

1920

The New Yorker

A JOURNAL OF
SCIENTIFIC
RADICALISM

FEBRUARY, 1920

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EDITORIALS

DEFEATING THE TREATY

LODGE is smashing the Peace Treaty. The disrespect the Republicans have shown the document of Versailles, has broken the heart of Woodrow Wilson. In Europe he masqueraded as the master of the American government. European diplomats placed implicit faith in the power of this man, who was heralded as the spokesman of the plain people everywhere, to jam the Treaty and the League of Nations down the throats of the American people.

But the President has failed, and the European diplomats are disappointed. Of course, we have no faith either in Wilson's Treaty or in Lodge's amended Treaty. Neither will bring peace. Neither is intended to prevent war. Both are treaties of war, not of peace. Even the "Big Five" have no confidence in the Treaty to achieve peace. This is shown by the Triple Alliance secretly negotiated between France, England and America to go to the defense of France in the event she is attacked by Germany. This Treaty and League of Nations are the international political expression of world capitalism developed in its last stage. It is contrived and invoked in opposition to International Revolutionary Socialism, the political expression of international labor. Its chief aim is to destroy proletarian revolutions and to preserve the *status quo*. Upon this fundamental proposition Lodge and Wilson are in agreement. Their fight is like the fight of the directors of a corporation. All directors of the big corporations are in harmony with respect to the main object of skinning both labor and the public. They only differ as to methods and tactics. Besides, the Republican crowd will use anything to discredit the Democratic Administration. The "outs" want to get in to gain control of the power of patronage, the disposition of political spoils. But, so far as peace and the interests of the people are concerned, it is Tweedle deede and Tweedle dum dum.

LABOR AND LYNCHING

A NEGRO labor organizer in Bogalusa, Louisiana, was rescued from a mob of white hoodlums of a so-called "loyalty league" bent upon lynching him, by his white labor comrades. The Negro in question was active organizing Negro workers in the lumber industry, to enable them to get more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. The lumber operators branded him as an agitator stirring up race riots. Three white workers were killed fighting for the life of the Negro.

This is, indeed, a hopeful sign. White workers in the South are beginning to recognize that their interests are identical with the interests of the black workers. It is interesting to note, also, how Bolshevism in the North, East and West, and race riots in the South are employed by the Northern and Southern white capitalists as an excuse for opposing all forms of labor organizations by white and black workers. This, too, is an evidence of the power of labor to stop lynching. It is a splendid lesson for Negro organizations. They have circularized Southern governors to no avail. Why? The reason is plain. Southern governors are elected by a political machine which is dominated by the lumber, railroad and turpentine still operators, who profit from the division of the black and white workers. The Southern governor's political life depends upon the perpetuation of lynching, race riots, jim-crowism, disfranchisement, anything that will serve to keep the black and white workers fighting. While they fight, the Southern white capitalists can rob both. The Vardamans, Bleases, Byrnes, and John Sharp Williamses, the political parasites and henchmen of the Southern Bourbon capitalists, can hold their seats in Congress, based upon notorious, political corruption and a flagrant disregard of the Federal Constitution. They can promulgate their sinister doctrines in the interest of a government by mob-law and lynch-law. They know that if the white workers of the South, who are in poverty and ignorance, wake up and join hands with their black brothers, the Southern white capitalists and their political prostitutes will no longer be able to exploit labor, by the old game of playing up the race question.

All hail to the white workers of Bogalusa! You are learning! You are on the right road. Your enemy is the Southern white employing class, not the Negroes. Your only weapon is the solidarity of the working class, black and white. Only class-conscious, militant labor can change the South. And when it is sufficiently educated, labor will change the South from a place of autocracy and lynching to a place of democracy and freedom. So, let us educate labor. Circularize white labor unions, not Southern white capitalist, anti-Negro governors.

REPUBLICANS AND THE JIM-CROW CAR

TWELVE Republicans opposed the Jim-crow car. 225 stood by Vardaman and John Sharp Williams. Congressman Madden's resolution to abolish the Jim-crow car tabled. Despite the approach of the 1920 elections, the Republican party ignores the interest of the Negro. THE MESSENGER

is glad to see it. It will teach the gullible, credulous, ignorant Negroes a lesson. It demonstrates clearly, that there is no difference between the Republican and Democratic parties. The Negro is lynched, disfranchised and jimcrowed in both the Republican and Democratic administrations. This has gone on for over a half century. The Republicans have bribed a few sycophant, servile Negroes with some petty political patronage. They, (the Republicans) have recognized this as sufficient reward for the Negroes' loyalty. And why should they give them more? Negroes are known as sure things. You don't put bait on the line for fish which you have already caught. When Negroes turn to the Socialist party, they will get what they demand, and not before. For, then, the Republicans will grant them what they demand in order to get them back. Both Republicans and Democrats are opposed to the Socialists and they will do anything to prevent the Socialists from getting more power. Republicans and Democrats oppose the Socialists because the Socialists represent the working class, and they represent the employing class. The workers and the employers have opposite interests. So that to strengthen the Socialists is to strengthen the workers; on the other hand to strengthen the Democratic and Republican parties is to strengthen the employers. There can be no reconciliation between these two forces, labor and capital. They will remain at war. Hence, capital will adopt anything; it will make concession after concession in order to retain power. If it is necessary for capital to concede a Federal Law against lynching, the enforcement to the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, the abolition of the Jim-crow car in order to entrench its power, it will certainly do so. If this is true, then, in order for the Negro to get any consideration from the Democratic and Republican parties, the Negro must turn to the Socialist party. Political promises are valueless. Penalize your enemy.

JUSTICE

JUSTICE, a drama of love and law, now being played at the Bramhall Play House, New York, is the farthest step in justice yet presented upon the American stage. It presents black and white justice truly—just as it is—practised in the United States. The production is an excellent study in social institutions—the church, state, society, sex and race relations. Justice is at once a fine sociological study, as well as a unique, literary production, splendidly acted. It is pulsating and powerful in its appeal. We urge all of our readers—colored and white—to see it, for it is both instructive and entertaining. Its author is Butler Davenport.

LEGALIZED LYNCHING

IN Helena, Arkansas, a legalized lynching took place. Over a half hundred Negroes have been indicted and convicted, and twelve sentenced to be hanged, in from 4 to 7 minutes for their alleged participation in a Negro "uprising" against the

whites. What an infamous miscarriage of justice! The alleged "uprising" consisted in the Negro tenant farmers' demand for a fair share of what they produced. They employed a white lawyer legally to enforce their demands, for which the above mentioned legalized lynching was executed. And the government, which is hunting down Bolshevism, is silent. The government which is screaming hysterically about lawlessness and disorder in Mexico, is indifferent, while lawlessness runs riot in Arkansas.

Our current history continues to confirm THE MESSENGER's opinion: That the race question has an economic foundation. In order to settle it, the Negro must organize his economic and political power. Negroes in the North, East and West should vote for no one who is not committed to an anti-lynching, anti-jim-crow and anti-disfranchisement program. And an eleventh hour profession is not enough. Negroes should examine the records of the parties, and they should repudiate any party which has been silent on these abuses. Meanwhile, nationwide protest meetings should be held. Tens of thousands of dollars should be collected and publicity given for saving the lives of these men. Haste and speed are the immediate issues.

GENE DEBS AND THE NEGRO

THE brilliant luster of the life of Gene Debs will not be dimmed. His glory, his name, shall ever live, unmixed with baser matter, in the hearts of workingmen everywhere, of all lovers of humanity, of all races, of all creeds, of all nations. He is now languishing in prison because he dared to believe and to proclaim that the interest of human rights ought to be above the interests of property rights. Debs loves justice; he hates injustice. He champions freedom; he condemns slavery. He advocates enlightenment, he decries ignorance, superstition, bigotry. He has borne the heavy cross and drunk the bitter dregs of persecution in the interest of universal brotherhood. He has set his face sternly against race prejudice. He refused to speak at a meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, because, as he put it, "my black brother was not admitted." None of the so-called capitalist friends of the Negro have done as much. Not even the "mighty" Teddy Roosevelt.

