical bombs were felt in Downing Street also. Nearing told the American people that a profiteer is a profiteer; that one man's dollar is as good as another's; that the profiteers are using the American government as a dollar mark, selling the government the poorest goods at the highest prices. There was no answer to his argument so Roosevelt would have him shot.

When Kerensky came into power, he asked the Allies to restate

their war aims accepting the Russian formula of "No annexations, no punitive indemnities; free development of all nationalities." He urged this on account of the psychology of the Russian people. He wanted them to feel that their goal and the Allies' goal were the same. The Allies were late in seeing the point and the Russian mind grew suspicious, then neutral, and finally almost hostile. Psychology eventually lost them from the war. Today the American government is sending delegates and speakers abroad to explain the American position to Europe—to affect European psychology. The president of the United States delivers a fairly democratic message. Immediately it is printed in many languages—even in German—and aviators drop the message in German cities and among the German army to affect the German mind, the German opinion—the German psychology. It is the great blow toward revolution there. Bolo Pascha is tried for treason in France and condemned to be shot. For what? He attempted to affect the French psychology, to destroy the morale of France. Prince Leopold of Prussia is opposed to the Bolsheviki. Why? They are preaching a democratic doctrine which is affecting Germany's opinion. As Leopold says: "The contagion is spreading thru Europe." Trotsky and Lenine are attacking their policies and changing Germany's psychology. The Socialist and Labor people of the belligerents and the neutrals want to meet at Stockholm. They are refused. They have no guns; they carry no bombs; they propose to shoot nobody. But they may discuss causes, remedies and policies in such a way as to affect general opinion, general psychology. In America the People's Council plans a meeting in Minnesota—a peace and democracy meeting. That is what we are fighting for, by the way, peace and democracy! But we might get peace before the profiteers had sold their surplus goods, and we might get too much democracy. So they prevented reputable, honorable scholars, publicists, social workers and labor representatives from meeting. Why? They would affect American sentiment, American psychology. The British Labor Party has been hold-

ing meetings. It has so affected British psychology that we suspect the psychology of the British electorate will elect that party to power in the next election.

Each country to-day is becoming more and more disturbed about the psychology of its people. It knows what to do with munitions. It can control men if their minds "stay put." It can supply the soldier with food and fuel. But the use to which these things will be put depends upon the soldier's thinking. Each country is trying to introduce liberty and democracy into the other, according to its government. Each one is trying to produce a revolution in the other. Each one is shouting about international justice. But all of these are questions of psychology. Liberty, democracy, revolution, justice—each of these is a thing of the heart and head. Each of these depends upon the mental attitude.

The unrest which produces strikes in Austria and Germany; the Bolsheviki desire for internal reconstruction and general peace; the French and Italian suffering and longing for peace; the British "thought," according to the Archbishop of York, "of social reconstruction which is only less constantly in the minds of the people than the immediate progress of the war itself"; the growing popular discontent in America with the graft and profiteering which have permeated the entire fabric of our industrial and social life; the revolutionary trend everywhere—these indeed are the great uncertain factors which must be gravely weighed in determining the winning of this war.

When Von Ludendorf exclaims: "A great battle has been won, but we can not tell where it leads to," he is expressing his recognition of the growing psychological factors in this war. When Woodrow Wilson writes to the New Jersey Democratic love feast: "The old party slogans have lost their significance and will mean nothing to the voter of the future, for the war is certain to change the mind of Europe as well as the mind of America," he simply recognizes the new psychology which must be dealt with. Lloyd George sees the point too in asserting: "A revolutionary Russia can never be anything but a menace to Prussian autocracy." President Wilson goes further and hits the nail right on the head: "The men

in the trenches, who have been freed from the economic serfdom to which some of them had been accustomed, will, it is likely, return to their homes with a new view and a new impatience of all mere political phrases, and will demand real thinking and sincere action." Quite true, Mr. Wilson. It is likely—very likely. They will have a new view. Even Negroes will have it, if indeed they do not have it now. They will hear your protest against the three class Prussian electoral system and you will have to hear them protest against the bourgeois thirteen class electoral system of the South of these United States.

Rumblings of revolution are heard in India; China is in a state of seething unrest. Colonies and islands everywhere held under the brutal feet of economic greed and political tyranny are revolting. Even in darkest Japan Nemesis seems to be at hand. Those changes are even less rapid, however, than these changes right in the so-called civilized countries. And what, pray, is this change other than the change in the minds of men, the change of opinion, the change in psychology!

Roosevelt may talk about shouting and shooting. Vigilance committees of stalwarts may suppress free speech. Persecution may become more rife than it is at present. But these are mere social ripples on the wave of social evolution. Thinking has changed. There is dissatisfaction and unrest. There is wild-eyed discontent abroad in the land. Prices are too high. Wages are too low. The few receive too much, the many too little. Those who work most have least, while those who work least have most. Two per cent of the people own 60 per cent of the wealth. Liberty bonds are sold to be paid for by this and future generations, while a few plutocrats make three billion dollars profits in 1916 and four billion dollars profits in 1917. According to the federal income tax report seven thousand millionaires were produced in 1917. Think of it! Seven thousand millionaires while twenty million families were in poverty, receiving an income of less than \$500 per year. The people favor taxing this huge profit. They even favor taxing this accumulated wealth in addition to income. These swollen fortunes, better characterized as "stolen fortunes," should be made to pay for this war.

Again free speech, free press and

freedom of assemblage must be reclaimed. We either did not have them or we have lost them. Whatever the case, it suffices that we have not got them now. We must get them. There can be no reason for withholding them except that there are some whose deeds are so ghastly dank and cavernous and dark that they cannot stand the light of public discussion. The psychology of the people would be changed with great celerity. And their Waterloo would be quick, sure and awful. Jailing I. W. W.s, indicting and arresting socialists, vilifying those who demand that no one shall take toll from the public like a common highwayman, anathematizing those who demand that wealth shall pay for the war, lying and abusing real representatives of the people who oppose any profiting from the blood and suffering, the death and destruction of our young manhood—will only hasten the changes in public opinion, in world psychology.

