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JANUARY, 1918

Edited by

Chandler Owen — A. Philip Randolph



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The New York Times

Wealthiest Negro Woman's Suburban Mansion

Estate at Irvington, Overlooking Hudson and Containing All the Attractions That a Big Fortune Commands

To own a country estate on the banks of the Hudson has been the dream of many a New Yorker. It is a dream come true in the case of Mrs. Sarah J. Walker, the city's wealthiest negro woman. Mrs. Walker, or Mme. Walker, as she is more generally known, has built a \$250,000 home at Irvington. Twelve years ago she was a washerwoman, glad of a chance to do any one's family wash for \$1.50 a day. Her friends now acclaim her the Hetty Green of her race. They say she has a cool million, or nearly that.

Ground for the Walker dwelling was broken eight months ago, and a large gang of workmen have been kept busy ever since. Although the house is nearly completed, it will not be ready for occupancy for several months. When it is finished it is to be one of the show places on the Hudson. Of late Mme. Walker, in her high-powered motor car, has been a familiar visitor in Irvington. On her first visits to inspect her property the villagers, noting her color, were frankly puzzled. Later, when it became known that she was the owner of the pretentious dwelling, they could only gasp in astonishment.

"Impossible!" they exclaimed. "No woman of her race could afford such a place."

To say that the village, when the report was verified, was surprised, would be putting the case mildly. "Does she really intend to live there, or is she building it as a speculation?" the people have asked. It may be said for Mme. Walker that she intends to make Irvington her permanent home, and is preparing to furnish the house in accordance with her tastes.

Although she has made money in her hair-tonic business, she has also made it through good investments. She is the owner of considerable real estate in this State, the West, and the South. Until recently she owned a \$50,000 home in the northern part of this city. She has made a gift of this home to her daughter. What wealth is hers, she says, had been acquired through perseverance, persistence, and hard work. "Perseverance," she remarked the other day, "is my motto. It laid the Atlantic cable, it gave us the telegraph, telephone, and wireless. It gave to the world an Abraham Lincoln, and to a race freedom. It gave to the negro Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee Institute. It made Frederick Douglass the great orator that he was, and it gave to the race Paul Laurence Dunbar, and to poetry a new song." Of her race Mme. Walker is passionately fond; her race and her family are the great interests of her life.

For her home she could hardly have chosen a more attractive spot. The site is in the most exclusive part of Irvington Village, on Broadway near Fargo Lane, commanding a magnificent view of the Hudson, the hills beyond and the surrounding country. It sweeps the Hudson for miles about, and may be plainly viewed by pleasure craft passing up and down the river. The structure, a three-story and basement affair with roof of

New York City Residence
of Mme. C. J. Walker

red tile, is in the Italian renaissance style of architecture, and was designed by V. W. Tandy, a negro architect. It is 113 feet long, 60 wide, and stands in the centre of a four-and-a-quarter-acre plot. It is fireproof, of structural tile with an outer covering of cream-colored stucco, and has thirty-four rooms. In the basement are a gymnasium, baths and showers, kitchen and pantry, servants' dining room, power room for an organ, and storage vaults for valuables.

The main entrance is on the north side. The visitor enters a marble room, whence a marble stairway leads to the floor above. On the first floor are the library and conservatory, a living room

maids of all work. In addition to these she has a social secretary and a nurse. On the third floor are also bathrooms, a billiard room, and a children's nursery. Mme. Walker loves children. They are frequent guests at her home. She provides toys for them, likes to see them at play, and does what she can to make them happy.

Plans for furnishing the house call for a degree of elegance and extravagance that a princess might envy. There are to be bronze and marble statuary, sparkling cut glass candelabra, paintings, rich tapestries, and countless other things which will make the place a wonder house.

the South, and New England. She is content to let her chauffeur drive the big cars. She has, however, a small electric coupé which she drives herself on shopping tours.

Mme. Walker is preparing to entertain her friends on a large scale in the new house. She will have as her companion most of the time her daughter, Mrs. Lelia Walker Robinson, associated with her in business.

"I was born forty-nine years ago," she said in speaking of her life, "was married at 14, and was left a widow at 20 with a little girl to support. If I have accomplished anything in life it is because I have been willing to work hard.

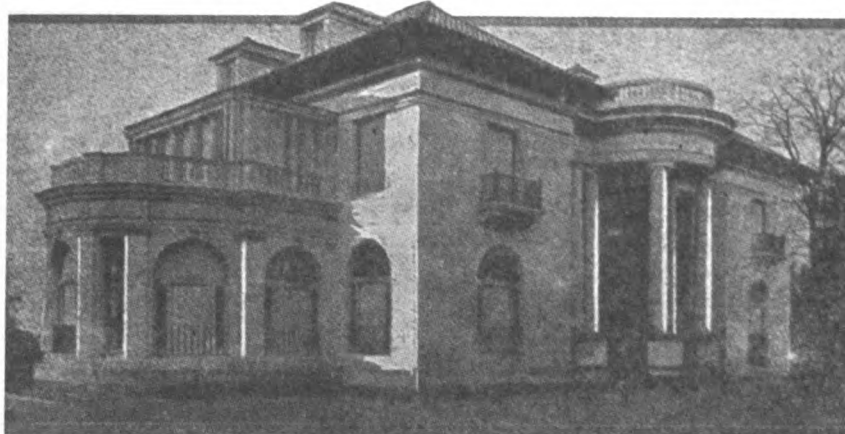
I never yet started anything doubtfully, and I have always believed in keeping at things with a vim. When, a little more than twelve years ago, I was a washerwoman, I was considered a good washerwoman and laundress. I am proud of that fact. At times I also did cooking, but, work as I would, I seldom could make more than \$1.50 a day. I got my start by giving myself a start. It is often the best way. I believe in push, and we must push ourselves.

"I was at my tubs one morning with a heavy wash before me. As I bent over the washboard, and looked at my arms buried in soap-suds, I said to myself: 'What are you going to do when you grow old and your back gets stiff? Who is going to take care of your little girl?' This set me to thinking, but with all my thinking I couldn't see how I, a poor washerwoman, was going to better my condition.

"Now comes the part of my story that may sound strange, but it is the absolute truth. One night I had a dream, and something told me to start in the business in which I am now engaged. This I did. I went to Denver, Col., and began my business career on a capital of \$1.25. I began, of course, in a most modest way. I made house-to-house canvases among people of my race, and after awhile I got going pretty well, though I naturally encountered many obstacles and discouragements before I finally met with real success. I do not believe in taking chances, and I have never played the stock market. I am not a millionaire, but I hope to be some day, not because of the money, but because I could do so much then to help my race."

Mme. Walker was a member of the negro committee that visited President Wilson several weeks ago to protest against the St. Louis rioting. She is paying the expenses of six students at Tuskegee Institute, and she is assisting negroes in other institutions to get an education. She numbers among her friends negro professors, teachers, physicians, lawyers, merchants, and preachers, and also has many friends among the poor of the race. She is self-educated, of course. Her taste in books runs to history, especially American history. She regularly reads the works of negroes. Her interest in politics, commerce, and current events is evident in her conversation. Her recreations are the theatre, baseball, football, and basket ball.

Photographic Reproduction
from The New York Times



Irvington Home of Wealthy Negro Woman, Now Nearing Completion.

Brown Bros.

21 by 32 feet, furnished in Italian style, a Louis XV drawing room 18 by 45 feet, and a dining room with a hand-painted ceiling. Adjoining the two drawing rooms is a chamber for an \$8,000 organ, which may be played automatically or by hand. Mme. Walker likes music. When the organ is played, sounding pipes will carry the strains to different rooms in the house.

The second floor contains bedrooms, bathrooms, showers, dressing rooms, sewing rooms, and two sleeping porches. On the third floor are servants' quarters. The owner employs eight servants, including a butler, sub-butler, chef, and

On the side of the house facing the river is a terraced veranda 72 feet long and 14 wide, with columns supporting a balcony above. On either side of this long terrace stairways lead to a second terrace, 60 feet in length with stairways to a sunken Italian garden below. This garden is to be in charge of an Italian gardener, and it is planned to keep it blooming with flowers from early Spring until late Fall.

Near by is the garage with apartments for the chauffeur and gardener. Mme. Walker maintains four automobiles. She has taken automobile trips in the West Indies, Panama, Cuba and Costa Rica,



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EDITORIALS

NEGROES TO BE AT PEACE CONFERENCE IN EUROPE

UPON examination of the causes of the war, political scientists discover that the rivalry for the rich lands and the abundant labor supply of the darker nations constitute the real bone of contention. It is the coal fields and oil wells of China, the rich agricultural products of India, the diamonds, rubber, copper, cocoa oil and dates of Africa, or the control of trade routes by way of Constantinople to these fields of wealth. In a word, it is the object and means of reaching the object which continually have engulfed the world in war—the present world war being no exception.

This economic greed and national imperialism has been masquerading behind the philanthropic veil of carrying civilization to the benighted lands of the darker races, as well as of releasing the wealth of these lands to satisfy the wants of European civilization.

Sooner or later delegates gathered together in official or unofficial capacities will be around the green tables discussing terms of peace. Their avowed object is to organize the world for peace. We submit, however, that no permanent, durable and democratic peace can be organized which leaves the richest lands and the greatest supply of labor in the world a perpetual, unsettled bone of contention. We further submit that the psychology and intellectual equipment of the delegates must enable them to deal sympathetically and scientifically with the various questions of race and geographical adjustments which will arise.

Irishmen ought to be there to keep vigil on the Emerald Isles. Hindus ought to be there to make Britain make good her claim of fighting for the rights of smaller and weaker nations. Chinese ought to be there to save from future ravage the Chinese Empire. Poles ought to be there with suggestions and methods for securing Polish autonomy. Turks ought to be there to prevent an international conspiracy to steal Constantinople. The Negro ought to be there to insist upon international equity as regards the treasures of Africa and its inexhaustible labor supply. He needs further to call upon America to make good her claims of fighting "to make the world safe for democracy."

Herein lies the reason for THE MESSENGER's suggestion to initiate a campaign to send Negro delegates to the peace conference, and to send men who are acquainted with the problems which the peace delegates will be called upon to settle. THE MESSENGER would recommend only such men as have taken a position on peace at a time when the discussion of peace was well-nigh seditious. Friendship is not a qualification at all. THE MESSENGER would recommend only those men whose vision and grasp of world politics enable them to comprehend the importance of insisting upon the freedom and independence of Ireland no less vigorously than upon the freedom and development of the darker races.

Within the next thirty days some concrete, orga-

nized and constructive propaganda to this end will be launched by THE MESSENGER.

THE BUFFALO CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

THE convention of the American Federation of Labor was called at Buffalo, New York, October 10th, lasting two weeks, ending October 24th, 1917.

Within that time many significant things were accomplished.

Perhaps the most important and significant measure debated there was the political trend of the A. F. of L. The organization for the first time officially recognized the impossibility of separating industrial and political action in achieving the objects of unionism. This, indeed, is a happy change. This will bring more into the open the dickering and bartering by the leaders of the A. F. of L. with political bosses.

The organization showed considerable sanity in adopting a resolution, calling for the appointment of Negro delegates to organize locals to affiliate with the A. F. of L., a necessary but a belated move. But the American Federation of Labor will always be the object of pity and ridicule as long as it is led by such reactionaries as, Samuel Gompers.

The old-guard was re-installed and nothing radically progressive can be said to have been accomplished in the convention. There was a shameless attempt to disintegrate the United Hebrew Trades and to cloture free-speech. Gompers was, as usual, a tyrant.

THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION OF 1918

ONE of the most eventful, and, perhaps, most important elections in the history of this country is the coming congressional election. In this election the people by electing or defeating congressmen will condemn or confirm the policies of the present administration.

The one big issue of this campaign will be—peace. The other issues will be those immediately growing out of the war—such as conscription, the high cost of wheat, meat and heat; government ownership of railroads, free speech and a free press.

Every voter should examine the record of his congressman to find out how he stood on the conscription law, his stand on an immediate, general, permanent, durable and democratic peace; on government ownership of railroads, free speech, free press, etc.

Whoever has been on the opposing side, or for that matter, silent or absent, ought to and deserves to be relegated to the sea of political oblivion.

Will we, like dumb driven cattle, vote political wolves back into power? Today people are freezing and starving; while committees are being formed and resolutions passed to investigate conditions to find out whether sugar and coal are high. The only remedy for this condition is socialism; the only congressmen who will apply the remedy are socialists. What are you going to do?

THE HANGING OF THE NEGRO SOLDIERS

The hanging of thirteen Negro soldiers for the shooting up in Houston, Texas, a few months ago marks the acme of national indiscretion, on the one hand, and the triumph of Southern race prejudice, on the other. THE MESSENGER is not prepared to pass upon the guilt or innocence of the colored men, but, for the sake of argument, we shall assume their guilt. We shall next proceed to compare the punishment of the Negro soldiers with other soldiers guilty of similar or greater offenses. And if we find that the punishment of the black soldiers has been harsher, sterner and more merciless than that meted out to the other races, we shall seek to find out what the cause of the difference was.

Briefly, to compare. On the 1st, 2nd and 3rd of July in East St. Louis, white troops from Illinois, in broad daylight, under the eyes of tens of thousands of people, shot, wounded and killed over one hundred Negroes without any reasonable or apparent provocation from the Negroes of East St. Louis. It was the most disgraceful and unabashed exhibition of mob violence ever known in the United States. Evidence against the soldiers was not circumstantial, but direct. It was also overwhelming and abundant. Yet in spite of the brazen, unmitigated contempt for the law, no white soldier was even apprehended or tried.

Shortly after that Negro troops taunted by abuses, insults and provoked by the worst race prejudice in the world—Southern race prejudice—were alleged to have shot up the town of Houston, Texas, killing a few people. The Negro soldiers were tried; the verdict was withheld from the public; they were denied the right of appeal, and in medieval fashion, were hustled to the scaffold.

What, we ask, is there to account for this difference between justice to white troops from Illinois and justice to Negro troops from Illinois? Both mutinied in time of war. Both killed citizens. The only answer would seem to be that there is one law for the white man in this country and another for the black man; that the Negro is called upon invariably to defend rights for others, but which he cannot enjoy; that bald, bare-faced race prejudice was the moving spirit of the execution of some of the bravest, most patriotic soldiers which the United States has ever had.

This execution, one of the worst in history, of men—most of them some of the bravest soldiers in history—is not calculated to stimulate the very low smoldering patriotism which is still left in Negroes.

We wish also to call the attention of this country to the bold misrepresentation of Negro leaders about the Negro's patriotism. Every ninety out of a hundred Negroes felt before the execution that it was very questionable whether they had any country to fight for. Since that execution, with large and extensive contact, we have not found a Negro man or woman whose position is not either entirely passively against the country, or certainly indifferent to its appeals.

Be not deceived. The law itself is unimportant. The administration is what counts. Especially objectionable is all dark-lantern administration. To deny men the right of appeal, to execute before giving the public a chance to appeal for them—merely because it was known that every self-

respecting Negro and large numbers of just, fair and truly patriotic whites would have flooded the White House with telegrams—is a piece of Star Chamber proceedings and Inquisition reaction toward which no harking back can ever be tolerated. The men were denied a right of appeal granted to the vilest criminal.

THE MESSENGER wonders whether the (Mr. X) Colonel House, who publishes the "Harpoon," a slanderously Negro baiting, race hating magazine in Houston, Texas, used his personal friendship with President Wilson to prevent his considering the appeal. And we wonder how the "me and justice" Teddy is thinking on the question. After all Negroes will do well to remember that Theodore Roosevelt started this thing and the South's desire to "go him one better" is the logical consequence of the Brownsville starter.

THE BOLSHEVIKI

THE Bolsheviki are in control of Russia at present. They represent the extreme radicals—not in the sense of being unreasonably extreme in their demands, but in the sense of being unwilling to take a half loaf when they are entitled to a whole loaf. They have sounded the tocsin of farewell, the death knell of half pay to the workers of Russia. They demand that the land which the workers till and mine with their toil shall be owned and operated by the workers for the welfare of the workers. They are uncompromising proponents of peace, too. They see that the common people not only give their lives in war but that it is they who pay the taxes for carrying on the war while their children must pay the burden of extensive pensions after the war. And all for what? the Bolsheviki ask. Simply to help certain capitalists maintain and perpetuate their hold upon the world's goods or to satisfy the imperial whims of kings crowned or uncrowned.

The leaders of the Bolsheviki are Lenine and Trotsky, misrepresented here by the metropolitan press as German agents. This, of course, is simply a malicious libel uttered to discredit these rulers of Russia, lest their teaching should awaken the proletariat of the world to his power and his right to a fair share of the world's goods. Lenine and Trotsky, however, are sagacious, statesmanlike and courageous leaders. They have a thorough understanding of the international situation. The ridiculousness of the charge that they are German agents can be shown by the Kaiser's prohibition upon the Russian aeroplanes dropping their literature among the German armies. Even Lloyd George, with a keener mind and a better grasp upon the international situation than President Wilson, observes: "A revolutionary Russia can never be anything but a menace to autocratic Germany."

The Russian people want a general, and not a separate peace. Lenine and Trotsky are working for this result. The Bolsheviki do not want to lose their own revolution for 180 million people in order to try to force revolution upon 66 million Germans. They are calling, nevertheless, upon the people of every country to follow the lead of Russia; to throw off their exploiting rulers, to administer public utilities for the public welfare, to disgorge the exploiters and the profiteers.

Misrepresentation, libel and slander may obstruct the work of Lenine and Trotsky, but the Bolsheviki of all countries are asking searching questions today, and the train of the world's third estate, now shunted on its journey, is speeding safely to its future heritage, so desperately clung to yet by the "first estate" few.

THE THREE CLASS PRUSSIAN ELECTORAL SYSTEM OF GERMANY AND THE THIRTEEN CLASS PRUSSIAN ELECTORAL SYSTEM OF THE SOUTH

GERMANY is justly criticized for her three class Prussian electoral system which we have gone to war to remove. The Negro, however, labors under a thirteen class Prussian electoral system in the bourbon South of these United States. The Negro has been called upon to help carry, nay to drag, democracy to Europe. He is fighting against the German unfair political system. Yet a man's vote in Mississippi is worth thirteen times as much as a vote in Kansas. This is due to counting the Negro, but denying to him the vote. Not even a promise to rectify this evil is heard here, while the Kaiser and the junkers are just now submitting a fairly good suffrage reform bill to the Prussian Diet.

Negro leaders should take note of this discrepancy and when talking their inane and asinine stuff about what war will do for the Negro, they might reflect that not even a promise or a mediocre discussion has yet reached the public of any intention to change the Negro's political status—one of the most fundamental changes which must come if his rights and privileges are to be accorded for participation in the war.

What are Robert Russa Moton and Emmet Scott doing about our thirteen class Prussian electoral system? That is the question.

THE PICKETS OF THE WHITE HOUSE

THE women suffrage pickets at Washington have brought into the white light of publicity the scandalous prison conditions which obtain in democratic and civilized America. The testimony of the pickets who were ruthlessly and inhumanly thrown into prison for displaying banners with inscriptions which challenged the democracy of America, reveals Occocquan prison to be a dismal dungeon of disease, dirt and death. The conditions in Occocquan under which the prisoners live are, indeed, reprehensible; but if the prisons of the South were opened to view, the deadly festering, slimy vermin of germs would cause the blood of shame to flush the face of a sicilian pirate. Let us extend our prison investigation.

The pickets also secured national advertisement for the cause of woman suffrage. This of itself is of tremendous value, because it starts discussion; the fires through which the fundamental weapons of liberty—free speech, free press and free assemblage—*have been forged*.

The field has been cleared for a woman suffrage offensive. Victory is sure. And to the women who have already won the vote; while you are driving for national suffrage, drive also for cheap sugar, cheap bread and cheap coal; thus it means that you must drive for Socialism.

THE NEW YORK PRUSSIAN BOARD OF EDUCATION

THE alleged disloyal high school teachers in New York City have been on trial before their prosecutors for some weeks. The charges against them are that they have been respectively neutral and disinclined to reprove students who criticize the President of the United States. It would seem that all of those on trial have German names, which is bad policy these days, too. They are Schneer, Schmalhausen and Mufson. Such a stench! Why try them at all? Not only are their names bad but it seems that they led a fight against increasing the hours of the school teachers' day without increasing their pay. That sounds like labor agitation, which is not patriotic either.

The sub-committee which heard them first recommended that the Board of Education dismiss them at once without even an examination of the report. But on that board happily is one man who has real education, a thing rather scarce in the New York Board of Education. Moreover, he is a lawyer who has learned that the fundamental principles of jurisprudence require a hearing before decision. That man is Thomas W. Churchill, former president of the same board. A postponement has been granted in response to Mr. Churchill's demands. We have long been noticing this man who seems very much like Liebnecht in Prussian circles. He is not afraid to stand alone. Neither the voices of power, the clamor of the mob nor the petty mental impotency which hides behind its little "pro-German barrack" have yet been able to intimidate him. With one Liebnecht among the education (?) junkers in New York, we truly have a Prussian Board of Education.

THE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL

The People's Council is making a fight well worth the serious attention of every true lover of real liberty. It is a fight by methods which will achieve the ends aimed at. The men at its head, Dr. Scott Nearing, Louis P. Lochner and Miss Elizabeth Freeman, are scholarly on the one hand, while their sympathies are rightly directed on the other hand. In attempting to keep alive the fire of liberty, to safeguard labor standards during the war, to secure a clear, definite statement of war aims, and to secure an early, lasting, durable and democratic peace—they are performing a service well worth the support of all true patriots. It costs money to maintain such an organization and to carry on its work. We ask our readers to make the sacrifice to help make the world really safe for democracy. Address communications to the People's Council, 138 West 13th Street, New York City.

The Messenger wishes to state that it is indebted to the Toussaint Studio for its coverleaf of the November issue. The Toussaint Studio has the finest collection of famous Negroes in the country and is a real treasury of art.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE MESSENGER

THE MESSENGER takes pardonable pride in stating to the public that this publication was the only one published by Negroes in New York which supported woman suffrage. And the Independent Political Council led by THE MESSENGER's editors—A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen—was the only political organization, largely colored, which supported woman suffrage. All the other Negro publications either opposed it or ignored it, thinking that the question of woman suffrage was a minor consideration.

What is true of the Negro political organizations and publications is very largely true of the white publications and political organizations in New York—except the Socialist publications and the Socialist organizations. All of the latter supported and fought for woman suffrage.

The attitude of THE MESSENGER was not mere coincidence nor was it caused by the fact that THE MESSENGER supported the Socialist ticket. The Editors have supported woman suffrage by voice and pen for the last eight years. Shall we congratulate the women upon their newly, but justly and belatedly, attained rights? And if it be permissible, we shall congratulate THE MESSENGER upon being in the vanguard of progress and not of reaction with the other Negro publications who fail to grasp the big national and international movements and currents sweeping through the world.

THE MESSENGER fought to secure the vote for the women. We shall fight hereafter to help them make the most profitable and desirable use of that same ballot.