We state this because of a malicious, despicable and shameless attempt of some capitalist hireling under the name of the "American Negro Labor Bureau" to prejudice Negroes against Debs. Of course, we don't believe that any such organization exists. Up to date, we have failed to locate it.

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The American Legion—Our National Ku Klux Klan

AFTER great wars, countries are in danger of having organizations which will continue to express the spirit of vandalism necessarily generated by the militarism in which they have just been schooled. After our Civil War we had the vicious Ku Klux Klan, which operated chiefly in the South, and in the states from which slavery had been swept by the Emancipation Proclamation and the war. The great war just ended has left us a more pernicious vestige in the blatant, patrioteering, American Legion, which is simply another Ku Klux Klan, but national in scope.

The activities of the Ku Klux Klan were largely confined to night riding and killing and beating of Negroes, as well as the white Union men, who had sympathized with or participated in the late war on the side of the Union. The activities of the present national Ku Klux Klan, doing business under the name of the American Legion, are the breaking up of radical labor meetings, stopping performances of German opera, condemning and opposing organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, dictating to mayors what course they shall pursue with respect to speakers who are scheduled to appear in cities, placing in box cars an ex-Congressman of the United States who is making a speech against the League of Nations, and a number of other things which might be enumerated which are as silly as they are vicious.

We are thoroughly aware of the fact that the American Legion is the physical arm of capital. It is organized to beat up and destroy the organized labor movement. The rapid organization of policemen into labor unions has made capital uneasy, lest it should find itself unable to rely upon its usual lackeys to do its bidding, so an emergency organization had to be formed. One of the most petty, and at the same time, pernicious acts of the American Legion was its prohibition of the German opera at the Lexington Opera House in New York City. This action had no justification either in morals or law. There was no popular opposition to it; it was perfectly lawful. People everywhere would have enjoyed hearing the music. But this Ku Klux Klan in New York wanted some notoriety and this was a very good method of securing it and getting away with it. Everyone knows that we have just closed the late war with Germany. Germany long ago ratified the Peace Treaty. Actually, if not technically, we are at peace with Germany. Now, unless we are hopeless asses, there is no more sense or reason in opposing German opera than there would be in opposing English opera on the ground that we once had war with England in 1776 and in 1812. In South Carolina and the Southern States, Negroes are denied entrance to the Legion's Ku Klux Klan on account of race. This patrioteering humbug is just a machine of race prejudice. It condemned the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, stating that there was no place in South Carolina for this organization or any organization that worked for the advancement of colored people. Now the N. A. A. C. P. is a reasonably conservative organization, which would meet opposition only of the most rabid, race

hating, race baiting group of the worst Americans, many of whom constitute the backbone of this National Ku Klux Klan. We wish to give a tip to Negroes. This American Legion is not any lawfully constituted body with any authority to determine what and where meetings are to be held, and in many sections of this country there are thousands of Negro soldiers who have the power, the courage and the intelligence to protect the lawful meetings of the N. A. A. C. P., their labor organizations, their church meetings and any meetings which Negroes desire to hold. Throughout the large Southern cities and Northern cities heavily populated with Negroes, the Negro soldiers should form what are known as Race Defense Legions, which should be at the service of all proper meetings of Negroes. These Race Defense Legions should be manned and led by cool, calm, deliberate, intelligent, sincere, courageous and honorable Negro soldiers. The objects should be (1) To be present at large Negro mass meetings and conventions, volunteering their services to help keep aisles clear, to prevent blocking the streets, to help maintain order, and generally to serve for the public accommodation of their race. (2) They should absolutely prohibit the American Legion obtruding itself into any Negro meeting uninvited, and if necessary should pitch them out. In doing this, the Race Defense Legions will be acting perfectly lawfully. Only the American Legion will be the unlawful intruder. (We shall have more to say about the details of this in a later issue.)

The Reading, Penn., Legion, Sunday, November 23d, prohibited James H. Maurer from speaking at an Amnesty Meeting. In other words, this American Ku Klux Klan, which claims to be the only true exponent of Americanism, is spending its time chiefly in preventing the Constitution of the United States from operating wherever that Constitution does not operate to its pleasure.

We have just seen in *The New York World* that the Congress of the United States passed a law that these legions should be provided with guns at their different posts. This is one of the most inexcusable laws which this reactionary Republican Congress has passed. The action is on all fours with Congress in 1865, providing the Ku Klux Klan with guns and ammunition. In any thoroughly civilized country, the American Legion would be regarded as a criminal organization, the dissolution of which would be ordered with celerity and expedition. The only reason that it can thrive in America is because we have so long winked at lawlessness, lynching and mob violence that we have forgotten what law and order are. This American Legion is our new National Ku Klux Klan. This American Legion is a Trojan horse.

THE IRISH AND THE SOUTH

TRUE to the history of the traditions of the South, it has opposed all struggles of all peoples for freedom. Being feudalistic, backward, reactionary and unprogressive, the South

hates with an hissing hate, all forms of social progress.

Hence, it is living up to its traditions when, through its mouthpiece, John Sharp Williams, it vents its venomous spleen of hatred and contempt upon the Irish, who are now making a legitimate appeal to the American conscience for a fair consideration of their cause of independence for Ireland. The South, with her bloody fingers clutching the throat of the Negro, would look benignantly upon Great Britain with her iron heel of imperialism upon the neck of Ireland and India.

Now, who has the greater right to be heard, the South or the Irish? American history will settle this question forthwith. The American republic is the consequence of the victory of the Union Army. In the Union Army, thousands of the Irish people fought to save the Union; but, on the other hand, steeped in the iniquity of two hundred and fifty years of human slavery, the South fought desperately to destroy the Union. Yet, today, blatant, arrogant and pretentious, it would re-enslave the Negro and condemn the Irish who have made a signal and praiseworthy contribution to the establishment of the American nation and the preservation of the Union. Let the Irish cause be heard. Let India's cause be heard. Let the Negro's cause be heard. Let the cause of all oppressed peoples be heard.

PROPAGANDA

PROPAGANDA is the organized use of the written and spoken word to affect public opinion. It is employed by all classes and races to mobilize and crystallize public opinion in the interest of their cause. All intelligent groups recognize the value and power of opinion. Every individual will act according to the way he thinks. If he thinks correctly, he will act correctly. If he thinks incorrectly, he will act incorrectly. And incorrect action results in injury both to the individual and to society. Hence, the necessity for correct opinion. Now, opinions are made up of certain facts. If the facts are unreal, fictitious, garbled or misrepresented, the opinions that are based upon said facts, will necessarily be unsound, fallacious, pernicious, socially harmful. The law that regulates the relation of mental and physical action is: That opinions beget desires and desires beget action. To illustrate: If a boy receives a telegram informing him of the death of his mother, it immediately awakens in him a feeling of filial devotion, which produces a desire to express the same through some form of action. Invariably he immediately takes a train for home. Again, if an individual who is about to purchase stock in a gold mine learns that the stock is fraudulent; upon this new evidence he will change his opinion of the stock, his desire for the stock, and consequently his act of purchasing the stock.

Now, the groups mind is similar to the individual's mind. It is subject to change, to education, to deception. It will receive falsehood or truth. It depends upon which is presented to it.

Thus, during the world war which has just ended, the American government spent for propaganda six

and a half millions of dollars. Doubtless the amount of money spent for propaganda by the Entente and Central Powers was over a billion dollars. Each group of diplomats wanted the working people to believe that its war aims were just. The Germans circulated lies about the Allies, and the Allies disseminated lies about Germany. And when the people of Russia took charge of their country, both sides joined in manufacturing lies about Russia. Germany only lost in the war because Great Britain beat her in propagandizing American public opinion. Great Britain thereby negotiated huge loans with the American capitalists. This caused the American capitalists to become interested in carrying on propaganda in the interest of France and Great Britain, because it amounted to propaganda to protect their loans. They finally succeeded in creating a pretext for America's entrance into the war, and, of course, on the side of Great Britain.

We cite this bit of recent history to show the value and power of propaganda. All oppressed peoples must employ it in order to counteract the influence of propaganda employed against them.