You may shoot a shouter but others will rise in his place. The autocrats and tyrants have never been able to get all the thinkers in jail. This war's issue is hanging in the balance. The issue is more psychological than munitional. Over the precipice of this war's horror and cruelty rolls a mighty Niagara of blood. But the Niagara of revolution following fast upon these fatal footfalls is little short of a volcanic vortex. The new social order seems to be ushering in before the war is over. The revolutionary urge, the democratic impetus, are all keeping step to the slow, sad cadence in the march of cosmic progress which is ever warning the old order: "And thou too must pass away." Lester Ward has ably demonstrated that the economic and biological forces have steadily receded, giving greater and greater leeway to the psychological forces. The school, the church, the press and the stage are the great psychological weapons. But the changed economic conditions forced by this war have been wonderful teachers—powerful ministers to public thought.

When history is written—fifty years or more hence—calm, cool, dispassionate opinion will hold that while the economic resources were well nigh inexhaustible, a new psychology ushered in a new social order which enabled this party or that party to win the world war,

or, what is more likely, prevented either party from winning this war. And if poor Teddy is living, he too may be able to recognize that shouting did at least as much as shooting to determine the result, if not a little bit more.

LABOR LEADERS AND NEGRO LEADERS IN COUNCIL

BY OWEN CHANDLER

In the first part of this year certain Negro leaders had a conference in New York and later with Samuel Gompers in Washington. Among the Negroes present were Robert Russa Moton, Emmet J. Scott, Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League, Geo. E. Haynes, director of the Southern Bureau of the National Urban League at Nashville, Tenn., and a few other Negroes of a similar type.

What did they accomplish and what did they plan to accomplish? These are the questions which THE MESSENGER is obligated to explain to the public.

In the first place, let us examine the call for this conference. The dominating influences in it were the persons above named. Robert Russa Moton and Emmet Scott come from Tuskegee. On the trustee board of Tuskegee are Rosenwald, Rockefeller, Carnegie, and a long line of similarly wealthy persons. Eugene Kinckle Jones and George E. Haynes come from the Urban League. On its executive board are William G. Wilcox, E. R. A. Seligman, A. S. Frissell, Paul D. Cravath, with such honorary members as Wm. H. Taft, Chas D. Hillis, Robert Russa Moton, along with John D. Rockefeller as a heavy financial contributor.

Such financiers as these and their associates are largely the employers of labor. Their object is to get the greatest amount of work out of laborers—white and black—for the lowest possible wages. *They have made necessary* the formation of labor unions in this country in order that the laborer might get enough for his work to maintain some decent standard of living. Without such financiers as hire and direct Messrs. R. R. Moton, Emmet J. Scott, Eugene K. Jones and George E. Haynes—labor unions would be unnecessary.

So much for that. What is the point? Why the point is that

Rockefeller, Carnegie, Frissell and Seligman do not hire people to work against their interests. Nor have they made any mistake in employing the Negro leaders above named. The financial interests who gave us the Ludlow massacre, Bayonne, Bisbee deportations, and the like of white men because they had formed labor organizations for the purpose of raising their standard of living—need to be looked at with suspicion when they begin to accord a helping hand to do for Negro laborers what they import thugs and gunmen to prevent white laborers from doing.

What then were the real reasons, purposes and functions of this conference on Negro labor by Negro leaders? And did these leaders advocate or lay down a program which included any of the purposes of unionism? Let us see.

The objects of a union are: *to increase wages, to shorten hours, and to improve the conditions under which the laborers work.*

Did any of these Negro leaders urge an increase in wages? Not that anybody heard of! Did any of them urge shorter hours? Not hardly: that is another way of increasing wages. How about improving the conditions under which Negroes are working, such as have been revealed at Hog Island, Chicago, among the Negroes and whites in the packing industry and in the mines? Was anything said about that? No, Ogden Amour might cut off his appropriations from Tuskegee and Hampton. And their northern clearing house among Negroes—National Urban League—might be hit in the cut too, by Rockefeller, Frissell and Seligman.

It would seem that nothing was done or urged to be done by Moton, Scott, Jones or Haynes which a union is supposed to do. What are these Negro leaders doing in Council with Gompers then? The MESSENGER is going to "let the cat out of the bag." These Negroes in that labor conference are employed to organize scabs on a large scale, in order that Negro laborers might scab organizedly. Major Moton in his speech urged Negroes to work more and not to be dissatisfied with their conditions. This is a mild precaution against discontent and unrest which breed strikes—the union weapon.

Again, it is well-known to Mr. Eugene K. Jones that one of the active men in that conference is and

has been, the most energetic scab organizer in New York. This Negro scab organizer has made a great business of it.

A word too needs to be said about the ability of these Negro leaders to deal with the problem of labor—assuming that they were perfectly sincere. Moton and Scott know nothing about the labor problem. Dr. George E. Haynes should know something about it, but a careful reading of his book—"The Negro at Work in New York City"—reveals the book to breathe no understanding of labor, padded and poor statistics, with an unusually fallacious interpretation. Besides his speech on conciliation of labor and capital at the conference showed that he had little conception of either the psychology or the economics of the labor problem. Of Mr. Eugene Kinckle Jones it must be said that he understands the labor problem fairly well, but he is tied down under the fatal law expressed by Alexander Hamilton in these words: "The power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will." Mr. Jones is employed by a set of men who have a tradition for hatred of labor and all forms of unionism. He has a good mind, a principled intent, but his employers will not permit him to serve any true interests of labor, for his employers are either capitalists or capitalist tools. Amour, Rosenwald, Rockefeller, Carnegie, Taft, Hillis, Frissell, Seligman—since when did they subscribe sixty-one thousand dollars to the Urban League to promote labor unions? And these are the controllers of Tuskegee, Hampton and the Urban League, from which institutions come Moton, Scott, Jones and Haynes.

Someone no doubt will ask, if these men represent no fundamental unionism principles, what are they doing in conference with the President of the American Federation of Labor? The answer is not difficult. The President of the American Federation of Labor to-day represents no fundamental union principles. Even Mr. Paul U. Kellogg of the Survey recognizes that. And organized labor of Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium, is just now sending over a didactic commission especially to teach Samuel Gompers the meaning of labor unionism. Yes, Gompers is the saddest memory of organized labor to-day and no bill of information on labor problems can be awarded for

proof of association with Gompers. Seriously questioned by white labor—why should Negroes be so ready to follow his standard?

Lastly, I wish to reiterate that these Negro leaders who were in conference with Gompers had no intention or power to do anything in the interest of labor in their present capacities. When Moton, Scott, Haynes and Jones become real labor organizers—with purposes for which real unions organize—their resignations will have long since been accepted by Tuskegee, the War Department, Fisk University and the Urban League.