We have given the women their weapons.

Forward now comrades for the greater victories which lie ahead!

WAR TAXATION

Taxation is the method adopted by governments for raising revenues for prosecuting the business of government.

War today is considered as one of the big businesses of capitalistic countries, which, of course, means of all the countries carrying on the war on a large scale.

In order to carry on war, the government has got to have war-material or money with which to buy material; so that the government uses the method of levying taxes for amassing the sinews of war.

Today we are securing our revenue by taxing the sending of a letter, by selling liberty bonds.

But the people cannot afford to pay more for sending a letter nor can they afford to buy liberty bonds with the wages they receive, while milk is boosted above the bellies of babies and sugar shows no sign of coming near the workingman's coffee, to say nothing about the absence of wheat, meat and heat.

In short, you can not get from the people that which they have not got.

Obviously, then, we must find some other solution for this perplexing problem.

The question here to determine is, who has the money?

Unquestionably the money resources of this country lie in the railroads, the coal, oil and iron mines, the shipping and manufacturing industries, the mu-

nititions and clothing enterprises. Profits to the amazing extent of \$3,000,000,000 have been wrung out of the blood and suffering, the death and destruction of this world war in 1916. Here, then, is the point upon which the incidence of war-taxation should fall. And in justice to the men who are pouring out their blood upon the fields of Flanders and, to those no less sacrificing souls, who are caged in the death-dealing dungeons of our industrial system, the government ought to conscript all wealth over and above that required for the average family to maintain its physical and mental efficiency.

The government ought also to conscript all industries producing commodities socially necessary and it ought to close up all industries producing social disutilities which simply minister to the whims of the idle and parasitic rich.

Let us stop taxing the necessities and do the sound and scientific thing and conscript wealth and wealth-producing industries.

FREE SPEECH

THERE is a great deal of camouflage about free speech these days. Those who wish to deprive the people of this jeweled liberty continually draw extreme illustrations. They point out that free speech does not give the right to slander, libel or unduly abuse one's neighbor; that it does not permit one to conspire to murder, rape or commit arson.

In submitting these arguments, to which sane and logical minds must concede, they seem to make the mistake which they are trying to remove, in drawing the extreme conclusion of the government's right to suppress any and all speech it desires to check.

All that their illustrations prove is that there is no absolute right of free speech; that the right is relative, and the government may reasonably restrain free and unbridled speech for the public good. But just as those unbalanced advocates of free speech are wrong in wanting to say everything which they desire, so the proponents of suppression are wrong in thinking that the government has an absolute right to suppress anything which it desires to suppress.

We admit that a line must be drawn somewhere. We believe that the line must be drawn, too, more scrupulously against government suppression than against unbridled free speech.

To reason a bit: The government could not accede to individual philosophy about extreme free speech to the extent of allowing open talk or publication concerning the sailing of transports, the location of armies, the numbers situated here or there. It could not permit opposition to enlistment or to the carrying out of the draft law.

It can and should invite free speech and criticism, however, on blunders made in the movement of transports, the handling of armies, the sufficiency or the insufficiency of numbers of men.

While free speech might be curtailed if it assumed the nature of open opposition to the working of the draft—such as advising men not to register or respond to calls—the government cannot reasonably or justly prevent free discussion as to the advisability of repealing the draft law, of changing its provisions, and the like. Indeed that is the only proper and orderly way to deal with situations upon which men differ.

At the ballot box we redress our wrongs, make our protests, or express our approvals. To act intelligently we must be informed. To be informed we must discuss,—talk and write freely, candidly, frankly.

We must discuss the right or wrong, the advisability or inadvisability of carrying on the war at all and the desire or indeseire for peace. After discussing "War or Not," we must discuss what methods should be employed in prosecuting the war—volunteer enlistment or conscription. Most assuredly we must discuss the profiteers who coin the blood of men, women and children into red dollars. We must be less disturbed about unity and more about right. We must see that there is no unity in robbing the millions who are making the sacrifices. We must arraign the government if it fails to do the people's will. At the elections we must discharge those public servants who fail to serve the people's interests. We must continue to discuss these things—not in the closet—but in the open. In the *Western Union Telegraph Co. vs. Kansas*, the United States Supreme Court held that although the State could tax, it could not tax too much. We maintain the same about the government with respect to free speech. It can restrain, but it must not restrain too much. There is a limit. Peoples have been subjugated by the denial of free speech, but no peoples have ever been subjugated by an excess of free speech. Under no circumstances must the people permit any unreasonable restraint upon or denial of free speech. Speak on. Talk in the open, write candidly, assemble peaceably, and petition the government for a redress of grievances. These are our constitutional rights. On this question of free speech the government must stand up and be counted. At this very moment a referendum is being held before the high forum of American public opinion to find out whether that part of the constitution which grants free speech, free press and peaceable assemblage shall yet remain a reality or a discarded and vestigial relic.

KNITTING FOR THE SOLDIERS

KNITTING for the soldiers is a psychological pastime. It is designed to foster the military mind throughout the nation. It is useless to say that not enough garments will be made by the knitters to keep a regiment warm. But that is not the object, it is like giving Xmas presents. 'Tis the spirit that counts.

We simply call attention to this in order to remind the public of the necessity of demanding that our boys in camp and at the front be provided with ample clothing through some reliable, scientific and constructive plan, and not be thrown upon this sentimental, inefficient and planless scheme of "knitting for the soldiers" which is long in spirit but short in substance.

NEGROES TO ORGANIZE TENANTS AND CONSUMERS' CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE

NO class of people is so much exploited as Negro tenants and Negro buyers. They are exploited as much by Negroes as they are by whites. Hence their only salvation lies in organizing themselves against their exploiters. It would be like looking for a needle in a haystack to try to find a Negro leader with either the courage or the economic in-

formation to bring forth a single method of relief. If we were to consult economic history, however, we would find abundant precedents upon which to base a very concrete movement to solve this very perplexing problem. Russia, Belgium, Germany, France, England and Italy have tested the efficiency of the co-operative principle both from the consumers' and the producers' point of view. Thus **THE MESSENGER** would recommend the organizing of a Tenants' and Consumers' League to meet and settle the problem of high rents, on the one hand, and high food, on the other. Some definite proposals along this line will be presented at a Tenants' and Consumers' mass meeting by the editors of **THE MESSENGER** and other scientific economists in the near future.

GOVERNMENT SALARIES AND ECONOMY

FROM all sides comes the cry "economy." Of course it mostly emanates from the higher ups. The masses are enjoined to save. Food experts are requisitioned to point out foods which will supply a given number of calories without exhausting the meager wage-fund of the workingman.

It is alleged that economy—that is, eating less meat and wheat and using less heat, will win the war. Therefore, one can get much respectability and credit for being a high patriot by starving and freezing during these troublous days.

This, however, is not necessary, in view of the possibility of lopping off a part of the huge salaries, earned by a large number of government officials, who certainly are in favor of practicing economy in order to win the war.

Any first-class chemist can point out the amount of calories a certain part of salaries will procure; as to their other necessary expenses, a decent and reasonable allowance may be ascertained and given. At the most, \$2,500 are sufficient for a patriot (and we would not dare to intimate that the government is paying officials who are not patriots), who is willing to practice that which he is preaching—economy.

Now, then, this living basis of patriotic-war-winning-economy will enable us, by beginning with the President and en route, via the senators, congressmen, the cabinet officers, supreme court judges, big-fat appointment positions, such as, food administrator, coal administrator, collectors of the ports, and elective officers, such as, governors, mayors, etc., to mobilize a considerable war fund and no one will suffer starvation or freeze from wheatless, meatless and heatless days, either.

Let us see who will be the first one of the government officials who will show himself to be a real patriot (not a paper patriot, nor a preaching patriot of the type of "let George do it") but a regular patriot, by recommending the adoption of this measure. This kind of economy will certainly silence that "wilful" bunch of non-patriots, socialist, pro-German and what not, who yapp about the "peepul," free-speech, free-press, profiteering, revolution, peace and all such nonsense.

Our post-master general, alias "thought controller" is a non-union man who might cover himself with glory, by starting the ball a-rolling, since it comports with his philosophy.

Well, the war moves apace. Let us watch this brand of economy.

THE SOCIALIST VICTORY

THE Socialist Party won a great victory in New York City on the 6th of November. It elected eleven assemblymen, seven aldermen and a city court judge. Not only that, the Socialist Party increased its vote 400 per cent.

The trend of socialism is nationwide. Such increases took place all over the country. Chicago polled 34 per cent. of the vote for the Socialist Party, and the Democratic and Republican parties there were saved from humiliating defeat only through their combination or fusion against the Socialist Party. Similar successes were registered in Ohio.—Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton, Toledo—Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

The New York Negroes gave 25 per cent. of their vote to the Socialists—a thing which gives the Negro the greatest political respect and honor he has ever attained. It stamps him as thinking and not blindly following the eagle—the emblem of the old hypocritical and lying Republican party.

Congratulations to the New Negro who votes the Socialist ticket. We want 50 per cent. of the vote next time.

ARMY EDUCATION AND WAGES

SINCE the masters of the country have despite the peoples' protest, fastened conscription upon its manhood, the issue of justice to the soldiers arises.

In 1916 the profiteers of this country made (\$3,000,000,000) three billions of dollars out of the war. This vast sum would pay 2,500,000 soldiers \$1,200 a year.

One hundred dollars a month is but a bagatelle for the young manhood of this country to request for sacrificing home, ambitions, life, all, in the dizzying whirl-pool of blood and death. To ask this is not to ask a favor. Besides, that which former gen-

erations solicited as a boon, the present generation is demanding as a right. The mothers of sons, the wives of husbands are entitled to more than the maimed and mutilated bodies of their brave men which will be mocking eye-sores in times of peace.

The government ought also to introduce into the army and navy a thorough compulsory educational system, teaching men English, elementary physics, geography, chemistry, United States' history, civics, elements of economics and some technical trade. It should not, by any means, permit the study of the Bible in the army or navy. The attention of soldiers and sailors must be directed to the only thing which constitutes civilization, viz.; the organization and utilization of the materials and forces of nature. The adoption of these measures would show a sound understanding of social forces and a capacity for constructive statesmanship. The ignorance of the men in the army and navy today is shameful and appalling. Men have been and are being recruited who can not read nor write; and yet we are going to "make the world safe for democracy." There can never be any true democracy so long as ignorance and superstition are rife and rampant.

Democracy can only be brought about by a diffusion of a knowledge of the instruments of democracy. The civilization of a country is in direct ratio to the diffusion of knowledge in that country—the knowledge which gives one a clear perception of the relations which exist between material things, of the relations which exist between human beings and of the relations which exist between things and men.

The dangers of society, such as war, and industrial and political slavery, can only be seen from the watch-tower of the human intellect. Give our boys \$100 a month and a thorough fundamental education together with knowledge of a technical trade.

Economics and Politics

WAR SHOUTERS AND WAR CONTRACTS

BY DR. SCOTT NEARING

To the Editor of the New York Times:

I tried in my last letter, to show that the American business interests had used the war in Europe as an occasion for making money. They talked about "supporting the Allies for principle and humanity" but when it came to selling them steel and shoe leather, the American business interests made about a billion a year in excess, or "war" profits.

Now, to carry the argument one

step farther, I accuse the American business interests of making profits out of the United States government since this country entered the war.

The same profiteers who took every occasion to enrich themselves while the Allies were struggling through the most critical plans of the war, have used America's entrance into the war as an occasion for making of more blood-dollars. In short, the American business interests have treated their own country as they treated England and France, and as they would have treated Germany and Austria if opportunity

offered—they have made what money they could out of her.

