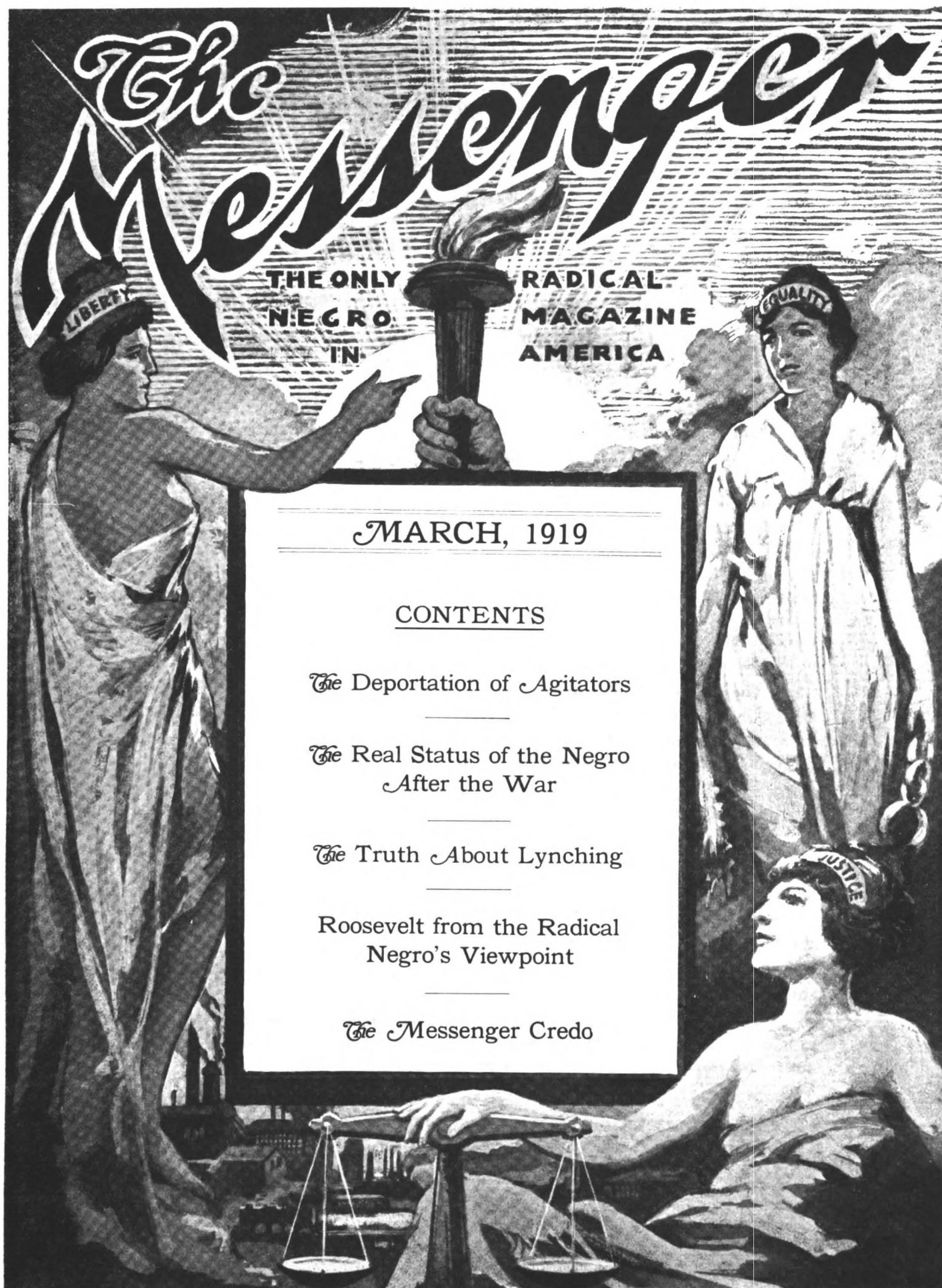


The Negro and the New Social Order



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for
THE MESSENGER

*The only Magazine of Scientific Radicalism
in the World Published by Negroes*

It is written in fine style; its matter is logically presented; its interpretations are made calmly and dispassionately—without prejudice in favor of the Negro or against the White Man.

Our aim is to appeal to reason, to lift our pens above the cringing demogogy of the times and above the cheap, peanut politics of the old, reactionary Negro leaders.

Patriotism has no appeal to us; justice has. Party has no weight with us; principle has. Loyalty is meaningless; it depends on what one is loyal to. Prayer is not one of our remedies; it depends on what one is praying for. We consider prayer as nothing more than a fervent wish; consequently the merit and worth of a prayer depend upon what the fervent wish is. Still we know that all wishes, desires, hopes—must be realized through the adoption of sound methods. This requires scientific education—a knowledge of the means by which the end aimed at may be attained.

The means through which we are confident and sanguine of accomplishing this coveted work, are these:

First, to create and crystallize sentiment against the present unrighteous conditions, through an organized educational campaign.

Second, to compile and distribute literature and to conduct public lectures on the vital issues affecting the colored people's economic and political destiny.

Third, to appraise men and measures in public life.

Fourth, to examine, expose and condemn cunning and malicious political marplots in the legislative, judicial and executive departments of the city, state and nation.

Fifth, fearlessly to criticize and to denounce selfish and self-styled leaders.

Finally, to devote our influence uncompromisingly to the advocacy of all principles, to the endorsement of all men, and to the support of all movements working for justice and progress.

Test us on any question. Write us letters of comment. Suggest subjects you desire to have us discuss. THE MESSENGER will take a courageous and sound position without regard to race, creed, color, sex or political party.

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EDITORS

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

CHANDLER OWEN

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH,
President and Business Mgr.

CHANDLER OWEN,
Secretary-Treasurer

LOUIS GEORGE, Advertising Manager

GEORGE FRAZIER MILLER, Contributing Editor

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EDITORIALS

THE DEPORTATION OF AGITATORS

The government's seizure of 58 labor agitators and its threatened seizure of about 8,000 more for the purpose of deporting them is characterized by Morris Hillquit as "shameless and senseless." That is perfectly true, but it is also perfectly normal. Deportation is a very ancient and idiotic method of dealing with agitators. The ruling classes, whether clergy, military junkers, or the aristocracy, have hated and dealt with agitators mercilessly. Sometimes an option was allowed between exile and death. Socrates chose death to exile, considering it cowardly to go away. Karl Marx was deported from Germany. Trotsky was driven out of France. Spain deported the Jews in the Fifteenth Century. And Christ would have been deported but for the fact that his persecutors thought he had some power to get back into the country. In the United States deportation is very old. So general has it been that only those of us who have closely observed Southern conditions can thoroughly appreciate it. Magistrates, police commissioners and judges commonly try Negroes in the South and give them sentences to leave the town, city, county or state in five hours, twenty-four hours, one hour, a half hour. Nothing is more likely either for a Negro agitator. The Negroes are told that this "Yankee nigger" is trying to get you all in trouble. And the Negro agitator is told that "we white folks get along perfectly peacefully with our "niggers" and they are satisfied until you "Yankee niggers" put notions of social equality in their heads." Then sentence for the agitator follows. The Negro agitator will get one of three things—first, sentence to jail, probably followed by lynching; second, sentence to jail to be transferred to a peonage farm or lumber swamp; and third, sentence to leave the place, that is, deportation.

I hear certain readers saying now, Why, that is not deportation. But, gentle reader, you are mistaken. It is the germ of deportation on the small scale. It tends to become national and finally international. And nothing could be more natural for our present Bourbon Southern Democratic Congress to adopt than a system of deportation. They have seen it all their lives. But you still ask, How about this wholesale deportation of foreigners? Why should that disturb you? Haven't you heard of or seen plenty of wholesale deportations of Negroes? Who does not know of counties, cities and towns in Georgia, Mississippi and Texas, ordering all Negroes to leave before night. Has not that wholesale deportation specter also appeared in Springfield, Illinois, the state of Abraham Lincoln?

What our American people seem to lack the sense and foresight to see is that crime and persecution know no race, color or state line. They are like yellow fever or tuberculosis germs. These germs cross state lines, affect all races and colors of people. Crime germs are the same. John Jones, a Negro, is lynched today. Leo Frank, a rich Jew and white man, is lynched tomorrow. Negroes are run out of Springfield this week; next week 1,200 Bisbee miners are deported into a desert. Those who dominate and control the government care nothing about a white man or a black man. They will starve white women as well as black women. They will coin the blood of white children into money as readily as they will that of black children. When either race rises to protest against exploitation or to adopt measures for relief or improvement, it will be crushed ruthlessly and relentlessly by our reactionary plutocrats.

Personally, we believe in deportation. We differ with those who control this government only in what is deported. The agitator does not produce the discontent. He may heighten, intensify and extend it. He may give organization and direction to the action adopted by the discontented. But the real discontent is produced largely by the conditions. And the agitator is a product of the conditions. Without the conditions his agitation would spring forth stillborn. What the reactionaries of this country need to do is to deport the unspeakable conditions under which the people are living.

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

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

This agitation must be stopped at the source and the agitator is not the source. Just as it is easiest, cheapest and quickest to collect an income tax by "stoppage at the source," it is also easiest to collect this agitation there.

A word next to our Americo-Americans, our good old native stock who are care-free, indifferent and unconcerned about these "just foreigners." You are no more secure against deportation than the foreigners. These men are not being deported because they are foreigners. They are being deported because they are agitating for a new social order in which the people who work will get what they produce or earn, as against our present social order in which those who work get very little of what they produce, while those who do not work, get the fat part of the wealth produced by the workers. When this idea gets clear into the heads of enough of the plain people, it will mean less profits to our American plutocrats. Hence this deportation of foreigners. But they are only incidentally foreigners. Americans will be deported just as readily when they begin on a large scale to grasp the intelligent class consciousness of the foreign workers, whether they be whites or Negroes.

All Negro and white citizens who are interested in justice, liberty and fair play should lend all aid within their power to prevent this vicious miscarriage of justice which makes our protestations of this "land of the free" a sham, a mockery, a rape on decency and a travesty on common sense.

Deport these dastardly conditions from America—its peonage, lynching, poverty, discrimination and plutocracy, and not these self-respecting men who are too manly to cower to this unspeakable wage slavery.

IMMIGRATION AND THE JEWS

Our reactionary Congressional Committee on Immigration has just reported favorably a bill to bar Jewish immigrants for the next four years, and disgraceful though it be, the bill has chances of passing. Why the Jews? A similar bill was presented in 1915 barring Negroes. Booker Washington and others opposed it, but that was only for effect. The bill had not the slightest chance of passing. Why?

Well, the Negro immigrants, on the whole, are ignorant, disorganized, non-radical and easily exploited. Not so with the Jews. They are radical, largely socialistic, and they organize into labor unions with an efficiency and quickness which puts our native American whites to shame. They are the leaders of the radical movement. They are to the fore as agitators in all countries. Christ was an agitator in the world, Karl Marx in Germany, Adler in Austria, Trotsky in Russia, Maximillian Harden in Germany, Brandeis, Hillquit and Ship-lacoff in America. They are not only agitators, but they are able scholars who have the power to convince people. In the eyes of those who rule, the Jews are dangerous. They are not satisfied with giving a big Jew a job, as have been the Negroes. They want more wages—all they produce. They strike against Jewish employers as readily as any others. They are class conscious more than race conscious. They make any sacrifice to educate their children. All of these things are displeasing to the powers that be in America. The manufacturers, bankers, traders and military junkers find them difficult to deal with. They are not easily robbed, fooled or exploited and they have the intelligent self-interest to teach others the same thing. Besides their long history and tradition of persecution for principle make jails and prisons no terror to them. Hence the Rockefellers, Carnegies, Morgans and Dodges prefer to keep them out.

Of course, this anti-Jew Immigration law is foolish and will not stop the trend of evolution. But we want to call our readers' attention to the real reason. Thinking and class conscious Negro citizens must oppose this discrimination against the Jewish people.