Be not deceived. These Negro leaders who, like Booker Washington, make their slogan to Negroes an advocacy of "More Work!" are not unionizing. Negroes already have too much work. What Negro laborers want is not more work, but less work and more wages. When leaders begin to try to increase the wages of Negro breadwinners, to shorten the inhuman and beastly long hours of their toil, and to throw around their employment decency, cleanliness, light, air and safety, then and not until then, will they be unionizing. But their present work to organize an army of black scabs is calculated to breed ill feeling between white and black labor, eventually and inevitably producing a repetition of the East St. Louis riots which are possible almost anywhere with the given conditions.

I should like very much to see some real labor organizing among Negro laborers. It has begun already in New York where the editors of THE MESSENGER have organized the United Brotherhood of Elevator and Switchboard Operators which has now grown very large. Of recent date it was addressed by a representative of the American Federation of Labor with which the Brotherhood has now been affiliated. But neither editor of THE MESSENGER would be employed by Frissell, Carnegie or Seligman one minute to unionize these men for more wages, shorter hours, etc. Yet they have given much money to the Urban League for three fruitless efforts to organize them—not for more wages, but a sort of registration, in order that when one smart Negro asked for more wages, the real estate interests could immediately call up the Urban League for the name and address of another operator to take his place.

In entire justice to the Negro leaders named in this article, let me say that there is no reflection upon them personally. It is a criticism upon a system which works unvaryingly. If the editors of THE MESSENGER were employed by Rockefeller to organize Negroes into unions, the kind of unionizing they could do would not be of any benefit to the workers organized. And unless we unionized more in interest of Rockefeller and less in the interest of the Negro laborers, we would not be of any benefit to Rockefeller. And a very sure thing happens to persons employed by Rockefeller and discovered to be of no use to Rockefeller. They are immediately discharged.

To those who have been jubilating over that conference between the Negro leaders and Gompers, "dry those ecstatic tears of joy." You Negro workers cannot depend upon your leaders for this work. Your leaders have already been employed by those more able to pay them than you are. Trust yourselves and strike every blow possible for more wages, shorter hours and better conditions under which to work. This only is unionism.

JAPAN AND THE FAR EAST

The whole world is much astir to-day about Japan's proposed plan to enter Siberia. Why does Japan want to enter Siberia and why do England, France and the Allies want Japan to enter Siberia? Why also is Germany not protesting? Whence this striking unanimity? And with the exception of William Randolph Hearst, whose only issue is the white races versus the colored races, and especially versus Japan, no person in "high circles" in the United States seems to be protesting. Why this exceeding anxiety and haste for Japan to enter Siberia to stop the advance of the Germans who are four thousand miles from Vladivostok? Is there anything of common interest which might create an international conspiracy to acquiesce or assent?

We believe the problem is possible of explanation—that it is not so difficult after all. And to the Negroes let us say there is absolutely no question of color involved. The issue is *politico-economic*.

Russia is a socialistic republic. Russia is democratic. Russia is in revolution. Russia's territory ad-

joins Japanese territory and the socialist propaganda is contagious. As Prince Leopold of Germany says: "The contagion is spreading thru Europe." Especially rapidly does the propaganda spread to contiguous territory.

Next, Japan is not socialistic. Japan is imperialistic. Japan is autocratic. Japan is reactionary. Japan is the Prussian state of the east—only it is more imperialistic than Prussia. Its autocracy can be maintained only by keeping the people in ignorance of democracy. There is no socialist or labor movement permitted in Japan. Even the Liberal and Constitutional—"bourgeoise"—forces in Japan are suppressed. If the Japanese people wake up, they are likely to begin to believe that just as the Russian people cast off their Czar, they, the Japanese people, can cast off their Mikado. In a word, Japanese autocracy is threatened by Russian socialism, Russian revolution and Russian democracy.

But why do England, France and Italy want Japan to enter Siberia? The reason is the same in principle, but a bit more circuitous. Revolution in any country in Europe has always affected almost every country in Europe. The French revolution seeped thru and radically affected Germany, Austria, Italy, Great Britain and the Balkans. The attempted revolution of 1905 in Russia so permeated Austria that manhood suffrage had to be granted in 1907 when 87 socialists were almost immediately elected to the Reichsrath. The Young Turk movement revealed the revolutionary effect upon Turkey where the young revolutionary Turks forced the Sultan to sign a constitution, to resign and to go to prison. Rumblings of revolution were also heard in Germany in 1906 when the German people made frightening demands for universal, secret and equal suffrage.

England, France and Italy have already been affected with the Russian revolutionary spirit. Their democratic forces have been heartened. They have become bolder, surer,—almost in sight of the promised land. And while England, France and Italy are not autocratic like Japan, neither are they nearly so democratic as Russia. Socialism is as much of a red flag to them as it is to Japan.

But Germany is not protesting either! Why should she? Germany

has much more to fear from revolutionary and democratic Russia than she has to fear from autocratic Japan. In very truth, Germany has nothing to fear from Japan. Germany has no investments in Manchuria or Russia. She is not an economic competitor of Japan. But the United States and England have big investments in oil, coal and iron mines there. Germany's merchant marine is off the sea. Not so with England and the United States. Both the United States and England are economic and commercial competitors of Japan on sea and in trade.

Still the United States is highly capitalistic and therefore it could not welcome the growth of socialism, which means death to capitalism. Its capitalists invest in Russia, but the socialists in control there have made impossible the capitalists' anticipated profits. Besides the socialist contagion has seeped thru the United States. And growth here of socialism strikes at the source.

There can be no doubt of it that just now there is bitter hatred of Germany by the governments of the United States, France and England. There is also no doubt that the governments of France, England, the United States, Germany and Japan hate with a hissing hate—socialism. Incidentally Russia happened to be the party in possession of it. But any other socialist country would be the object of the same international hate.

No one longer claims that the Bolsheviki are in league with Germany. Brest-Litovsk exploded that canard. No one claims that they are undemocratic. The interests and governments claim that they are trying to overthrow them and produce revolution.