How shall I say it, so that no one will ever misunderstand it again? The profiteers are profiteers. A dollar is a dollar, and one man's dollar is as good as the next. That is why the American business interests are making billions of blood-dollars out of their own country's participation in the war.

Let me cite a few illustrations. Steel is one of the chief items in war. If the United States Steel Corporation wished to do so, it could supply the United States Government at \$25 to \$30 a ton

and pay every charge on its business, including interest and dividend. The United States Steel Corporation is actually getting \$58 a ton. The big copper mining companies could sell copper to the United States Government at 8 cents to 10 cents a pound and make a profit. The price to Uncle Sam is 32½ cents. The soft coal operators could sell coal profitably to the government at \$1. They are getting \$2.

So I might go on citing the prices which the government is paying for shoes, for blankets, for tenting, for sugar, for flour. In every case the business men who are supplying their things to the government are doing it at an immense profit to themselves.

I accuse the American business interests of making profits out of the United States Government since the country entered the war—huge scandalous profits—profits that would be impossible in peace; profits that can be made only during periods of crisis, profits for profiteers whose country is a dollar mark and whose god is gold.

Oh, yes, I have heard you business men during the past three years, shouting patriotism from the house-tops. You stood up when the Star-Spangled Banner was sung, and saluted the flag when it was unfurled. During the ghastly month of May, 1917, you helped to pass the "Selective Service Act," under which other men's sons have been chosen to go into the trenches. You asked these boys for a mere pittance—less than a subsistence wage—to break their family ties, leave their jobs, and risk their lives in the name of Patriotism. Then you went to Washington, thousands of you, and jockeyed for army contracts. Why? Because of your patriotism? Let the rate of profit stand as an answer!

I know that tens of thousands of the men at the front are real patriots. They gladly offer themselves and all that they have in the cause of their country. But I also know that every pair of shoes that protect their feet and every yard of duck that shelters their heads is marked with the dollar-sign of your profits. I also know that their blood-soaked shirts and their hospital cots have not escaped the tentacles of your profit-lust. They are there to give all they have—you are here to make all you can. Profiteers!

You speak so much about patriotism. Have you any idea what patriotism means? Patriotism means loyalty, devotion and the uttermost self-sacrifice. Patriotism is built out of love and service to national ideals and to fellowmen.

You shouted patriotism like high-school boys. You declared your undying loyalty to your country and then you took money for making the things without which our country could not, as you believed, survive.

Patriots? Book-makers! Profiteers! Stealing dead men's shoes and selling them for money.

Profiteers! Profiteers! Digging gold out of ground that is soaked with the blood of other men—Profiteers!

(Signed) Scott Nearing.

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THE POLITICAL CRISIS AMONG NEGROES

The Negro has reached a political crisis. It is no surprise to political scientists, for we knew it would surely come. The war, however, which has made great upheavals, has hastened it.

For the last three or four decades there has been no definite fight between the Republican and Democratic parties, except the desire for office and patronage. Principle has been wanting in every party of the county but the Socialist party.

The Negro, nevertheless, blindly followed the hypocritical, cynical and lying Republican party. This periodical fight at election times was only a fiasco, but it made the Negro believe that there was some real fight. And sad though the comment may be, he and his leaders really thought that the issue between the Republican and Democratic parties was that the Democrats were against the Negro and the Republican party was for the Negro. Never did the Negro leaders dream that the big economic issues of tariff protection and free trade, gold standard and monopoly were in point.

The trend toward combination of the Republican and Democratic parties has proceeded steadily, surely, inevitably, for more than forty years. The first hatchet buried was the Negro question. President Hayes agreed that the South could best handle her own

problems and "hands off" was adopted by the North and West. Ku Klux Klanism sprang up and swept over the South. The tissue ballot and the shotgun intimidated Negro Republican voters, while the North was silent. Disfranchisement, the Black Code and Grandfather clauses were adopted by the Democratic party while the Republican Supreme Court, Congresses and Presidents winked. The Sumner Civil Rights law was declared unconstitutional by the Republican Supreme Court at the request of the Democratic party. Jim Crow cars, introduced by the Democratic party, were kept up by the Republican Supreme Court. Lynch law flourished under McKinley, Cleveland, Roosevelt and Taft—even more than under Woodrow Wilson. The South, under the Democratic party, was peculiarly its home. But crime knows no state or border line and later we see lynching creep into the Republican North and West. We see the Atlanta riot under Roosevelt with his big stick locked up in the closet. The clock barely ticks, and we see Springfield, Illinois, deluge the Republican residential state of Abraham Lincoln with an unspeakable riot. Again, Springfield riots under Republican Taft. It is all Republican playing the Democratic football game with Negroes as the footballs. Later on Republican Pennsylvania, by way of Coatesville, introduces the lynching sport. Republicans still competing in the Democratic game. A Federal law against lynching is called for. Up goes the protest—it is an invasion of states' rights. Republicans agree with Democrats that the argument is sound and into the waste basket goes the law.

The hatchet over Negroes is buried, but big business of the Republican North and West cannot come to terms with the Democratic South. A way out is found. Northern and Western Republicans invest in the Southern Democratic mines of Alabama, in lumber regions, in factories and mills. The lines fade away. The lily white Republican party is formed. Roosevelt forms the Southern lily white Progressive party and the Northern and Western white, black and tan Progressive party.

Then comes the period of fusion and trading. The Progressive party combines with the Demo-

cratic party to defeat the Republican. The Progressive party fails for lack of principle and sneaks back into the Republican party.

In the meantime war comes. The country is for peace. Discontent rages. The Socialist party—the only party of principle—opposes the useless sacrifice of blood and the hog-fat profits which the profiteers are coining out of the sufferings of the people. Exceptional growth is threatened and manifested in the radical Socialist ranks. The old parties fear, and fusion between them takes place. In Chicago, the Republican and Democratic parties in the recent election fused on all offices against the Socialists. In New York, the Republicans led by Hughes, Root, Roosevelt and Taft, fused on the Negro-baiting Democrat, John Purroy Mitchel, for Mayor, and Robert Adamson, Democrat from Georgia, for President of the New York City Board of Aldermen. No kind of combination detrimental to the Negro daunted them in the least.

Daniel Roper of Minnesota, National Democratic Committeeman, has now been appointed to confer with the Republican party about permanent fusion to beat the Socialists.

The traditional enemies of the Negro—the Democrats and the hypocritical "stiletto-up-the-sleeve" enemies of the Negro, the Republicans—have made common cause. It is now up to the Negro to choose wisely whether he will support the fusion combination which has buried the hatchet so far as the Negro's interests are concerned, or whether he will support the Socialist party which has always been true to its trust and which has helped the Negro in many fights throughout every country, notwithstanding the fact that there was not a handful of Negro Socialists in the world.

In the recent mayoralty fight in New York the Socialist party carried nearly 25 per cent. of the Negro vote. Next year there will be able colored men on the ticket and it will be difficult to prevent the ticket from receiving about 75 per cent. of the Negro vote.

The Negro voter is now confronted with a big question. He must discard his discredited, venal, mercenary and ignorant Negro leaders—whether preachers, politicians or editors. He

must choose between a Democratic-Republican fusion of hypocrites or open enemies, and the great Socialist party, which has always been the champion of the oppressed of all races and people. The Negro voter must "choose this day whom he will serve" in the political life of the United States.

THE EDITORS.

THE NEGRO BUSINESS MAN

By ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

The Negro business man is the subject of endless discussions among the intelligent and ignorant alike. If one were to sit in the various barber shops, go to the literary organizations, tarry a while in the average Negro home, he would hear many varied, interesting, and, too, amusing observations made on the reasons why colored businesses fail and why colored people do not patronize their own. There are those who will contend that the lack of capital is the dominant reason; others will maintain that the lack of education is the controlling reason, and others will aver that the sole and immediate reason is the absence of race unity. In common parlance: the colored people won't stick together. Like crabs in a bag, one is always pulling the other one down. The Negro business men say, that the spirit of the Negro consumer is summed up in this: "If I can't climb, you won't climb." The masses of the colored people hold, that when they help one up, he refuses to help others up and that he does not give them their money's worth.

Here, then, are shadows of two schools of thinking on the business successes and failures of colored men. But let us analyze them and see whether either of them will bear a close and critical examination.

First, as to the lack of capital. That colored men desirous of entering business are handicapped by the absence of capital, is true. His lack of capital and inability to secure sufficient credit, often times prevent his even entering business as well as prevent his continuing after he begins. Of course, there are white men, also, who have no capital with which to begin business, but who can secure

credit on single paper, unsubstantiated with collateral of any kind save character and managerial ability.

The lack of capital, then, is a contributing cause, but understand me, not a complete and final one; because that which is cited as a cause of certain phenomena under a given set of circumstances and fails to produce such phenomena whenever similar circumstances are present, cannot logically be set up as the cause. For instance, white men who lack capital secure credit on entrepreneurial ability. Hence the lack of capital cannot be cited as the reason for Negro business failures. The capital of a country is controlled by its banking institutions which lend money under various elastic conditions. This capital consists of the money of the various depositors. In a given community colored people may be the main depositors, in other words, may own sufficient capital and yet not be able to develop businesses on account of the absence of business sense in any of the depositors or of any member in the community whose character and ability would justify a bank extending him a loan. A bank will not lend a man money with which to enter business because he is a white man, but because he either has valid and sufficient securities or else has managerial ability. The capital of Negroes in this country is enormous, but is not properly assembled, consequently, when the average colored man attempts to do business he is confronted with the absence of money—capital or the purchasing power with which to secure capital goods in which he proposes to deal. Capital simply means goods or money produced in the past used to produce more goods or money in the future. That the average business man, Negro, Gentile nor Jew possesses. The biggest businesses in this country were subsidized by loans from the government—the railroads. The very underlying principle in modern business is credit.

This is what Negro business men lack and what they, as yet, don't know how to get, the processes being subtle, subtle and sinuous, open and known only to the trained man.

Now, as to our second proposition: The lack of education busi-

ness training. This reason for business failures is only advanced by the hypercritical. It, alone, will stand a searching, scientific examination. Every big business failure of Negroes in the country may be cited in proof of the charge that the Negro lacks business training. He has not understood the importance of bookkeeping, the executive and administrative phases of a business, the producing and commercial divisions, the principle of the division of labor, the value of large scale buying, the value and function of advertising and how logically and advantageously to coordinate and organize labor and capital. The main principle of business he has missed, namely, combination. He has not appreciated the fact that, when two businesses consolidate and buy for the same branches through one, that goods can be bought at a cheaper price which enables the aforementioned branches to sell cheaper, thereby, forcing their competitor out of the field. This is the principle of monopoly. Monopoly does not only mean selling all of a certain commodity, but the selling of such a large part as to enable one to regulate the price of that commodity.

In this country, all big business is carried on through the chained store system. One staff of men buy for all, one staff advertises for all, one salesman sells for all. The isolated, individual business man has no place in the present order of things. Colored nor white can withstand the onward march of corporate capital, centralized management and direction in the hands of business experts—specialists.

Our third and last question is, the lack of race unity. By this is meant the Negroes' disinclination to patronize his own. Colored business men often make this do duty for business intelligence. When ever one fails, he laments and bewails the lack of race unity. Now, let us see about this.

How do these weeping business willows reconcile this with the fact that Negroes unite in fraternal organizations? What about the churches? Are they proof to the contrarywise? And, now, for the hardest blow of all; what about those Negro business men doing a successful business? They have business merit. Is this not sufficient to inter forever that aged and ageing excuse for busi-

ness incompetency, race disloyalty? The facts and logic of the question are simply: That the colored business man has depended too exclusively upon the backbone of race loyalty and not enough upon training, knowledge. He forgets that a Negro consumer does not buy the business man's color. He cannot consume that.

