

The New Yorker

TRANSFERRED TO
HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
MAY 22 1922

A JOURNAL OF
SCIENTIFIC
RADICALISM

OCTOBER, 1921.

15 Cents Per Copy.



HELEN E. HAGAN, Pianist

Big Negro Preacher Endorses Ku-Klux-Klan

THE MESSENGER

A Journal of Scientific Radicalism

45c. per Copy
27c. Outside U. S.

Published Monthly by the MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., Inc

\$1.50 per Year
\$2 Outside U. S.

Main Office: 21 Seventh Avenue, New York.

Telephone, Morningside 1996

VOL. III.

OCTOBER, 1921.

NO. V.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
COVER—PHOTO FROM LIFE.	
1. EDITORIALS	257
2. ECONOMICS AND POLITICS	262
3. EDUCATION AND LITERATURE	263
4. WHO'S WHO	264
5. OPEN FORUM	266

Entered As Second Class Mail, July 27, 1919.



Editors:

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH CHANDLER OWEN

Contributing Editors:

GEORGE FRAZIER MILLER

W. A. DOMINGO

Phone Connection

J. P. FANNING

Manufacturer of

Fine Havana Cigars

122 West 135th Street,

New York

Try the Old Reliable Duff's Hats

Best Made Hats At Reasonable Prices

Also Harlem Agent for the

John B. Stetson Hats

DUFF'S HAT STORE

136 LENOX AVENUE

(Near 116th Street Subway Station)

STUDY

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIALISM

A Correspondence Course for Beginners
Prepared by David P. Berenberg

Fee \$4.00

THE RAND SCHOOL

Offers This and Five Other Correspondence
Courses in Socialism

For Information

Write to Room 301—7 East 15th St., New York City
Ask for Folder

Subscribe for

THE MESSENGER

Magazine

\$1.50 PER YEAR

CO-OPERATION

For information on organizing
co-operative societies apply to

CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE OF AMERICA

2 West 13th Street New York

Editorials

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS has been in London conferring with the Advisory Committee of the British Labor Party. It is rather anomalous to see the highly anti-labor doctor of philosophy so interested in labor in England, while in America he writes whole editorials urging the defeat of organized railroad labor in its contest with the railroad managers.

It is true that he sets up the race prejudice of the organized railroad workers as his reason, but this is wholly illogical, for the worse the conditions of the railroad workers the more short-sighted they will be. If their hours are longer and their wages lower, it will greatly reduce the opportunities for other jobs.

We shall see to it that French and British labor leaders are well informed on this matter..

UNEMPLOYMENT is on the increase. According to Congressman Meyer London, it doubled during the last session of Congress. When Congress assembled there were about three million men unemployed; before Congress adjourned there were six million out of work.

America lags behind all other nations in dealing with the unemployment situation. Not even the elementary wisdom of inaugurating a building program, a program of public works, or of entering upon Russian trade—has been displayed. Instead the Manufacturers' Association has been too busy with its alleged American plan, fighting for a return of the open shop, trying to destroy the labor unions and inaugurating a campaign of terrorism through the American Legion, the Ku Klux Klan, et als. Myopic and vindictive, they have destroyed the market for their goods. Wageless workers cannot buy. Unless someone will buy, the manufacturers cannot sell. Where there is no buying power, no demand, the factories must close, the markets contract, businesses fail.

This extensive unemployment has borne with it panic—increasing at an accelerated rate. It will continue until an awakened public opinion *reclaims the land* which is the basis of all natural resources and upon which rests the great natural monopolies which, like highwaymen, a few unscrupulous and avid individuals hold, *not for public benefit but for private profit.*

THE New York World's Ku Klux Klan exposure is a brilliant and public spirited piece of journalism for which all good citizens of all races and nationalities must feel grateful. The masked midnight marauders have been subjected to the light of pitiless publicity for which they had not bargained. The Klan's chief stock in trade—its utter secrecy—has been completely exploded by the World exposures of all its organizers, their names, addresses, post office

boxes, the fraternal signs, hand clasps, et cetera.

Truly, the World Ku Kluxed the Klan

WHAT has become of the fight over the Negro Y. M. C. A. secretary in New York? Where have the militant Negro ministers fled? Have they "*folded their tents like the Arabs and silently stolen away*"? This is the New York City mayoralty campaign year and we recall that many of these indignant ministers and editors were in the 1917 Mitchell Slush Fund deal. Have they entered into a deal by which their silence was purchased in this Y. M. C. A. matter? Speak out, somebody, or we will ask the question again!

ATTORNEY General Daugherty says there is no such thing as a political prisoner in America. At least, this is the opinion of the Harding administration. That ought to be no surprise, however, to a public which remembers Harding's campaign speeches in which he compared Debs and political prisoners to common yeggmen. To blow up American ships and bridges, to obstruct the prosecution of the war by overt, murderously criminal acts was all right; one could get a pardon for such little indiscretions. To explain the economic roots of the war, to educate the masses by discussion as Debs did, is criminal in the eyes of Daugherty—criminal beyond pardon. America surely holds her place as the most backward of all the world's nations in her treatment of political prisoners.

It has been rumored that Attorney General Daugherty was a member of the Ku Klux Klan. No where have we seen a categorical denial of it. Is it so or not so, Mr. Daugherty? Please answer directly.

THE dismissal of Professor Robert Kerlin from the Virginia Military Institute for the writing of a letter to Governor Mc Rae of Arkansas asking justice to the Negro farmers condemned to die for alleged participation in the Hoop Spur, Arkansas, race riots is in harmony with the general spirit of academic intolerance which now infests the American universities.. It is the natural sequel to the dismissal of Scott Nearing from the University of Pennsylvania, H. W. L. Dana and Cattell from Columbia, Russell Scott from Vanderbilt, Lindley Keasby from Texas and similar cases.

Most people have not caught the significance of the Kerlin offense. He especially stressed in his letter to Governor McRae the evil peonage conditions of Arkansas. While not a comment on Virginia directly, Southern opinion realizes the prevalence of peonage all over the South. As a result the criticism of the institution in one state is equivalent to its criticism in every other. This is not unlike slavery, when

John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry was deemed an attack on every slave state, for Virginia was an ally of the slave states, which fact made an attack on any ally an attack upon all. Herein one realizes the principle recognized by the dominant ruling class, *that an injury to one is an injury to all.*

Thorstein Veblen wrote a book entitled "*The Hire Education*" which explains why professors cannot teach truth untrammelled. Those who hire teachers will naturally direct the teaching, and no sane group will pay for the dissemination of learning calculated to supplant that group. The feudal South which supports its universities is no exception.

OUR contemporary, the New Majority, has gotten to the root of why Marshall Fields and other merchants have been making such a vigorous campaign against bobbed hair. It writes:

"Here is a reason for the campaign against bobbed hair: When American girls adopted bobbed hair, human hair importations from China and elsewhere dropped from 222,000 pounds to 7,000 a month. But \$14,000 worth of human hair entered American ports in June, as compared with \$196,000 worth the same month last year."

The same old excuse—eh? The nickel under the foot again! Probably the girls can get the barbers' association to start a counter campaign, though, in view of the fact that they have an economic interest in bobbing the girls' hair. Who knows?