Today, there is a tiny group of capitalists who own oil lands in Mexico, who are spending millions for propaganda to force the American government to intervene in that unhappy country, for no other reason than to rob the Mexican people of their rich natural resources. The South has its infamous minions of propagandists in every Northern, Eastern and Western college and big city, disseminating propaganda against the Negro.

Who has not heard of the Southern clubs in Northern cities? You have not heard, however, of Northern clubs in Southern cities. Why? Because the South wants Northern public opinion to support it in its notorious, dastardly, undemocratic and indefensible policy of disfranchising, lynching and jim-crowing Negroes. The North is unconcerned, indifferent and apathetic with respect to conditions in the South. The South has organized its pulpit, press, schools and stage to defame the character of the Negro. Hence, the Negro must employ similar weapons of his own to combat and neutralize this baneful and vicious influence of the South. Negroes should compile and distribute tons of literature exposing the "bloody shirt" of the South before the high court of public opinion. Negroes ought to spend ten millions of dollars every year for propaganda, which is scientifically and cogently organized to enlighten American and world opinion on the Negro problem. They should direct their chief propaganda to labor unions, to the white working people. Only labor can stop lynching and enfranchise the Negro. But labor must be shown that it suffers from race prejudice and that it will benefit from the abolition of race prejudice, which keeps black and white workers divided. Even the Southern working man will change when he is educated, and shown that the Bourbon, master class of the South keeps him in ignorance and poverty by playing race against race. The Southern white working man thinks it is to his interest to oppose the black working man. But when he learns that the white employing class of the South is his worst enemy, he will naturally direct his opposition against that class. This can only result from education brought about through propaganda.

WILSON CONGRATULATES COOLIDGE

A GREAT deal of hypocrisy and misrepresentation has grown out of the recent re-election of Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts. His campaign was supposed to have been made on the issue of law and order. He won by a plurality of 125,000. This is reported as representing the reply of the people of Massachusetts to the police strike of Boston. Even Woodrow Wilson, trying to ward off the obvious defeat of his party, sends hypocritical congratulations to the Republican governor. Why was it that President Wilson did not send congratulations to the Democratic mayor of Omaha, Nebraska, for his undoubted efforts to maintain law and order during the race riot there? Was President Wilson afraid that this might serve as his endorsement of mayors actually maintaining law and order in the South?

The truth is that all this talk about law and order vote in Massachusetts is a sham, and a pretense. Law and order was not the issue in Massachusetts. There was and is far more law and order in Massachusetts than there is in President Wilson's own states of Virginia, Georgia and South Carolina. Besides, a governor was elected the same day in Mississippi. Would the President congratulate him on the grounds of law and order? It is ill becoming the Democratic Party anyhow to talk about law and order. It is a party of lawlessness and disorder. It is a party of anarchy. It is a party of disorganization. It is a party of lynch law and mob violence. It is a party which recognizes what has lately been termed "an orderly lynching." It is a party which has not raised its voice or lifted its hand to stop the ruthless lynching of seventy-four Negroes this year, eleven of whom were burned at stake in these United States. The Democratic Party is not interested in law and order any more than the Republican Party is. If Governor Coolidge had any interest in law and order, he would not have permitted the disgraceful, Czar-like raiding of the huns and vandals who have been going into Socialist Party branches and I. W. W. quarters within the last few weeks, breaking up the furniture, destroying their literature, and beating up men with most wanton cruelty.

Governor Coolidge says: "No one has any right anywhere at any time, to strike against the public interest." This principle is wrong in theory and practise. If put into operation, it would prevent labor ever using its weapon by which it improves its condition. The only power that labor has is the strike, actually in force, or the implied strike. Every strike may, in a certain sense be against the public interest. At least its temporary interest may be encroached upon. It is even desirable that the strike should be against the public interest while it ensues. The public is responsible for the condition of labor and it ought to be penalized for permitting injustices to be imposed upon labor. What really happens anyhow, is that one part of labor, sufficiently intelligent to organize, makes demands for certain advantages which all of the public, which is ninety per cent laborers, ought to be making itself. A policeman is nothing but a laborer. In addition to being a laborer, his work is especially hazardous. He has to maintain himself and family. In order to do this, he must have more wages.

When he asks for wages, however, his request will be denied unless he has the power to impose inconvenience upon his employer, the public, supposedly represented through its government. Unless the public will bring the pressure to bear upon the government, elected by its votes, the public is really the one which ought to suffer, and which will suffer, for after all, all power rests with the people. Now is there any more reason why policemen should not strike than miners, railroad men, longshoremen, printers, steel men, painters, clothing workers, etc.? The strike of any of the latter groups, whom men like Wilson and Coolidge concede have the right to strike, would occasion more inconvenience to the public than a strike of the policemen would in any city of the United States. The reason why this policemen's strike is such a red herring is because capital relies upon the police to beat up other strikers, and it knows that the police will not beat up other strikers when they recognize that they are all members of the same group—simply plain working men exploited, underpaid, overworked and overcharged when they have to buy any necessity for themselves or their families. In a word, the fear of the policemen's strike was that there might be no instrument of lawlessness and disorder to carry out the whims and wishes of capital. Both President Wilson and Governor Coolidge know that this shibboleth of law and order is a pious fraud, a huge fake, a wilful misrepresentation, a warped and distorted interpretation to save their respective political hides.

SOCIALISM EXCELSIOR!

STILL it continues. Coming events cast their shadows before. The new order of society is being ushered in with acceleration. The more intelligent the people are, the more rapidly they are grasping the red light of brotherhood. Within the last month, elections have been held in the United States, France, Great Britain, Italy and Belgium. In each case, there was practically a Socialist landslide. In Great Britain, the Labor and Socialist Parties practically swept every city except Liverpool and one other. In France, the Socialist vote increased from 1,100,000 in 1914 to 1,700,000 or 2,000,000, November 16th. Of 7,000,000 votes cast in France, 2,000,000 of them were Socialists. On a genuine basis of proportional representation, the Socialists have elected to the House of Deputies, 160 members. In Italy, the Socialist vote was overwhelming. They elected 155 members to the Italian House of Deputies. In Belgium, the Socialists polled over 650,000 votes, electing the largest number of any party in the country. It needs to be said in this connection that the Socialists polled the highest vote in every city of Italy. In America, only a few states held elections, but in all those the Socialists showed a huge gain. In New York City, for instance, the Socialist vote increased over forty per cent. A year ago they polled 86,000 votes for Governor and this year, 126,000 votes in New York City alone. In Ontario, Canada, the Labor and Farmers Party practically swept the elections, electing to office fully three-fourths of the members of Parliament.

At the present time six-sevenths of Europe is

Socialist, and Europe is the intellectual ganglion of the world. In other words, where there is intellect, unprostituted by the church, capitalist press, and school, Socialism thrives. It makes slow headway only where ignorance and error block the gangways of the mind. Socialism is prolific, where thought and information are free and well disseminated. Socialism is impotent where freedom of speech and information is limited and stagnant.

The old world is passing. The new world is being born. The transition is causing and will cause a certain amount of pain. It is a great social parturition. The new child—the new social order—with its justice and its joy, will amply repay for all the suffering, the anguish and pain, which its coming has entailed.

RADICAL ORGANIZATIONS ON THE NEGRO QUESTION

WE HAVE constantly maintained that the solution of the Negro Problem rests with the alliance of Negroes with radical organizations. Two recent instances in confirmation of our position, stand out in bold relief. The first is the position of the National Socialist Convention which met in Chicago, September 3d, 1919. The Socialist Convention there adopted the following resolutions unanimously:

"We recommend that proper steps be taken to engage two or more comrades who understand the race question to draft literature dealing on the subject, and that that literature be kept on hand in the National Office.

"We also recommend that the Executive Committee put a speaker or organizer in the field and keep him working in districts where there are large Negro populations. We further recommend that the Convention send greetings to the Messenger Publishing Company of New York, congratulating the editors on the work they are doing among Negroes.