If he wants eggs, he will buy those eggs where he can get them the cheapest, assuming, of course, that the quality is the same. Thus, the business man who buys the largest quantities and has the best training is able to sell them the cheapest and will invariably get the patronage. Shades of the broken backbone of race loyalty!

In business economics, we recognize the principle of place utility. For instance, common carriers produce this social utility. If a colored person can get the same thing from a white store that would cost him a nickle in car fare, or cost him the inconvenience and time of walking three or four blocks, to a colored business, he will nine times out of ten, secure that thing from a white business man's store. Race loyalty operates very infrequently and unreliably in the business world. Every one is seeking for gain and it can be pretty nearly depended upon, that every one, white and black, will move in the direction where he will receive the greatest gain.

And this is as it should be. What, for instance would you say to that kind of race loyalty which, for the sake of a hundred thousand, let us say, of Negro business men, imposed higher prices for goods upon the other nine million Negro consumers, than they would be compelled to pay for a white business man's store? This certainly, would be doing violence to the human principle of the greatest good to the greatest number. This, indeed, would be a social crime, a travesty upon justice and good sense. In other words, the rankest and worst kind of race disloyalty. Of course, my doctrine is the greatest good to all.

Hence, cheapness of the goods, convenience of location and managerial ability determine what business man shall survive, whether he be white or black. I would not give a picayune for all of the race loyalists together who

counsel, "patronize the Negro business man, right or wrong, cheap or high." If you follow them closely, you will see them, ever and anon, sneak into the place, the most convenient and where they get what they want at the cheapest prices.

Preachers, editors and business men need to know and to explain these principles. The Negro business man, however, will succeed because he will, ere long, get training.

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HOOVER AND GARFIELD

Messrs. Hoover, erstwhile food administrator, and Garfield, erstwhile coal administrator, are in a sharp dispute over whose commodity shall have priority of shipment. Shall the railroads carry food or coal first? That is the issue.

While we don't want to disturb these "big administrative bugs" lest they decide to cut off our own food and coal, we would respectfully suggest that the usual method be adopted of carrying along the food and coal together; some coal cars and some food cars with coal and food in them.

The matter is more serious than it would seem. Two necessities, absolute essentials, have been seized by the war psychology and while the people are fighting, food and coal have entered a pitched battle. Food summarily says to Coal: "Shall the people starve to death?" To which Coal impertinently replies: "Shall the people freeze to death or die from uncooked food?"

It is like two physicians asking: "Shall we cut out the man's lungs or his heart." Or like the bombman asking: "Shall we withhold the dynamite or the match for this explosion?" Or like the railroad engineer trying to decide shall we cut out the trains or the tracks for economy?

All of these cases deal with essentials, the deprivation of either of which is destructive of the very end aimed at. But Messrs. Garfield and Hoover may press for a decision on this question: "Which first—food or fuel?" No cocksure answer can be given because the decision must be relative. The normal answer would

be inclined toward food, but we believe a man can do longer without food than without heat at this time of the year, notwithstanding the heat created by such foods as he can get. Still there are variations, for one man's condition may demand the one first and another man's the other first.

At any rate the matter is too fraught with bigness and consequence for the food and fuel administrators, respectively, to engage in a pitched battle over which commodity shall be gotten to the people first, when as the old philosopher aptly said: "Both are preferable."

The MESSENGER favors neither starving nor freezing the people. Send the food right along to them. And if Mr. Garfield as a measure of time economy should insist on sending coal first in order that the fire may be made ready to cook the food when it comes, then send the coal first! But should Mr. Hoover maintain that the fire can be built while the potatoes are being peeled and the food being prepared for cooking, send the food on first. We know how patient the "deer peepul" are, and it makes little difference which comes first—food or fuel—so long as the one does not tag along too far behind the other.

We do not charge anything for these suggestions, Messrs. Hoover and Garfield. But we shudder with fear of the spectre of starvation and we shiver with lurid imaginations of the ghost of cold stalking into American homes if Food and Fuel should forget America First, only to substitute therefor their own little, petty slogans of: "Food First" or "Fuel First."

Feed the people and keep them warm at the same time. That is the only way out. It will be a very bad policy to feed them and freeze them today, or to warm them and starve them to-morrow. And this would be the inevitable consequence of these "Me and Mine First" policies of Hoover and Garfield.

One says, "If you feed the people you may freeze them." The other says, "If you warm the people you may starve them." In our next issue, we will give a year's subscription to the person writing the best article on: "Which do I prefer—To Freeze or Starve?"

THE WORLD ASPECT OF GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Our planless and wasteful system of government; our helpless economic débacle; our political and intellectual distress, are a challenge for a radical revision of our economic, political and educational policy.

With our inexhaustible food supply, we are unable to feed the nation; and the gaunt spectre of starvation stalks abroad in the land to disenchant, to disillusion the over-credulous.

Despite our amazing national treasure of wealth of over \$240,000,000,000; we flood the country with liberty bonds of wonderful future value; tax the postage of the poor and with characteristic national political debility and confusion, preach the doctrine of "retrenchment."

With the most extensive railway system in the world; the food and fuel of the land which flow through these arteries of transportation reach no national market on account of the utter lack of any purposeful, scientific arrangement of the passenger and freight tonnage, the pooling of terminal resources and labor power.

This vast network of railways, the most powerful engine of our national well-being, lies virtually prostrate and impotent; while in this supreme hour of peril, we are taxing the reservoir of other economic, political and moral forces to meet and to satisfy the nation's needs.

What is the cause of it all you ask.

Is it because we have not the cabinet form of government which centralizes power and responsibility? Is it because we have no Kaiser which typifies unity and insures a greater continuity of policy? Or is it because of the insinuating, sinister and subtle forces of pro-Germanism, Socialism and I. W. W. sabotage that the nation is unable to assemble its powers in this patriotic offensive to "make the world safe for democracy"?

Indeed, men of all types and shades of thinking, will present radical differences of opinions on this matter. The fundamental differences in opinion will not, infrequently, correspond to the

fundamental differences in economic position.

A scientific examination of our present economic system will reveal that the cause of our present national weakness lies in implicit and abiding reliance on the efficacy of our national, economic vermiciform appendix—the "laissez-faire" doctrine, our "let alone" policy.

And, although over three-fourths of the countries of the world either own and operate all or some of their railways, we permit a few senile individuals, like conscienceless highwaymen, to take toll off the common citizen and to accumulate such colossal fortunes as to menace the free institutions of democracy, by coercing or intimidating public opinion.

Moreover, the railroads have more than a domestic or national significance.

The advent of the steel and iron age wrought a significant change in political theory. The Manchesterian - textile - politico - economic philosophy was replaced by the Birmingham-iron and steel-imperialistic philosophy. Countries shifted from producers of consumers' goods to producers of producers' goods. In short, hats and shoes gave way to rails and steel cars.

Formerly, the several countries competed with each other in selling natives trousers in the same territory; German merchants could offer their wares in British South Africa; English merchants could sell their wares in German South-west Africa.

But when King Steel strode into the undeveloped fields of the world; bribed and intimidated petty kings of small principalities into granting spheres of economic influence and established railways with foreign capital, world politics assumed a new aspect.

No longer was competition between two powerful countries in the same territory tolerated. The railways in Africa, India, China, are a sine qua non to the development of the oil, coal and iron mines. The desire for exclusive control in awarding franchises for railroad building causes the various Western European powers to seek political suzerainty over the unexploited lands. The sharp international rivalry which ensues, fosters, breeds and engenders suspicions, jealousies and

bitter antagonisms against each other.

Thus, it is plain to one that, one of the dominant and controlling factors, in the scheme of world politics for creating wars, is the extension of private capital in foreign undeveloped fields, in the form of railroads.

Great Britain's line from the Cape to Cairo and from Alexandria to the Yang-tse Valley was designed to offset and counterbalance Russia's Siberian railroad.

Germany's Berlin to Bagdad scheme to achieve pan-Germanism was planned to neutralize Great Britain's Suez Canal route to the treasures of the East.

The great world transition from the machiavellian state to the Chamberlain empire was piloted and accentuated by the imposing geniuses of imperial expansion such as Clive, Warren Hastings, Wellesley, Sir George Goldie and Cecil Rhodes.

Thus it is apparent that the influence of the railroad reaches beyond the confines of national boundaries.

Government ownership of railroads in both the home country and the overseas possessions certainly would evade the international pitfalls of frenzied, private capital and consequently serve as a most efficient motivating factor of world federation and social improvement.

Government ownership and democratic management of railroads is an inevitable stage in our historical evolution. It will come, but enlightened social action will accelerate it.

The demand for national efficiency in world crises is insistent and imperative.

Indeed, world politics have entered a stage where grim, silent, passionate forces are hurrying humanity along, like leaves in a torrent. But as the human will and

intellect have tamed the fierce powers of lightning and the storms, it will also master, organize and direct the tumultuous energies that are now stirring its own deeper nature and breaking in to the battle cry of destructive action, conquest, expansion, glory and might.

The challenge of today is, that the government shall de-hydrate our railroads, appraise their specific physical value and arrange their transference from private into government hands.

No group of railroad magnates will voluntarily pool their profits and losses. The genius of the American public is on trial. Private ownership has been before the bar of public opinion and found guilty. Historical evolution has decreed its fall.

Thus, the world aspect of government ownership of railroads is no less far reaching and important than its national meaning.

Education and Literature

XMAS AND THE NEW YEAR

Other editors will greet you with the hackneyed phrase: "A Merry Xmas and a Happy New Year to you." Next year we may be able to greet you so, but no such irony this time. We expect neither your Xmas to be merry nor your New Year happy. We expect this to be the saddest and most miserable Xmas and New Year which you will have ever experienced. Some of you will read these lines with empty stomachs. Many of you will be cold. Scant clothing will hug your bodies. Your children will be crying for milk and bread. Many of you will look about the hearth-side to find a vacant chair—never again to be filled by the loved one who has paid the last sacrifice upon the altar of Mars. The Xmas cake which once graced your table will be lacking for want of sugar, notwithstanding the fact that the American Sugar Refining Company in 1916 made a profit of sixty-three mil-

lion, five hundred thousand dollars (\$63,500,000). Your shoes and your children's will be reduced in quality and quantity, even though the Central Leather Company made a profit of \$15,500,000 in 1916.

Our hearts, too, we believe, are not unlike our readers'. In that event your minds will be upon the millions of men in the trenches—the seven million dead, the fifty million wounded—young men, the very flower of youth, sent on their journey of life armless, legless, maimed and mutilated—veritable stumps made out of what would have been human oaks.

You see then why we cannot repeat by rote the usual clatter, "A Merry Xmas and a Happy New Year." But don't think us pessimists. Not at all. We were never more hopeful of the future in our lives. We regret that the toiling millions will not learn except through experience—O, so costly!—but the lesson appears to have been learned. We see the

dawn of a new day when the war lords who have sent these millions to their death and suffering will be put down from their seats. We behold the exaltation of the humble and the meek. We hear the clock striking for the hour when no more can the whims and ambitions of kings and the desire for profit of financiers, drive millions of men to a grave unwelcomed and unasked.

The wealth of this world is going to be surely and rapidly now transferred to the wealth producers. Parasitism is crumbling. The falling towers of capitalism's Babylon are dashing to death the system under which the expropriators have expropriated the people's things by which they live.

We see no Utopia. We have no dream. We are not obsessed with any fancy. But the trend of the times is so sure and definite that the worst reactionaries are warning of the next change in human and in property rights.