PROHIBITION

Since our last writing, the prohibition amendment to the federal constitution has been adopted. While giving due consideration to the argument of personal privilege and individual liberty, we believe the putting into effect of this law will be beneficial to the common people. Our capitalists, of course, have no regard for anything but profits. They had the amendment ratified because they felt that the workers would produce more with sober minds, which would mean more profits to them. The insurance companies, which are powerful financial combinations today, viewed it from the profit point of view, too. They find that the abstainers from drink live about ten years longer, which means an immense profit increase to them.

We believe the workers have a side here, too. With the mind free from alcoholic effects, they can think more clearly. We wonder how much the abolition of vodka played in the Russian revolution! Did it help the common people of Russia to think more clearly? Who knows but what the American people will do more thinking now about their real wages, how much they are getting for their labor power, the education of their children, comfortable homes for family, amusement and recreation for their children! Our attention has been especially attracted to the Negro and prohibition. We believe there is ample evidence that it has helped him in the South. And when one observes the masses of Negroes in the bar rooms of New York, Philadel-

phia, Cleveland and Chicago, throwing away their money, poisoning their bodies, incited to crime by liquor, he says "Amen" to the Prohibition Amendment. We took a trip through these cities last year just after we had written the following editorial, which we reproduce here to show our change in mind to a more definite opinion. We said last July:

PROHIBITION

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

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

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

"Lastly, should we have prohibition or temperance? To this we can hear our prohibition friends replying that temperance is not possible if the drinker can secure his drink. Again we ask, Cannot the kinds of drinks be so limited as to achieve the ends of temperance? Already the law has achieved something of the kind by limiting the per cent of alcohol which may constitute beers, etc. It may yet be found desirable to put the country on a light wine and beer basis. Italy and Germany have been on such a basis for years, and those countries have little trouble with drunkenness. Moreover, the German citizens, with their wine and beer 'gartens' are among the most husky, healthy and robust people in the world.

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

NEGRO PASSPORTS REFUSED

Passports for Negroes to the Pan-African Congress in Paris are refused. Such was the announcement from the state department. This, however, meant only certain Negroes, just like the refusal for Socialists meant only certain Socialists. Spargo, Walling, Stokes and Charles Edward Russell, being pure in heart, could go allegedly to represent the Socialists even though no socialists wanted them. Moton, Du Bois and Lester Walton could go even though nobody wanted them but President Wilson. In other words, "good Socialists" and "good niggers" could go. To be good you must have the stamp of approval of President Wilson and his bourbon Southern Democrats. That some Negro

leaders and some Socialist leaders could qualify is sufficient comment.

Now the real reason for the refusal of passports to the Negroes who have a backbone where some leaders have a wishbone is that we are supposed to be carrying democracy to Europe. But it is difficult to market your goods, especially if the product is damaged. Full privilege of *emptor caveat* (let the purchaser beware) is needed to market the American brand of democracy. Negro leaders must be permitted to go who would not discuss disfranchisement, who would not tell of lynching (enabling comparison with atrocities in Belgium), who would not tell of peonage, color and race discrimination. These things would embarrass the President, so "safe and sane" Negro leaders like Du Bois and Moton, "doncha know," were agreeable to Colonel House. This is the same Colonel House from Texas, who controls the "Harpoon," the most rabid, Negro-baiting, Negro-hating magazine which we have ever read. In our April issue we shall publish a few excerpts from the "Harpoon" (get that) and let you be the judge of what real calibre can be in Negro leaders who could qualify to Colonel House's satisfaction.

So when it is said that Negro passports are denied, it means just what it says. But "niggers"—"good niggers," safe and sound leaders who will take orders—can get them.

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THE 44-HOUR WEEK

This specter seems to be in the United States to stay. We mean as the maximum hours of labor. The American Federation of Labor leadership thinks this demand too radical, we judge, inasmuch as the International Labor Mission of which Gompers is Chairman, has just submitted its memorandum of demands calling for an eight-hour day. Gompers and Booker Washington have held about the same views on labor. *Booker Washington always urged Negroes to get more work, never shorter hours and more wages.* The plutocratic board of trustees at Tuskegee would not stand for anything else. But it does seem that a labor leader would be able to urge shorter hours, more wages and better working conditions.

This forty-four hour week is terrible and alarming more in what it portends than how it presently materially offends. The forty-four hour demand will soon reach thirty-four, and the demands will continue as labor becomes more intelligent. An effort will be made later to get the hours down to four. Then an attempt to get them to two. Soon labor will get them down to one, *after which a desperate effort will be made to get them down to none.* Be not deceived. This is the way capital views it. When labor is paid all it produces it will need to work a very short while to get its present wages. Negroes must get into this 44-hour week influenza. Negroes work too long and for too low wages. They have no time for study, recreation and amusement. They must unionize for more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. If white men can afford to work only 44 hours, Negroes cannot afford to work longer. Let all Negro workers get their eyes on this shorter day. People plan on you while

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you are working. You must stop at the same time others stop to watch what is going on. Begin to talk in work shops, barber shops, parlors, churches, schools and at meals about these *shorter hours* and *larger wages*. If you get your minds thoroughly set, we guarantee the method and direction.

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PRINCES ISLAND CONFERENCE

The Allies and the Russians are now at Princes Island in conference on peace. Why a desert island was selected, we were about to say, no one knows. But we know, so we won't say that. There has not been much publicity at the Paris Conference where all are of about one mind and the same type school of diplomats. But at Princes Island there will be Russian scholars who will puncture any imperialistic proposals and publish them to the world. The Russians—the Soviet government and the Bolsheviks—do not believe in secret diplomacy. Where deeds are clean they feel that light will not hurt them. They want the world to know the truth about Russia, about the war with France, England and America. Russia is anxious to report everything done at the peace conference. Why should not everything be published, since what is done is the world's business, for the whole world suffers from wars created subtly and inevitably by imperialistic secret treaties?

How childish for the Allies to believe that Russia will not publish all that is done there to the world. No power that they possess can conceal the proceedings. After a brief period, we shall know all that happened there, just as we now know all about Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest.

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THE GERMAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Weimar is the birthplace of the formal German Republic. Its deliberations have displayed every mark of the German genius for order, discipline and organization. Judging from the past, this will be one of the most efficiently run governments of the world.

It will also be more democratic than any other government in the world, except Russia. This, of course, will be due to the larger number of Socialists who will have a voice in shaping its policies. Nor will the Ebert-Scheidmann group hold mastery over the destinies of the German people long. The more radical Spartacists will ere long rise to power, for the plain people are done with half loaves, they are crying and fighting in all countries for the whole loaf. It can not be different in Germany.

The New Germany has arisen.

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PEACE CONFERENCE

Our subject suggests that the securing of peace is the object of this conference. But, peace is a state arrived at through a process of give and take, carried on, of course, between the victor and the vanquished. This is the case, unless the diplomacy of Metternich and Bismark is to be revived. This,

however, is a conference of the Allied countries and not a peace conference between the belligerents. Germany and the smaller nations, doubtless, will be told to accept the peace which is "pieced" up for them by the blessed Allied peace-makers—pieced up, too, as of old, behind closed doors, in secret diplomacy. The world will get "secret covenants, secretly arrived at." A "League of White Nations" has been formed to carry on wars, in the future, according to approved rules of humanity.

There must be no more Belgiums. There may be Congo massacres of innocent Africans by Belgians, though. There may be Memphis and Waco (Texas) burnings of Negroes. Hush! Don't raise the race issue!

Japan raised the race issue and threw a monkey wrench into the league of white nations which well nigh knocked the peace conference to pieces. It was successfully side-tracked, however. This question would not bear the slightest examination by the American peace commission which has its vexatious Negro problem and which excludes Japanese immigrants by a gentleman's agreement. Nor could Great Britain face the issue with her West Indian colonies and her India. Australia, a British dominion, excludes both Negroes and Asiatics.

Will this conference bring peace and prevent future wars? The answer to this question is: that the same causes that produced the war just ended are latent in the foundations which are being built by the agents of imperialism in this conference. So long as there is a bone before hungry dogs, they will fight over it. So long as there are weaker peoples and undeveloped countries and stronger peoples and developed countries, these conditions must needs be prolific and productive of wars. If the peace conference does not break up in a war, it will be followed by wars, at no distant date. There are *peace* conferences and *piece* conferences.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Again the Susan B. Anthony's Suffrage Amendment failed by one vote. Despite the injunctions of their leader, Woodrow Wilson, the bourbon Southern brood, refused to be delivered up upon the altar of progress. The feudalistic South is as opposed to democratic institutions as was the Czar of Russia. Southern chivalry still pampers and coddles its women, thinks in terms of the past; still celebrates the "lost cause," and would secede tomorrow in order to preserve its bourbon and ancient tradition of reaction. There must arise a new South out of the ashes of the old before the light of progress can penetrate its social fastnesses. When will that be? God knows!

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RETURNING SOLDIERS

White and colored soldiers are returning covered with glory and praise and honor; bedecked with the Croix de Guerre and other insignia for bravery. The public is astir with interest in decorating stores, hanging flags, preparing chicken and turkey dinners, in appreciation of the heroic deeds of valor

and sacrifice of "our boys," to "make Europe chafe for democracy." The expression: "Our boys" will be heard among the surging crowd. But about what are "our boys" thinking? Will they be jim-crowded, in the South, while returning to greet, to embrace the "old people"? Will they be given the vote on the disposition of taxes which they pay? Will they be lynched and burned for speaking correct English or for wearing the Croix de Guerre? Some lean and hungry-looking creature asks these questions, and is forthwith branded a Bolshevik and cut to pieces with cruel, assassinating glances.

When you condemned lynching during the war, you were dubbed pro-German and jailed. But, now, that the war is over, if you inquire whether the government is going to be patriotic to the soldiers as the soldiers have been patriotic to it; the hands of the lip-service patriots, profiteers and parasites are thrown up in holy horror and speculations as to the sanity of the inquirer are immediately made. The boys who fought the "Hun" will return to find that their old jobs are held by women who work for less wages, longer hours. If, perchance, they do secure jobs, they must accept wages that afford but a low standard of living. Already soldiers have been compelled to organize themselves into unions in order to protect their best interests. They are being released by the government, in many cases, with no money and no jobs. The government appears to have no reconstruction program. Of course, when it is necessary to pass legislation to draft men's lives, Congress is right on the job, but when the time comes to draft the dollars of the rich to pay the men for risking their lives, Congress debates and investigates while hundreds of thousands of men are unemployed and hungry. The Overman Committee which, by the way, is not "Overmanned" with brains, proceeds to hunt down Bolshevism. The Overman Committee is the chief agent in producing the very thing it seeks to destroy. Karl Marx was right when he said that "capitalism contains the seeds of its own destruction." The methods which they adopt, while calculated to allay, increase discontent. Discontent will grow among the soldiers, both white and black. Negro soldiers, especially, are asking: "How are things going to be with us now?" This, of course, is dreadful, for we know that things will not only not be any better, but they will, unquestionably, be worse. This is true with all common working people. How can things be better? Wages are lower, the cost of living is practically the same as when wages were higher. Unemployment is rife. Lynching still goes merrily on. They certainly will not get the vote if Heflin's, Hoke Smith's and Vardaman's tongues don't cleave to the roof of their mouths. Besides, your big Negro leader only wants you to be considered 100 per cent Americans after the war as you were considered during the war, whatever that means. Of course, if being lynched, during the war, is what is meant by being 100 per cent Americans, we understand.