The allies should not lend any assistance to attempts to break down the socialist government in Russia just now. A socialist Russia is a menace to autocratic Germany. Yet autocratic Japan, which has waxed rich off the blood and suffering of the people during this war, we hope will not be permitted to overthrow the Russian revolution. There is not a scintilla of excuse for such acquiescence. Alliance with Japan is a more embarrassing alliance than the allies' former alliance with Russia of the Czar. We trust that American public opinion, led by its radical and liberal forces, will not become a

party to, but a bitter opponent of any international conspiracy to destroy the first socialistic republic. We admonish the Negroes not to be appealed to on the ground of color. Japan has fifty million people of whom only one and a half millions vote. . . . Japan oppresses shamefully her own Japanese people and she would oppress you likewise. Let us get on the side of democracy and stand with those forces which stand for democracy and against all the undemocratic forces, whether they be white, or whether they be colored—whether in a foreign country or in our own country.

The Editors.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT AMONG NEGROES

BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

The co-operative movement is thriving in most of the European countries today. Banks, bakeries, manufactories, retail and grocery stores are run upon the co-operative plan.

The co-operative method of conducting businesses is designed to cut out the middleman whose interest is to raise prices as high as possible in order to make large profits.

The object is to make the consumer the owner of the goods he consumes and to share among the consumers the profits which the middle man receives.

Is this possible and how can it be done? It is both possible and it has already been accomplished.

The process is a simple one.

To illustrate: Let us suppose that all of the persons living in a given square agree to buy their groceries weekly, together. The amount would be large enough to buy from the wholesale dealer at wholesale prices, thereby saving the money which the retail dealer would receive for handling the goods. The retail dealer must raise the cost of the goods high enough over and above the wholesale price which he pays for the goods as to enable him to: (1) pay rent of store; (2) to pay gas or electric bill for light; (3) to pay his help; (4) to pay for license to the city for the privilege of carrying on the business; (5) to pay the interest on the capital which he uses to conduct the business, and (6) to make sufficiently large profits as to make it more advantageous to carry on the business

than to become an employee of some other business.

Thus the main desire of the retail merchant is to charge the consumer as high a price as he is able to pay for as small amount of goods as he is willing to accept. He also desires to deceive the consumer into accepting low-grade goods for high-grade goods. Hence there is a tendency to adulterate goods and to do false advertising.

But if the consumers conducted the business there would neither be the desire to adulterate the goods nor to deceive themselves by false advertising; because they would occupy two positions, viz.: owners and consumers. In other words a sane man is not going to adulterate the foods which he consumes himself; nor is it profitable to him to raise the price of goods he owns and consumes, to himself.

Now, in order to begin our co-operative store everybody who buys groceries in the said apartment house or square would simply agree to pay 25 or 50 cents a week for the rent of a room where the groceries would be received from the wholesale dealer or from the farmer, and from which the residents of the square or the tenants of the apartment house would get their daily or weekly share of the groceries. The consumers would also agree to employ a clerk to supervise the dispensing of the goods. The consumers would further agree to elect a board of supervisors (without pay) to insure the proper management of the enterprise. A price would be set for the goods which would be sufficiently above the wholesale price as to enable the co-operative store to defray expenses and whenever there is a surplus, such would be divided upon a pro rata basis among the members of the store. Every consumer may become a member of the store.

This is one of the modern, sound and effective methods of solving the high-cost-of-living problem

Now, since the Negro is affected by the high cost of living more than any other people on account of the low wages which he receives, it follows logically that he should be ready and willing to adopt this plan. The Negro buys poor food at good-food prices. He pays higher rents than other people on account of the segregation principle limiting the supply of houses which he may use.

The Rochedale stores of England are operated upon the co-operative

plan. It divided \$360,000,000 among its members in 1917. The movement is highly developed in the Scandinavian countries; also in Russia, France, Germany and Belgium. The grape-growers of California and the farmers of the West are promoting producers' co-operative societies for marketing their goods directly to the consumers, thereby eliminating the commission jobbers who rob both the producer and the consumer. Negro farmers and consumers can do the same thing.

UNIONISM AMONG NEGROES

The United Brotherhood of Elevator and Switchboard Operators becomes the Elevator Operators' and Starters' Union, Local 16030 of the A. F. of L.

Contrary to the statements of our Negro Solon-leaders that the American Federation of Labor would not accept Negroes as union members, the elevator men, who are mostly Negroes of New York, have received a charter from the A. F. of L.

The membership of the organization is increasing rapidly and a drive will soon begin whose objectives are: an 8-hour day, weekly pay and \$18 per week minimum wage.

In this drive the union will have the assistance, moral and financial, of the American Federation of Labor.

They have also had the unselfish, able, moral and financial support of the House-Janitors and Superintendents' Union.

The National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People, through its secretary, John R. Shillady, has willingly responded to the call of the union. Mr. Shillady has given of his wealth of experience and knowledge of union methods and principles for the benefit of the organization.

The union is planning to hold a monster mass meeting in June. The date and place will be announced later.

The union is now piloted by the following officers: J. Philip Morgan, President and Business Representative; David More, Financial Secretary; Edwin Williams, Corresponding Secretary; Thomas H. Richards, Treasurer; Miss Freda Jackson, Vice President; Vernie W. Trim, Second Vice President.

The Editors.

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE

ARMS AND THE MAN

BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

History is replete with the exploits of men of arms. Those who constituted the bulk of the army—those who fought and died, were usually either chattel slaves or industrial slaves, while those who supplied the direction—the officers, were intellectual slaves.

It is true that, in antiquity, men of ability, chiefly on account of the absence of a high development of the arts of peace, engaged in warfare. It must be remembered, however, that the prevailing social philosophy of the ancients, supported the system of human slavery, as socially necessary, and recognized the soldier as second only in importance to the State, to the philosopher, the statesman.

Arms during the Middle Ages had been borne by a rude and barbarous militia, always ready for battle, and always unwilling to engage in those peaceful pursuits which were then universally despised. The only avocations were war and theology; and if you re-

fused to enter the church, you were bound to serve in the army. As a natural consequence, everything of real importance was neglected. There were, indeed, many priests, and many warriors, many sermons and many battles. But on the other hand, there was neither trade, nor commerce, nor manufactures: there was no science, no literature; the useful arts were entirely unknown; and even the highest ranks of society were unacquainted with the nature, cause and effect of the simplest physical changes.

Upon the advent of the invention of gun powder in the thirteenth century, the standing armies arose and functioned as professional mercenaries.

Thus it was, during this period, that a division was first broadly established between the soldier and the civilian; and there arose a separately military profession, with its special uniforms and castes. The social mind received this military class with wonder, admiration and fear. The unsophisticated common people did not understand the purpose of its mission; but they admired the glitter and tinsel; and yet

they feared this engine of destruction.