THE Russian famine has moved the entire world to efforts at relief. Organized labor, humanitarian individuals and even reactionary governments like the United States, Great Britain and France have rushed to the rescue. Of course the motives differ. Organized labor is concerned about maintaining the first workers' republic of the world. Humanitarian persons would assuage the anguish and relieve the pain of the suffering. These reactionary capitalist governments, however, are only apparently solicitous for the welfare of the famine sufferers. They really desire to go into Russia for the purpose of carrying on propaganda, to overthrow the present form of the Russian government. This relief excuse affords just the opportunity; it throws ajar the door which they had long hoped to open. Their utter insincerity can be judged by their causal relation to the famine. Had the Russian people not been compelled to fight the United States, France, Great Britain, Poland, and nearly all the surrounding states which the great powers were trying to set up as buffers between themselves and bolshevism, the Russian people would be fairly well able to take care of their own needs. Instead of industrial reconstruction these incessant wars consumed all of their time and supplies in defense of their revolution. Added to these artificial obstacles, came the drought which blighted and blasted the crops of all Europe. We, therefore, appeal to our readers to give of what funds you have to feed the Russian people—one of the most kindly, peace-loving and affable of all nations.

HENRY LINCOLN JOHNSON, Negro member of the Republican National Committee, director of the Negro phase of Harding's presidential campaign, when recently nominated by the president, was turned down by the Republican Senate. He has not been confirmed. We are glad to see this slap in the face. The present Republican party leaders apparently don't propose to sponsor any Negroes for office, whether old or new crowd. This course pursued, will result in weaning away the masses from the Republican fold. The old crowd appointees will be robbed of their only argument, namely: "*They appointed me so they recognized you.*" *This crowd of Republicans ain't recognizing no Negro.* Even the old crowd leaders should be able to recognize that fact.

A news despatch reads:

UNEMPLOYED, STRIPPED TO WAIST, OFFERED TO BIDDERS ON BOSTON COMMON

Boston, Sept. 9.—Auctioning of jobless men continues today on Boston Common where men, both black and white, and stripped to the waist, mounted the Parkman bandstand to sell themselves into "slavery." They offered their services in return for food and shelter.

The good points of the men were pointed out by Urbaine Ledoux, philanthropic worker, who recently opened the Church of the Unemployed, at No. 31 Howard street, and who conducted the sale.

Ledoux issued a notice to employers that the "slave-market" would be repeated today at the same place, and requested them to be on hand to "buy some honest-to-God Americans" anxious to work for their keep.

Bought for \$2 a Week.

Mrs. Anna Jackson, of Charlestown, "bought" Joe Mitchell, a colored man. Her bid—the best—was a week's board and lodging and \$2 for pocket money.

"Take him—the man is yours," shouted Ledoux, to the woman.

The above despatch bespeaks not only the awful economic plight of the country but also the calloused conscience of the public mind. Read the account carefully. Note that on Boston Common both white and black men are being sold at auction. Boston Common—the cradle of Abolition—has in 1921 become the auction block of American wage slaves. "Take him—the man is yours," shouted the auctioneer. This scene is not unlike the one in New Orleans which Lincoln viewed with chagrin and disgust. There girls were being sold; here men, white men and black, are stripped to the waist, subject to examination by the buyer, guaranteed just as one would a horse, and sold to a master. Such is the state of progress and civilization to which we have come under capitalism in America in 1921.

And who of us can reflect upon this scene on Boston Common, without bringing to our cheeks the hectic flush of shame that the very citadel, bulwark and sacred shrine of anti-slavery, abolition and freedom should be so desecrated, so foully polluted and disgraced as to be made the initial stamping ground of the recrudescence of the slave auction block!

GARVEY'S SOCIAL EQUALITY CABLES

MR. GARVEY has embarked upon a queer but interesting mission—the preaching of Negro inferiority to the white and Negro peoples of the world. His chief blast has been directed against Dr. Du Bois, who is alleged to have advocated social equality in the Pan African Congress in Paris. Mr. Garvey's contention is that social equality is only demanded by certain Negroes for selfish reasons. The same thing may be said of certain Negroes opposition to lynching. Does the fact that one opposed lynching from a selfish point of view, fearing lest he become a personal victim, make such opposition less valuable or less necessary. Granting that the Ku Klux Klan is a vicious and criminal organization, of which fact its record, past and present, supplies ample proof, would Mr. Garvey contend that because Jews and Irish, for selfish reasons, have instituted a bitter fight on the Klan, that such a fight is not just, timely and laudable? Self-interest may not infrequently be found to be compatible with the public good. This argument of selfishness is pretty sorry and slender to present as a basis for opposition to a demand for the right of Negroes to be considered as the social equals of white people.

In this new role of Mr. Garvey's, he qualifies splendidly as an ally of the Ku Klux Klan. Lynching, jim-crowism and disfranchisement of Negroes are the means with which the mobocratic South hopes to maintain the social inferiority of the Negro. The idea of the white South is that when ever the Negroes demand the right to vote, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, that they are demanding social equality; and when they renounce social equality, they also accept the present attitude of the South toward the Negro, namely, keeping him in peonage, lynching, jim-crowing and disfranchising him.

And in this attitude, the South is entirely logical; for if Negroes admit that they are the social inferiors of white people, they, ipso facto, admit that they are entitled to inferior treatment.

But such are the pitfalls of a movement such as the Universal Negro Improvement Association which is founded upon the fallacy of "Negro First." The logical consequences of the methods it adopts are that instead of achieving its goal, that is, making the Negro "First," it actually results in achieving just the opposite, that is, making the Negro "last."

WEST VIRGINIA MINERS

IN Mingo County, West Virginia, the miners and coal operators are at war, for only a truce has stilled the firing of arms. Immediately, the Government observed the march of the miners in true military fashion, it declared martial law—the last card in the hands of the operators with which they hoped to break down the morale of the miners. Again the state plays its historic role as an instrument of repression of one class by another. Be it said to the credit of the Negro miners, they stood true to their class, fighting, suffering, dying for the right to live. It is reported that one-third of the miners on strike in West Virginia, are Negroes, a fine and praiseworthy evidence of class consciousness. The gunmen of the operators fired on black and white miners, giving a mortal blow to the Imperial Wizard Simmon's and

Marcus Garvey's race prejudice-producing slogan of "Race First." Here it was "class first," and black and white men joined hands and bared their breasts to the bayonets of a common foe for the cause of industrial freedom. Fight on Mingo Miners, black and white, for your cause is just!

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

IN a large number of cities throughout the country, the mayoralty campaign is on. As usual the Republican and Democratic parties, the two political brokers of "Big Biz," are now busy investigating each other's political morals. As the campaign proceeds along and divers political skeletons are pulled out of their closets, as the old time, occult political magi seek to ensnare a well-meaning but naive citizenry with hypocritical incantations, the Socialist party, in its characteristic unostentatious manner, will attempt to explain to the workers the inherent incapacity of the two political representatives of capitalism, (the Republican and Democratic parties) to effect a solution of the political, economic and social ills from which they (the workers) suffer.

After a period of unprecedented storm and stress both from within and without, the Socialist party issues its old challenge to the master class "To the workers the full product of their toil," paralleled with the slogans of the class conscious and revolutionary toilers "workers of the world unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have the world to gain." Until society has been re-organized upon a basis of service; until the agencies of production and distribution have been socialized; until the state functions in the interest of the workers, the basic philosophy of the Socialist movement in all campaigns will remain unchanged. This philosophy in object and method, aims to emancipate the working class from the chains of wage slavery.

But prior to the time when the workers shall rise to power, in obedience to the demands of the material conditions of society, and in harmony with good Marxian economics, the Party devises a program, vitally related to the immediate economic needs of the workers, with a view both, to awakening and capturing the interest of the workers, and to exposing the flagrant bankruptcy of capitalist politics.

For the unemployment situation, which the Republican and Democratic chieftains either ignore or lie about, the Socialist party faces and explains its existence as a natural and logical consequence of a system under which the working people are paid, in the form of wages, only a small part of what they produce—thereby making possible and inevitable the piling up of an huge surplus of goods which the workers can not buy back, resulting in the stoppage of production, and the creation of a large unemployed class.