Returning soldiers must put their thinking caps on. For now is the time to use brains, not bullets.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOR CONFERENCE AT BERNE

It was, indeed, regrettable that nationalistic atavism ruled the actions and utterances of the Socialists gathered at Berne. The old, savage instinct of: my tribe or no tribe surged in regnant form. Especially were the speeches of the French delegation decidedly chauvanistic; fairly motivated with the blood-thirsty spirit of the victor. Renaudel and Albert Thomas covered themselves with shame; prating and hurling imperialistic diatribes and anathemas at their humbled German brothers. The restless desire to establish the responsibility for the beginning of the war smacked of the Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Wilson diplomacy. The "bad nation" theory raised its ugly and menacing head to do violence to one of the cornerstones of the Socialist philosophy—the economic interpretation of history. The bad or good nation theory is as untenable and unsound as the bad or good man theory. Internationalists are not interested as to which nation applied the fuse to the international magazine, which all of the nations are responsible for creating, which exploded in 1914 and set the world afire. All of the great power, capitalist nations, are responsible for this war. Credit must be accorded the English delegation for its sanity and its marked ability to look beyond narrow nationalistic boundaries. Unfortunately, the American delegation was unable to get any consideration at the State department until the European Socialists brought pressure to bear on President Wilson, and he cabled the department to let the American Socialist delegates pass. We deplore the absence of the American delegation from the Berne conference, as we feel that the record of the American Socialist party on the war would have had a stabilizing effect in holding the conference down to sound internationalism. Gompers and his motley crew, of course, refused to attend, fearing lest his Simon pure patriotism be defiled by the "brutish Socialist beasts" at Berne, who were trying to reconstruct the international to conquer the world for the workers. The law of mutual repulsion is, presently, ruling national psychologies. When the storm of elemental passion passes, the law of mutual co-operation will raise a new international out of the ashes of this world débacle.

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THE FOREIGNER AND THE AMERICAN

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

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

The literature of England fairly bristles with disparaging references to the French character. There was a widespread opinion in English society that

the French people were fickle and their women were immoral.

The French people, in turn, have looked upon the English as a race of boorish, crude, vulgar and uncultured human beings.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ask your leader in which states would he prefer to deliver a speech against lynching, Georgia and Tennessee or New York and Massachusetts? Remember, however, that the dirty foreigners live in

New York and Massachusetts and our good old American-native-stock hold forth in Georgia and Tennessee

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GET OUT OF RUSSIA!

This is the cry of every lover of liberty and democracy. "But why," the doubting Thomases ask, "should the allied armies come out of Russia?" Have not the financial rulers in the various allied countries loaned millions of dollars to the Russian Czar, that was? Have not the allies "made the world safe for democracy," and, do not the French, English and American bankers, who are the underwriters of the Russian loans, represent democracy? Besides, what right have a people—180 millions of Russian peasants, oppressed and exploited, for whom the Czar, their erstwhile benefactor, borrowed money in good faith, to repudiate such well approved and accepted capitalist ethical arrangements—debts? Villians! Culprits! Thieves! "They will reap what they have sown," says the "Good Book," which we capitalists so dearly love.

Again these Russians have no respect whatever for law and order. They preach the doctrines of Bolshevism—the doctrine of human and property destruction. Hence they must be taught a lesson. We must shoot Bolshevism out of them and shoot capitalist democracy into them.

But, happily, none of these things move the Russian people. They have come to learn that most times the very man who cries "Stop Thief," usually has the loot under his own arm. They have found out that those who have been preaching about democracy the loudest are the most unwilling to extend it to others. They have learnt that the bourgeois democrats neither wanted the Kaiser to rule nor do they want the people of Germany, of Russia or of any other country to rule; and when a severe economic interpretation of the history of the motives of the allied countries, in this war, is made, it will be found that the allies consider the rule of the Kaiser as the lesser of the two evils.

But even if the allied governments do not defer to the judgment of international justice and immediately withdraw their armies from Russia, it is not improbable that when the armies are withdrawn they will be most effective instruments in the propagation of Bolshevism. And this portentous nightmare of eventually withdrawing armies thoroughly saturated with the virus of real democracy, is the only grounds upon which the allies will entertain any plea of withdrawing the armies from Russia. Self-interest is the only motive which rules the actions of the ruling nations, and it should be the only motive which should rule the actions of the working classes. The international proletariat should concertedly call an international labor strike unless the allied governments immediately withdraw their armies from Russia and also accord the Soviet government a voice at the peace table.

An international strike is the only weapon in the hands of the working people which can force Great Britain, France, America, Italy and Japan to give a seat in the peace conference to the accredited representatives of the Russian people.

Now, as after every war in human history, the spirit of reaction gains the ascendancy in the victorious countries. The victors are always intoxi-

cated with their power. But just as the Kaiser spoke imperiously, as his fate was being written by the invisible hand of the German revolution, so are the masters—the diplomats of the ruling governments today, thoughtlessly treading upon the crater of an international social volcano, whose molten lava of class passions threaten to drench the land in blood; to wash away the dikes of our false civilization; to sweep on in its course the derelict and hypocritical kings of capitalism, and to erect upon the ruins thereof a new civilization, a new social order, a true international peoples' republic—a "world Soviet."

It will be the blackest of all international crimes in the history of mankind if the world condones any "black hand" movement to blackjack the Russian revolution by military occupation and denying the Soviet government a voice in the peace conference. It was Russia who stayed the red and reeking hand of German militarism with her millions of men, while the allies were mobilizing their man power and munition power.

The vast problem of reorganizing the social machinery of 180 millions of peoples just released from the clutches of the worst despotism in history, scattered over an area comprising one-sixth of the known land of the world, is no child's play. Order cannot be secured within the short period of a year in Russia any more than it was secured in America after the revolt of 1776, or in France after the revolution of 1789. America was even torn by a Civil War for four years after she was supposed to have attained national unity. No one interfered then in the internal affairs of America. Why, then, do the so-called liberals and bourgeois democrats desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia now? This is the most significant experiment in the international laboratory of world politics, sociology and economics. If allowed to pursue its natural course unhindered, the science of government will be immeasurably enriched by the legislative and administrative invention which shall emerge out of the process. Again we demand that the allies get out of Russia!

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THE CO-OPERATIVE FARM AND STORE

In America the co-operative method of buying and selling has been adopted on a very small scale. This, of course, is due to two main reasons. First, the absence of any extensive and fundamental knowledge of the co-operative business method; second, to the fact that the big private chain store system has opposed it.

However, despite these handicaps the farmer of the West, who forms the Non-Partisan League and the grape growers of California have achieved signal success in marketing their produce. The farmers of the West are scrapping the parasitic commission jobbers who rob both the farmer who produces the potato and the consumer who buys it.

The Non-Partisan League of farmers has even established banks for lending money to farmers at the legal rate of interest, and on easy terms. They are also operating their own grain elevators, and are planning to own and operate flour mills and refrigerator cars.

They have realized that an individual farmer is

powerless in bargaining with corporate capital, and that unless the farmer adopts the co-operative plan of producing and distributing his products he will ere long sink into the tenant farmer or farm laborer class. It is impossible for small farmers to get loans from capitalist banks at a reasonable rate of interest with which to cultivate their land. According to John Skelton Williams, comptroller of the currency, who recently made an investigation into the loan business carried on by banks with farmers, especially in the South, "The banks were charging poor white and black farmers as high as 125 per cent on the dollar. The farmers being unable to pay such an interest, lose their farms. As one sociologist aptly put it, "There are three privileges which a Negro farmer has, namely, debt, death and the privilege to get out of the road whenever he sees a white man coming." The first two privileges, it might be added, also apply to the poor white farmer.

Obviously the only remedy for this condition lies in the farmers combining on the co-operative plan and establishing their own banks, and where such surplus as may exist sharing among themselves. Here it is plain that the interest of the poor white and black farmer is the same.

The farmers are fleeced and swindled by speculative commission agents who swarm South to buy up the crops before they are out of the ground. The poor farmers need money and they can't postpone for better market prices. This is what the bulls and bears call in Wall Street, ("Cornering the Market").

American farmers may easily profit from the success and experiences of their European brothers. War-ridden Europe has found its chief support in the co-operative stores. Even in Russia, the co-operative stores, farms and banks were the only economic organizations upon which the peasants could rely, because they belonged to the people.

In England, Germany and France, the governments realized their helplessness and subsidized the co-operative stores. This proves that in the dire extremities of the capitalist governments they are compelled to adopt the most democratic form of organization for efficiency in production and exchange. The capitalist competitive method of production and distribution has, indeed, collapsed. The capitalists hate to admit it, but they have got to admit it.

White and black workers alike, lack intelligent leadership which is responsible to them. Of course, the Socialists answer these requirements, but this the people must be taught; they don't know it. They are still the victims of the prostitute, kept capitalist press and the subsidized capitalist schools.

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AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

Provincialism in this country proceeds apace. We Americans are bigoted, conceited, petty, hidebound and narrow. An institution is good, according to the Americo-American viewpoint, only if it is indigenous to American soil. In the light of our highly foreign population, and in the light of the splendid contributions from abroad to government, politics, economics, social legislation, literature, science and art, it is unmitigated effrontery to listen to this Americo-American estimate.

Almost every thing of value in America has come from abroad—in either its original or its derivative form, as a rule adjusting itself to the special conditions here. Child labor laws, workmen's compensation laws, social insurance, factory legislation, city administration, public abattoirs, educational systems, French, English and German scientific contributions in the fields of physics, chemistry and biology—all are highly foreign and American only by wise adoption whenever we have shown that wisdom, which, unhappily, has been too infrequently.

We wish to call our readers' attention to five distinctly American institutions which are especially significant:

1. The Pork Barrel—A system of mutual congressional graft which could not be tolerated in England or France—and certainly not in Russia.
2. Tammany Hall—An institution formulated and maintained to make of corruption in politics directly a business. While the organization is situated in New York, it is typical of a widespread practice throughout the country.
3. Lynching—The ruthless taking of life by mob violence, either before or after trial; of either an accused or of a convicted person.

(Prof. Cutler of Yale University says lynching is a strictly American institution.)

4. Disfranchisement on Account of Color. No other country in the world has adopted such a restriction on suffrage—it being obviously ridiculous and absurd.
5. The Supreme Court—With five men possessing the power to declare unconstitutional the will of the people.

N. B.—The people make laws through their representatives, elected to Congress. The Supreme Court may declare unconstitutional such laws, as it has just declared the child labor law unconstitutional.

Our Americo-American pride must veer east whence we may orient ourselves. We must be so proud of America that we shall try to introduce the most utilitarian governmental machinery, the most just administration of the laws, the best laws for the public service, the freest system from race and color prejudice, while at the same time, we relegate our political and social disease germs like the pork barrel, Tammany Hall, lynching, color disfranchisement and the reactionary Supreme Court.

Good American institutions should be maintained and bad ones should be destroyed. That is the only sound method to adopt.

Economics and Politics

LYNCING: CAPITALISM ITS CAUSE; SOCIALISM ITS CURE

By A. Philip Randolph

First, What is lynching?

Lynching, historically speaking, is a loose term applied to various forms of executing popular justice, or what is thought to be justice. It is punishment of offenders or supposed offenders by a summary procedure without due process of law. In short, the essence of lynching is that it is extra-legal.

What Object Does It Achieve?

From the lynchers' point of view it avenges crime—and is calculated to prevent future crime.

During the Reconstruction period the Klu Klux Klan applied the lynch law to intimidate the newly enfranchised Negro voter; to prevent him from voting the Republican carpet-baggers, from the North, into control of the Southern State Governments. The competition was between the former slave-holding class and the carpet-baggers for the power to levy taxes; to issue paper mo-

ney; to raise revenue; and to grant franchise to private individuals for the operation of public utilities.

Today lynching is a practice which is used to foster and to engender race prejudice to prevent the lynchers and the lynched, the white and black workers from organizing on the industrial and voting on the political fields, to protect their labor-power.

Why do I affirm this and how is it done? This brings me to the consideration of capitalism as the cause of lynching.

Now, just a word as to the reason for inquiring into the cause. All medical scientists are agreed that precedent to prescribing a remedy for a disease, a diagnosis should be made in order to ascertain its cause. Because in order to remove the effects of a disease, physical or social, you must first remove the cause.

To illustrate: Let us assume that a community is situated beside a swampy marsh where poisonous vapors hover over the putrid, pestiferous, standing waters, and where malarial germs and mosquitoes infest. Let us further

assume that the people of this community suffer continually from malarial fever. Scientists have determined that mosquitoes are carriers of malarial germs. Now, is it not logical to assume that the swampy marsh is the cause of the malady and that the mosquito but the occasion and that in order to wipe out the effects, malarial fever, it is necessary to remove the cause of the occasion—the marsh? This, then, is no less true of lynching than of any other disease or social evil, such as child labor, white slavery, intemperance, poverty and criminal acts in general.