Women who live to develop the "social me" were flattered, hypnotized and enchanted by this pageantry of regaled men and arms. Men of military rank found immediate favor in the eyes of the fair sex. And the army rank became a source of social distinction.

Our social code has not been different from the social code of the savage. The profession of human destruction has become the profession of social honor.

We have but to consult tribal history to confirm our position.

To cite a few special instances: "Among some Macedonian tribes, the man who had never slain an enemy was marked by a degrading badge," states Grote's History of Greece. Among the Dyaks of Borneo, "a man cannot marry until he has procured a human head; and he that has several may be distinguished by his proud and lofty bearing, for it constitutes his patent of nobility," Earl's Account of Borneo, in Journal of Asiatic Society.

Malcolm (History of Persia)

says of the Tartars, "There is only one path to eminence, that of military renown. Thus, too, in the Institutes of Timour, "He only is equal to stations of power and dignity, who is well acquainted with the military art, and with the various modes of breaking and defending armies."

The same turn of mind is shown in the frequency and evident delight with which Homer relates battles.

Moreover, to the prospect of personal distinction, there was formerly added that of wealth; and in Europe, during the Middle Ages, war was a very lucrative profession, owing to the practice of exacting heavy ransom for the liberty of prisoners. In the reign of Richard the Second a war with France was esteemed as almost the only method by which an English gentleman could become rich. In Europe, the custom of paying a ransom for prisoners-of-war survived the Middle Ages, and was only put an end to by the peace of Munster in 1648.

Distinction and wealth were no more products of the army and war, then than now.

Every giddy girl and frivolous woman is frantically using her lure of magic charm and wiles to enmesh some dull and unsuspecting man in uniform.

And as for wealth, Hog Island makes a most disgraceful chapter in American history where a clique of "willful" private patriots raided the government's treasury for \$25,000,000. In 1917 a harvest of \$4,000,000,000 was garnered from a war of death, blood and human suffering. Recent tax reports disclose that 7,995 millionaires have been made since this war began. Big financiers and capitalists find it profitable to abandon immediate supervision of their private business to assist the government to promote this war at the patriotic salary of \$1.00 a year. Our social sanity has gone.

Such is the story of arms and the man.

BEAUTY CULTURE AND COLORED PEOPLE

BY LOUIS W. GEORGE

Much has been said pro and con on the subject of beauty culture among colored people. Negro editors, lecturers and publicists have

engaged in heated debate over whether Negroes should straighten their hair, bleach their faces, or, as they cynically describe it—make themselves look like white people. The shaping of nails has not come in for such severe excoriation.

The motive of the opponents of beauty culture has generally been opposed to a colored person's making himself look white on the ground that white people say Negroes imitate them; that monkeys imitate, also, and that this imitative instinct stamps the Negro as the erroneously supposed descendant of Darwin's proverbial monkey, anthropoid ape, etc. The advocates of beauty culture among Negroes have labored between a definite economic benefit idea and a vague aesthetic idea that what makes one look better ought to be used.

Examination reveals that the practice of beauty culture is proper, scientific and highly useful. It has been a product of natural selection stimulated by what Lester F. Ward would term "the conscious improvement of society by society." In the earliest times of primitive society the women with the most beautiful hair, the fairest skin, or the skin with most delicate texture, were the objects of special selection by the men. And the same is true of the men. The tallest men, with the prettiest hair, and the best features were the choice of the women.

Even in the entire animal world we find the same thing. Biologists explain that the deer with long, branching antlers, the cock with the beautiful feathers and bold spurs, the birds with gay and beautiful colors together with sweet song—were the objects of choice among their own mates. Even among insentient life the winged insects were attracted only by the bright and showy colored flowers. The pollen of these flowers was carried and the spread of their production was increased. In short, beauty has been a very strong dynamic force in the biological and sociological world.

The tendency of those not beautiful is to become beautiful or as near so as possible. The tendency of the beautiful is to make themselves more so. This is very evident from the expenditures of white people on beauty culture, including hair, face and nail treatments.

Statistics show that 50,000 persons in Boston spend about \$25 a year on their finger nails, which

would mean \$1,250,000 annually. In New York it is said that 1,000,000 persons spend from 50 cents to 75 cents a week for the same purpose, which means from \$26,000,000 to \$39,000,000 annually; so general has become the care of the hands. From this statement it is not surprising that a large corps of competent operators is needed to accomplish this line of work.

Far more than the above amount is expended yearly for Hairdressing, Facial Massage, and the various other branches of Beauty Culture.

It costs the women of New York upward of \$5,000,000 a year to make them beautiful.

Articles	Pounds	Costs
Cold cream.	2,400,000	\$1,680,000
Face powder	2,400,000	600,000
Talc	4,000,000	1,200,000
Rouge	600,000	600,000
Lip rouge..	300,000	300,000
Eye black..	300,000	75,000
Nail polish.	200,000	600,000
Total . . .	10,200,000	\$5,055,000

Mrs. and Miss New York use about 12,000,000 pounds a year, or 1,000,000 pounds a month, of powder, rouge, cold cream, nail polish, and the like.

To one who understands the psychology of human nature this expenditure on the part of the whites is no surprise. Discontent increases with social improvement. The nearer we approach the goal the more intense is our desire to reach it. The more money one has the more he wants. The more beautiful one becomes, the greater the desire to improve that beauty. One must have looks to-day. His personality must be pleasing, his address must be attractive, his looks must be comely.

I have in mind a certain editor and lecturer who has given much valuable time opposing "Madam Walker's preparations," face bleaches and the like. His opposition is based upon the theory announced in the beginning of this article, that is, he considers one's efforts to make his hair more attractive an imitation of white people. That this opinion is erroneous and fallacious is obvious upon analysis.

Part of the objection to this beauty culture among Negroes is based upon another fallacious theory that people should be "natural." This despite the fact that nearly all

of the progress of civilization has been artificial. Houses are artificial. Clothes are artificial. Most foods are artificial. The one thing which has made science possible is artificial. I refer to education. Ignorance, on the contrary, is natural. Natural food, produced without the application of man's hand and brain, was so limited that Malthus well observed that population increased more rapidly than the food supply." Wool and cotton and silk materials are of little value in their natural state. They become useful only after artificial methods have raised them to greater utility. Natural houses were dugouts, trees and caves. Not so with the modern, artificially constructed dwellings.