Out of the present economic entanglement, the Socialists point the way. They advocate that the city, state and national governments provide for the unemployed through appropriations. As a solution of the problems of housing and the high cost of living, the Socialists would have the local, state and federal governments to intervene and assume direct control over the housing and feeding businesses. This would eliminate the wildcat and conscienceless profiteering which now runs riot in basic necessities. Already, the federal government has given the rail-

roads a billion and six hundred millions in the form of increased freight and passenger rates. Thus, the government's intervening in business is not new; it will be new, of course, for it to intervene in the interest of preventing the combined capitalists and manufacturers of America from bleeding the people through extortionate prices in food, clothing and housing.

To the discerning person, it is obvious, that parties that receive their funds from the railroad, food, housing, clothing and banking interests, will not and can not advocate a program which will benefit the workers, when that very same program injures the employing class—the class which benefits—from high prices in food, clothing and shelter, and, also, in low wages paid labor.

Such is the reason then why it is idle, futile and foolish for Negroes, Jews, Catholics, native or foreign workers to expect the Democratic or Republican party—the tools of the moneyed interests—to bring relief from unemployment and the high cost of living. Of course, the wily politicians will promise relief. This, they have ever done, but no relief has ever come. The Socialist party promises nothing.. It merely points out to the toiling masses that it is they, in whose hands, rests the power to remedy the social, economic and political maladjustment of which they are the chief victims.

NEGRO LEGISLATORS

WHAT are Negro legislators doing? This is the question which most thinking Negroes are asking. In only one instance has one of them introduced a resolution against the Ku Klux Klan. That was in the Illinois Assembly.

A few weeks ago a Jewish councilman introduced such a resolution in the Cleveland, Ohio, Council. Press despatches record Mr. Flemming, the Negro Councilman, as having seconded the resolution. In the New York State legislature all last year sat a Negro by the name of John Clifford Hawkins. He did not even think of introducing an anti Ku Klux Klan resolution. In the New York Aldermanic board sat two Negroes by the names of George W. Harris and Dr. Charles H. Roberts. So far as their activities were concerned they appeared not to have known that such an organization as the Ku Klux Klan existed. In Pennsylvania, that rock-ribbed Republican balivick, two Negroes held seats in the state legislature—Andrew F. Stevens and John C. Asbury, yet we did not hear of any anti-Ku Klux Klan action on their part. Of course, no one expected any such action from the hat-in-hand Chicago Councilmen—Louis B. Anderson and R. R. Jackson. Nor have we heard of any anti-Ku Klux Klan activity on the part of Dr. Alexander, the Negro state assemblyman of New Jersey.

With an insidious propaganda, tarring and feathering of the members of their race, lynching, mobbing and running them out of the cities and counties—no other race would have had such sphinx-like legislators. Again, if Negro aldermen, assemblymen, councilmen and other legislators cannot condemn the Ku Klux Klan, do not introduce resolutions against that organization, and do not attempt to use their seats

to arouse public opinion in favor of those whom they represent—what possible excuse can be made for their being there? Of what use are they to Negroes? Whom do they suppose they are serving?

The only explanation which we can give our readers for their course of procedure is the philosophy of the cynic who decided, "It is better to keep silent and be considered a fool than to speak and remove all doubt!"

HELEN E. HAGAN

WE call to the attention of our readers Helen E. Hagan, pianist, a product of American and French masters.

At an early age her combination of rare musical talents attracted wide attention in New England. Her first studies were directed by her mother. At the age of thirteen she entered the Yale University School of Music, where her studies in piano and composition were directed by Professor H. Stanley Knight and the late Horatio Parker. In 1912 she received the degree of Bachelor of Music, winning at the same time the Samuel Simon Sanford Foreign Fellowship of two thousand dollars.. This prize was won through keen competition by composing and publicly performing her own concerto for piano and orchestra.. She immediately went to Paris where her studies in piano and composition were continued and a diploma awarded her at the Schola Cantorum under Mlle. Blanche Selva, the prominent French Pianist, and Vincent D'Indy, the eminent French composer.

Since her return from France Miss Hagan has played in every city of importance in the United States as well as all the U. S. camps in France during the war, and she has endeared herself to the public not alone because she is essentially a student of musical truth in both interpretation and composition, but because of her charming personality and gracious manner.

On the 10th of October Miss Hagan will give a recital at the Aeolian Hall in New York. We urge our white and colored friends to hear her. In this gifted young woman may be seen a model of what we would present as representative of Negro art rather than the clownism and buffoonery of Negro buck and wing dancers, rag-time piano plunkers, black-faced comedians and questionable jubilee singers. In any of the cities where Miss Hagan may play we urge our friends and readers to hear her.

We urge that the white people who have been to see "Shuffle Along," "Put and Take" and Bert Williams' "Chinaman Not Shimmying Off Tea"—to put off going to this trash one evening, take a night at the feet of a real Negro artist, and then "shuffle along" back home with something uplifting from the Negro's soul. These plays like "Shuffle Along" ought to be spurned by the Negro. They are hardly above the "Clansman." They stress every bad quality of the Negro, namely, shiftness, laziness, vote stealing, vote selling, criminality and immorality. Happily, however, there is another side—the side which geniuses like Helen Hagan keep bright with the highest touches of art—that clear liquid melody and music which throws a beautiful and irresistible charm over human life.

KU KLUX KLAN LEADERS WELL FITTED TO CORRECT MORALS OF COMMUNITIES

THE following despatch published on the front page of the New York World, Sept. 19, 1921, is a fair commentary upon the Ku Klux leaders:

CLARKE AND MRS. TYLER ARRESTED WHILE IN HOUSE OF ILL REPUTE

(Special Despatch to The World from a Staff Correspondent)

Atlanta, Sept. 18.—The World's exposure of Ku Klux took an astounding turn here yesterday when a staff correspondent obtained evidence of the truth of rumors which have long been matters of gossip in Atlanta. This evidence proves that:

1—A few days prior to Oct. 31, 1919, Edward Young Clarke of Atlanta, who is at present, by appointment of Imperial Wizard Simmons, the Imperial Kleagle or boss organizer of the Ku Klux Klan, and Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler of Atlanta, who recently, also by appointment and proclamation of Imperial Wizard Simmons, was made Grand Chief of the newly formed woman's division of Kluxters, were arrested at midnight and in their sleeping garments, in a notorious underworld resort at No. 185 South Pryor Street, Atlanta, run by Mrs. Tyler, and taken to the City Prison, where Clarke was immediately placed in a cell and where Mrs. Tyler, after being searched, was also locked up.

2—The two prisoners gave assumed names, as "Jim Slaton" and "Mrs. Carroll" respectively, and being unable to obtain bail at that hour, were imprisoned until morning, when Francis Clarke, now manager and then city editor of an Atlanta newspaper and brother of Edward Young Clarke, now Imperial Kleagle of the Ku Klux Klan, appeared at the City Prison and by giving \$50 bonds effected the release of both prisoners.

Tried Under Real Names

3—On Oct. 31, 1919, "Jim Slaton" and "Mrs. Carroll" were brought into the Recorder's Court in Atlanta for trial on charges of disorderly conduct. After consultation with Policewoman Davis, who had participated in the raid and arrests, Recorder George E. Johnson ordered the prisoners docketed under their real names of Edward Young Clarke and Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler, and under those names they were tried, found guilty of disorderly conduct and sentenced to pay \$5 fines or each work twelve days on the streets or other public works of Atlanta. They paid the fines.