For clarity of exposition I shall divide the causes into two classes, and I shall treat them in the order of ultimate and immediate or occasion causes.

But, before proceeding to build our structure of the real causes of lynching, we shall do the excavation work by clearing away the debris of alleged but fallacious causes.

First, it is maintained by most superficial sociologists that "race prejudice" is the cause of lynching.

But the fallacy of this contention is immediately apparent in view of the fact that out of 3337 persons lynched between 1882 and 1903, there were 1192 white persons.

Leo Frank, Frank Little and Robert Prager, all white men, are instances of recent date.

Second, it is held by some that "rape of white women" is the real cause. Again this argument is untenable when it is known that out of the entire number of persons lynched, during the above stated period, only 34 per cent. can be ascribed to rape as the cause.

Third, still others contend that the "law's delay" is the controlling cause. This also is without force when the fact is known that men have had their day in court—taken out and lynched, despite the fact that they (the accused) were convicted or acquitted. Leo Frank is an instance in proof. Thus much for what are some of the occasions but not the causes of lynching.

We shall now consider the real and positive causes of this national evil.

As to the Meaning of Capitalism

Capitalism is a system under which a small class of private individuals make profits out of the labor of the masses by virtue of their ownership of the machinery and sources of production and exchange. For instance, the railroads of this country are owned by less than 600,000 stockholders who employ more than 3,000,000 persons. The ownership of the railroads by the 600,000 stockholders enables them to make billions of profits out of the labor of the 3,000,000 workers. Now there is the crux of the problem. A business is carried on for profits. Labor is the chief item in the expense of production. It is to the interest of the employer to work the laborer as long hours and to pay as low wages as possible. On the other hand, it is to the interest of the laborer to get as high wages and to work as short hours as possible. Hence, the conflict between the capitalists and the workers. The desire and the power to make profits of the owner of the means of wealth production, which labor must use in order to make wages with which to live, is at the basis of this conflict.

Let us see how it applies to our proposition in question.

We will now review its economic aspects.

During the Civil War one-third of the man-power of the South was killed off. The Civil War resulted in the abolition of property rights in Negroes. Free labor was abolished. For 250 years the slave-owning class had the right, sanctioned by the government, to use a Negro as a horse, a machine. And the invention of the cotton gin had forced the market value of slaves up. Huge fortunes had been made and the slave-owners had lived in luxury, ease, comfort and splendor off the labor of Negroes.

When the end of this came, the industry of the South was paralyzed. There was a shortage of white labor-power. The Negroes had been freed and they distrusted and suspected their former masters. In short, intoxicated with the new wine of freedom, they were disinclined to work.

But cotton must be picked; lumber must be cut; turpentine must be dipped; railroads must be built. In fact, profits must be made. Negroes must work or be made to work, besides they must work cheaply.

How can this be done? This is how it was and is done:

Vagrancy laws are enacted which provide for the imprisonment of all Negroes who have no visible means of support. Of course, it is impossible for a Negro to show that he has any visible means of support. The result is that hordes of unemployed Negroes are hustled off to jail and the convict camps. Their fines are paid by employers of labor for lumber mills, cotton plantations, railroads, etc., they are assigned into their custody, put to work at a wage of 30 and 40 cents a day. They are also compelled to trade at the company's store, which sells its wares at 100 per cent higher than other stores. A debt for railroad fare to the works and for maintenance while at work 'til payday is made. Moreover, when the fines of imprisoned Negroes are paid, they are required to sign labor contracts, the non-performance of which is presumptive proof of fraudulent intent at the time of making it, which the State laws make a crime. And as a white planter himself tells the story: A

planter can arrest a man upon the criminal charge of receiving money under false pretenses, which is equivalent to the charge of stealing; you get him convicted; he is fined, and being penniless, in lieu of the money to pay the fine he goes to jail; then you pay the fine and cost and the judge assigns him to you to work out the fine and you have him back on your plantation, backed up by the authority of the State. This is peonage. It is maintained for profits. This is capitalism. And this does not apply to Negroes only. It is the common fate of the servant class, black and white. But they must not understand that their interests are common. Hence race prejudice is cultivated. Lynching, jim-crowism segregation is used to widen the chasm between the races.

This profit system of capitalism also applies to the farmer through the crop-lien system. This is a system whereby a lien mortgage is taken upon the crops of the poor white and black farmers for a loan. It operates in this way: The poor farmer being in need of provisions for his family until harvesting time, borrows money on his planted, and sometimes unplanted crop, from a big merchant or bank. The rate of interest is so high, sometimes as high as 1000 per cent on the dollar, according to Comptroller of Currency John Skelton Williams, the farmer is unable to pay the interest to say nothing about the principal.

The farmer's inability to meet his note results in the loss of his farm. He then becomes a farm tenant and works upon the metayer system or the plan of giving a part of the crop produced to the owner for the privilege of cultivating the land. This crop-lien system is profitable to the bankers of the South. Both white and black farmers are fleeced by this financial system. But white and black farmers won't combine against a common foe on account of race prejudice. Race antagonism, then, is profitable to those who own the farms, the mills, the railroads and the banks. This economic arrangement in the south is the fundamental cause of race prejudice, which is the fuse which causes the magazine of capitalism to explode into race conflicts—lynchings.

Prejudice is the chief weapon

in the South which enables the capitalists to exploit both races. In the East, North and West, State militias, secret detective strike-breaking agencies, religion or nationality is used. The capitalists play Jewish against Irish Catholic workers. As we have our Waco, Memphis and East St. Louis lynching of Negroes, there are also Bayonne, West Virginia and Ludlow massacres of white workers and their families. The capitalists want profits, they don't care who makes them for them. In the South today over a million little white children are taken from school, put into factories and driven 10 and 12 hours a day until their little bodies are broken upon the wheels of industry; all because their labor is cheaper and more profits can be made out of them than out of grown-ups. They are competing with their fathers and brothers and they force the wage scale down by virtue of their increasing the labor supply.

This is how much the Southern white gentlemen capitalists care about white children whom they prate so much. Capitalism knows no color line. It will coin the blood, sweat and suffering of white women and white children or black women and black children into dollars and dividends. So much for the economic aspects.

But this thing must be supported by laws. And this brings us to the political cause of lynching. How does it operate?

Vagrancy laws are enacted by politicians who are selected by political parties which are controlled by those who supply the campaign funds. These funds are contributed by the bankers, railroad directors, lumber mill and cotton plantation-owners whose large profits depend upon the low wages and long hours of work of the servant class. This has been the work of Vardaman, Tillman and the "Lily white" Republicans. The laws making the non-performance of a labor contract a crime are placed on the statute books by certain anti-labor and incidentally anti-Negro politicians. Sheriffs into whose custody Negroes charged with criminal acts are placed are nominated, elected or appointed by parties, which are responsible to powerful financial agencies which profit by fostering race

prejudice and lynching, etc. This is why sheriffs don't protect their prisoners and not because they are afraid of the mob. So that when a mob demands a Negro in the custody of a sheriff nominated and elected by a political machine whose campaign funds are made up by banks and loan agencies, and by big employers of labor, which lend money to poor white and black farmers, at usurious rates of interest and who hold labor in peonage; you can realize and appreciate how the sheriff will act. Self interest will control his action and he can always be expected to act in the interest of those who have the power to remove him.

The ruling class of the South have, through disfranchisement and the poll-tax, deprived the working class of the power to protect their interests. The electorate there is small. It is easier for the capitalists to control or to corrupt a small electorate than a large one.

Politically race feeling is also capitalized by young, ambitious politicians who make their campaigns on the slogan of "Negro domination."

This is how politics fortifies and re-enforces lynch law in the South.

What are the social causes? There are three, the school, church and press.

An uneducated working class won't revolt, won't organize; hence, the meagre sums of \$2.22 and \$4.92 are appropriated for the education of the black and white child, respectively, per year.

The white church is paid to preach the Christianity of lynch law profits.

The press is owned and controlled by the employing class and it is used to influence the minds of the races; to foment race hatred; it gives wide circulation to that insidious doctrine of the Negroes being the hewers of wood and drawers of water for white men. It features in bold headlines such titles as "lynch the black brute," "young white girl raped by black burly fiend," etc.

This produces a psychology which expresses itself through the mob. Anything may occasion a community to burn a Negro. It might be a well-dressed Negro; a Negro who speaks good English

or a Negro who talks back to a white man.

To sum up, capitalism is at the basis of the economic, political and social arrangements of the South and it is defended, supported, promoted and upheld by the Republican and Democratic parties of the North, South, East and West. Neither Republican nor the Democratic party has ever condemned peonage or lynching. They can not. They are owned by the capitalists.

What then is the cure. I hold, maintain and aver that Socialism is the only cure. Why?

First, what is it? Briefly, it is the social ownership and democratic management of the means and sources of production and exchange for social use and not for private profit.

How Does This Effect Lynching?

Socialism would deprive individuals of the power to make fortunes out of the labor of other individuals by virtue of their ownership of the machinery which the worker must use in order to live. When an individual or class may make profits out of the labor of black and white workers, it is to his or to the interest of the class to use any means to keep them (the workers) from combining in order to raise wages; to lower their hours of work or to demand better working conditions. This is the only reason why prejudice is fostered in the South. Of course, it may not be possible to trace every lynching or act of prejudice to a direct economic cause, but the case may be explained by the law of habit. When social practices are once set they act or recur with a dangerous accuracy. So that it is now a social habit to lynch Negroes. But when the motive for promoting race prejudice is removed, viz., profits, by the social ownership, control and operation of the machinery and sources of production through the government, the government being controlled by the workers; the effects of prejudice, race riots, lynching, etc., will also be removed.

For instance, if railroads were owned and democratically managed by the government, its collective and social service function would not be prostituted to jim-crow cars in order to pander and cater to race prejudice. No indi-

viduals would be making profits out of them and consequently there would be no interest in promoting race antagonisms. Lynchings, the product of capitalism, would pass as the burning of heretics and the Spanish Inquisition, the product of religious intolerance, passed.

Besides Socialism would arm every man and woman with the ballot. Education would be compulsory and universal. The vagrancy law, child labor and peonage would no longer exist. Tenant-farming and the crop-lien system would be discarded. And every worker would receive the full product of his toil.

This is the goal of Socialism. This is why every Negro should be a Socialist.

In conclusion, workingmen and women of my race don't allow Republican and Democratic leaders to deceive you. They are paid by Rockefeller, Morgan, Armour, Carnegie, owners of Southern railroads, coal mines, lumber mills, turpentine stills, cotton plantations, etc., who makes millions out of your labor. Don't be deceived by the small increase in wages which you are receiving; the capitalists are taking it back by increasing the cost of food, fuel, clothing and rent. Don't be deceived by any capitalist bill to abolish lynching; if it became a law, it would never be enforced. Have you not the Fourteenth Amendment which is supposed to protect your life, property, liberty and guarantee you the vote? Does it do it? No. Why? Because it is nullified through administration by capitalists, Republican and Democratic representatives, who profit from lynching; who want lynching to continue. Lynching will not stop until Socialism comes. You can strike a death blow to lynching by voting for Socialism.

Black and white workers unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have the world to gain.

SOCIALISM AND ITS ETHICAL BASIS

By George Frazier Miller

The all-absorbing theme of the day, and the one of universal interest, is the proper adjustment of man to man in the economic world.

The supreme value of life confers a commensurate importance upon the means of living; and as material things are necessary to a physical subsistence, the philosopher, out of his speculative interest, the moralist, from his benevolent impulse, and the working man, out of consideration of the pinch and strain in making provision for himself and his, are led to seek the solution of this most vital problem that challenges the attention of the human family.

A presentation of the claims of Socialism may be approached from divers points of view, but the writer, for the present monograph, chooses the ethical.