The colored girl to-day would greatly limit her opportunities did she not make use of hair dressing, manicuring and facial massaging. Not only is there utility from esthetic improvement; there are also sound hygienic and sanitary advantages. To wash and clean one's scalp is healthful. The value of opening the pores of the skin and the cleaning with massages cannot be over-estimated. Manicuring removes germs from under the nails.

Colored men and women will do well to devote a reasonable expenditure to beautifying themselves. A comely, well dressed woman and a well groomed man are admired by everybody. The girl's hair attractively arranged, her skin manifesting a soft, velvet texture, her polished and clean nails, her white pearly teeth—are admired and appreciated by everybody. Even these extreme race loyalists artfully avoid the unkempt, unimproved hair and the poorly "attended-to" skin.

It is most fortunate that they have no power to stop this trend of evolution. At best the opponents of beauty culture hold only abstract theory. They are quite unwilling to apply their philosophy in actual life. To imitate and to be artificial are strictly in keeping with the trend of progress. If white women in New York spend over five million dollars (\$5,000,000) a year for beautifying themselves, there is no

reason why colored women should not use every effort to make themselves attractive and comely and consequently more desirable in every walk of life.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL ASSOCIATION

The widening opportunities and responsibilities of colored women as a consequence of their enfranchisement, impose upon them the necessity of informing themselves upon questions of public interest.

Colored women, especially, need to use this new power intelligently, in order to help liberate their people in the South, who are now in the bondage of political disfranchisement.

There is a crying need for young colored women of education and character to assume the reins of leadership in the political, economic and social life of their people.

Thus the primary, immediate and ultimate aim of the Women's Political Association is educational. It shall give serious study to such subjects as: Trade Unionism, Industrial Unionism, Party Government, The History and Meaning of the Republican, Democratic and Socialist Parties, The Meaning of Socialism, Pan-Americanism, The Initiative, Referendum and Recall, Materialistic Interpretation of History, The American Form of Government, Municipal, State and National, The Far East, The Monroe Doctrine, Financial Imperialism, Monopoly, Taxation, Government Ownership of Public Utilities, Scientific Causes of the High Cost of Living, The Industrial, Political and Social Progress of the Negro, Economic Causes of Prostitution, Birth Control, Dynamic, Pure and Applied Sociology, Psychic Factors of Civilization, Immigration, Problems of International Politics, Democratization of Education.

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THE MOB VICTIM

And it was in a Christian land,
 With freedom's towers on every hand,
 Where shafts to civic pride arise
 To lift America to the skies.
 And it was on a Sabbath day,
 While men and women went to pray.
 I passed the crowd in humble mode
 In going to my meek abode.
 From out the crowd arose a cry,
 And epithets began to fly;
 And thus like hounds they took my
 track—
 My only crime—my face was black.
 And so this Christian mob did turn
 From prayer to rob, to rack and
 burn.
 A victim helplessly I fell
 To tortures truly kin to hell;
 They bound me fast and strung me
 high,
 Then cut me down lest I should die
 Before their savage zeal was spent
 In torturing to their hearts' content.
 They tore my flesh and broke my
 bones,
 And laughed in triumph at my
 groans;

They chopped my fingers, clipped
 my ears
 And passed them round for souv-
 enirs.
 And then around my quivering
 frame
 They piled the wood, the oil and
 flame;
 And thus their Sabbath sacrifice
 Was wafted upward to the skies.
 A little boy stepped out the crowd,
 His face was pale, his voice was loud:
 "My ma could not get to the fun,
 And so I came, her youngest son,
 To get the news of what went on."
 He stirred the ashes, found a bone—
 (A bit of flesh was hanging on)
 He bore it off a cherished prize,
 A remnant of the sacrifice.
 Alas! no doubt, the heathen reads
 Of Christian lands of noble deeds
 By men with Christian hardihood
 To shield their race's womanhood;
 And yet around my burning frame,
 Quivering by the scorching flame,
 Their women danced around the
 scene,

And each was christened "heroine."
 They took my flesh as souvenirs,
 And showed their pride with yells
 and cheers.

And this where men are civilized,
 And idol worship is despised;
 Where nations boast that God hath
 sent

The angel of enlightenment.
 But while you sing America's pride,
 Where men for liberty have died,
 Compare the strain with double
 stress

To her reward for harmlessness,
 When burning flesh makes sporty
 time,

And innocence is greatest crime.

O heathen minds on heathen strand,
 What think you of a Christian land,
 Where men and boys and women
 turn

From prayer, to lynch, to rob and
 burn,

And oft their drowsy minds refresh
 Thru sport in burning human flesh?

Yet none dare tell who led the
 band;

And this was in a Christian land.

W. E. B. DU BOIS

W. E. B. Du Bois is probably the most distinguished Negro in the United States to-day. For the last twenty years he has been known as a radical among Negroes. He is also the leading literateur. It is as the editor of the Crisis and the Director of Publicity for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that he is best known just now. Courageous, fearless, cool and honest, we have admired him for many years. As college students we admired his writings, his rich alliterative effects, his beautiful style, his uncompromising opposition to proscription, caste and discrimination, his unswerving demand for more and better education for men and women of color.

Sometimes Dr. Du Bois has been termed a sociologist. The alleged Negro historian, Benjamin Brawley, makes this inexcusable error. There is nothing in Dr. Du Bois's works, however, which justifies this conclusion. Du Bois has often written upon sociological titles, but the sociology is not to be found as we understand it. His "Suppression of the African Slave Trade" is a purely descriptive quasi-historical work. His "Philadelphia Negro" is a heavily padded work, filled with superfluous matter, very much like a similar work by Dr. George E. Haynes, entitled "The Negro at Work in New York City." His "Souls of Black Folk" has more literature than information. The

WHO'S WHO

By "Who's Who," EDITOR

best chapter in the work is the sane and logical criticism of Booker Washington, Kelly Miller, Grimke, and others. But, on the whole, the book is a mass of labored alliterations with most of the information "within the veil" to which he not infrequently refers. His "The Negro" is little more than an attempt to pick out the better part of certain phases of African development and featuring those phases. His "Quest of the Silver Fleece" will probably never be considered as more than a third rate piece of fiction. The only fairly scientific production which we have ever seen from the pen of Dr. Du Bois was an article in the May issue of the Atlantic Monthly, 1916, entitled "African Roots of the War." This article is worth reading and we have not infrequently urged our readers and audiences to put it in their libraries.