4—Additional charges of possession of whiskey, based on the finding and seizure of such liquor by the police, in the Pryor Street resort at the time of the raid, stood against both Clarke and Mrs. Tyler, but were dismissed when J. Q. Jett of Atlanta, the son-in-law of Mrs. Tyler, who is feminine chief of the Ku Klux Klan, came into the Recorder's Court, claimed ownership of the seized whiskey and was fined \$25 by the court.

5—Clarke, Imperial Kleagle of the Ku Klux Klan in its drive for \$10 "100 per cent" Americans consecrated and baptized to uphold and enforce the law and protect the sanctity of American homes and the chastity of American womanhood at this moment stands on the public records of the Fulton County (Ga.) courts and the Atlanta City Police Courts as

a man who has deserted and abandoned his wife and child and has not to this day denied these charges.

Testimony Given by Police

Imperial Kleagle Clarke and Mrs. Tyler were arrested at midnight in their bedclothes in the resort, according to the testimony of the witnesses, policeman Jameson, since dead, and Policewomen Davis and Voss, still on active duty. The resort was at No. 185 South Pryor Street, corner of Fair Street, and, it was operated by Mrs. Tyler. The raid occurred a few days prior to Oct. 31, 1919, which is the date of the hearing before Recorder Johnson, at which the verdicts of guilty were rendered and sentences imposed. The numbers of the cases of the City of Atlanta versus E. Y. Clarke and the City of Atlanta versus Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler on the Recorder's docket upon which they are listed is 305.

Most surprising, in view of Clarke's efforts, then in progress, to make America dry by collecting funds to help the Anti-Saloon League, is the fact that the police found whiskey in the house and seized it.

But the next morning, as stated, the super-Prohibitionist and the Ku Klux feminist were absolved from the legal responsibility involved in the discovery of liquor on the premises when Jett claimed the whiskey and paid the fine of \$25.

The arrest of Clarke and Mrs. Tyler came as the result of a long vigil by an abandoned wife, Mrs. May Cartledge Clarke.

Did you ever? This gang of Anthony Comstocks who propose to whip and tar and feather other persons for desertion, non-support of wives, adultery, and the like, is the most notoriously immoral crowd of corrupters of the public morals which we have discovered. Not only does this gang of Ku Kluxers maintain houses of prostitution but the *grand lady imperial witch* is caught cashing in the coin herself at prostitution. Both the grand Kleagle and the grand witch in bed clothes at midnight in a house of prostitution! Both fined and docketed in their names after an unsuccessful attempt to conceal their real names! Then the supreme hypocrite was collecting anti-saloon league funds while a bar room was at his finger tips. And while anybody else may accept the ownership of that whiskey as Mr. Jett we shall have our own opinion about it, which is that it was owned very naturally by the keeper of that house of prostitution.

We recall the time when the old-fashioned white South was anti-Negro, favored keeping him "in his place," but at the same time had some puritanic conceptions of morals. The first families of Virginia and Georgia would not be associated with, much less led by a plain prostitute, a bawdy housekeeper, a blind tiger runner, a wife and child deserter.

We are opposed to the tar and feather fraternity, but, assuming that we were not, it would seem a fine case to start with by farring and feathering the leaders of the Ku Klux for gross immorality.

And while we are on these morganatic alliances, with all deference to preacher wizard William Joseph Simmons we somehow wonder whether his cordial relations with Mrs. Tyler came through the same

warm and affable course as Kleagle Clarke. We don't know, but just ask to be straightened out.

This lawless and motley crew of thieves, prostitutes, bootleggers, "speak easy" joint operators and bawdy housekeepers are wizards sure enough. On no other theory can one explain their entering upon a moral and law abiding brokerage business. Probably there is another principle of philosophy which will explain it: *They attempt to avert suspicion by condemning the thing they are doing themselves.* If this is the sort of leadership for which 500,000 white suckers gave up ten cold dollars each, pray, tell us what is on the inside of these white "Dubbs'" minds! Are

they the stuff with which to maintain *white supremacy*? Whom do they compete with? No one envies their position.

Still the picture of Mrs. Tyler is not very attractive to a discriminating gentleman. And we are forced upon reflection to observe that the King Kleagle was not very regal in his tastes. Allowing, however, for the blindness of a liquor guzzler, and the hardening and uncouthness produced by prostitution, the discriminating scientific student of social pathology can finally solve the problem.

Economics and Politics

THE TASK OF LOCAL 8—THE MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS OF PHILADELPHIA

LABOR, the world over, is faced with the task of rescuing humanity from the wreck of capitalism. In England, France, Italy, Germany, and America, the laboring element are the chief victims of the impasse, precipitated in industry, by the present masters of the world.

The industries built up by labor and operated for the production of social necessities, are now idle. As a result of the inability of the high priests of capitalism to carry on production without interruption, unemployment, want and misery blight the lives of millions of willing workers in every land where the system of private ownership in the social tools of production, obtains.

For the work of taking over the business of running the world, the toilers need to prepare. In every country, and in every industry, the workers are confronted with the task of preparing themselves. This is the most immediate phase of their work. To this task, be it said to the credit of the Industrial Workers of the World, Research Bureaus have been established. Their purpose is to investigate the processes of industries, such as mining, manufacturing, feeding, shipping, railroading, banking, farming, etc.—with a view to placing, at the convenience of labor, a body of scientific knowledge essential to an efficient control, operation and management of the world's work.

The plan of scientific-knowledge-research-bureaus is a direct and necessary outgrowth of the industrial union form of organization. In an industrial democracy, the industry will naturally form the unit of society, and, hence, a knowledge of its organization, processes, and technique of management becomes, at once, the primary prerequisite to those in whose charge the industrial mechanism will fall. In anticipation of the trend of the industrial life of the world, labor unions, in all of the various countries are turning their attention to problems of industrial control, operation, and management. In England, the recognition by the workers of the need for greater knowl-

edge of the machinery of production and exchange is manifest in their development of the "shop stewards' movement." In Germany, Italy and France similar movements are in process of development.

As a result of this new urge for knowledge, workers' colleges, papers and magazines, forums and churches have grown up. They are mobilizing an army of educators to conduct their educational efforts. The class struggle has, at last, driven the proletariat to see that education, organization and agitation must go hand in hand, and that not until the workers have achieved a workingclass solidarity based upon scientific knowledge, will they seriously struggle for emancipation. This, of course, does not mean that each worker must be a political economist, but it does mean that the workers must understand the nature of the class organization of society; they must realize what a menace to the interests of the workers, divisions upon race, religion, color, sex, nationality and trade, constitute. Needless to say, that economic understanding must come both from the struggle between labor and capital, and the conscious educational efforts of organized labor. For a long time labor has received its training, in toto, from the school of industrial war, and such was the logical and inevitable thing to happen; for the material conditions of strife and conflict alone could effectively convince the workers of the necessity of their employing the same weapons of offense and defense that are employed by the employing class. A capitalist press, school, forum, church, stage and screen can only be counteracted by a labor press, school, forum, church, stage and screen. As capitalists are organized upon the basis of the industry and the several industries are integrated, and centralized into One Big Union of Capital, so labor must organize upon the basis of the industry and integrate and centralize its industrial units into One Big Union. This logic, of course, applies to questions of race, color, religion, trade, sex and nationality. The masters of the economic life of the country, or the world for that matter, are organized without regard to race, color, religion, sex or nationality. They fan and enkindle the sinister flames of religious, race, color and nationality prejudice in

order that the poor, gullible, credulous, well-meaning but misguided "Henry Dubbs"—the slaves, will fly at each others' throats; for while they, the workers, fight among themselves, the Bosses rob them all.