"Periodical outbreaks of mob violence by members of one race against those of another flatly challenge all claim to human progress and civilization. It is particularly regrettable when workingmen of one race are the perpetrators of such outrages against their fellow workers of another; all are exploited alike by their capitalist masters, who are interested financially in keeping the workers divided.

"This has become clearly evident in the recent widespread rioting in Chicago, East St. Louis and other cities. The employers, searching for cheap and unorganized labor, enticed thousands of Negro workers from the homes in the south to the factories of the northland. Here they came into competition with the white workers in the struggle for bread, and unfortunately their very recent removal from a condition of enforced social inferiority made them slow to grasp the need of organized effort, in co-operation with their white brothers, to better their conditions. The antagonism of landowners whose property values were diminished also contributed to the race prejudice. Lying newspapers, motion pictures, corrupt politics, and many other agencies relied upon by the capitalists to keep the workers divided, soon fanned the smoldering flame into violent fire and the dead of both races add another indictment to the horrors of capitalist misrule. The economic basis of society, the profit system, under which we now live, will be found by all who investigate to be the basis of the racial antagonism which culminated in the recent race riots.

"The only final solution of the race problem is the abolition of Capitalism. When every worker is assured of the

full product of his labor and the ownership of his job there will be no room on earth for race prejudice. We call upon all workers, regardless of color or creed, to organize politically and industrially, to win our emancipation from the chains of economic slavery that now bind us down and apart from one another."

The Labor Party, at the National Labor Party Convention held in Chicago, November 25th, adopted "a demand that Negroes be given political, industrial and economic equality, and condemnation of mob violence even when participated in by organizations and individuals professing to be inspired by motives of patriotism."

Here are two organizations largely composed of white peoples, who have adopted fundamental methods for the solution of the problems affecting the white and Negro race in the United States. This is not because there is any special love for the Negro on the part of the groups which compose these conventions, but because it is impossible for them to attain the ends and objects at which they are aiming unless these fundamental rights of the Negro are granted to him. Of course, we don't mean to ignore the fact that the common interests of the white and black workers tend to make each group more kindly and friendly and fraternal in their relations, when each group has sufficient intelligence to recognize their common interests.

These two illustrations are interesting side lights, however, on the relation which the radical movement bids fair to hold in the solution of the Negro Problem.

THE MINERS' STRIKE AND THE NEGRO

AT this writing, the miner's strike has been proceeding for well nigh a month. The miners have demanded a six-hour day, a five-day week and a 60 per cent wage increase. Their demands were ruthlessly refused by the coal operators, while the government stepped in on the side of the coal operators and secured an injunction against the miners' strike from an extremely conservative judge. This injunction, however, did not drive the miners back to work, nor is it digging coal. We, ourselves, are very glad that the injunction was issued. It taught the conservative labor leaders a lesson. It also taught capital a lesson. It showed that the miners themselves have the power. The leaders do not dig coal. Neither does the injunction. All rests upon the shoulders of labor, and when labor stops, all stops.

The question has been raised as to who should pay for such increased wages to the miners as will be granted. The coal operators would have the public pay it all. Dr. Garfield, the Fuel Director, says that the increased wages should be distributed and be paid by the three factors—the miners, the operators, and the public. On its face, this seems logical and fair, but an examination reveals that the increased wages for the miners should come from the profits of the coal operators alone. Under any circumstances the public will pay it all. To speak of having the miners and the public pay a part of the increased wages is sheer nonsense. The fallacy lies in the assumption that the miners are not a part of the public. The fact is, that the miners

are compelled to purchase coal for heating, lighting and cooking purposes in their homes, and their purchase will pay whatever profits are made by the coal operators. In other words, the miners are simply part of the public.

There has been much contention about whether the coal operators could pay the increase out of their present profits. The operators and the government claim that the employers cannot pay the wage demands of the miners. The miners maintain that the profits of the operators are extortionate. What is the evidence on this point? Let the *New York World* answer. In its issue of Nov. 25th it says: "At this point former Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo appears as a voluntary and extremely helpful witness. In a telegram to Fuel Administrator Garfield, Mr. McAdoo says that income tax returns for 1917 showed that many mine owners made shocking and indefensible profits on bituminous coal; that before deduction of excess profit taxes these returns showed earnings on capital stock ranging from 15 to 2,000 per cent, and that earnings of 100 to 300 per cent on capital stock were not uncommon." Urging a close examination of these returns for last year he believes "they will prove that the operators can and should pay living wages without change in the fixed price of their product."

We submit that this testimony comes from an extremely conservative man, all of whose sympathies are naturally on the side of the coal operators. The only reason that he gives this testimony is because the profits of the mine owners are so enormous and extortionate that he is unable to keep silent. This is further evidence in refutation of a common fallacy: **The public must pay whatever increase is granted to labor.** While this is true as society is presently organized, it need not be true. To illustrate: when the coal operators are making 500 million dollars a year profits, and the miners ask for 100 million dollars increase in wages, it is perfectly obvious that 100 million dollars can be paid out of 500 million without increasing the price of coal to the public. Even the most conservative individual, who stands strong for a "fair profit," will recognize that his theory may be put into practice without increasing the price. The more accurate statement of fact is, **that whenever an increase in wages takes place the employers and capitalists will impose an increase upon the public unless the public has sufficient intelligence and organized power to combat its exploitation.**

On the question of the miners' strike, most of the Negro editors have been opposed to the miners. This is perfectly natural since they take their cue from the mine owners, who are usually the Republican bosses. They have not thought of the fact that as far back as the census of 1910 there were 49,000 Negro miners. A conservative estimate would certainly not place them at less than 50,000 now. (There are a great deal more.) The average wage of the miners at present is nine hundred dollars. They are asking for a 60 per cent wage increase. That amounts to \$540. An increase of \$540 per year to fifty thousand Negro miners means an income to Negro homes of twenty-seven million dollars (\$27,000,000). Now, if two Negroes had been appointed by any party or any governor, in any part of the United States, to some position which paid

five thousand dollars per year each, there is not a Negro paper in the United States which would not have carried this as a headline. There would have been a plethora of jargon about how the Negroes had been recognized because two Negroes had been given places which would bring ten thousand dollars a year to the race. No cognizance would have been taken of the fact that these Negroes were being groomed to act against the interests of all the other Negroes, which has always happened with such Negro appointees, because the power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will. But here is the demand of over fifty thousand Negroes which affects approximately fifty thousand families, or two hundred and fifty thousand Negroes, which is not only ignored by the Negro press, but which is opposed by the Negro press. It would be hard to find a more signal instance of the ignorance of Negro journalism than its attitude toward this demand of the miners. Not even the race issue can be raised against the union. Mr. William Green, the Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, writes us in response to our query, that Negroes are in the mine unions in every state of the union. They enjoy the same privileges, receive the same wages, work the same hours, meet together, discuss together, and send several delegates to all of their national conventions. The trouble with Negro editors is that they are ignorant on the one hand, and controlled by Republican campaign funds on the other. There are a few papers, however, which should have assumed a higher point of view. *The Negro World*, *The Boston Chronicle*, *The Boston Guardian*, *The Indianapolis Ledger*, *The Baltimore Afro-American* ought not to be entirely dominated by that ignorance and control which dominate the other Negro papers.

A more just, proper, and legitimate strike has never been called in this country than that of the miners. The position of President Wilson and Judge Anderson was indefensible. One thing is certain, nevertheless: the strike continued; both white and black miners stayed out, and the injunction did not dig coal!

An Announcement

The disorganization of the printing trades, due to the recent printers' strike in New York, and the nation-wide shortage of newsprint paper, have forced the delay of all national periodicals. "The Messenger" is no exception. Our January number, together with the promised calendars, will be mailed to subscribers within a few weeks. Others may secure them only upon special order, accompanied by fifteen cents in postage.

Economics and Politics

Confederate-Americanism

William N. Colson

"How in one house,
Should many people, under two commands
Hold amity? 'Tis hard; almost impossible."
King Lear, Act 11. Sc. 4. 1 243.