It needs to be said in extenuation of his scientific shortcomings that Dr. Du Bois was educated at a time and place where political science was not in great favor and where political science was little taught. Greek, Latin and classicism were stressed at Harvard. None of the older Negro leaders

have had the modern education. An illustration of this may be seen in Dr. Du Bois's Crisis. The leading column of the "Horizon" is always "Music and Art. Then "Meetings," which signify the gathering of literateurs. Next "The War," which inspires pictures and scenes for literary description and word painting. "Industry" and "Politics" sections follow. This is no coincidence, but a logical product of Du Bois's celebration. THE MESSENGER carries as its first column, after editorials, "Economics and Politics." This is natural for us, because with us economics and politics take precedence to "Music and Art."

Du Bois's conception of politics is strictly opportunist. Within the last six years he has been Democratic, Socialist and Republican. His attitude toward the parties is the old, antiquated conception of swinging on to the one thought most likely to win. That accounted for his support of Woodrow Wilson in 1912, when the split in the Republican party presaged a Democratic victory. Propitiation - for - favors policy!

On the economic field he interprets movements from the personal and not the collective action point of view. Instead of opposing a prejudiced union in war, he opposes unionism, which is about as logical as opposition to writing on the ground that it may be used for forgery. But, as we said, political science is new to the old Negro lead-

ers, while the brand taught in the universities is largely mischievous and reactionary.

Dr. Du Bois, however, has been honest and, we believe, fearless. He has supplied a good transition from Booker Washington's compromise methods to the era of the new Negro. He has made the bridge. He will ere long now have to make way for the new radicalism of new Negroes. But Du Bois need not feel chagrined. Radicalism is a relative term and three decades hence may pronounce the radicals of to-day as the reactionaries of to-morrow.

ROBERT RUSSA MOTON

The leader of Tuskegee is set up and considered by the white ruling class as the leader of the Negro. This is, indeed, regrettable in view of the fact that this hand-picked Negro leader does not express or typify the needs and desires of the masses, nor is he allowed to do so. He must obey the orders of those who pay his salary—and those who pay his salary are opposed to the interests of those whom Moton is presumed to lead. The worst capitalist and labor haters and exploiters in the country control the board of directors of Tuskegee. Yet 99 per cent. of the Negroes live off their labor. Moton has neither the courage, education nor the opportunity to do anything fundamental in the interest of the Negro. He calls for more work, not more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. He counsels satisfaction, not intelligent discontent.

Tuskegee must be changed from a factory for producing scab labor into a bona fide educational institution. The new Negro has resolved to lead the leaders.

JOHN R. SHILLADY

It is sometimes maintained that only a Negro can understand the Negro problem and that only a

George D. Ligon

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WHO'S WHO

(Continued.)

Negro will adopt the proper methods for its solution. This, of course, the editors of THE MESSENGER know is not true. While the subject of this sketch is not specializing on solving the Negro problem, he is specializing on focusing pub-

John E. Nail Henry C. Parker

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lic opinion on lynching. Whatever other work may be assigned to his hand, John R. Shillady is displaying signal ability in carrying on a publicity campaign against lynching. He has put life into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and given it some reasons for keeping up the good work.

WOODROW WILSON

Woodrow Wilson has become one of the leaders of world opinion. The world awaits with much anticipation the pronouncements of the American President.

The American Negro is waiting also for some expression from our President upon his problem. Lynching, disfranchisement, jim-crowism—and economic exploitation—are his chief problems. One word from him will do much. Will he set his face against these evils?

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG

Some weeks ago we read a splendid article in the "Advance," the organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, entitled: wanted—A Real American Labor Movement." It expressed a long-felt want of the effective and thinking members of the American labor groups. A labor movement with a comprehensive plan and a definite policy is a vital need in America. Such a movement would be an effective and useful instrument in serving the interests of American workers, both on the industrial and the political fields.

What the American labor movement really needs is a scholarly and courageous leadership. It needs a man of ability like Joseph Schlossberg, who is not only dignified by the position, but who dignifies the position with his vision, his courage and his economic and political consistency. Future years are going to see the grotesqueness in a man's defeating on the political field what he gains on the industrial field. He cannot be a reactionary Democrat or Republican, putting in political power men who represent the very interests which make unions necessary. A labor leader has no more business in the Democratic or Republican parties than Cleveland Dodge or Morgan have in the Socialist party. The one is no more absurd than the other.

Men of the caliber of Joseph Schlossberg and James H. Maurer, ere long will be considered the only possible types of labor leaders. The sooner the better. On with the dance of industrial revolution!

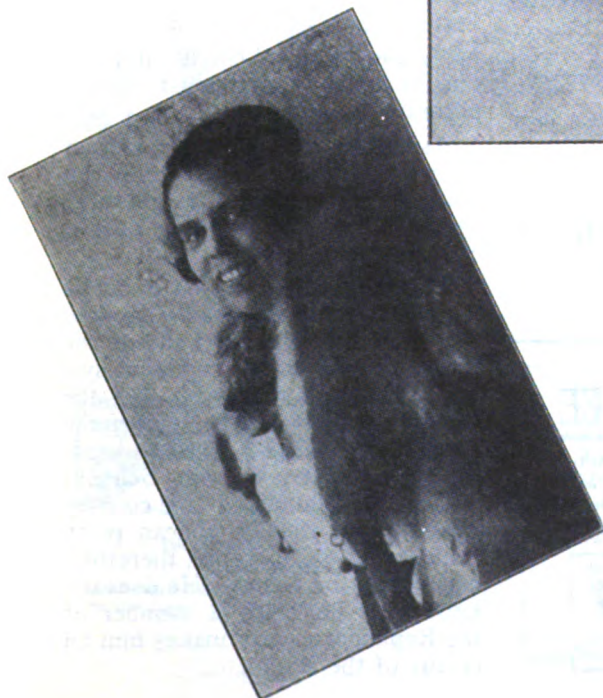
LENINE AND TROTZKY

Nicolai Lenine and Leon Trotzky are world-famous characters. They are directing the affairs of the troubled Russian Republic. Beset



NEGRO

LIFE



on all sides with opposition from without and dissention at home, they have accomplished a "herculean" task. Col. Thompson, a Wall Street broker, and John Reed, a radical American reporter, are agreed that the Soviet republic has a firm hold upon the Russian people. John Reed states that with coal mines 1,000 miles from Petrograd, with temperature twice as cold as we have in New York, with snow six feet deep and with railroads broken down, there was no shortage of coal in the city of Petrograd during the entire recent winter.