To offset the separation tendency among the workers, the Marine Transport Workers of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, have entered the vanguard of American labor. When the spirit of race prejudice between the black and white workers, on the waterfront in Philadelphia first manifested itself, Local 8 proceeded to conduct an educational campaign in leaflets and forum lectures. This forum was attended largely by both black and white workers. The lecture course covered a wide range of subjects, touching upon national and international topics. The questions and discussions from the floor were pointed, well put and intelligent. Chiefly the economic aspect of the topics discussed, was stressed by the workers.

The leaflets which were issued by the organization dealt with some subject vital to the interests of the workers. Local 8 is working out the methods in its special industry which will equip the toilers for the task of workers control and management. No finer spirit of brotherhood can be found anywhere than exists in the organization. Upon entering the hall, during meetings, one is met with the fact of a Negro chairman and a white secretary sitting side by side

conducting the meeting. From the floor, white and colored workers rise, make themselves heard, make motions, argue questions pro and con, have their differences and settle them, despite the Imperial Wizard Colonel William Joseph Simmons' and Marcus Garvey's "Race First" bogey. At picnics, the workers also mingle, fraternize, dance, eat and play together. Nor do the Negro workers dance, eat and play only among themselves; but both white and black men, white and black women, and white and black children eat, play and dance together just as they work and hold their meetings together.

Local 8 is setting the example which labor groups throughout the country must emulate if the Ku Klux Klan which is behind Tulsas, is to be destroyed, and if the Open Shop campaign is to fail.

The MESSENGER and its editors have been trying to spread this "Brotherhood" propaganda among the white and black workers, wherever and whenever possible. Glad to say, the Marine Transport Workers is one of the few labor organizations which has given whole-hearted support, moral and financial.

When the workers, in America, are able to build local 8's in every section of the country, the 100 per centers, the Open Shoppers, the combined manufacturers and capitalists of America, will not dare to institute an assault upon labor in the guise of the "American Plan."

Education and Literature

A REPUBLIC ON THE IMPERIAL HIGHWAY

THE American Empire—by Scott Nearing—The Rand School Book Store, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

Democracy has started on the road to empire. An alleged republic has been shunted upon the imperial track. The United States of America, a republic in name, is a veritable empire in fact. The term *republic*, applied to a nation which holds conquered territory and subject peoples, which harbors an imperial or ruling class who exploit the subject peoples and the conquered territory for their (the ruling class's) benefit—is a misnomer. This is the contention of Scott Nearing in his *American Empire*.

The imperial or ruling class constantly addresses itself to self-preservation—not of the masses of people within the borders of its country, but of the ruling class. In order to do this that class must suppress agitation and revolt among people at home, maintain the imperial sway over conquered territory, extend the boundaries of the empire, while at the same time an unending struggle is carried on between contending factions of the ruling class for the right to carry on the work of exploitation at home and abroad. It is necessary for the ruling class to suppress agitation because the awakened and awakening working class realizes that it gains nothing by the huge investments at home and abroad and nothing by the exploitation of foreign peoples. Unsuppressed, such agitation would

lead to revolt among those who comprise the armies and navies which act as collecting agencies for the American investors at home and abroad. The rule of Lord Palmerston that "the flag follows the investor" is accepted by all empires, as well as the British. Territory unjustly governed, inequitably exploited, must repeatedly be conquered. Cheap lands and cheap labor are the attraction of the investor. Coercion, not inducement, of the natives is resorted to. Wages are usually low; conditions of work abominable; prices high and prohibitive. Hence the need for imperial vigil and ever-present force to maintain the imperial sway over a reluctant and resentful people.

The safest boundary is the one farthest removed from encroachment. The United States is delighted to have the Atlantic Ocean on one side, and the Pacific on the other. It has been able to dispense with a large standing army with which European nations have been burdened. Even England, with a narrow strip of water between her and the continent, has been able to dispense with so large a standing army as many small nations on the continent must have. Yet, as Nearing says, "the ruling class must carry on." It cannot stop. It must extend its sway or decay.

Again groups of the ruling class must fight each other. All peoples are egoistic. They combine with others only for their individual gain. It is what Lester Ward terms: "the law of parsimony—the greatest gain for the least effort." The Democrats

and Republicans contend for the power to carry on the work of exploitation at home and abroad. Each attempts to establish its efficiency in the work.

The Republicans have seized and annexed in fact Hawaii, Cuba, the Phillipines, Panama, and Porto Rico. The Democrats have subjugated Haiti, San Domingo, Nicaragua. What the Republicans took, the Democrats, in power, held. What the Democrats seized, the Republicans have not let go. Both have bullied Mexico and are now on the verge of bringing all of South America and Mexico under the imperial sway of the United States.

Nearing also shows that America is very rich—six times as wealthy as any nation in the world. This wealth, plus its menacing growth, has headed us straight to war with Great Britain, unless a radical change is brought about. Russia will no longer play the old game in the old way. Japan lacks the necessary materials for a great competitor—she has little coal, oil and iron. Great Britain got the lion's share out of the Versailles Peace Treaty. It is she who faces the American Empire as a dogged contender.

We think Nearing might have stressed the similar position of the United States to Germany in 1914. An iron ring was built around Germany. The same master world diplomats of Europe may build around America a similar ring. A creditor in national as in private life eventually gets to be hated—especially when it is felt that the creditor has unfairly profited from the debtors' misery. The United States is owed ten billion dollars by the European nations. Not one of them wants to—not one of them can pay. Colonel House, in a recent book, points out that the only way those debts could be collected is by war. Again, it is a well recognized fact that *where interests are common alliances are advantageous*. All debtors are desirous of having their debts cancelled—repudiated, if you please. Russia repudiates but England just does not pay. Trotsky uses bad talking psychology in so

speaking; in action he and Lloyd George arrive at the same material destination.

Nearing warns the workers of their loss by the imperial highway. He shows very cogently the superior positions of workers in the small nations like Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and Belgium. He points out that Great Britain, the world's formerly greatest empire, harbors a group of workers in London conspicuous for their poverty.

Finally, Nearing asks the question which formed the title of one of Ingersoll's leading lectures, namely, *Which Way?* Which way will the American workers choose? Their masters subdued and annihilated the American Indian; they went over to Africa, brought over a whole race of Negroes and enslaved them; they have raped and brought under their actual sway the islands of the Carribean, emasculated a large part of Mexico and bullied the remainder; threatened South American republics; nay, through intimidation, repression and persecution have crushed their own working class, destroyed free speech and free press, and placed themselves (the ruling class) in complete mastery of this nation.

Upon such course have we entered, according to Nearing, who writes in a convincing manner and a readable style.

The *American Empire* is an able work. It is produced to meet a need—the necessity of awakening an apathetic American public to the putrid imperialism which has penetrated this alleged republic. There is yet time to thwart this course of empire, but a herculean task must be performed. Vigorous, intelligent and organized effort must be quick in getting on the job.

The call is diapason! The need to listen is imperatively immediate. Democracy is on the road to empire! An alleged republic is on the imperial highway! The workers must rush to wreck the imperial train—to switch it off the imperial track—to propel it to the terminal of New Democracy!

Who's Who

W. H. MOSES

IN the Philadelphia Record, issue of August 28th, a letter is carried entitled, "In Defense of the Ku Klux Klan." It is written by one W. H. Moses, who styles himself "a plain colored Baptist preacher, born and educated in Virginia, etc." We suppose our readers will be shocked to learn that any Negro could be found (or any partly respectable white man, for that matter) who will defend the notoriously lawless and criminal organization known as the Ku Klux Klan.