Immanuel Kant, the prince of modern philosophers, made many and varied classifications, according to the matter, or truth, that engaged his attention at a given time. Under one of them he divided the universe into the two divisions of persons and things. He held firmly to the doctrine that the person should never be used as a means to an end; but as essentially, inviolably, and ever to be regarded, an end in himself; while the thing is never an end, but always a means to an end whose existence is justifiable in proportion as it serves the interest of men.

Accepting, as we must, the dictum of Kant to be a true principle, the question arises: Is it possible to justify the relation of employer and employee; or the use, granted or accepted, of one man's labor for the furtherance of another's objects? The case is justifiable or unjustifiable, according to what factors enter or remain without. And here is the very crux of our troubles in the economics of labor.

The moral demands of the situation are fully met when the employer uses the labor of his fellow, both in quality and in quantity, according to the terms freely and satisfactorily stipulated; and rewards him for the same according to an equally free and satisfactory stipulation. In that case the service is reciprocal, and each is serving his own end.

Where either takes advantage of the other's ignorance of necessity, and overcharges and underpays, as the case might be, regardless of the legal terms of agreement, he violates the manhood of the other—his brother man—reducing him from a per-

son to a thing; he enforces an involuntary service or an inadequate reward, and runs into desperate conflict with an eternal principle of righteousness—he has wrought fearful wreckage of a moral certitude.

When the capitalists, despising these principles, combine for self-aggrandizement, it is but reasonable that labor should combine for self-preservation. When man's inhumanity to man shall cease from the earth, and equity reign supreme, we may well be rid of both the trust and the labor union, each, in its way, a positive detriment to society.

But the evil of unionism is only the evil of the counter-irritant; and when capitalism shall be abolished, unionism shall have served its stewardship.

Injustice and brutality rage everywhere. Men, in different walks of life, show little or no regard for the sacred and inalienable rights of their fellowmen; the vicious philosophy of Thomas Carlyle—that "might makes right"—is the motive power of their conduct.

The industrial injustice that crushes the vitals of millions today is, under a contemporaneous nomenclature, wage slavery every whit as villainous as chattel slavery that afflicted this county a generation ago. Every one who does an injustice to his fellow reduces him to the condition of slavery.

In wage slavery, as in chattel slavery, the slave-holder estimates the bondsman according to his value as a wealth-producing machine.

Ten hours of slave labor means ten hours of leisure for the exploiter of labor, and a conversion of that labor into so much wealth.

In the economical world, there is no more abominable sin than this.

A slave-holding class, in a community, is simply the legalized robber band thereof; and it is all of a piece whether a man be robbed directly of his labor or of the monetary results accruing therefrom.

Here is the great sin against God and nature—that a man, who is designedly and constitutionally an end in himself, is reduced to the condition of a thing—a means to another's end.

The Socialist says that whatever good may be accomplished

through appeal to the individual conscience and the regenerated heart, the corrective of these abominable abuses can never be applied so long as the capitalistic regime sways the land. There must come, as the *conditio sine qua non*, the social regeneration in the form of the Co-operative Commonwealth. The inauguration of the collectivist order of society implies the coincident relegation of the presently obtaining governmental or commercial form of procedure—this form being capitalistic, of the spirit of greed, selfishness, oppression, murder.

The aim of the capitalist is gain—individual and personal gain—to gain as much as he can, and by whatever means he can; and, in his artfulness at gain, he takes on a form of charity by a reduction of the purchase price of his marketed wares. But nothing is farther from his aim, or purpose, than charity.

While he undersells all competitors, the needy consumer goes to him and buys of him; even those of us who have scented his schemes go to him and buy of him, because, our means being small and our needs many, we do not feel that we can afford, for the exemplification of the abstract principle, to pay a higher price than that for which we can get what is wanted, in order to offset the evil design of this tradesman who is pretending charity. In other words, under the pressure of a present necessity, we avail ourselves of the alluring opportunity to seize the greatest momentary advantage. The real

purpose of the capitalist is, through underselling those of like trade, so to destroy competition that he may be placed alone in that trade, and be privileged, finally, to charge what he likes for what he sells.

When there is but one man, or one concern (a trust, for instance), selling a certain commodity, there is no question of the fact that we who buy those goods must pay whatever price is demanded of us.

And under the capitalistic regime, the prices demanded for the bare necessities of life, when the trade is in monopoly, control, are atrociously beyond the cost of production.

The Socialist movement was put forth to correct this vicious abuse of men in the cost of their living. The collective ownership of the means of production and of distribution is the remedy which the situation demands, and that programme is the quintessence of Socialism.

Socialism holds that all public utilities should be commonly owned—as is the Post Office.

It holds that the public utilities, being operated for service and not for gain, every man who works should be working for himself, and not for the purpose of enriching some one else.

It holds that the right to work establishes the corollary of immunity from discharge, except for cause, as is now the law in certain branches of government.

It holds that if a man produces \$8 of value, he should get \$8 for his work, and not \$2.50, while

\$5.50 goes to enrich some one else.

It holds that each laborer should receive for his toil a living wage—the principle of a living wage being a monetary reward sufficient to support his family, and exempt his minor children from labor.

It opposes, therefore, child-labor.

It stands for universal schooling at government expense.

It stands for insurance against want in old age; for it holds that the farm hand or the layer of sewer pipes, of a meritorious industrial record, is as much entitled to protection in old age, or decrepitude, as the judge, or the army officer, who is retired on a pension.

It stands for political and industrial equality for all adults.

It stands for equal opportunity for all men to improve their talents, and to advance according to their ability, and not according to the arbitrary will, pleasure or favor of persons in power.

These are but a few points in the Socialistic propaganda sufficient for our purpose, which is to furnish an insight to those who might desire to know somewhat of the movement to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth; to set forth few of its salient features for the contemplation of those who might be inclined to study at length its philosophy! and to point out its righteousness to those who might lend their aid in hastening the consummation of the impending revolution.

Education and Literature

WHAT WILL BE THE REAL STATUS OF THE NEGRO AFTER THE WAR?

By Chandler Owen

Much has been said pro and con concerning the status of the Negro after the war. Some Negroes maintain that the war has been helpful to them on the ground that the demand for labor in the North and West enabled thousands of Negro workers to

leave the prejudiced Southland and go where they might receive better treatment on the one hand, and better wages on the other. His condition after the war has received but scant and superficial consideration, which was usually by ignorant and venal Negro leaders who were trying to bully him into some false optimism about after the war conditions in order to secure his unquestioning services during the war—the agitation for which the Negro lead-

ers are paid by the Government.

In order, however, to get a true background for answering the question of the title, let us briefly survey the Negro's present status. Economically, the masses of Negroes are peons—wage slaves, living in poverty, receiving very low wages, poorly housed, cheaply clothed, having not enough food or fuel for health and happiness. Politically the Negro is disfranchised—over two million of them denied the vote in the South. He

is also harassed by vagrancy laws and insulted by Jim Crow cars to ride in. Socially, the Negro has low-grade schools, with poor equipment, short terms, inefficient teachers (due to inefficient salaries paid them) and altogether too few schools. He is also lynched and burned, robbed and exploited, insulted and maligned, his women reduced to prostitution and his young manhood and womanhood poverty-stricken in ambition because of the closed door of hope in the future for boys and girls of color. So much for the Negro's present status.

What has been his status after wars previously fought by this country? Did he achieve anything, and, if so, was it because of the war, or simply something which occurred after the war, but which had no causal relation to it? Let us proceed to examine.

The Negro took an active part in the Revolutionary War of 1775. Crispus Attucks fell first on Boston Commons. Negro orators tell us that "his wound formed an inkwell into which Thomas Jefferson dipped his pen and wrote the Declaration of Independence." Probably; but the Declaration of Independence certainly excluded the Negro because he was subjected to the most cruel, inhuman and unspeakable slavery for almost the next hundred years that any people have ever suffered. In the war of 1812 the Negro again distinguished himself on Lake Erie with Commodore Perry, and at New Orleans with Andrew Jackson. The war closed, however, and the Negro remained in the same disgraceful slavery for the next fifty years. Some appreciation for his services! In the Civil War the Negro fought on both sides. He fought as hard to keep himself in slavery as he did to get himself out. Considering his agricultural and industrial position, the Negro was a greater asset to the South than to the North. Henry Grady tells how impossible it would have been to have continued the war had the Negro not marshaled his army in the fields which produced cotton, food and materials with which the Confederacy was able to carry on the war to enslave him. Accidentally and against the wishes of both sides, the Negro finally read or heard that the Emancipation Proclamation was issued. It was hard for

Lincoln to do this, very hard. For both the North and the South, the Union army and the Confederate army, were agreed upon one thing; that the Negro must be kept a slave. Horace Greeley prodded Lincoln and Lincoln told him frankly that it was not his intention to free the slaves. He wanted to save the union. He preferred to save the union by keeping all Negroes slaves. He would take a second alternative of freeing one-half of the Negro slaves and leaving the others in bondage. But if he had to do it, as much as he hated to, he would free all of the slaves to save the union. In other words, the Emancipation Proclamation was a necessity—a hard course reluctantly wrung from the hands of Abraham Lincoln. In fact Lincoln was the King John of Runnymede. The document was wrung from his hand as truly as the Magna Charta was exacted and forced from King John of England. It was no more credit to Lincoln than it is to water to run down an inclined plane.

The war, however, closed. The Negro was alleged to be free. This, of course, was not true, but to rob it of all semblance of truth, the government (Republican, by the way) withdrew the army of protection from the South. Ku Klux Klanism grew up. Negroes were murdered, shot, intimidated and abused in divers ways. The South persecuted while the North condoned. The Democrats and the Republicans colluded. The Negro had to start his fight all over to get out of peonage, which in truth, is chattel slavery incarnated under the guise of being something else.

The years passed. The South, which never forgot, and the North, which had but a dim sense of gratitude for the Negro's assistance, colluded to sweep from the Negro the last vestige of political power. Disfranchisement came. Grandfather clauses were adopted. The shot gun and the tissue ballot were employed. Jim Crowism on railroads spread through out the South. Lynching took on an impetus. A Negro's life grew cheaper and cheaper. The Negro had been reduced almost to his position prior to the Civil War.

In 1898 plutocracy declared war on Spain, supposedly to protect Cuba from the inhuman treatment

of Spain, but actually to turn the rich lands over to the sugar and tobacco trusts. The Negro, as usual, took an active part in the Spanish-American War. He is celebrated for his part in the skirmishes at San Juan Hill, El Caney and in Cuba. The result was, however, that Roosevelt rose into power and discharged them without honor at Brownsville. Lynching took on a fresh growth. Residential segregation was introduced for the first time shortly afterwards. A few more States passed Grandfather disfranchisement laws and the remainder of Southern States, which had not, now adopted Jim Crow cars. Race prejudice has increased in the United States since the Spanish-American War of 1898 and not a single thing has been granted to the Negro by virtue of his participation in that war.

It needs to be said, however, that the Negro has gotten out of previous wars about what other subject or working peoples have gotten out of such wars. The German people have participated in and fought all of Germany's wars, yet they still have labored under the three classes Prussian electoral system—a bourbon system somewhat like the one in the South of the United States which disfranchises Negro citizens. The Irish have helped England in all of England's wars, but Ireland still is under the brutal heel of British oppression. Austria-Hungary's wars have been fought by all her subjects, yet they have been without a free and untrammelled ballot. Surely Russia has used her oppressed and bleeding people in every war, but the Russian people were always under the shadows of Siberia and in the presence of the knout until they turned on their chief oppressors and exacted justice from Russia's plutocrats and the Czar! The Italian and Spanish people have fought all their respective nation's wars, nevertheless Italy has been reduced to a hand organ and Spain to a guitar, while the people of each of those countries are in the direst poverty.

What, anyhow, have been the usual results of all people's participation in wars?

1. Loss of life—especially the flower of youth.

2. Loss of rights and privileges. Free speech, free press and freedom of assemblage have, as a

rule, been denied in war time. Other rights are taken away also.