Down the dark future we see

vistas rise. We see the Russian peasants raise up a government destined to achieve the social welfare. We see them beset on all sides by the agents of the passing system of rottenness, corruption and greed. We see the Socialists, however, continually hold their own. We see the great Socialist party of Germany, of France, of England and of Italy increase its hold upon the public confidence, and surely and swiftly growing in power. We look, and they overthrow reactionary cabinets. The world's discontent grows. Brave men and brave women point the way. They are lynched, murdered, horsewhipped. Their meetings are broken up. And yet the hands of the clock of progress move forward. In America the Socialists are sent to jail. They are called traitors and pro-Germans throughout the country. But election comes—and the party increases its vote from 250 to 650 per cent.

We close our eyes. We listen. What do we hear but the martial tread of millions, marching not in the armies of destruction, but in the armies of progress.

We observe the world's robbers amazed and stupefied as Zacheus like they climb up a tree, while the Christ-like army of peace passes. They plan to leave one country to go to another, but wherever they go, the awakened and awakening proletariat is gleefully shouting for the first time, "A Merry Xmas and a Happy New Year" the year round.

Don't you see why we won't greet you yet? We would have nothing to say when Xmas really came. Join our great radical army to fight—not our brothers across an imaginary border line—but to make real democracy king of kings and god of gods. Then Xmas will be merry indeed, and the new year will be truly happy.

THE EDITORS.

PEACE

BY CHANDLER OWEN

In his world-famous speech on "Conciliation with the American Colonies," Burke said:

"The proposition is peace; not peace thru the medium of war; not peace thru the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations. It is *peace sought in the spirit of peace* and laid in principles purely pacific."

Peace sought in the spirit of peace. How aptly do those words apply to the present situation! How often have they been true in all the wars since that great speech! Especially true are they today.

Economic interests have clashed it is true. Commercial rivalry has its eyes on the future. Trade, commerce, spheres of influence, buoy up the war-makers. But it would be safe to say that the one big compelling force which stands in the way of peace is the vindictiveness, the fear that others will say that this party or that party backed down, the dread of taunts and jeers, the thought of being considered as truckling. There is no *spirit of peace*.

Nations talk glibly about their desire to carry democracy here, to establish liberty there, but no evidence of such intention can be established. On the contrary, all is contradiction. America says we will not make peace with the present German government because its word cannot be trusted. We will only talk with a people's government. But the insincerity is established in the same breath by a willingness to make terms with the autocracy of Russia, but an unwillingness to recognize the people's most democratic government of Russia.

Lord Lansdowne writes a letter advocating a peace upon reasonably just lines, not from any high motives, it is true, but with a view to staving off the revolution in England which would endanger the property interests of his class. It is in substance the same as the "*peace without victory*" message of President Wilson, delivered January 22, 1916. There is not a shadow of difference in it for he calls for peace impliedly *with the same German government with which Wilson called for "peace without victory" on January 22, 1916.* But Wilson opposes such a peace now *with the German government* that he urged peace with two years ago. What has changed? Why America's entrance into the war has made her a belligerent. Her feeling has changed. Peace cannot now be sought in the spirit of peace, but only with vindictiveness, revenge, and hostility.

The other factor which stands in the way of peace is the unwillingness of any country to take the other's word. All is

doubt and suspicion. Much has been said about this in discussing peace, but we have nowhere seen any scientific discussion of the reason. Yet the reason is capable of very clear and definite statement.

The United States says, we will not trust the word of the present German rulers. Their word will be "a scrap of paper" whenever it is to their interest to break their promise. That is true. The mere word of the German Kaiser and his junkers will be kept so long as it is to their advantage—and no longer.

Yet it would be considered invidious for us to suggest that the same is true of England, France, the United States and Italy. (We make these statements simply as cool, dispassionate sociologists and not as carping critics.) For instance, did not Great Britain and France violate the territorial and political integrity of Greece just as truly as Germany did the same in Belgium? And was not the same reason—military necessity—advanced in each case? Did not Japan violate Chinese territorial integrity in her attack upon Kiao Chau? And was not the plea of "military necessity" advanced in justification? What pray, can we say about Italy? Passing over what we think of the right or wrong of the position she assumed, did she not clearly break her word and her treaty. And was it not advantage—territorial advantage—which is simply one of the ends of "military necessity," which dictated her broken pledge?

This breaking of words is not new. All nations break their words when they find it to their interest to do so. There can be no sound reason for any person's keeping his word except that it is advantageous. Immediate advantage, however, cannot always be considered. For instance, a man will fulfil the terms of a hard bargain very often because of the greater advantage to him in the future from being known as reliable. His credit is increased; confidence is extended—*which pays.*

Nations act upon the same principle. They ask themselves—Can we gain more by keeping our word than we can by break-

(Continued on page 20)

THE VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS

BY WALTER EVERETTE HAWKINS

Deep as God's eternal years,
Sad as Christ's atoning tears,
Dread as heart-strings rent apart,
Are the pangs that thrill and smart
Deep within the black man's heart.

Years of unrequited toil,
In the mould and mill to moil:
He to bear the lash and load,
Hunger's grip and spoiler's goad;
Toil and grime his lot by day,
Fill the mart where others prey;
He to bear the dust and heat,
Smooth the road for others' feet;
He like patient ox to plod,
Bruised beneath the chastening rod,
Tho the load be crushing hard,
Still forbid to call on God.
He to give his blood and brawn,
And himself another's pawn;
He to die for others' good,
Feed another's soil with blood;
He to ask nor fare, nor fee,
Neither life nor liberty;
He to make the weak man strong,
His reward, abuse and wrong.

This the recompense they give.
Hounds to hunt the fugitive
Fleeing from the cruel lash,
Where Oppression leaves his gash;
Where the mob doth burn and lynch,
Where his blood their thirst doth quench;
Where, despite the boast of laws,
Men are wronged without a cause.

This my country? cruel Dame!
O for a mantle to hide her shame!
O for tears to wash her guilt
For the blood her hands have spilt!
This the land my heart must pride
Where my fathers bled and died!
Land that boasts of slavery,
Cruel Hate and tyranny?
Where the poor unheeded die,
Christianity a lie,
Human brotherhood a snare,
Liberty a vague despair;
Where to be with right is wrong,
Where the weak crushed by the strong;
Where to be a man is crime,
Where the worthy dare not climb;
Where the Inquisition's paw
Serves to execute the law;
Where manhood is but a name,
Where the fool is raised to fame,
And is lifted up in song



If his creed should serve the strong;
Where the weak must bend and bleed,
Premium put on lust and greed.

Even in the halls of state
True men dare not advocate
Justice for the poor and weak,
They are doomed if once they speak;
Even they who rule the throne
Help the hellish business on.

Public sentiment will not
Dare forgive the bane and blot
Should, perchance, co-workers meet
To adjust the wrongs of state,
And in mutual friendship feel
That the nation's highest weal,
That the people's greatest good
Demands united brotherhood.

Yet within the dens of vice
All may offer sacrifice;
All may freely enter in
Where the paths lead down to sin.
All in fellowship may blend
Where the lures of lust contend,
Where the harlot spreads her arms,
And where vice displays its charms;
Where the serpent hides his stings,
And upon the victim springs;
Where the biting viper darts,
Where the adder's poison smarts,
All in brotherhood may dwell
On the road that leads to hell.

This the land demands my praise
And the service of my days?
This the "land of liberty?"
This the land that men call "free?"
Free, indeed, if they be strong,
Free still to do the wrong;
Free to persecute the weak,
Free to doom and damn the meek;
Free to rob and cheat, and lie
With no fear of penalty;
Free to revel in the gain,
Wrung from hearts that plead in vain.

Raise the drooping heart, O God,
Grant the humble foot of sod
Where the wail of war is o'er,
Where the din is heard no more,
Where from blood men's hands are clean,
Where the spoiler is not seen,
Where his curse no more is heard,
Where men's hate no more is stirred,
Where the fowler's snare is not,
Where men's jealousies forgot,
Where the meek uninjured may
Look unto their God and pray,—
There to spend one hour of peace
Where brute force and lying cease.
From the cruel, crushing blows,
From the blighting, blinding woes,
From the cruel curse of foes,
Grant, O God, a day's repose.



...D WILL TOWARD MEN!



\$ 3,000,000,000 PROFITS OUT OF WAR IN 1916

WAR BRIDES & BABIES

50,000,000 MEN KILLED AND WOUNDED

TARRING AND FEATHERING THE I.W.W.'s

BEATING OF DR. HERBERT BIGELOW

HANGING OF 13 NEGRO SOLDIERS

TO THE GALLOWS

FAST ST. LOUIS

MEMPHIS TENN.

STARVING

ON EARTH PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN!

MARCELUS - 12/1/17

(Continued from page 17)

ing it? Will the advantages derived therefrom be greater than the injustices sustained by blindly following the abstract principle of honesty?

Democracies act upon the very same principle as the ruling classes. Each one acts upon the desire to secure advantage. But their interests are different, and this necessitates different action—*though upon the same principle of advantage.*

To illustrate: The Socialist party believes (justly and correctly I think) that a Socialist government would reduce to the barest minimum, or abolish, wars. Why? Those who would be in control of the governments could have nothing to gain by war, and those whom the government would then be representing could have nothing to gain. Commercial rivalry, spheres of influence, trade and commerce, in short, profiteering, would not be motivating factors. The people cannot profit by a war. Why? They have to give their life and limb, pay heavy taxes, break up their home relations, endure the most indescribable suffering, and transmit to posterity the huge burden of pensions for the soldiers. The Socialists also point to the fact that inasmuch as the people would own and control their own necessities and public utilities, no one could profit from ammunition, copper, coal, wool, cotton, steel, iron, leather, sugar, meat, potatoes and bread. And if the government could be conceived of as starting such a thing as war—such a government would be immediately overthrown.

In opposing war, however, the Socialists would be acting strictly on the basis of advantage. But the people would have no advantage to derive from the war. That is the only reason which makes the words of the most democratic government most trustworthy. The spirit of peace would be uppermost, because peace would be most profitable to the people and the government—profitable from the point of view of increasing the general health, happiness and welfare of the nation.

Much has been said about the way in which the Socialists of Germany, France, England and Italy abandoned their peace prin-

ciples when the war was declared. An examination of the facts and the social psychology, however, reveals that the Socialists of those countries have acted soundly.

All of the Socialists, while seeing the defects of their countries, believe that their own governments would be more kindly disposed to them than the enemy country's government, because all of the countries engaged are capitalistically controlled governments. It is easy to point superficially at Scheidemann because he supports his government's war measures, but what reason could the majority Socialists of Germany have for believing that England and France would give them better opportunities of life. The philosophy of Liebnicht is sound, but it is not just yet applicable in the capitalistic world.

Just as I agree with the peace position of the majority Socialists of Germany, I also agree with the majority Socialists of France and England. Why? The Socialists of France and England do not want the German government to dominate them with their vindictiveness, revenge and imperialism. It has to be remembered that the rule of all these countries is capitalistic, that the governments of Germany, England and France are not Socialist governments, and the objects of the victors are not to establish democracy in the country of the vanquished. How about the American Socialists? Are they sound in not supporting the government? Most assuredly. American territory was not violated. The losses of ships and supplies were incidental to the contest between belligerents. And just as one might expect to be shot and killed if he perambulated between the German and French trenches while the soldiers were in pitched battle, the same is true of the scene of hostilities on sea.

The Socialist party of America therefor asked its government not to assume a position of extreme danger, get hurt and begin to fight. It also pointed out its influence economically and from a military viewpoint, asking that as a powerful neutral the United States should act as peace mediator and not help deluge the world in blood. It wanted the American government to act while its "spirit of peace" had not been de-

stroyed by the war-hate psychology.