Not so, however, for the Rev. W. H. Moses is a Negro baptist preacher with one of the largest congregations—not in Macon, Georgia, or Houston, Texas, or Pensacola, Florida,—but in the city of Philadelphia, state of Pennsylvania, surrounded by

new Negroes, by Quakers, Catholics, Jews and many abolitionists. And what does Rev. Moses say?

First, "I believe some one is maligning the Ku Klux Klan." Think of maligning a band of thieves, bootleggers, grafters, prostitutes, murderers and tar and feather scoundrels! Yet it is more interesting to learn why Rev. Moses thinks the Klan is being maligning. Letters were received by Rev. Tindley, Dr. Hannon and Blackwell, Mr. E. C. Brown and A. F. Stevens, signed by the Ku Klux Klan. They were told to get out of the city, off Broad Street, or some such arrogant order. Now there is every reason to suppose that the Ku Klux Klan sent the letters, because it is in harmony with their methods to threaten successful Negroes, outspoken preachers and leaders, to run them out of town, and such cowardly methods. Therefore, there was every fact in the Klan's record

to fasten the guilt upon it, including its own announcement of its recent organization in Philadelphia.

Rev. Moses continues: "I do not believe that colored people have anything to fear from the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The organization which operated under that name during Reconstruction days never was as bad as pictured."

Where does Moses get his evidence that the colored people are in no danger of the present Klan, when upon the admission of the Tulsa, Oklahoma, Chief of Police, over half of the force belonged to the Klan—the same force which massacred Negro, men, women and children, the same police vandals who lit the torch to forty-four square blocks of Negro homes, and shot down the helpless women and children who attempted to escape the lips of flame.

As for Moses' statement that the Klan of Reconstruction days never was as bad as pictured, the reverend preacher is either ignorant or falsifying deliberately. History says:

"Ku Kluxism occupied the attention of Congress in 1870 and 1871, when the Enforcement Act, or so-called Ku Klux Law, was passed giving the Federal Courts authority in Ku Klux cases. In 1872 President Hayes issued an anti-Ku Klux proclamation and backed it by the army, while committees of Congress made investigations in all sections of the South. Even then it was a long time dying out, and in the files of The World are clippings of the eighties and nineties reporting cases of whicapping, night riding and all the varieties of masked terrorism used either to satisfy personal dislikes or to usurp the functions of peace officers, as "Ku Klux outrages." Ku Kluxing and Ku Kluxism had made for themselves a place in the language to describe briefly an attitude and an activity which appeared first in the South in the Ku Klux movement, and has remained peculiar to this country.

The report of the investigation ordered by Congress in South Carolina when the Ku Klux Law was in debate said:

"In the nine counties covered by the investigation, for a period of approximately six months, the Ku Klux Klan lynched and murdered 35 men, whipped 262 men and women, otherwise outraged, shot, mutilated, burned out, etc., 101 persons."

James G. Blaine, defeated candidate for the Presidency in a famous election, wrote of the Klan in Louisiana:

"These Klans and organizations hesitated at no cruelty, were deterred by no considerations of law or humanity. They rode by night, were disguised with masks, were armed as freebooters. They whipped, maimed or murdered the victims of their wrath. Over 2,000 persons were killed, wounded and otherwise maimed in Louisiana within a few weeks of the Presidential election of 1868."

Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, staunch supporter of the Confederate cause, bitter opponent in Congress of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Reconstruction Act, was retained as a lawyer to defend members of the Ku Klux Klan on trial before the United States Court in South Carolina. After hearing the

evidence, much of it confessions by the Klansmen, he denounced the Ku Klux Klan thus:

"I have listened with unmixed horror to some of the testimony that has been brought before you. The outrages proved are shocking to humanity; they admit of neither excuse nor justification; they violate every obligation which law and nature impose upon man; they show that the parties engaged were brutes, insensible to the obligations of humanity and religion."

In summing up his speech, already quoted, before the Texas Bar Association, Attorney General Gregory, another Southerner, said:

"From the nightmare of Reconstruction and Ku Kluxism two things have been born which have wrought incalculable injury to the South and may continue to do so for a century to come. One of these is the 'Solid South' and the other is 'contempt for law.' The vicious, unconstitutional laws and our defiance of them left the South with no proper respect for constituted authority, with a disposition to right our wrongs and a contempt for all law not to our liking. This last is our crowning inheritance of woe for which our children and our children's children will suffer.

"The Ku Klux Klan machine has been stored away in the Battle Abbey of the Nation as obsolete, we trust, as the causes which produced it; it will stand there for all time as a reminder of how useless is the prostitution of law in an effort to do that which is essentially unlawful, but it will also remain an eternal suggestion to the vigilance committee and the regulator."

Such is the verdict of history. The old order of the Ku Klux Klan was so disgraceful that its own officers sought to dissolve it and disband it forever. It killed nearly 100,000 men during its history; killed over 2,000 persons in a few weeks in Louisiana alone, just prior to the presidential election of 1868. This organization which Moses says was never as bad as pictured was considered so disgraceful, lawless and criminal by its own counsel that he refused in open court to defend them—and this a Southern white man, sympathetic to slavery and the South, a rank supporter of the Confederacy!

Moses says he was once president of a Negro school in Texas. Well ex-Attorney General Gregory from Texas, a Southern white man says, "The Ku Klux machine has been stored away in the Battle Abbey of the nation as obsolete, we trust." He says further it attempted to prostitute the law to do that which was essentially unlawful.

It is not necessary to go into all the fallacious assertions (they are not arguments) of Rev. W. H. Moses. He has done enough already to be remembered as is Pontius Pilate, or the two thieves between which Christ hung. His statements in defense of the Ku Klux Klan are either wilfully or ignorantly false. And no one above an obvious moron, or whose intelligence is knee high to a jackass, could be ignorant of the vicious, lawless, criminal, cowardly, vandalistic, Hunnish history of the dastardly damnable culprit of Reconstruction—the unspeakable Ku Klux

Klan. Alas! it is just one more case of the old school, me-too-boss, hat-in-hand, good "nigger" preacher, ready, willing, nay, eager to sell his race for a "mess of pottage."

If the congregation of the Zion Baptist Church has any self-respect, an iota of decency, a scintilla of racial pride, a remaining spark of manhood, a lingering bit of character, a widow's mite of dignity--they will drive from their pulpit the minister who so cowardly and ignobly has disgraced it. They will refuse to hear a sermon from one so devoid of manhood. They will refuse to pay a cent for a preacher who will defend and be an ally of the lynch law, mob violence, race stigmatizing Ku Klux Klan. They will retire to obscurity and oblivion, to the shades of pri-

vate life—the ignominious Moses who, in 1921, in the city of Philadelphia, instead of defending his flock, deserted to the wolf-like Ku Klux Klan whose whole activities were directed toward destroying that Negro flock.

The congregation of W. H. Moses should tell him in unmistakable terms: "Moses you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting." "Go in peace and sin no more." This is the only self-respecting course left to the conscientious, hard working group of Negro men and women in the Zion Baptist Church—men and women who are working with loyal, unfaltering and unswerving energy to make this world a better place in which their children's children shall dwell.

Open Forum

A FEDERAL ANTI-LYNCHING LAW

By HERBERT J. SELIGMANN, *Author of "The Negro Faces America"*

THE need for a federal law to suppress mob murder is a severe commentary upon our civilization. The failure to enact such a law before this is severer commentary still. That failure has been due to the influence of southern representatives and senators in Congress and to the truckling of the northerners who have not wanted to offend their southern brethren. The excuse for inaction has been that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution did not cover the case: that although that amendment prohibits a State from denying to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws, it could not be made to apply to what might be called unintentional denial by the State, as when a mob overpowered or outwitted State officers.