THE collective American mind abounds in error. Goaded on by the spur of war, it sought foolishly to decry the hyphen in order to emphasize Americanism. The hyphen meant disloyalty; no hyphen, loyalty. The Americanism of today is not the Americanism of mental and physical liberty. Americanism today amounts to sedition hunting, or the more flagrant demonstrations of the mobbish American Legion. Preoccupied in reviling the German-American and the Irish-American,—those zealous defenders of America for Americans failed to search out the wolves in their own midst. Among the most hyphenated, the most disloyal, and the most treasonable citizens of the United States today are a class of native-born, old-stock Americans, who continually flaunt in the faces of all real Americans their rebellious ideas and treasonable deeds. That powerful class, which the United States government and the Department of Justice so gracefully ignore in their bigoted fight against radicalism, aliens, and political prisoners, is the backbone of the solid South, the Confederate-Americans.

Confederate-Americanism stands for precisely what the Confederate Rebellion of 1861 stood for. Adopting the right of secession, that movement arrayed itself clearly in favor of five great issues: slavery, sectionalism, racial superiority, States' Rights, and the economic solidarity of the South. Cotton was king under the Southern Cross, and as long as cotton grew, and there were slaves to work it, the South felt that its empire was secure. In this economic setting, slavery was believed to be a divine institution. Church and State treated the Negro as a beast. Anglo-Saxon superiority, biological, social, economic, political—was a foregone conclusion. Conflicting loyalties sprang up among the Southern folk long before 1800. It was first of all a loyalty for the South, and secondly, for the Union. As the economic revolution, due to modern invention, swept on, the South lodged all its fell motives behind the extenuating doctrine of States' Rights. Here was a negative, reactionary movement to conserve the *status quo*. The *status quo* meant slavery, moral and mental stagnation, and social decadence. Though Washington, Jefferson and Madison all believed in the "social contract" theory of Rousseau, it was not until the protest of Virginia and Kentucky against the Alien and Sedition Laws that Southern states became pronounced in their views

that "the authorities, rights, and liberties reserved to the states respectively or to the people" had become impaired. The view of the South was that the several states had contracted each with the others and had delegated to an agent powers, the violation of which they themselves reserved the right to judge. The North, on the other hand, believed with Locke that sovereign individuals formed a compact with the general government and transferred to it power over life and property. When the great test came at Lincoln's election, the Southerners, under the guise of States' Rights, placed themselves, their sectionalism and institutions, over and above the Union and the Constitution. With Davis, Toombs, Yancey, Rhett, and Benjamin at the helm, and Lee, Jackson, Stuart, Gordon, and Forrest on the field—they sought to uphold their traitorous and disloyal actions until the final surrender at Appomatox.

The reconstruction government following the Civil War was a failure. Emancipation was a law, but not a fact. The case of Texas vs. White, decided by the Supreme Court in 1868, held that the South had no right to secede. But the folk-ways were strong, and amid the chaos and confusion of the new order—the ex-Confederates saw their golden opportunity and they used it. It was but the awful reflection of what the Southern Confederacy had always stood for—the old order.

The rebels began to organize. Out of the Confederate Survivors' Associations grew the United Confederate Veterans, which was formed in 1889. Its membership is 50,000. The number of Confederate American Organizations is now legion. The principal groups are the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the United Sons of Confederate Veterans, the Confederate Committee of National Preparation, the Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States, the Cavalry Association of the Army of Northern Virginia, the Jefferson Davis Monument Association, and the Confederated Southern Memorial Associations. From these nuclei have sprung the most insidious and seditious propaganda ever known to the United States. Through the medium of such papers as the *Confederate War Journal*, the *Confederate Veteran*, *The Lost Cause* and the "Confederate columns" of daily newspapers—everywhere, throughout the South the sentiment of loyalty to and reverence for the Confederacy and its treasonableness is preserved and instilled in the rising generation. Historical associations grew out of the urge of these media until today Southern children, both white and black, are taught history from the seditious view of Confed-

erate-Americanism. The Confederate Gray Book, a post-war production, was designed to vindicate the South in the eyes of the world. The effect of this violent propaganda, unhindered and unhampered by the Federal Government and the Department of Justice, may be seen in the following facts. All the Southern states make the birthdays of Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis legal holidays. Eight Southern states celebrate Confederate memorial days. Most of the Southern cities have erected costly monuments to the memory of Davis, Lee, Gordon, Jackson, Stuart, and others. The Robert E. Lee Camp of Confederate Veterans, whose membership includes General K. M. Vanzandt, Commander-in-Chief of the United Confederate Veterans, has started recently a movement in Austin, Texas, to erect a monument to the Ku Klux Klan. A visit to any state capital building south of the Mason and Dixon line will reveal a museum, given almost wholly to the memory and glorification of the Confederacy. Confederate flags gaily bedeck Confederate cannon, and it is often difficult to discern the Stars and Stripes behind the Stars and Bars. Southern states and cities, since the Civil War, have appropriated large sums of money for the purposes of Confederate-Americanism.

The very essence of Confederate-Americanism, however, may be observed at a Confederate Re-union. One of these was recently held at the National Capital! Anyone who was at Richmond in 1907 or 1915, in Dallas in 1902, or in Nashville in 1904, may vividly recall the 75,000 or 80,000 persons present at each re-union; how the Confederacy and not Americanism was at a premium; how the orators lauded slavery and the fallen empire; how sectionalism ran mad; how the glories of the past were the topics of the hour; how the Negro was considered to be better off a slave and a beast than a man; how full the cities were of Confederate flags and rebel yells; how Thomas Nelson Page and Thomas Dixon were praised for their splendid historical services; how enthusiastic the parades were; how the Queen of the Re-union was crowned; how sham battles were fought at Petersburg and Chattanooga; how memorials were sent to the United States Congress asking pay for freed slaves and lost cotton; and how live and vital a spirit and reality Confederate-Americanism was! Watch the crowd when the Star Spangled Banner is played. Now watch the so-called Americans when the band strikes up Dixie! When the Jefferson Davis monument was unveiled in Richmond on June 3d, 1907, business was suspended for five minutes throughout the entire South. Who has not seen the slave body guards at these re-unions—old Negro cooks and teamsters, slave comedians and entertainers,—poor fools, following their former masters? Yet, this regime—the very recrudescence of the Rebellion of 1861, flourishes not only with the acquiescence but with the approval of the Federal Government and many leading public men of the nation.

Confederate-Americanism has gained such headway that it now threatens to become the dominant Americanism. **It dominates the present Federal Administration.** It dominated the American Expeditionary Forces, with the majority of generals and a preponderance of sentiment. The President of the United States and his Cabinet are largely Confederate-Americans. When Wilson returned from

France, the Confederate-Americans gave him a rebel yell at Carnegie Hall, New York City. They located most of the National Army Camps in the South. United States Army Camps were even named after rebels! **Confederate-Americanism dominates Congress.** Congressman Caraway of Arkansas, lauded the secession of the Confederacy on the floor of Congress on November 19th, 1919. On October 16th, 1919, Senator John Sharp Williams, on the Senate floor, commended the Confederacy after reading resolutions from the United Confederate Veterans, and in a later speech, directed against the Irish, exhibited his own basic loyalty. On November 15th, 1919, while discussing the Railroad Bill, Congressman Summers of Texas said in the House of Representatives: "My father was a Confederate soldier, and I used to hear him and his old comrades talk about the days of long ago, and when I was a little boy I made up my mind that if I ever grew up, I would get me at least one Yank, if I had to pot shot him." These Confederate-American Congressmen are those who owe their offices to votes stolen and plundered from the Negro. But let anyone scrutinize the Congressional Record or the Northern press for the past thirty years, and he will be amazed at the apathy and acquiescence of men and movements supposed to reflect the most American ideals. Even Theodore Roosevelt admitted his own acquiescence to the spirit of Confederate-Americanism in one of his letters to the noted historian, Sir George Otto Trevelyan. Even Congress has made positive concessions to Confederate veterans.