The spirit of peace must be the factor to make a just peace and one which is permanent and durable. Abstract whims must go. To say that Germany must withdraw from France, Belgium, Italy and Russia before peace negotiations can begin is nonsense, because no country will trust another's word (and rightly) to the extent of giving up a great military advantage to talk terms when that country's ability to talk terms as a powerful equal will be greatly reduced because of that very concession. It would be quite as logical for Germany to insist that Great Britain must give up her German colonies, evacuate Jerusalem and such possessions as are not Britain's before she (Germany) will talk peace.

I think that peace will have to be discussed during the fight just as industrial captains and laborers discuss, mediate and arbitrate while the strike (industrial fight) is still on.

The only reason for talking terms of peace, anyway, is to secure something by negotiation instead of by war. The object is to get certain things by agreement and not to fight for them.

The lives of millions of men of every race and color are at stake. Civilization's treasures are being wrecked and destroyed. The hostility, revenge and hatreds which have been engendered will not soon be cooled. The only hope of to-morrow is the "spirit of peace" which has not yet dwindled and died out in the breasts of the small band of brave men and women who place virtue above vindictiveness, and brotherhood above border lines. This little band now dubbed pro-German, traitors and disloyalists, will be hailed by future generations as the true patriots who kept the Prometheon fire of civilization burning through the dark ages of the present world war, and helped to scatter the star-dust of hope across to-morrow's skies. Those who keep alive the "spirit of peace" are the harbingers of the "new to-morrow." They are heralds of the new internationalism which makes "Peace on earth good will toward men" a fact as well as a profession.

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"Your last month's issue was a splendid product."
James Waldo Fawcett.

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

Thomas W. Churchill, former President of the New York City Board of Education.

The editors are A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, who successfully managed the recent Socialist campaign among New York's negro voters, turning 25 per cent. of the vote to the Socialist ticket.

Every Socialist who comes to THE MESSENGER Dance is helping to turn 75 per cent of the Negro vote to his ticket in the next election.

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RAND SCHOOL

By F. A. BLOSSOM

A university where colored men and women may receive a higher education on a footing of genuine equality with their white comrades is a rare phenomenon in this "land of liberty," and is not likely to become less rare under the new "deMOCKracy." Such an institution, however, exists right here in New York, in the heart of the greater city. It is the Rand School of Social Science, which has recently moved into larger quarters in the new People's House at 7 East 15th Street.

It will surprise no one familiar with the spirit of true democracy which is a cardinal principle of Socialists to know that the school is under Socialist control. Although supported by many liberals and radicals of other stripes, the real backing of the school and the direction of its policies come from members of the Socialist party. By them the institution is regarded as a vital part of their organization, a training school which turns out each year hundreds of workers equipped to take their part in the struggle against an unjust and oppressive industrial system.

Although no systematic attempt has been made as yet to recruit students among the colored people of New York and vicinity, they have from the first been given to understand that they would be heartily welcome and many have taken advantage of the opportunity. This year, with the increase of public interest in Socialism, the number of colored students of the school has likewise increased.

Most of these students being obliged to work during the day, attend the evening courses offered by the school for the benefit of the thousands of workers who wish to employ profitably what leisure they have outside of working hours.

One of the colored men attending these evening courses is Frank R. Crosswaith, of 2427 Seventh Avenue, who is employed with the wholesale clothing firm of Zeeman and Grossman, 836 Broadway. He is taking a course in "The Fundamentals of Social-

ism" under Joshua Wanhope, the well-known editorial writer for the *New York Call*, and a course in public speaking conducted by August Claessens, recently elected to the Assembly in the 17th Assembly District, Harlem.

Crosswaith, who was a United States sailor for several years, is a member of the Socialist party and is taking the course of study in order to fit himself for better service in the movement. He is a voracious reader and came into radicalism through his study of the writings of Tom Paine, Ingersoll, Darwin and such leaders of modern thought. He says that what led him to Socialism was the happy accident of seeing a copy of the *New York Call*, of which he has been a faithful reader ever since.

"I believe that in Socialism lies the real emancipation of the colored race," says Crosswaith. "I am anxious to help spread its message among my people."

Another colored student at the Rand School is Louis Laurent, who is likewise preparing himself for the work of spreading the Socialist evangel. He comes from Demerara, British Guiana.

Laurent bases his belief in Socialism on the fact that there are two classes, the employed and the employers, whose interests, under the capitalist system, are diametrically opposed and can be reconciled only by the abolition of the profit system and the substitution of industrial democracy.

"I have enrolled at the Rand School," he says, "because it is my earnest desire to fit myself to go out into the world and carry the call of Socialism to my race, 99 per cent. of whom belong to the exploited class."

A training class, the members of which give all their time during six months to intensive study and training for effective service in the Socialist and radical labor movements, is one of the unique features of the Rand School and one of its greatest contributions to the cause of industrial progress. Each year the school turns out a group of young men and women specially equipped to take an active part in the struggle for an overturn of the capitalist system of exploitation. In many a successful strike or labor agita-

tion, the leaders have owed their skill to the practical knowledge acquired in the training course of the Rand School.

Among the students who are taking this course of training at present is Lovett Fort Whiteman of 122 West 139th Street, already well known as an active and intelligent worker among the younger members of the colored race in this city.

Born in Dallas, Texas, twenty-seven years ago, Whiteman studied at Tuskegee Institute and at Fiske University, coming to New York at the age of nineteen.

Whiteman, who is dramatic editor of *THE MESSENGER*, has been very successful as an amateur actor. With Professor Edward Wright, of the Boston School of Oratory, he organized the Shakespeare Negro Players and took a part in their production of "Othello" before Sir Beerbohm Tree and the British Ambassador, Cecil Spring-Rice and at performances in Philadelphia, Boston and other Eastern cities in connection with the Tercentenary Shakespearean celebration.

In connection with the Socialist party, of which he is an active member, Whiteman played an important part in the recent Hillquit campaign among the colored people of New York, speaking at many public meetings and assisting in the work of organizing the colored voters.

Coming from a radical family, Whiteman says he "stumbled on Socialism" after years of searching for a solution to the evils of the present industrial system.

"Socialism," he declares, "offers the only lasting remedy for the economic ills from which humanity is suffering and which weigh so heavily on the colored race."

These young colored men, who are preparing to devote their lives to Socialist propaganda among their own people, are destined to render great service to humanity in general. They are the vanguard of what is certain to be a large army of wideawake colored men and women who, as the liberal policy of the Rand School becomes better known, will turn to it for guidance in their work for the permanent betterment of their race.

THE FAILURE OF THE NEGRO LEADERS

By CHANDLER OWEN

The Negro leaders have failed. It is hard to admit. Race-pride revolts against it. But the remedy lies in recognizing the condition and setting out to remedy it.

Negro leaders like Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Kelly Miller, William Pickens, Archibald Grimke, James W. Johnson, Robert Russamoton, Fred R. Moore, Wm. H. Lewis and Chas. W. Anderson are a discredit to Negroes and the laughing stock among whites.

We have no ill-feeling toward these men. Many of them have held out the best light (or the least poor) for the race during the last ten or twenty years. We have admired them and we recognize their full merit and worth. We do not now impugn the motives of most of them. We impeach their methods. We do not hold that reality actuates them. But we bring against them the worst indictment of the modern world—ignorance—ignorance of the methods by which to achieve the ends aimed at.

Let us take Dr. Du Bois, for example. He has done some good work in stimulating the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He has persistently and consistently stood for the abolition of disfranchisement, discrimination and Jim Crowism. He has fought to secure larger measure of support for institutions of higher education and to increase public and high school facilities for Negroes. As a general principle he has opposed segregation. Lynch law he has condemned directly. He fortunately supported woman suffrage though his reasons therefor were not sound and sufficient.

Still Dr. Du Bois has frequently urged the adoption of many measures which defeat his very purposes and aims. To illustrate: He opposes, we believe sincerely, segregation. Yet he was among the first to advocate a Jim Crow training camp for Negroes and he has been a repeated supporter of Jim Crow Y. M. C. A.'s. Some shadow of practicality might be urged in support of the Y. M. C. A. measure as the lesser of two evils, but the Jim Crow camp is indefensible—mili-

tary duty not being a benefit, but a burden, shunned and rejected from early history by those who could escape from its hideous clutches and its grim tentacles.

Lynch law, Dr. Du Bois condemns directly, but he has seldom, if ever, shown a grasp of its true causes and the probable remedy. One has not seen where the Doctor ever recognized the necessity of the Negroes getting into labor unions in the South as a means of eliminating the Negro as a scab, allaying thereby the ill-feeling against him by the working white man, while at the same time, limiting and controlling the supply of labor, which would increase the demand for labor both white and black. Moreover, this would be the strongest blow which peonage could be dealt.

Instead, however, we see Dr. Du Bois and all the other Negro editors and leaders herald in big headlines, "Negroes Break Strike!" As though that were something to exult in. And they preach a gospel of hate of labor unions in criminal ignorance of the trend of the modern working world, when they should be explaining to Negroes the necessity of allying themselves with the workers' motive power and weapon—the Labor Union and the Strike.

Another evidence of the almost criminal incompetence and cringing compromise of the whole array of Negro leaders named in the beginning of this article is their recent endeavor to raise funds for the families of the colored men conscripted into the Army and Navy. A string of names of "so-called big Negroes" have given their endorsement and consent to the scheme.

Now a very elementary examination will reveal the farce of attempting to give any wholesome and fundamental relief to those families by the petty charitable scheme which they have adopted.

There are approximately one hundred thousand Negroes in the army. The smallest amount which might be considered as relief to a family in these days would be one dollar a day. One dollar a day to 100,000 families would be \$100,000 per day or three million dollars per month. The impossibility of ever touching the surface of this problem by any hit and miss petty charity should

have suggested itself to men like Du Bois, Pickens, Kelly Miller and James W. Johnson, who must have had some study of elementary economics. And nothing more plausible and sound could be conceived of than that the government should take the matter in hand and handle it efficiently and scientifically. Yet not one of these "big Negro leaders" dares mention this either from ignorance or from lack of courage.

Again, we hear Prof. Wm. Pickens, Du Bois and Kelly Miller talking in superlative sureness of how the Negroes' participation in this war will remove race prejudice. Since when has the subject race come out of a war with its rights and privileges accorded for such participation? Leaving out the question of color entirely where is the history to support this spurious promise? Did not the Negro fight in the Revolutionary War with Crispus Attucks dying first (which is not important nor material), and come out to be a miserable chattel slave in this country for nearly one hundred years after? Did not the Negro only *incidentally* secure freedom from physical slavery in the Civil War, only to have peonage fastened upon him almost immediately thereafter, becoming the victim of Ku Klux Klanism, oppression and unspeakable cruelty which were directly perpetrated by the South and condoned by the North. Did not the Negro take part in the Spanish-American War only to be discharged without honors and without a hearing by the president who rose into political prestige and power upon their valor in that war? And have not race prejudice and race hate grown in this country since 1898? The same story must be told of Ireland. She has always helped England in her wars, but she has remained under the feet of the English oppressor for the last eight hundred years.

Professor Du Bois, Kelly Miller and William Pickens, this stuff you are giving out is sheer "clap-trap." It is repelled by the modern Negro student of economics and political science. It is offensive and repulsive.

But when you are known to be the leading Negro professors, it makes us ashamed to consider what men like Professor Charles A. Beard, Scott Nearing, Over-

street, Albert Bushnell Hart and E. R. A. Seligman must think when they read these pigmy opinions and this puerile, credulous interpretation of history from men who are supposed to have

given their lives to the study of science, but who are little short of mental manikins and intellectual lilliputians.