This last excuse for inaction has now been met. It has been met by the Department of Justice, whose representative, Judge Guy D. Goff, testified on July 20 before the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives. Judge Goff put the Department of Justice on record as being of the opinion that a Federal anti-lynching measure, such as the Dyer bill, was constitutional.

Speaking of the right guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment, Judge Goff said:

"The State can deny this right through an executive officer as readily as it can through a legislative or a judicial act. . . . The mere fact that the Congress of the United States has never affirmatively, so far as I have been able to find, invaded the field, and by appropriate legislation under this constitutional provision sought to restrain the executive officers of the State from denying this right is no reason why Congress should not now take such appropriate action as will tend to protect their and similar rights."

Judge Goff has expressed the opinion of the highest legal tribunal short of the Supreme Court, which can

only pass upon the measure after it has been enacted into law. Under the circumstances a vote against the Dyer bill, either in committee or on the floor of the House of Representatives, is a vote for lynching. That fact should be made clear to every representative and every senator in Congress, also that the people will demand a roll call so that they will know how every man in Congress has voted on this measure. Every man who votes against the Dyer anti-lynching bill should be made known to colored people throughout the United States, so that they can do their utmost to defeat him when he comes up for re-election.

It is obvious that a mere law cannot accomplish the extirpation of mob sentiment in the United States. But the passage of the Dyer bill will at least take punishment for lynching out of the hands of sheriffs and local officers who in many cases are friends or kin to the mobbists. The enactment of this measure will not, and ought not, in the least to impede the efforts to change the economic conditions which, we are coming to know, motivate much of American mobbism.

Subscribe for
THE MESSENGER
Magazine
\$1.50 PER YEAR

JOINT BOARD OF THE CLOAK, SKIRT AND
REEFER MAKERS' UNIONS OF
GREATER NEW YORK

August 11, 1921.

Editors the MESSENGER,
2305, Seventh Ave., N. Y. City.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

Your editorial entitled "The A. F. of L. Convention" has attracted my interest and attention. As a delegate to the A. F. of L. Convention, I most emphatically take exception to your assertion that "the Convention was colorless except for a fight for the presidency between Gompers and John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America."

It appears to me, after reading your editorial, that you have only superficially read the proceedings of the Convention—that you are not thoroughly conversant with the proceedings; otherwise your editorial would not have been as vague—your criticism would have been CONVINCING.

You charge the Convention with humiliating questions of vital importance to the Labor Movement in general. *I am not ready to defend the Convention in its attitude of opposing trade relations with Russia. This is a problem that need be discussed by a political economist. I make no claim of being a student of political economy, and will not, therefore, indulge in idle phrases—mere phrases will not solve the Russian problem.*

As to your assertion that the Convention "refused to condemn the unspeakable Ku Klux Klan"—*I want to state right here that, although it is true that Hutchinson, the President of the Carpenters' Union, an arch reactionary, objected to this resolution, the Colored Workers themselves are to blame for not giving this resolution a chance to see the light.* The Colored Workers have been the main victims of this damnable organization's atrocities. It was, plainly, therefore, their duty to send in the resolution at the proper time—so as not to give the President of the Carpenters' Union a chance to raise an objection. *You will agree with me, however, I am sure, that the action of Hutchinson does not reflect upon the intelligence of the entire Convention.* Had you, brothers, or any of your colleagues, been present when Hutchinson raised his objection, and been witness to the expressions of opinions and feelings on the part of the entire delegation towards Hutchinson, I am pretty sure that your editorial would then have been written in a different strain.

You, brothers, know me very well—and you know my feelings on the colored workers' problem equally as well. My sympathies have been, and will always continue to be, with the colored workers and their problems; for their problems are also our problems; but one thing I want to bring out in connection with this question, and that is: *that the Colored Workers have never lined up with the Progressive Element. In fact, their associations at Conventions have always been with the most conservative element. I blame them, themselves, for the failure of this resolution to*

see the light, for, had they lined up with the Progressive Element I feel certain that they would have known how to go about such an important resolution.

Your assertion that the Convention has "ratified Gompers' withdrawal from the Amsterdam International is very vague. *This question was discussed and, from the report of the Executive Council, I, as a delegate, have come to the conclusion that if the American Labor Movement today stands isolated from the Amsterdam International not alone the American Labor Movement is to blame for this—but an equal share of the blame rests with the Amsterdam Congress as well.*

We know that the problems of the American workers are different from the problems of the European workers. It is because the European Trade Union leaders did not realize this—did not understand that such differences do exist—that there is today a gulf between the American and European Labor Movements. *The Convention has, however, not entirely approved of the action of the Executive Council in isolating itself from the Amsterdam International. On the contrary, the Convention has instructed the Executive Council to negotiate with the Amsterdam Congress for our re-affiliation.*

As to your assertion that the Convention has closed its doors to the Negro and Women Workers—this, also, is very vague.

I am particularly interested in the Negro question—or any race or creed which is subject to persecution—and is made the target for all expressions of hatred in every despicable form—since I, myself, come of a race which has for many, many years been made to feel the hatred of the ignorant and prejudiced among mankind; I keenly feel with the Negro workers in their persecutions, for, how can I forget my own race's suffering and how its freedom has been trampled under the iron heel of bigotry and despotism throughout the ages? I cannot, then, help but sympathize with another race or creed in their struggle for liberty and justice. So, you see, ours is a common cause—the cause of the suffering and oppressed; however, I cannot agree with you in your assertion that the Convention has "closed the doors to the Negro Worker." Let us carefully examine some of the resolutions proposed by the Negro delegates at the Montreal Convention. A study of these will enable us to judge whether the American Federation of Labor, as a whole, approves of the policies of some of the Internationals, which organizations have denied membership to the Negro Worker: :

RESOLUTION NO. 5—RESOLVED that the Fortieth Convention assembled will use every means in its power to have the words "only white" members stricken out of the Constitution of the B. of R.C. and admit the Colored Workers to full membership in their brotherhood, or have them relinquish jurisdiction over the freight handlers, express and station employees, and allow them to establish a brotherhood of their own.

The Organization Committee of the A. F. of L. at the Montreal Convention recommended the non-concurrence of RESOLUTION NO. 5, but the Organi-

ization Committee was defeated, and the Convention went on record as asking the International of the B. of R. C. to strike out from their Constitution the words "only white."

RESOLUTION NO. 38—RESOLVED, that an International charter be granted to the Railway, Coach and Car Cleaners' Union that will have the above jurisdiction and seek to organize according to the principles of the American Federation of Labor all Organizations of this class, regardless of creed, color or nationality.

From the report of the Organization Committee, I conclude the following::

That the Colored Delegates proposed this same resolution at the Atlantic City Convention, asking the American Federation of Labor to grant them an International charter of their own. To that resolution the Organization Committee had the following to say:

"Where International Unions refuse to admit Colored Workers to membership, the American Federation of Labor be authorized to organize them under a charter from the American Federation of Labor."

At the Montreal Convention the Organization Committee reaffirmed its stand taken at the Atlantic City Convention toward the resolution in which the Colored Workers asked for an International of their own. To my way of thinking, this recommendation is perfectly satisfactory. I, personally, would vote against granting the Colored Workers an International of their own, because the American Federation of Labor organizes its Internationals on a division-of-trade-basis, and not on a racial basis.

At the Denver Convention, the Colored Workers again came with two resolutions—No. 72 and No. 83, containing the same complaints and grievances as resolution No. 5 of the Montreal Convention.

The following remarks by President Gompers on this question need no further comment or explanation by me:

"The Convention at Montreal requested an affiliated International Organization to bring the matter to the attention of their Convention, and the Organization in question has not held a Convention since."