3. Loss of limb. Tens of thousands of invalids without arms, legs, etc., are usually returned as charges on society and wretches to themselves.

4. Loss of source of production and the consequent loss of goods for consumption.

When the young manhood is killed or maimed, it is not possible for it to act as a means of economic production, which also means that the things which may be consumed are lessened.

5. Tax burdens increased.

Tax burdens are increased to pay for the war, and to provide pensions for soldiers or their families. These taxes, like most taxes, are paid by the people.

6. Misery of participants. Soldiers become public charges in old soldiers' homes and other places of detention.

7. Increase in prostitution. This follows the decrease of males due to death in battle, with the consequent excess of females.

8. National and race hate. These usually are left and it takes a half century or a century to cool that passionate ardor.

Such have been the gains of people after wars from time immemorial.

We shall next consider what is essential for the improvement of the Negro's status after the war, after which we shall proceed to examine the prospects of its attainment. The things essential for the thorough-going improvement of the Negro's status after the war, and which should be a part of the country's reconstruction programme are:

1. *Economic program.*

(a) Increased wages. This can be accomplished only by the abolition of peonage in the South. Peonage, however, can be abolished only by industrial and political action. Negroes will have to unionize for more wages, shorter hours and decent working conditions.

(b) Consumption at cheaper cost.

Rent, food, clothing, fuel, must be secured cheaper. The present increase in price and decrease in quality must be changed to a decrease in price and an increase in quality.

2. *Political program.*

(a) Enfranchisement — means the abolition of disfranchisement, whether it exists by force or fraud.

(b) The abolition of Jim Crow cars. Equal accommodations must be furnished for equal pay; and equal accommodations exist only when accommodations are identical; while identical accommodations obtain only where they are interchangeable.

(c) The abolition of segregation would follow from the preceding demands.

(d) The abolition of vagrancy laws in the South. These laws are the political background and support of peonage from which lynching results.

3. *Social program.*

(a) Increase of schools (in number and variety); extension of the school term in the South; the increase of salaries of teachers so that efficient teachers may be employed; improvement in school equipment and change of curricula.

(b) An enlightened press—Negro and white. Information must be given out to improve conditions.

(c) Revolution in the church. The church must be made a forum for the dissemination of useful knowledge, instead of what it now is—a citadel of superstition.

(d) Wholesome amusement and recreation. Parks, playgrounds, theatres and moving pictures must be extended freely to Negroes. Good citizenship cannot be produced while the barroom, poolroom, gambling den and brothel are the chief sources of amusement for young Negro manhood and womanhood.

(e) Radicalism—New leadership must come—leadership of intelligence and character. Leaders must not only have good intentions, but information. Virtuous, but ignorant leadership, is fatal.

(f) Revolt against present Negro leaders and "white friends." This will mark an important epoch in the Negro's social program, for it is his Negro leaders and his self-appointed "white friends" who have chiefly retarded his progress.

Such is the program. Can it be

attained? If so, what are the prospects, and how long before the attainment? Incidentally, I shall show what relation the Negro's participation in the war has or had to the attainment of any part of the program.

Let us now examine the economic program. Are the prospects for increased wages good? A few facts stand out boldly: The war has ended. Men now engaged in war are returning from soldiers to laborers. Factories for war necessities will close. Instead of more work and less laborers, there will be less work and more laborers. The supply of labor will be increased and the demand consequently lessened. Wages, therefore, will go down.

Peonage, too, will show few signs of passing. Peonage is most endangered when wages are high and labor scarce. Nothing helps it like superfluous labor and low wages such as will obtain after the war.

This tendency can only be offset by more thorough-going unionizing on the part of both white and colored laborers in the South and other sections of the country. But unfortunately the southern poor whites and the Negroes are still too much under the spell of race prejudice to unionize.

We see then that the prospect for wages is a decrease. But will the cost of living decrease likewise? Let us examine the chief items in the cost of living—rent, food, clothing and fuel.

Rent increases with the increase of population. When the soldiers return land will be more valuable. Rent is the price paid for the use of land. The more people there are the more the land is used. The supply of houses will be less and the demand will be increased. Rent, therefore, will go up.

Next, food: The demand for food will be almost constant. Men must eat as soldiers in Europe and they must eat as laborers at home. Europe will be producing more because her men will be engaged in productive labor. The demand for food will be less, it appears, because Europe can more largely feed herself. Food is due to be cheaper.

The demand for clothing will probably be a bit less. But stores of woollen and cotton goods are imperishable, and they may be cornered and held for speculation

better than foodstuffs. Wool producing animals, too, have been greatly reduced by the war which may offset the decreased demand. Sheep have been used for food very extensively. Beef has been used for the soldiers, so hides have steadily diminished and, with them, hide producing animals. Woolens and leather goods will go up. Shoes and suit woolens will be high, adulterated and scarce, unless the Government takes them over to give special direction to the industry. This, though, is not likely, since it did not take them over during the war, when the act was more imperative than it will be after the war.

Fuel—will it be cheaper or higher? Factories which consume coal in the production of munitions will be closed. Ships will not be carrying soldiers abroad. Men, however, more of them, will have to have coal for their homes. And mine owners will limit the output as a means of boosting the price. Fuel shows prospects of being a bit cheaper, but coal is not perishable, and unless the Government takes over the mines, coal mine owners and speculators will boost the prices to the skies. Coal, then, may or may not be cheaper.

So much for the conditions of the consumer and the laborer as to how the economic program affects him. *What about the prospects of the political program?*

Enfranchisement is an international issue today. Peoples in all countries are calling for more political power. The suffrage question has shaken Germany to the roots and exacted revolution. England has added eight million more to the electorate. Russia has extended universal suffrage to men and women—to all races and all creeds. Austria's population is smoldering with discontent over the ballot, which has produced revolution. In America President Wilson has recently made a statement concerning our inconsistency in talking about democracy while our women are denied the vote. No word nor suggestion, however, has come from anyone in authority to the effect that Negro enfranchisement is to be a right again accorded to the disfranchised colored population of the South. Negro leaders talk glibly and superficially, but they have not secured even a promise

—valueless as promises are, as a rule. The Negro, then, bids fair to be disfranchised. If there is a tendency to do a thing for one, the inclination is to do that thing when one's services are most needed. The Negro was never more needed than he is today, and if the country has not the gratitude—or rather the justice—to accord to the Negro his simple political rights at this time, I cannot hold out to Negroes any hope after the war, when they will be needed less.

The abolition of Jim-Crow cars does not now seem likely to be done. Director-General McAdoo, of the Railroads, is a Southerner who has shown much discrimination in his departments at Washington. The Congress is Democratic and the Republicans are as spineless, hypocritical and prejudiced as the Democrats. Moreover, the President cannot be expected to deliver any speech against Jim-Crow cars. The Jim-Crow car, it would seem, is more firmly rooted in the nation than disfranchisement.

Segregation in places of public accommodation will continue, for the Jim-Crow car policy is simply a by-product of that principle.

Vagrancy laws will not be likely to be abolished. The nation is extending them now even to whites. The whole people have got to fight to remove these disgraceful and unjust laws, and even then, the South will invoke the States' rights doctrines as they affect the Negro laborers.

The prospects for the realization of the social program are hampered by the hopelessness of the economic and political program.

The increase of schools will follow the close of the war because the country is recognizing what a handicap an ignorant, illiterate citizen is. I think the Secretary of the Interior reports that 58 per cent of the drafted men can neither read nor write. They cannot even take a signal. The extension of the school term and the increase of salaries will follow the increase of schools, as a matter of course. So will school equipment be improved. Curricula, however, will be little changed. Educational systems will continue to be designed to disseminate error, and the grossest kind of error for Negro students and pupils.

The Negro press will not immediately be enlightened. There is no fund of information which Negro editors are getting from the war which would engender a change in the press. This press will continue to be controlled by Republican capitalists which will keep them from having any opportunity to enlighten the Negro public, even if they had the information—and this unhappily is not the case.

Revolution in the Negro church, while essential and sure to come, is taking place very slowly. It has little prospects so long as the Negro ministers are ignorant, on the whole, and while information is given out neither in the school nor the press. And revolution must proceed from the masses in the church.

Wholesome amusement and recreation are still considered luxuries to be enjoyed by the rich. Even in northern cities amusement is sadly neglected for white and colored people. In the South where the masses of the Negroes are, the facilities for recreation and amusement are sadly inadequate and the tendency is not toward extending such amusement among Negroes.

The most important social force among Negroes is the growth of radicalism—the formation of labor unions on the industrial field, and the entrance into the Socialist party on the political field. This tendency is strong as shown by the Negro voters casting about 25 per cent of the vote in New York last year for the Socialist ticket and the formation here and there of unions into which the colored men and women are going in large numbers.

Another sign of progress which seems quite uniform is the revolt of the Negro masses against the Negro mis-leaders. The period of suspicion and doubt which spells progress is at hand. Even Du Bois, once venerated and adored by young Negro students, is considered reactionary and obsequious where there is the extension of epaulets and cheap honors. There is a strong feeling, too, that the Negro leaders are subject to a very small pecuniary purchase. Ministers as such have fallen into disrepute, and the discovery of the Negro Baptist ministers of New York tied up in the Mitchel slush fund has greatly confirmed the suspicions which

the young colored men and women had in the growing worthlessness of the Negro pulpit.

A last, but unmistakable sign of the growth of the Negro's radicalism, is his distrust of "white friends" of the old brand who try to explain that their fathers fought in the Civil War, or that they came from old abolition stock! The New Negro immediately asks, What do they want? Because he has generally heard these pleas from those seeking jobs, honors, place and power. His Republican friends always think he is fine at election time, but after election they are as silent as the sphinx. The Negro is happily discarding this crop of leeches and liars, this swarm of hypocrites and parasites.

To sum up: The status of the Negro after this war will be slightly improved. He will receive less wages and be more frequently unemployed. His cost of living will be higher for rent, lower for food, about the same for clothing and fuel. In political

life the Negro will continue to be disfranchised, for a long time to come; he will still ride in Jim-Crow and cattle cars; segregation will continue and vagrancy laws will be invoked against him as in the past. Socially, he will have access to more and better schools. The curricula will be poor as they are for the whites. The Negro press will be venal, ignorant and reactionary, on the whole, while revolution in the church will be slowly seeping through the masses, hampered by illiterate Negro ministers, an unconstructive press and poor schools, at best. Amusement will be fought as luxurious for Negroes. The growth of radicalism, as evidenced by Negroes entering the Socialist party on the political field, and their entrance into the labor unions, on the industrial field, will be the most distinct achievement for the Negro in the future.

Optimism as to the status of the Negro after the war is ill-timed. Like all other peoples who have fought battles for their country, the Negro will have to return to

engage in a political and industrial fight with his own country to secure his just rights. Not an inch or ell will be yielded except through compulsion and necessity. No one will say to the Negro, "You have fought so gallantly and vigorously, your loyalty was so unadulterated and true, you were so patriotic that we are going to give you the vote in the South; we are going to cut out Jim-Crow cars; segregation in places of public accommodation will be made unlawful; lynching will be stopped by the stern arm of the Government; you shall no longer be subject to peonage and vagrancy laws." This indeed will not happen. As Prof. Lester Ward says, the common people having fought the war possess a high sense of pride while the country has a dim sense of gratitude.

What the Negro gets after the war may be very different from what he intended to fight for! Such, however, has been the course of history.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

A SOCIALIST VIEW

By Dr. Henry Borst

The strenuous days are over and we now have an opportunity to review a spectacular career. He was blessed by nature with great talents and much ability, but did he use these talents for the best interests of all? Many call him great and laud his Americanism to the skies. But many of us Socialists may be pardoned for remembering Mr. Bryan's great oration in 1896, in which he said, in the "Cross of Gold" speech: "Man is but an atom. He is born, he acts, he dies. But principles are eternal."

Our Socialist philosophy rates man high above property. Yet the individual man we regard as merely one link in a chain. Some have important gifts that others have not. Yet we esteem the humble worker very much, if he is imbued with the ideal of using such talents as he has for the welfare of all.