Truly the Negro leaders have failed. Most of them are too old

to be reformed, which means "re-educated." The hope of the race rests in new leaders with a more thorough grasp of scientific education, and a calm but uncompromising courage.

— : 0 : —

ANNOUNCEMENT

By courtesy of the United States Boy Scouts, with the next issue we start a new department which will consist of a series of lessons on Physical Culture, by an old exponent of the art, Mr. George H. McClellan, who will show just what it has accomplished for him, and backed by 25 years' experience. He will take you along with him from stage to stage gradually leading up to physical perfection, and if persisted in you can accomplish in one year what has taken him 25 years by slowly feeling his way. He will steer you clear of the mistakes, which he surmounted. This department will be of benefit to young and old, male and female, consisting mainly of expansion and contraction and reversing blood pressure in conjunction with hot water and deep breathing will start you on the road to Wellville.

Mr. McClellan is connected with the selling staff of the McConnell Printing Company, 226 to 242 William Street, and finds time to indulge in his regular morning exercises before breakfast.

Mr. McClellan was born in New York City, April 10th, 1855, AND STILL GOING STRONG.

THE EDITORS.



A MODEL FAMILY OF HEALTH AND INTELLIGENCE—PRODUCT OF PHYSICAL CULTURE



By **LOVETT FORT-WHITEMAN**

DRAMATIC EDITOR

"THE ETERNAL MAGDALINE" MR. TOM BROWN'S EXTERNALIZED DREAM

The play, "The Eternal Magdaline" is an excellent American product of the neo-romantic school. Unlike the neo-romantic plays of the Old World, the dramatist chooses a naturalistic theme, and upon that builds a strangely beautiful and highly artistic piece of social criticism. He uncovers the snobbery, the hypocrisy, the selfishness of the prevailing Church, the bigotry of our moral precepts, and the lie upon which our social order is supported. The dramatist does not attempt a solution, but to the spectator it is obvious that vice and prostitution are the inherent sores in our social order, that the remedy lies not in patching up and revamping, segregation, etc., but revolutionizing of our ground-economic system.

The technique of "The Eternal Magdaline" is not entirely new but quite uncommon of plays in the dramatic category.

Miss Abbie Mitchell, playing the title role showed a lack of dramatic vision; there was not that spiritualness in portrayal of a character which in its own nature was intangible and unreal—the shadowy creation of a fervid dream. Her conception unquestionably was too realistic and material; so much so that at the concluding scenes of the production, the audience was astonished when it discovered that she had only been a dream.

—:o:—

NATURALISM IN LITERATURE

It is probably indisputable that concomitant with military victory and conquest goes decadence

in art and literature. This is clearly brought out in the fact that no literary movement has originated in Germany since the Franco-Prussian War. For more than forty-five years Germany has exclusively devoted her energies to achieving national unity and building up a great empire. With her it has been an age of national will and effort.

The modern German drama dates from about the year 1889, in the tone of the naturalistic drama. Naturalism in literature begins in France with Emile Zola.

Herman Sudermann in Germany caught its truth, and we have "The Weavers," probably the greatest naturalistic drama in the world's literature.

Naturalism as expressed is hardly more than a photograph of some phase of human existence without comment from the poet or author.

The patrons of the Lafayette Theatre have been gratified with an excellent sample of the naturalistic school—"The Song of Songs," presented the week of December 3rd. The presentation was characterized by the finest combination of artists who have been seen on the Lafayette stage for a long time.

Miss Abbie Mitchell as Lily Kardos was superb and natural; a sincere and faithful expression of those types of females who through economic determinism are forced to submerge their better selves, who for physical subsistence are led into the grim and perverted channels of greed, unhappiness, and misery.

The debonair Mr. Francis Mores as Senator Daniel Calkins displayed a pleasing conception of a roue of high society. I doubt if the histrionic abilities of Mr. Mores have been fully recog-

nized by the management of the Lafayette Theatre. This actor possesses a peculiar innate refinement that is especially most marked when stimulated by the urban tenor of the social drama.

Mr. Wm. Townsend's art is always so delicate, so easy and real. As Richard Laird his portrayal was thorough and convincing.

As a whole the presentation was good, and should encourage both artists and management to higher achievements.

—:o:—

"PLAYS SUGGESTED TO THE LAFAYETTE THEATRE"

American Dramas

"Dessalines" and "Henri Christopher," two highly poetic dramas by Mr. Eaton. The background of these plays is historical; reflecting the heroic struggle of the Negroes of Santo Domingo against France for their independence. The plays are well written, and superbly artistic in construction.

"The Faithful" and "The Tragedy of Nan," by John Masefield. The first named is a beautiful Japanese tragedy. The dramaturgic character of this play lends itself readily to the economic suggestive methods of presentation.

English Dramas

"The Big Drum," "The Gay Lord Quex," "The Thunderbolt" and "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," by Sir Wing Pinero, the greatest dramatist in the English-speaking language. The last named play marks the birth of the modern British drama. Its technique is perfect, and has stood as a model for all subsequent dramatists.

"Man and Superman," "Andro-

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cles and The Lion," "Candida" and "Arms and The Man," by G. Bernard Shaw. Mr. Bernard Shaw doubtless is the best known of all English dramatists.

"The Mob," "The Fugitive," "Justice," by John Galsworthy.

Irish Dramas

"The Glittering Gates," "The Golden Doom," "The Tents of the Arabs," by Lord Dunsany.

"The Unicorn From the Stars," by Lady Gregory.

"Riders of the Sea," "The Playboy of the Western World," by John M. Synge. The first named play is regarded by many critics to be the greatest one-act play the world.

"The Land of Heart's Desire" and "Where There Is Nothing," by William Butler Yeats. The latter two named playwrights represent the foremost in Ireland.

French Dramas

"The Red Robe" and "Maternity," by Eugene Brieux. The first named play is probably the greatest in modern French dramatic literature, and by a dramatist who is indisputably recognized as the greatest in France of today.

A dramatized version of the celebrated novel, "Thais" of Anatole France.

"Cyrano de Bergerac," by Edmond Rostand.

"The Thief," by Henry Bernstein.

Belgian Dramas

"Marie Magdaline," "The Blue Bird," by Maurice Maeterlinck.

"The Cloister," by Emile Verhaeren.

German Dramas

"The Joy of Living," "Fires of St. John," "Magda," and "The Weavers," by Herman Sudermann.

"Lonely Lives" and "The Assumption of Hannele," by Gerhart Hauptmann.

Norwegian Dramas

"Ghosts," "Hedda Gabler," and "Peer Gynt," by Henri Ibsen.

Swedish Dramas

"The Creditor," "Advent," "Fraulein Julie," "Margit," subtitled "La Femme du Chevalier Bengt," by August Strindberg.

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Who's Who

Clemenceau

The tiger of French politics has ascended to the premiership. His one absorbing passion is, "win the war." His record in public life, points to the high probability of his disregarding the plaints of the war-weary and the protest of the radicals in pushing the war on vigorously.

Clemenceau, like the men with whom he counsels, will necessarily reflect the wishes of his capitalistic over-lords. Then, too, he is a strong proponent of Delcassé's anti-German slogan, "révauche."

However, the people are not looking to great leaders any more; they are looking to the genius of class consciousness.

Miss Carrie Chapman Catt

Miss Carrie Chapman Catt has been an interesting figure in the woman suffrage movement. She has fought valiantly for woman suffrage.

The great honor and merit, however, will not lie in the winning of suffrage as it will in the use of it.

Hence, it is likely that these brave, intelligent socialist women, who fought so unflinchingly, will justly claim more at the hands of prosperity; since they are committed to the program of relieving poverty by abolishing it.

The abolition of poverty brings happiness and happiness is the end of life. Let us hope that the suffrage leader, Miss Catt, will do herself no less proud in the use of the ballot as she has done in securing it in New York by using it to abolish poverty, in other words, to abolish our capitalist system.

Colonel House

During the recent mayoralty campaign in New York City, the New York World carried a series of articles on: Who is John F. Hylan?

We would also ask a question which is, perhaps, more impor-

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WHO'S WHO—Continued

tant, since the personality in point is dealing with the most momentous issue before the people of the world—peace. The question is: Who is Colonel E. M. House? We would also ask, what is Colonel E. M. House?

Those who compile "Whos Who" had better get busy and set the public at ease; for the questions with which this person is grappling are too grave and far-reaching to be entrusted to a Mr. X.

Morris Hillquit

The most talked about man today in America is Morris Hillquit. Maligned and abused by the reactionaries and their kept press, all have to concede his sterling character and his exceptional ability. His successful leadership of the Socialist ticket in the New York municipal campaign just closed—raising the Socialist vote of the city to 150,000—has centered all eyes upon him. Cool, deliberate and constructive, no one could call him a hothead like Charles Edward Russell. He is not a politician but a political scientist. His is the only party which runs social students for office. With his masterly mind and his unpurchasable principles Hillquit will yet bring greater honors to the Socialist party while he will be honored in turn a thousand fold. The reactionaries fear that general of peace more than they fear Von Hindenburg—the general of war.

Sen. Robert M. La Follette

Robert M. La Follette is a man of independence, brains and character. He is not a mold to conventions. He sat in his seat when others rose to applaud the President bearing his war message. So straight has he played with the people of Wisconsin that the Senate is afraid to expel him. They are afraid he will run again and win by 300,000 plurality instead of 200,000, as the last time. It would be a national calamity to lose the only spokesman of the people in the United States Senate. The only difference between La Follette and Liebnicht is that La Follette is not in jail.

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WHO'S WHO—Continued

Lloyd George

Lloyd George is supposed to be delivering a statement of the Allies' war aims in a few days. The Allied Council in Paris should have done that as a military stroke. Why Lloyd George prevented it is a question for history. This blunder has probably lost to the Allies the biggest country in the war—Russia. And Russia has borne more sacrifices than any country among the Allies.

From the beginning Lloyd George has shown himself a poor judge of men. He seems to have only mechanical conceptions. The psychology of men he does not reckon with. He forgets that even a soldier sometimes thinks, especially when he sees sharp and patent discrepancies between professions and practices. The old method of compulsion must be substituted by attraction. The policy of drive must give way to inducement. The sooner Lloyd George learns this the better. Men like cattle are more easily led than driven—even though the principle, "theirs not the reason why," rules.

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Emmet J. Scott.

Emmet J. Scott, formerly Secretary to Booker T. Washington, was recently appointed assistant to Baker, in supervising and looking after the interests of colored soldiers. Just what Mr. Scott has been doing we do not know. Why did he not lay before the country the fact that the Negro soldiers were about to be railroaded to the gallows? Or was he not notified? And if he was not notified of the worst execution of soldiers which has taken place in the entire world war, in a line directly under his department, he ought to ask the reason why, and, if need be, to protest against the slight by tendering his resignation.

We are not at all interested in a mere Negro's being in the War Department. We are interested in something's being done. Unless one Negro serves, put in another, or if necessary, a white man who will act. It does seem that with the notice served in advance—four days—Scott could have communicated with the N. A. A. C. P. and got Du Bois and his machine to going. It is claimed the President would have been deluged with appeals, but that is just what we desired. Every Negro in the U. S. might have afforded a telegram to save our brave, unselfish boys. Let us hear now from Emmet J. Scott.

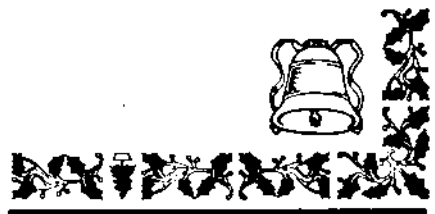


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