Wherever Confederate-Americanism reigns, we may expect therefore peonage, wage slavery, illiteracy, loyalties in favor of state and section, opposition to woman suffrage, a lack of social legislation, segregation, the Ku Klux Klan, discrimination, "keeping the Negro in his place," sectionalism, disloyalty, treason, the doctrine of States' Rights and secession. According to the plan of Confederate-Americanism, no person or child in the South is left out of its program of propagandism. Confederate-Americanism is a menace to American ideals. It is treason and disloyalty. It means slavery and death to the Negro. It retards the progress of the South and of the nation. If the Department of Justice desires a task of merit, let it root out the scourge of Confederate-Americanism.

Owing to the present excessive price of newsprint paper, "The Messenger" regrets to announce the temporary reduction of a few pages pending the return of the paper market to normal.

Education and Literature

Prohibition—Promise or Menace

TWO groups in society are now constantly asking this question—Is Prohibition a Promise or a Menace? In as much, however, as the terms promise or menace are relative, it is not possible to answer categorically until we ascertain who the groups are who are asking the question and how prohibition will effect those groups. Assuredly a thing may be a promise to one group and a menace to another. Let us then examine who the groups are and the effect of prohibition upon them.

The two chief groups who are addressing this question to themselves are Capital and Labor. Capital is chiefly interested in increasing its profits. The issue with Capital is—Will prohibition increase profits? Capital readily recognizes that sober men have the power to produce more wealth than drunken men. Insurance capitalists who represent large finance today appreciate that men who do not drink live an average of fourteen years longer than the indulgers, and it takes only a cursory glance at the problem to understand what fourteen years of premium will mean to an insurance company. Again sober workers cause less accidents which means less destruction in machinery and goods. **THEY** are also more reliable and efficient.

Increased production then, extension of life with increased premiums to insurance syndicates, lessened destruction of machinery and goods, together with increased efficiency and responsibility—these are the promising phases of prohibition in so far as capital is concerned.

It is not possible, however, to understand fully the effect of prohibition upon capital without considering its effect upon labor. While sober labor produces more, it imbibes the fortunate faculty of demanding more. It combines with capital in the production process, but divides with capital when it reaches the dividing process. In other words, under prohibition labor has the power to produce more (it may or may not produce more) but it does not follow that out of the increased production capital will get a larger share, in as much as the profit realized by capital depends upon how much labor exacts in wages. Samuel Gompers, the reactionary president of the American Federation of Labor, is a bitter opponent of prohibition on the grounds that it produces Bolshevism among the workers. He maintains that without the abolition of vodka, Bolshevism would not have risen in Russia. Mr. Gompers is entirely correct in his prediction of the effect of prohibition upon labor, and his interpretation of vodka's effect upon Russia is sound. The only thing which surprises us is why a labor leader should be complaining about something giving the workers clear heads with which to fight capital, and the while, become more revolutionary. When labor be-

gins to think, it will demand more wages, the shortest hours, and the best working conditions along with control of the industry as a means of insuring the former demands. The extension of the life period will also benefit labor, not, of course, because it can pay larger premiums to insurance companies, but because it enables labor to lay plans for larger and more comprehensive activities when it can look forward to a longer life. Moreover, to lessen the destruction of property will also benefit labor because with the destruction of property and goods usually goes the destruction of life or injury to limb, chiefly of labor, all of which is injurious to the workers.

Politically, prohibition will be of inestimable benefit to labor. It will therefore be of benefit to the Negro, who is chiefly a laborer. So long as liquor lasted, the bar room was the center of political activities of the Negro, the Irishman, the German, the Italian, and the American white man. The bulwark of Tammany Hall has always been the bar room. The corruption of the Negro vote has been through the use of liquor plentifully served. Crooked politics and liquor have been wed throughout the United States. It is the constant burning up of the common working man's mind with alcohol which prevents his thinking clearly, and consequently acting correctly, in as much as clear thinking must precede correct action.

Lastly, crime is connected with alcohol in a very large degree. Crimes are against the interest of the working man, capital, and the so-called public. Consequently, prohibition is entirely beneficial to labor and to the public. It is a menace to capital to allow men to drink and thereby decrease production. It is also a menace to capital to clear the working man's mind so that he will demand that he receive the increased production, formerly vouchsafed to capital.

Prohibition is a promise, a splendid promise to the masses of working people, who constitute the great majority. It will prove a menace to capital.

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Who's Who

Colonel Charles Young

MILITARY life tends toward stagnation. The higher the rank, the greater the tendency to conservatism. The highest officers in the army are the most autocratic, because the feeling of caste reaches its zenith the higher one ascends in military life. High office in military life of an oppressed group or race tends toward greater reaction than similiar office among the dominant race. These two forces alone are pernicious but when you add to them the combined evils of ignorance and error, plus economic control, they are unspeakably vicious.

The most typical case of the evil effects of high military office among the oppressed race is to be seen in the example of Colonel Charles Young of the United States Army. Speaking before the Y. M. C. A. in Indianapolis, November 23d, he made one of the worst hat-in-hand speeches which we have had the displeasure to read from the reports of any me-too-boss Negro in the United States. Opening his address he said "The American Legion is the greatest organization for the promotion of the ideals of democracy that has ever been evolved in America." This is the same American Legion which a few weeks ago condemned the Industrial Workers of the World and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is the same Legion which denies Negroes membership where four-fifths of them dwell. It has no ideals of democracy and it was not organized to establish or to perpetuate democracy. Its purpose is to prevent democracy, to maintain autocracy, to crush out free speech and press, and to abolish the last vestige of liberty in this land. Colonel Young counts it a privilege for Negroes to get into the American Legion, saying, "It is the one organization that is to bring the white man of the South and the colored man of the South; the white man of the North and the colored man of the North altogether on the principles of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." How absurd! This organization is to bring together the white man of the South and the colored man of the South, and yet every post of the American Legion in the South denies entrance to any Negro. This is an open secret. The Legion which met in Charleston, South Carolina, clearly stated in a resolution that there was no place in South Carolina for the N. A. A. C. P. Colonel Young says, the white and colored man of the South are being brought together on the principles of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Let us see about this. At this writing 67 Negroes have been lynched this year, 11 of whom were burned at stake, and 20 of whom were shot. The white men of the South were brought together with the Negroes of the South as the Negroes fell from the rope and the howling, dervish, dancing barbarians of the South rushed to the charred and blackened bodies of the

Negroes to clip souvenirs. This bringing together we do not desire. Again, what is this liberty to which Colonel Young refers? Is it the liberty to vote? Not hardly. Is it the liberty to ride in a decent car? Most likely it is the jim-crow car liberty. Is it the liberty to earn and receive the value of Negroes' services? Let the Arkansas massacre of Negroes and the consequent legalized lynching of those who remained thru a seven minutes trial be the answer to this. Colonel Young must be using magnifying glasses to discern the whites and Negroes of the South pursuing happiness together. Lynched and burned at stake, jim-crowed on railroads and street cars, denied entrance to decent places of amusement and public accommodation, disfranchised by the millions, driven out of towns over night, worked in peonage and convict camps, abused, maligned and lied about, his women insulted and reduced to prostitution—how can the Negro pursue any happiness?

Colonel Young says, also, "The American Legion means for white folks and black folks, unswerving, uncompromising Americanism." Of course, no one knows what this Americanism means, but in so far as this Americanism means the hellish practices perpetrated against the Negroes and the forward looking radical groups of this country, we shall be glad to see it rooted out of this land with lightning-like celerity. I believe that most of the young Negro soldiers would rather see "Francism" established in this country in the place of this Americanism. We will wager that 100 Negro soldiers out of every hundred will sanction this suggestion. We wager that all the Negroes of the country except the hat-in-hand variety of me-too-boss Negro leaders, will second this motion. Nearly all of our staff are ex-soldiers and ex-officers, and we are speaking firsthand as authorities. You further state every ex-soldier who does not join the American Legion ought not be allowed in these United States. This statement borders on insanity, Colonel Young. During the war you were laid aside, retired, supposedly because of the weakness of your body. We regarded it as a hoax, and so did you. The facts, however, seem to be that the War Department was justified in retiring you because of weakness of your mind. So far from every Negro joining the American Legion, every Negro ought to oppose the American Legion. There is no more justification of any Negro joining the American Legion, than for his joining the Ku Klux Klan.