Under the able leadership of Lenine and Trotzky the Socialist republic of Russia has outstripped France and the United States. After the American revolution the United States was 14 years without a stable government. The French revolution produced anarchy in France for six years. In six turbulent, stormy months, despite German warfare, Japanese threat of intervention, allied indifference and neglect, Russia, led by Lenine and Trotzky, has shown how efficient a democracy can be when able and honest leadership is obtainable.

KATE RICHARDS O'HARE

Kate Richards O'Hare is one of the tireless and conscientious servants of the working people of this country. For telling the truth she has been convicted and sentenced to five years in prison. Her crime was showing the farmers how to stop the blood sucking speculators from robbing them of the fruits of their labor. Truth telling has been dangerous from the days of Socrates to Karl Liebnicht, and from Liebnicht to La Follette and Nearing. It is pleasant to feel certain, however, that Kate Richards O'Hare will never go to prison.

WHO'S WHO

(Continued.)

MME. C. J. WALKER

It is, indeed, unusual that a woman, and especially a colored woman, becomes sufficiently a factor in the economic, political or social life of a country to command and arrest the attention of the classes and the masses in a restless commercial age. Such, however, is the distinction of the subject of this sketch.

As James J. Hill is known as the empire builder; Charles Schwab a captain of industry. J. Pierpont Morgan a general of finance; so may Mme. C. J. Walker be justly known as the Joan d'Arc of Negro business.

She does not confine her mind, money and time, however, to achieving a business victory. She is tireless and indefatigable in her efforts, unsparing and lavish with her wealth, in effecting social betterment.

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ASSEMBLYMAN E. A. JOHNSON

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He has secured the enactment of an amendment to the Levy civil rights law which operates to cheapen the violation of that law. It has reduced the penalty for its violation from \$100 to \$50.

He remained silent in the assembly when a law was passed disfranchising all persons who did not own property in a village up state. By this same principle the Southern white man disfranchises Negroes in the South.

He has also introduced a bill lowering the age for children to leave school for work. This bill was so reactionary and pernicious that every labor leader and educator opposed it, until he had to call for its withdrawal. It must be remembered, however, that Johnson is a part of the Republican machine and the Republican thrives on child labor.

It receives campaign funds from the cannaries interests' which work women and children night and day when possible. Thus, Johnson has got to obey the Republican bosses or else they will put him out.

Now, the Negro children would suffer more from this bill of Johnson's than anyone else, because they need education most and can least afford to be driven from the schools. This proves that to represent the Negroes properly, the representative must have more than color. He must know what the people need, how to get it, and he must also be a member of a party controlled by a class of which his constituents are a part.

It is not enough to desire to improve the Negroes' conditions; you must know how and must also be permitted to do so.

Assemblyman Johnson neither knows how nor will the Republican machine allow him to do anything in the interest of working people, consumers or tenants.

The fault with Johnson is not in the heart, but in the head. He does not know that the chief ills of the Negro flow from the capitalist system. He does not know that the Republican party is the tool of the capitalist system. He does not know that Rockefeller, Morgan, Belmont and the big financiers in the country who support the Republican party are enemies of labor and, therefore, enemies of the Negro. He does not know that his being a member of the Republican party makes him an enemy of the Negro.

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(Continued.)

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He is blinded, duped, deluded and misled by the small bit of charity which Rockefeller gives to Negro institutions. He does not realize that the Negroes pay it back to Rockefeller tenfold in the increased price of oil or some other commodity which he controls.

Johnson thinks that Lincoln is running in every Republican campaign and he proceeds to sing his praises.

This, however, is due to a lack of information, not a lack of principle. But a sick patient will not long survive with a doctor who has good intentions, but no knowledge of the science of medicine.

A Socialist representative is the only one who has both the desire and the ability to represent the Negroes.

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Negro Books — FOR — Negro Soldiers Movement

The matter of books for soldiers appears to have in it more possibilities than was supposed. There has been a generous response to the appeal for books. The New York Public Library has collected nearly a half million volumes, and similar work has been going on throughout the country; which means that the soldiers, both here and abroad, will have practically the same reading facilities hitherto enjoyed by the men from large cities and better than those who have come from villages and farms. But a new angle has been discovered by those who are giving special attention to the Negro soldiers. Complaint is made that practically all the books contributed are written by white people, about white people, and do not for that reason make the greatest appeal to the colored men. Hence the Negro Books for Negro Soldiers movement, which is cooperating with the American Library Association Library War Service, and has the endorsement of Dr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, and Dr. James H. Dillard. Dr. Dillard, who as trustee of

the Slater and Jeanes Foundations has done so much for Negro education in the South, says the movement deserves support as an "efficient means of developing race pride and confidence." This appeal to the pride of race is most stimulating. It is the line pursued by Booker Washington, who continually expressed pride in the achievements of his race, which, in a century from savagery and a half century from slavery, and handicapped by race prejudice, had distinguished itself in all the walks of life. Few persons realize the amount of literary work that has been done by Negroes. Probably many of the colored people themselves do not appreciate it. The collection of Negro works, therefore, to be sent with books by white authors to Negro camps will have a quickening effect upon the men's natural pride, and stimulate their ambition to keep up abreast of the whites.

From ("The Public"),
May 25, 1918.

This movement carries its own commendation. The Negro Soldiers here and overseas are asking for reading matter about their own people and written by Negroes, and it is our duty, irrespective of race or creed, to respond to their appeal. This movement whose address is ROOM 61, BIBLE HOUSE, NEW YORK CITY, offers us the opportunity for doing "Our Bit" in this connection, and it behooves us to utilize it.

If you wish to purchase and send to Negro Soldiers the kind of books they want, send the price of one dollar (\$1.00) or more to the Movement, 61 Bible House, New York City.



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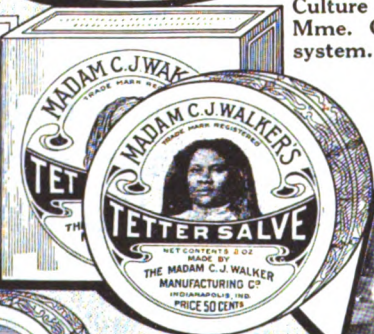
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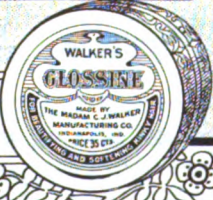


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