Thus we place the heart above talents. Many men have great and wonderful talents, but from a Socialist standpoint we rate them very low if they insist on

using these God-given talents for their own selfish ends.

As a warrior Napoleon rated pre-eminent. Yet we can't rate him great in comparison with Washington, Franklin or Lincoln. Many rate Roosevelt great on account of his intense patriotism. Millions of humble workers patriotically do their share of the world's work. They ask for no praise and usually they get none.

Intensity of emotion has little value in serving the common welfare. Violent emotion often blinds our judgment so that we choose the action that is of least benefit to others. We often err by being too hasty.

Roosevelt undoubtedly gave honest and unselfish public service in the earlier years of his career. But success soon made him egotistic and domineering.

As Socialists we certainly are justified in criticizing his action in 1907 when he ignored the Constitution, and took official action granting unusual financial favors to the steel trusts. In this and in many other actions he pursued the policy that the end justifies the means.

That may have suited the political and ecclesiastical tyrants of olden times, BUT IT DOES

NOT SUIT US. We want to wrong no one, and we particularly disapprove of granting special favors to the wealthy and powerful, and denying justice to the poor.

As members of the working class we have the right to criticize Roosevelt for hobnobbing with royalty in Europe after his African hunting trip. We think he violated the spirit of the Constitution in accepting all sorts of valuable presents from the crowned parasites of Europe. Those presents were undoubtedly given to curry his favor as they expected his return to high office.

Do the crowned heads of Europe ever offer presents to humble American sailors or tourists? Nothing to do, says Hashimura Togo.

As Socialists we have a perfect right to accuse Roosevelt of stealing nine-tenths of the Socialist platform in 1912 in his effort to beat Taft out of the presidency. But organized labor, the women of the far West and half of our Socialist vote went to Woodrow Wilson, who has not since justified the confidence placed in him.

Of course, it was natural for colored people and white North-

erners to admire Roosevelt for his courage in asking the great Booker Washington to dine with him in the White House. It is not for us to judge whether this was purely an act of friendship, or whether it was done largely to catch more colored votes for the Republican party. Anyway we should always remember that "a smile from a lord is a breakfast for a fool."

Roosevelt was an anachronism. He was too autocratic to fit well into the life of a republic. He was too brutal to harmonize into the period that is trying to adjust itself to the ideals of the gentle Teacher of Nazareth. In Russia he would have been a czar. In Germany he would have been another Bismarck. In France he would have upheld Napoleon's lust for power, without Napoleon's patience in framing a just Code.

In Mexico he would have been another Cortez. In Rome another Caesar. In Greece he would have been another Alexander, sighing for more worlds to conquer. In Mongolia he would have emulated Genghis Khan. In Spain he would have upheld the inquisition.

He made all of Latin America suspicious and revengeful by his ruthless robbery of Panama. It will take us 100 years of liberal deeds regardless of our honeyed words to wipe out the disgrace of robbing Columbia by his own privately-conducted Panama revolution.

Most of us patient, loyal Americans will not sanction that the head of our government shall steal for us. We should not knowingly repeat England's disgraceful conquest of India. Nor would we support England's brutal Opium War in China. To the disgrace of the people of England it must be said that they slyly winked at all the stealing and looting of their capitalistic pirates during the past hundred years.

The protests of our anti-Imperialists prevented the spoliation of Mexico, Cuba and the Philippines. If Roosevelt had been president six years ago he would have sent an American army of conquest and plunder into Mexico at the demand of English capitalists, backed up by our own Wall Street pirates.

These are the reasons why honest Americans hate the Roose-

velt type of politician. We have a right to demand that our law makers and officers shall live up to the American ideals of fair dealing.

It is easy to predict now that the sober sense of America will never again raise to high office men who will trample under foot any helpless small nation, no matter how much such action is demanded by our own Big Business looters.

Roosevelt did not hesitate to ignore our constitution when it suited his purpose. He frankly acknowledged later that he did so in 1907. In slavery times Teddy would have been another Simon Legree instead of a Lincoln.

No American president ever quarrelled so much with Congress as Roosevelt did in the last two years of his presidency. Every man who dared to disagree with him was promptly denounced as a liar. We like a little spice and ginger in our political life, but we won't stand for the idea that one man is always right and a hundred men always wrong.

Roosevelt could have endeared himself to Americans for a thousand years if he had backed up his other talents with a less autocratic attitude. We appreciate the public services he rendered, but we demand that our officers shall be public servants, not czars.

If Roosevelt had been less impulsive and more honorable he would have asked Congress to buy the Panama region from the rightful owners. But he could not wait for that. He wanted the praise and glory of starting the canal. It hurt his feelings that he could not be in at the finish.

It is to be hoped that America is forever cured of the notion that any man who gains distinction in the killing business is therefore entitled to hold office the rest of his life.

The new attitude is gaining ground that properly to administer public office the candidate should have a liberal training, not in the science of war, but in the science of government. To govern wisely a man must understand the history of nations. He should know the follies and errors of the past, so that we may be saved from repeating ancient blunders. A good executive officer should be familiar with ordi-

nary, sensible business methods, and should have the poise that can only be gained by the responsibilities that grow out of serving the people in a subordinate position.

Thus an ideal Socialist official should be broad minded and humane. He must sympathize with the working class. He need not be vindictive towards other classes. When we get in power we should demonstrate our right to rule by being as wise as the wisest, as patient as Job, and as forgiving as the Nazarene.

This we can only do by being just to the tyrants that have misruled us. It would not be fitting to have revenge on them for the misdeeds of the past. To err is human, to forgive, divine.

From a Socialist standpoint Mr. Roosevelt fell far short of an ideal servant of the people. He called forth all the slumbering fires of wrath and sought to make America militaristic, in spite of the terrible object lesson Europe has been giving us of the criminal blunder of "preparedness."

Was it preparedness to love one another, to help lift the fallen, to feed the hungry and clothe the naked? Lord, bless you, no; it was preparedness to kill. We have learned many lessons from the world war. Chief among all is the lesson that it won't do to trample the workers under foot. **THEY WILL ARISE SOME TIME, AND WHEN THEY DO, LOOK OUT.**

Roosevelt constantly made his appeal to "red blooded Americans." That was his method of trying to turn a nation of peace-loving people into militarists. He always preached a "strong foreign policy." Sure. So did William Hohenzollern and all the other czars and kings that have ever cursed this planet.

He did not say that we should bear another's burden and ease another's pain. "Strong foreign policy" means big guns, a big navy and conscripted man killers.

Socialism wants none of these. In fact it points to Europe as the greatest blunder the white race has ever made.

A year ago the writer astonished one of his capitalist neighbors by saying that he was ashamed of belonging to the white race. "Why?" said the neighbor.

Well, said the writer, the white

race has so far led in the cause of civilization. It has tunneled the mountains and bridged the rivers. It has solved many of the mysteries of chemistry and has weighed and measured the stars. It has built hospitals and asylums for the sick, blind, crippled and

insane. It has studied religion and spun fine theories of metaphysics. It has harnessed steam and electricity to do most of the hard labor. It has explored the frozen North and the hot tropical jungles. It has mastered the diseases of plant and animal life. It

has subdued epidemics, but one great thing it has not done. IT HAS NOT LEARNED HOW TO BE HONEST BETWEEN MAN AND MAN, OR HOW TO BE JUST BETWEEN NATIONS.

Trend of The Times

LEWIS DEMANDS MEXICAN ACTION

Safety for American Lives and Property There Asked in Senate Resolution

American imperialism is getting busy. We suspect there is not much concern about American lives, but as for American property—well, that is another question. Moreover, the Senate represents property, not the American people. It will be a shameless disgrace for the U. S. again to rape Mexico of her property. The government's hands, too, might be easily filled with the protection of Negro American lives in Georgia, Texas, Louisiana and Tennessee. Life in Mexico is far safer than life in Mississippi. Besides the government of Mexico has the most enlightened code of social legislation of any government in the world, except Russia and probably Germany.

REPORT JAPAN WILL FIGHT REDS

To Aid Siberia with Men, Money and Arms in Return for Mining Concessions

This is a little lesson in the economic interpretation of history for our readers. Mining Concessions! Do you get the idea? This is what Socialists mean by saying the causes of war are economic.

Japan, though a nation of color,

will fight Socialism as savagely as any other nation. It is not color but reaction and capitalism which are clashing with radicalism. Japan will use the color issue, however, to stir up prejudice against the white nations, and the white nations will do the same against Japan.

CHINA'S PRESIDENT REJECTS TOKIO DEMAND

Civil War Conferees Join in Message of Encouragement to Him in His Stand

Japan does not want Asia for the Asiatics. She wants Asia for Japan. Both Japan and China are colored, too. Color is no issue unless it is *yellow gold*.

LABOR CHIEF GIVES WARNING IN COMMONS

Adamson Says Domestic Situation in England Now Is Almost as Threatening as War Itself

Note this labor Prussianism, as Lloyd George calls it. This new spirit of labor will probably yet drive Lloyd George and his Tory government from power. The British Labor Party's program is absolutely revolutionary. You understand, it is not led by Samuel Gompers. Henderson, McDonald, Snowden, Smilie and McLean are educated and intelligent men.

PHILLIP SCHEIDEMANN IS CHANCELLOR

Ebert Will Get \$250,000 a Year, Constitution of Republic Is Adopted

Socialism in the world moves apace. The government of the most enlightened and advanced seventy million people in the world is headed by a Socialist President, Frederick Ebert. He was formerly a common harness maker. The Chancellor is also a Socialist. His name is Phillip Scheidemann.

TOKIO INSISTS RACIAL BARS BE REMOVED

Japan's peace delegates make official protest against the Wilson, George, Clemenceau, Orlando *League of White Nations*. The *League of White Nations* is notified that over one-half the world is colored and that Wilson's *League of White Nations* is simply a new form of the *balance of power* discredited policy which President Wilson once repudiated in words.

"BIG NAVY" BILL PASSES HOUSE AFTER DEBATE

This is how we proceed to reduce armaments. We appropriate \$600,000,000 for a big navy. We are getting ready for peace. Capital needs a collecting agency.

For further information we direct our readers' attention to Frederic C. Howe's "Why War,"

and to J. A. Hobson's "Democracy After the War."

If anybody says our country does not like peace, we'll turn our navy on them. Great Britain better look out. We'll have no foolishness with her now. *We are preparing for peace.*

SUFFRAGE CONGRESS DEMANDS VOTE FOR WOMEN OF ALL LANDS

Paris, Feb. 12.—The International Women's Suffrage Conference adopted a resolution today declaring that the conference desires that the franchise be granted to the women of all countries on the same basis as men; that married women shall not be deprived of their nationality without their consent, and that existing inequalities between men and women shall be removed.

The resolution also makes the demand that all offices and employment shall be open for women with equal pay for work done independent of sex, and that the moral standard shall be equal for both sexes."

Women have more sense than Negro leaders. They appreciate the importance of international action. We are inclined to give much weight to the argument of Southern women suffragists who complain that Negro men are permitted to vote while white women are disfranchised. But capitalists don't want anyone to vote who will think of what they are voting for. The women might not vote for their Republican and Democratic parties forever.

NEGRO IN BOLSHEVIK CABINET

Soviets Recognize No Color Line!

According to Dr. Simons who is now testifying before the Overman Committee (not overmanned by brains) a Negro who is known as Professor Gordon, is a member of the Bolshevnik Cabinet.

We submit that this is a sharp indictment of that Bolshevnik government. A Negro in the Cabinet? How can the members of a *League of White Nations* recognize a government all spotted up with color! And how could the Wilson Administration recognize a government with an American Negro in it? We don't recognize Negroes here and we are not going to recognize them abroad! Besides, there are serious forebodings in this situation. Suppose the Russian Government were to invite the President and the peace commissioners to dinner to discuss some issues. Why, that would produce *social equality* unless that Negro were put out. Diplomatic representations would have to take place over this thing before the dinner could proceed.

No better evidence of the demoralization of Bolshevism could be adduced in this country than the fact of a Negro's being in the Soviet Cabinet!