To quote further from Young's speech, "I adjure all black men to continue thinking as they have during the past war. Think what the ballot means to you; think how you can employ it to further the best interests of your race and the community. Ex-soldier, smoke this in your pipe." This sounds like

a fool giving fool's advice. Suppose we do think what the ballot means to the Negro. And then, think that over three million Negroes are disfranchised and deprived of their ballot. Before it can be employed to further the interests of the race, it must be secured by the race. Young continues, "The ballot is the power and right to vote, that every Negro has who wore the uniform of the United States government." This is deliberate falsification. Of nearly 400,000 negroes who participated in the war and wore the uniform, fully 300,000 or more live in the South, and they have no power to vote, which is the same as having no right to vote, since the prohibition of the exercise of a right is equivalent to the nullification of that right.

Colonel Young warned Negroes against radicalism, requesting that they oppose it, and further told Negroes that they were largely earning their living from white people, and that they should not watch the clock too anxiously. All of this advice is vicious. The only genuine friends the Negroes have in this country are radicals. The radicals are the only group who are taking any organized steps against the legalized lynching of our black brothers in Arkansas. The radicals are the only ones who are giving the Negroes fair play in politics. The radicals are the only group who are giving Negroes fair play on the labor fields. The radicals are the only type which believes in real liberty and justice for men of color.

With respect to the statement that Negroes were earning their living from white people, that is absolutely false. Negroes largely work for white people, but white people earn their living from the labor of Negroes. The only way in which Negroes can earn their living from white people is by hiring white people. The person who does the hiring earns his living from the person who is hired, and not the person hired from the person who is doing the hiring. Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard says that Negroes produce three-fifths of the wealth of the South. Despite that fact, they have less than one-tenth of the wealth of the South. Now, the only reason why they don't have what they produce is because somebody is earning (or rather stealing) the products of the labor of these Negroes. The persons who are getting it are the capitalist whites or the feudalistic Southern bourbons. This is so elementary that only an ignorant Negro leader would make a mistake upon it. Colonel Young advised Negroes not to watch the clock too anxiously. We advise Negroes to watch it more anxiously and with greater solicitude than ever before. Negroes have been advised too long to get more work, to work all hours, to pay attention to what they do and not to what they get. Now, Negroes have too much work already. What they want is less work and more wages. Negroes must get their eyes on the clock and on wages. They must be trying to push the hands of the clock back and to push the wages forward. This is a clear case of the capitalist hand which controls Colonel Young unconsciously exposing itself. It reveals what Colonel Young is and what the American Legion is. The American Legion is simply a capitalistic institution, with both political and physical objects. Colonel Young, according to the United Civic League, whose letter appears elsewhere in this issue, is the hired tool of the American Legion. The United Civic League

says he is paid three thousand, five hundred dollars per year, and he who pays the fiddler will call the tunes. The power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will. He who pays will control the one whom he pays, so Young is simply acting for his bosses, doing what he is told to do, just like the great group of so-called Negro leaders who are gallivanting about the country misleading the unsuspecting Negro public.

Negroes, however, need not worry much about Young's advice. If Colonel Young had any courage and manhood he would resign from the United States Army on account of the treatment accorded him during the war. That would be the inevitable course of a manly man. Instead, we find him praising his enemy, lying to Negroes, lying to whites, and completely misrepresenting the relations between the races—a misrepresentation so palpable and transparent that few will be deceived by it.

Lastly, we notice that the *Chicago Defender* in the issue of November 29, 1919, on page 6, under the title of "The Americanism of Colonel Charles Young," carries this trash as an ad of the Mme. C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company. Now, we, THE MESSENGER staff, understand the economic interpretation of history. Somebody is being paid for this. Mme. C. J. Walker's manager, Mr. F. B. Ransom, presided at this meeting. The State of Indiana has a large Negro vote. The Negroes there hold the balance of power. That is true of several of the western states. The Republican Party is opening up its political campaign. F. B. Ransom is a confirmed reactionary, a dyed-in-the-wool Republican machine man. We expect to unearth the relations of the American Legion, with the Mme. C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company, with F. B. Ransom, Colonel Young, and all the rest of the alleged Negro leaders and publish the same through the columns of this magazine, and this is to serve notice of that fact. We hold no personal ties or attachments to anyone. We shall stand by the public interest, and not permit any little group of Negroes in the West or anywhere else to use the name and prestige of Mme. C. J. Walker as a means of foisting their insidious and malevolent aims and objects upon the Negroes of the United States.

All thinking and self respecting Negroes, soldiers or civilians, should not forget this servile, sychophant, slavish, silly, stupid and senseless advice from Colonel Charles Young. This is the time for Negroes to stand straight and erect and relegate to oblivion these kow-towing and bowing, good "niggers" with the supple knee, the flattering tongue, the cringing soul.

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12 TIMES A YEAR

A Hymn

O God, we pray thee for thy church
 As prostrate now she lies,
 Blind to the bitter woes of men,
 And deaf unto their cries.
 We see her helpless in the bonds
 Of liturgy and creed;
 We see her daily bought and sold
 By worldly pride and greed.

Before her jeweled altars kneel
 The princes of the land,
 While far without her gilded gates,
 The nameless millions stand.
 Her cloistered courts re-echo strains
 Of ancient praise and prayer;
 But catch no whisper from afar
 Of man's divine despair.

O God, redeem thy holy church,
 Purge her of shame and sin;
 Bid her to fling her portals wide,
 That all may enter in.
 Teach her to speak thine ancient word,
 Of love and justice done,
 Till earth in one community
 To brotherhood is won.

(John Haynes Holmes)



The Open Forum

New York, December 2d, 1919.

Dear Editor:

We desire to call your attention to the generous contribution of space in the Chicago Defender by the Mme. C. J. Walker Mfg. Co. to further the ideals of Americanism and Col. Charles Young's abuse of this great privilege in issue of the Defender, November 29th, page 6.

It is a pity, and may the good Lord deliver us from the kind of Americanism advised by him. Instead of high blood pressure, Col. Young must now be suffering from "Dementia Americana."

Every editor in the country ought to help ring down the curtain on this Young, old stuff.

We trust that the Mme. C. J. Walker Mfg. Co. will permit others of broader vision and better knowledge of Americanism who hold different views, to write upon this very important subject in the space she donates, and if that is not possible, we would be glad to have your great organ discuss the question.

We understand Col. Young is being hired by the American Legion at a salary of \$3,500 per year and we guess he has to talk that way.

We are for Americanism—but we want the kind enunciated by Lincoln, prattled about by Woodrow Wilson and wrestled from destruction and General Robert E. Lee at Appomattox in 1865.

Very sincerely,

United Civic League.

MEXICO NEXT!

ACCORDING to the press, the next number on our international program must be the pacification of Mexico. It is indeed regarded as our plain duty to bring order to that distracted country and it is obvious that the best way to do this is to extirpate the distractors, meanwhile taking charge of the national property. Fortunately this will offer little embarrassment, as 47 per cent. of it (\$1,057,000,000 out of \$2,434,000,000) is already in American hands, and more than half the rest in the control of our British allies.

It is moreover urged that we must act at once. The reasons for this policy I may set down as the "Ten Points."

1. It may be that the Covenant of Nations will come into operation. This would give the world at large the right to pry into our methods and purposes. That would be intolerable.

2. President Carranza goes out of office in 1920. His successor may be of a different type, which might prove very embarrassing. As it is President Carranza can always be counted on to return an irritating answer in a crisis; by his friends he is described as a Spanish replica of the Senior Senator from Massachusetts. Nevertheless the Mexican President may as well learn from our experience that public property once deeded to a corporation is

gone forever, and that all effort to regain it is energy altogether wasted.

3. At El Paso in 1916, when we proposed to police Mexico, "the Old Man put his foot down." But a change of administration is due in 1921, and we must be ready for the emergency.

4. Now is the time to act. We may never again find a Congressional Investigation Committee so steadfast as today. We may trust the Senator from New Mexico and his colleagues from Connecticut and Arizona to uphold most impartially the rights of our land and oil holding corporations.

5. If we hesitate we may have to face the claim that a Treaty of Arbitration, signed in 1849, provides that all differences shall be referred to a world court, and that the Pious Fund dispute concerning the California Missions was composed under this treaty, Mexico accepting the adverse verdict and paying the sum claimed.

6. If we delay some one may compile a list of outrages on our side of the boundary, or even unearth the record of the El Paso "Holocaust" of March 6, 1916, which led three days later to the raid on Columbus. We may even find some one asking for the title deeds of the Standard Oil, Mexican Eagle, and other corporations devoted to the uplift of Mexico.

7. To be compelled to maintain a subsidized brigand in order to ward off national taxes is a humiliation to these corporations as well as to the great nation under their control.

8. The boundary line from Brazos Santiago to Tia Juana, running chiefly through desert country, is unreasonably long, too long for us to keep in order, and its gulches on both sides are beset with horse-thieves and cattle-rustlers (locally known as caballeros and vaqueros) making them as unsafe as the edge of the black belt in Chicago or a San Francisco street at midnight. We must therefore blot out this line. To this end the boundary should be moved southward to the Canal Zone, in which case we should have less than fifty miles to patrol instead of 1,756 as at present.

9. We are the "Colosseo del Norte," and behind us looms the still more colossal figure of "Manifest Destiny." The "lesser breeds without the law" must be taught to know their place.

10. Only through wars and rumors of wars can we maintain universal compulsory military service, the only remedy we know to counter the self-determination of labor.

Is there not somewhere a proverb reading: "If we hold the money of a nation we care not who makes the laws"? David Starr Jordan, in "The Public," September 20, 1919.

Republique Francaise

Paris, le 19 Decembre, 1919.

"The Messenger,"

2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

Gentlemen:—The above National French War Library would consider it an honor to have your publications: "The Negro and the New Social Order" in its English language section of books on the war.

Should you have other publications, either on the

war or on subjects related to it or covering any phase of it, I shall be grateful if you will include them.

With anticipated thanks for your great kindness,

Very sincerely,

Le Secretaire General,

T. Bontana.

OLD TIMER TALKS ABOUT "RADICULES."

THE reporter spied Old Timer with a copy of "The Messenger," the Negro radical magazine, the other day.

"You have not turned 'Bolshevick'?" asked the reporter.

"Not eggzactly, but I been hearn so durn much about radicule cullud newspapers, that I tho't I'd take a peep into one. So far, I've just given it the once over, but it 'pears to me like the only thing this book do is to tell the truth, and I about come to the conviction that ther' ain't much difference betwixt truth and radicalism," said Old Timer.

"You said it," said the reporter, and then listened attentively. O. T. went on.

"Now, as I figgered it out, when a cullerd man knocks a white man by tellin' him something he ought to be doin', right away the white pusson looks around to get even, and so her reports to the Department of Justice, that there's a bad cullud pusson in town, and he is a radicule, cause he mentioned social equality.

"Now, there's this yer 'Messenger'," Old Timer continued while the reporter shut his mouth trying to get in a word. "What do I read in this 'Messenger'? Furin an exzample it says, 'the cullud man don't get a square deal from the Demmycrats, and neither from the Republicans.' Lordy, ain't it the truth? Look at Mayor Preston. I believe that old geezer actually believed it a crime to give cullud folks any jobs, and Mayor Broening is a Republican, and all he has done since he's been in the City Hall has been to promise, and then some more promise.

"And then, the 'Messenger' says, that we got to organize and take what we wants, and stop pussy-footin' about good white folks givin' away something. I suppose this is radicalism too, but I notice that when white folks want anything, they raise a hollerballoo, and stick it in the newspapers that the country is going to the bow-wows, and the President is a durn fool, and then after the thing gets done, everybody goes home quiet like and waits for something else to turn up. How do you suppose those teacher folks got that increase in salary if they didn't organize and jest take it? And then, there is them coal miners. Boy, if we cullud folks could get together like miners, we would have a cullud person on every jury that tried a cullud man."

The reporter gave up trying to interrupt, when he saw that Old Timer had a good deal on his chest.

"Jest as I said, it do beat the Jews, how these 'Messenger' Folks' just out and says what everybody's been thinking, but was kinda scared to spacciate in public. I 'clare it puts me in mind of the 'Observer' and I guess there's lots of folks would call Arthur Bragg's magazine radicule too. But I was talkin' about the 'Messenger.' Now, it says that Kelley Miller's History of the War is only a picture book, and Roscoe Conklin Simons is a first class

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wind-jammer and belongs in the class of me-too-hat-in-hand doodles. Well, so help me Hannar, this ain't nothin' but the truth."

"What about Dr. Pickens?" broke in the reporter.

"Wal, it's just like this about Pickens; he is young enuf to take keer of himself, and furthermore, since he got his new ortermobile, I'm feared he might purposely run me down and call it an accident. When it comes to ortermobiles, Pickens and Capt. Brown are the radiculist men in Baltimore."

"Do you know any more radicals?" suggested the reporter as he got ready to make his getaway.

"Yep," answered the old man readily. "Radicules is the same as truth tellers, and truth tellers is the same as radicules. Dan Richardson and Rev. Custis, and them new Masons and Doc. Hilburn and Doc. Boyle, and if it ain't taxing your memory, I believe you can count me in as the latest convert to this radicule stuff."

"Really?" asked the reporter.

"That's which," responded the Old Timer, and snorted off without the preliminary of a goodbye.

Baltimore Afro-American.

WHO SAID "PEACE"?

IT is some months now since Mr. Wilson sailed for Paris to secure "Peace," and "Make the world safe for Democracy." From present indications he failed utterly, and he knows it! There is no peace in Europe; the United States troops and marines are assisting the Imperialists of Europe in their efforts to destroy all attempts to establish genuine democracies in that unhappy continent.

At home we have war against trade unionism, and a most horrible race war. Capitalism is so desperately in fear of losing its hold upon mankind that it is guilty of stirring up a most monstrous strife that will react upon the instigators at no late day. The workers the world over are seeing as they never saw

before the nefarious character of the high priests of Mammon, and their utter disregard for human life and its rights. The kept press of the country is in the pay of the fiends who claim to own Labor, body and soul, and, of course, that press is in duty bound to print the lies of its masters, and to conceal the truth in a conspiracy of silence.

The race war is an effect of the damnable treachery of corporate interests. The "Captains of Industry" hope that by pitting white labor against the black workers to keep up such a hatred and division in the ranks of Labor that it will be easy for them to control in perpetuity.

The Negroes have learned what influence is at work to destroy the growing independence among them, and they are refusing to continue on the low level of humanity that the masters consider desirable, in order to have a labor reserve to rush in and defeat white strikers who take action to compel a respect for their rights. The Negroes are learning that the interests of one laborer are the interests of ALL laborers!

If all men and women who work to produce the necessities of life realized the fact that the welfare of one affects the welfare of all, they would soon bring about the downfall of Capitalism and the establishment of conditions which would end many of the ills that curse the world. But as they do not comprehend the situation we have wars and still more wars, and they will continue till the world regains its sanity, which it does not seem in a hurry to do.

That Capital is not in a hurry to establish peace is proven by its desperate attempts to saddle militarism on this country in such a manner that the interests of Capital will be safeguarded against any rebellion by the workers. In Pennsylvania we see the result of replacing the regular police systems by State Constabulary and national troops, the "regulars." It is the worst governed state in the Union, and where the working man has no rights that the capitalists and their minions are bound to respect. In Pennsylvania the Constitution has been utterly discredited, and no attempts are made to hide the fact. It is the same in Kansas, Nebraska, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Illinois and several other states. The Romanized Democratic Party abrogated the Constitution soon after Professor Wilson's re-election, and it does not care how brazenly that fact is flaunted in the face of Americanism. Some fearful seeds are being sown—what will the harvest be? Certainly it looks badly for Mistress Peace.

Bertuccio Dantino.

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