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW SPEAKS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Even though no Negro has been permitted to go to Europe, and

few real radicals, and in spite of the "good niggers" and pseudo-radicals there, such as Moton and Du Bois, and Spargo, Russell, Gompers, et al, respectively, some accurate information of conditions in America—social, political, economic and racial—seems to have seeped through the censorship. George Bernard Shaw seems to be well informed. By the way, he is one of "them" Socialists who has a way about him of finding out things through spys, probably, or some such methods. He says:

Mr. Wilson goes into the Peace Conference with the knowledge that if recriminations begin as to the condition of the people, the reasonableness of the distribution of the national income, the exploitation of child labor, the prevalence of lynch law, the toleration of heterodox or anti-governmental opinion (even under Mr. Wilson's own rule), the general level of culture, the cruelty of the criminal codes and the guarantees for justice in their demonstration, the honesty of the police, and the freedom of municipal and national politics from corruption, American republicanism will come out of the comparison with constitutional monarchy so badly that it will be very difficult for him with any countenance to take the position of a moral dictator imposing superior American political institutions on the rest of the world.

This is how the "land of the free and the home of the "behaved" compares with the monarchies, empires and oligarchies of Europe. Naming a country a republic does not make it republican, just as the Democratic party's name does not make it democratic. Neither "good niggers" nor "pseudo-radicals" can distort these salient facts to Europe.



Who's Who

By "Who's Who" Editor

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

The death of Theodore Roosevelt was a bit unexpected, and sent a shock through the American Nation. Most of the publications in the country have eulogized him to the "nth" power, and Negro publications, without exception, have been effusive with praise. An honest and intelligent opinion could only be expected from the Socialist press among the whites, and from "The Messenger" among the Negroes.

Negro leaders have consistently fooled the Negro masses as to Roosevelt's friendship for the Negro ever since, and because he ate a sandwich with Booker Washington in the White House.

In-as-much as this did not in any way tend to increase the wages, shorten the hours, reduce the rent, or bring down the high cost of living of the Negro workers—we did not regard it as of any value whatever. On the contrary, however, it had a pernicious effect in lulling Negroes into a false sense of security. It had no effect on the civil and political status of the Negro since disfranchisement and discrimination apparently were not subjects of conversations during the lunch, and even if they were, no visible after effects were discernible. Lynching continued even worse than it has under Woodrow Wilson and his Democratic administration. Disfranchisement increased. Jim-Crowism took on a fresh impetus. Residential segregation and discrimination in places of public accommodation were augmented. While all this continued, no word or message came from President Roosevelt and his "Big Stick," apparently, was locked up in the closet, the combination of which was forgotten until the East St. Louis riots, when Teddy "out" desiring to get "in," told an audience in Carnegie Hall what he would do "if I were President." He again fooled the Negroes, but not us. We remembered the Atlanta riots, the Springfield riots and the

many unspeakable atrocities committed under his administration and his Republican régime.

The "Advance," organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, says in an editorial which we quote in part:—

Roosevelt was the leading militarist in the country. The Labor Movement will remember Roosevelt in more than one way:—

As President of the Police Commission of New York, Roosevelt sought to introduce a special "strike club" for police to use upon strikers. On its surface the club appeared quite "innocent," but it contained a secret mechanism, which would, by the pressing of a button, release numberless spikes with which the flesh of the clubbee would be lacerated, causing very painful wounds. The club was so brutal that the commissioners refused to accept it. The Roosevelt proposition caused a sensation at the time.

As Governor of New York, he sent the state militia to Croton Dam where a strike was on and kept it there until the strike was completely broken.

During his second term in the presidency of the United States, he led the fight against the union shop, by forbidding the unionization of the Government's printing.

When Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were on trial for their lives in Idaho, Roosevelt denounced them to the Country, in a public statement, as "undesirable citizens." That statement was construed as an attempt to influence the judge and the jury against the kidnapped labor representatives.

The above facts speak for themselves. The man who introduced this unspeakable weapon with which to brutalize white workers could not possibly be a friend of black workers, and 99% of Negroes are working people.

We did not grieve when Tillman passed, nor will our lachrymal ducts find difficulty in restraining their secretions because the sage of Oyster Bay has gone. We shall remember him as a leader of American militarism, imperialism, capitalism and anti-labor unionism. We are opposed to all of these things, of which he was the epitome. We hope that the loss of the chief spokesman of the above mentioned evils will open a way for the cosmic tread of democracy in America, and will dampen the ardor of the well organized forces of reaction which now disgrace the once reputed "land of the free, and the home of the brave."

W. E. B. DU BOIS

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

Sometimes Dr. Du Bois has been termed a sociologist. The alleged Negro historian, Benjamin Brawley, makes this inexcusable error. There is nothing in Dr. Du Bois's works, however, which justifies this conclusion. Dr. Du Bois has often written upon sociological titles, but the sociology is not to be found as we understand it. His "Suppression of the African Slave Trade" is a purely descriptive, quasi-historic-

al work. His "Philadelphia Negro" is a heavily padded work, filled with superfluous matter, very much like a similar work by Dr. George E. Haynes, entitled "The Negro at Work in New York City." His "Souls of Black Folk" has more literature than information. The best chapter in the work is the sane and logical criticism of Booker Washington, Kelly Miller, Grimké, and others. But, on the whole, the book is a mass of labored alliterations with most of the information "within the veil" to which he not infrequently refers. His "The Negro" is little more than an attempt to pick out the better part of certain phases of African development and featuring those phases. His "Quest of the Silver Fleece" will probably never be considered more than a third rate piece of fiction. The only fairly scientific production which we have ever seen from the pen of Dr. Du Bois was an article in the May issue of the Atlantic Monthly, 1916, entitled "African Roots of the War." This article is worth reading and we have not infrequently urged our readers and audiences to put it in their libraries.

It needs to be said in extenuation of his scientific shortcomings, that Dr. Du Bois was educated at a time and place where political science was not in great favor and where political science was little taught. Greek, Latin and classicism were stressed at Harvard. Few of the older Negro leaders have had the modern education. An illustration of this may be seen in Dr. Du Bois's "Crisis". The leading column of the "Horizon" is always "Music and Art." Then "Meetings" which signify the gathering of literateurs. Next "The War" which inspires pictures and scenes for literary description and word painting. "Industry" and "Politics" sections follow. This is no coincidence but a logical product of Du Bois's cerebration. The "Messenger" carries as its first column, after editorials, "Economics and Politics." This is natural for us, because with us economics and politics take precedence to "Music and Art."

Du Bois's conception of politics is strictly opportunist. Within the last six years he has been Democratic, Socialist and Republican. His attitude toward the

parties is the old, antiquated conception of swinging on to the one thought most likely to win. That accounted for his support of Woodrow Wilson in 1912, when the split in the Republican party presaged a Democratic victory. Propitiation—for—favors policy!

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

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

SAMUEL GOMPERS

The subject of this sketch is the recognized leader of the American labor movement. He has a strong and forceful character and the power for leadership.

This is, indeed, unfortunate in view of the course he is pursuing. It is becoming a matter of common knowledge among the rank and file that the leaders become officialized, conservative and reactionary. The leader is usually inclined to arbitrate and compromise on principles. This is because the leader is sought, flattered and cajoled by the enemies of the army which he leads.

The capitalists know that if they can capture the leader of the working class army, it will be easy to disorganize the rank and file. This is why capitalists wine and dine the President of the American Federation of Labor and the capitalist press glorifies his patriotism. You cannot put your feet under a man's dinner table and oppose his opinions.

The psychology is that an individual is inclined to respect the wishes of his benefactor.

Besides the leader lacks a fundamental understanding of economic methodology. He recognizes a partnership between the employer and employee, the master and slave, the oppressed and the oppressor, the flea and the dog. He would have organized labor to oppose organized capital on the industrial field but support organized capital on the political field. In short, he would assist capitalists to prevent labor securing social amelioration through the agency of law. He stands upon the fallacious principle of pure and simple unionism which operates to achieve an American Separation of Labor instead of an American Federation of Labor.

In a printing establishment where pressmen went on strike he would, according to some spurious principle of union autonomy, permit scab pressmen to take their places.

He has not caught nor understood the meaning of industrial unionism.

As a thinker in terms of internationalism Mr. Gompers is still in his swaddling clothes, distressingly unwitting of his way. He has no conception of the thinking of European labor.

His position is the product of the possession of false opinions on the principles of the class struggle, the race struggle and the nation struggle.

KELLY MILLER

Kelly Miller, of Howard University, was for a long time considered an intellectual somewhat of the Du Bois type. He is a professor of mathematics in Howard University, Washington, D. C., where he became known as a logician—not for anything which he did demonstrating a logical mind, but because it was current that a mathematician was a logician.

Kelly Miller has made a record on repartee and on satirical writing in his replies to Thomas Dixon's "Leopard Spots" and a few other pamphlets. At the present time Professor Miller holds the chair of sociology in Howard. His sociology, however, is more questionable than that of Du Bois. His claim to the title of sociologist is based upon his periodical essays, writ-

Professor Lester F. Ward. Race, prejudice in Nearing. History ica's great scholars and great
 creed, color and sex produce no will record him as one of Amer- statesmen.



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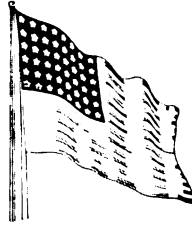
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The new patriotism is Kaiser-blind.

All Kaisers look alike to it, and it yearns and longs with a prurient passion to make every Kaiser in every country abdicate his throne.

The new patriotism is name-blind.

It is always seeking into the substance. The fact that a country is called a democracy or a republic has no influence with the new patriotism.

The new patriotism would immediately investigate whether the practices of such a country square with its profession.

The new patriotism is consistent.

It does not condemn massacres and lynching in Germany and condone them in its own country.

The new patriotism condemns lynching wherever it lifts its serpent head.

When the new patriotism saw men deprived of self-government and the franchise in Germany, it condemned that state of affairs unequivocally.

But the new patriotism is not for a moment blind or oblivious to the fact that over two million Negroes in the United States are disfranchised because of color.

The new patriotism believes in democratizing benefits and privileges even as the burdens are democratized.

It sees Negroes pay taxes for schools in the South to which their children cannot go.

It sees the Negro at the front bearing the brunt of almost every war in the country's history.

It sees the Negro forever LOYAL and true.

The new patriotism would not have Negroes bear their full share of burdens without even receiving the rights and privileges of a free citizen and a man.

The new patriotism is tolerant.

It would not stop free speech, free press, or free assemblage.

The new patriotism is not "reactionary and visionless in politics, nor narrow and medieval in religion."

It would not outlaw the red flag which represents the brotherhood of man.

It would not deport fellow workers because of difference of political or economic opinion.

It would not deny passports to persons (loyal citizens, too) because of race, color or political convictions.

It would not close halls for orderly discussion of civic problems as a means of creating change.

It welcomes a Bolshevism which overthrows Kaisers, Czars and Kings.

The new patriotism is more interested in living than in dying. It believes the best service which can be rendered is, to make life longer, while at the same time we lessen its miseries and increase its enjoyments.

The new patriotism cannot hate a man because he is born or lives on the other side of a strip of water or an imaginary line.

It may loathe and hate the German Kaiser; but the German, French, English and Russian people all look alike to the new patriotism.

The new patriotism is peering into the poverty, the stark and hideous tragedies which are putting out the light of life.

The new patriotism is peeping behind thrones and hanging up the sign: "Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting."

The new patriotism is suspicious of the huge war profits made by the few upon the suffering of the many.

The new patriotism is watching the high cost of bread, milk and meat.

The new patriotism is determined that economic conditions shall be so adjusted that we shall have a durable and permanent peace and not merely a long and protracted armistice as in the past. To secure this, however, the new patriotism knows that there must be a democratic settlement of the terms of peace.

The new patriotism is the rainbow of future hope upon the cloud of present war.

When the smoke of battle and the waste of war have cleared away, the sun of the New Patriotism shall reign —triumphant and Supreme!