These two resolutions were referred to the Law-Committee and the following remarks by the Law-Committee will also throw light on the stand taken by the Federation as a whole on the Colored Worker question:

"... We, therefore, recommend that the Executive Council within ninety days after the Convention, call a conference of representatives of the organization affected by the above resolution with a view to bringing about an amicable adjustment of the existing conditions."

You see, then, that the Colored Worker question is not *ignored* within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. I believe that this question is making headway, and have all the confidence that it will be solved in the near future. The prejudices

that have prevailed against the Colored Worker are gradually vanishing for more reasons than one.

As to "the doors are closed for the women" question, I want to make the following remarks: I don't know of many organizations whose doors are closed to women workers any longer. Our own trade comprises a large percentage of women workers; and the same is true of almost every trade and profession. *The only organization of which I have heard that has its "doors closed" to women workers is the International of the Barbers' Union. Although I disagree with their attitude, nevertheless we must realize that they have problems of their own to solve—which only they can decide—and that, it would, therefore, be unfair and unjust to condemn this International for their refusal to admit women workers before we make a careful study of their reasons for so doing.*

In general, I don't believe that the Convention was as colorless as you, Gentlemen Editors, imply. It is my personal opinion that the last Convention, at Denver, was most interesting from every angle. Questions of vital importance to the life and welfare of the American Labor Movement were taken up—and very intelligently discussed.

The question on Government Ownership has made considerable progress. Those who are for Government ownership of all public utilities were not met by as strong opposition at this time as at the Montreal Convention.

It would be mere folly on my part to even attempt to deny the fact that the American Federation of Labor is backward to a certain extent, considering the great events that have taken place in the European Labor Movement—particularly in the last three years or so—since the Armistice was signed. To say, however, that the American Federation of Labor is at a standstill, is gross exaggeration. The American Federation of Labor is moving—perhaps not as rapidly as some of us would like to see it—slowly, yes, but surely moving.

Fraternally yours,

LOUIS LANGER, *Secretary.*

IN the August issue of the MESSENGER, we commented upon the recent Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to which the preceding letter from one whom we have found to be a sincere "white friend" of the Negro, and an honest, devoted and able worker for the cause of labor, takes sharp exception. We affirmed that the Convention was colorless except for a fight for the presidency between Gompers and John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America; we still think so, the fervid and emphatic assertion of Brother Langer, to the contrary, notwithstanding. Nor have we superficially read the proceedings of the Convention; for, indeed, the crises of Labor in the world in general and America in particular, are too momentous for anyone hastily to proffer conclusions, based upon merely a cursory survey of labor's strivings, whether they be dubbed radical, liberal or conservative.

First, to our vital charge that the Convention opposed trade with Russia, there is no denial; but our

correspondent has this to say: "I am not ready to defend the Convention in its attitude of opposing trade relations with Russia. This is a problem that need be discussed by a political economist." This is sheer evasion; for political economist after political economist of varying shades of politico-economic opinion, has advocated trade with Russia. Nor is it any more imperative that one be a political economist, in order to know that trade is essential to the life of a nation than it is imperative for one to be a physician in order to know that blood is essential to human life.

That it is to the interest of the American Labor Movement to agitate for the American Government to permit trade with Russia, seems to us to be too obvious and elementary to need discussion.

Second, it is to the interest of Labor, everywhere, that the first Workers' Republic of the world should live. And for the outside world to refuse trade with Russia is to deny to Russia the means of life; and when the labor movements of the world co-operate with their capitalist exploiters in denying trade with Russia, such can only be interpreted as an assault upon the life of the first workers' republic. Again, the permanency of Soviet Russia is a lesson to labor of the power of solidarity; it is also an inspiration to labor everywhere, ever to strive for its emancipation from capitalist slavery. Besides, Russian trade will afford a market for American goods produced by American labor. This will stimulate production, thereby lessening unemployment, which, according to Secretary Davis of the Department of Labor, now reaches about 6,000,000. Surely, then, from the point of view of class-conscious labor, those are not "mere, idle phrases" that demand trade with Russia.

Third, to our criticism that the Convention refused to condemn the unspeakable Ku Klux Klan, Brother Langer counters that: "the colored workers themselves are to blame for not giving this resolution a chance to see the light." He further states that the colored workers have never lined up with the progressive element."

It is novel and interesting, to say the least, to ascribe the failure of the resolution, condemning the Ku Klux Klan to the colored workers.

The reasoning is about as sound as it would be to assign the failure of a resolution condemning Lusk before the Albany Legislature, to the Socialists. To argue that the method of presentation of the resolution was technically incorrect, is wholly without merit or value. It is so-called technicalities that enable the capitalist politicians to rob the Socialists of their seats in Congress, the Albany Legislature and the Aldermanic Board, and it is the same technicalities that invest the Bourbon South with the right to disfranchise, and jim-crow the Negro. Certainly, a so-called labor convention can not afford to employ the shifty and highly questionable tactics of capitalist politicians in dealing with so important and serious a question as repudiating such a criminal organization as the Ku Klux Klan, which openly proclaims its opposition to Negroes, Jews, Catholics, foreigners and labor; for this defeats labor solidarity which is presumably the aim of all labor movements.

As to the criticism that the colored workers do not line up with the Progressive element, while we

advocate that the colored workers line up with the progressive element, we fail to see any evidence that such would have resulted in the Convention's passing the Ku Klux Klan resolution. For according to the technicalities in vogue in the convention, there must be unanimous consent for the passing of such a resolution, and it is hard to expect that such a hide-bound, dyed-in-the-wool reactionary as Hutchinson who objected to the resolution, would change his attitude merely because the colored workers had joined hands with the Progressives. So that the problem is not one of trying to observe, but one of trying to destroy, the technicalities that hinder progress in the A. F. of L.

Fourth, that the Convention ratified Gompers' withdrawal from the Amsterdam International, is not denied. It is merely styled as vague.

The fact is, the A. F. of L. was once affiliated with the Amsterdam International; now it isn't. What is the reason? It simply withdrew. That doesn't seem to be at all "vague." It is as clear as crystal. And if the Convention did not ratify the act of withdrawing, then the American Federation of Labor should change its name to the Gompers' Federation of Labor, for then it is ruled by the hand of a labor autocrat and not the will of the rank and file.

Fifth, Brother Langer says that our charge that the Convention closed its doors in the faces of women and Negroes is also vague, and cites Resolution No. 5 and Resolution No. 38 in proof.

The answer to these resolutions is that they prove nothing. The only question is, have they been observed? No facts have been presented that they have. Adopting resolutions is another capitalist trick to deceive the people. Capitalist governments pass millions of resolutions in the interest of democracy, but they never bring democracy. Even the American Federal Constitution which is certainly more than a mere resolution, is virtually emasculated and abolished when the rights of labor and the Negro are raised.

Hence, oppressed peoples are inexcusably naive to pin any faith in the pastime of passing resolutions.

Sixth, that women are denied rights as workers in the A. F. of L., is a matter of common knowledge. In a subsequent issue of the MESSENGER, we will treat of the extent to which it is done.

On the matter of Government Ownership, it might be interesting to note, in this connection, that among Gompers' reasons for withdrawing from the Amsterdam International was that it stood for the extremely revolutionary (?) measure of the socialization of certain industries, a socialization not more revolutionary, in the least, than government ownership. Of course, the Plumb Plan has long since been condemned by Gompers.

We would have it clearly understood, however, that we do not regard the Amsterdam International as any model international labor organization. In fact, we think it, by far, unfit and incompetent to lead the world proletariat at this crisis because it is not sufficiently progressive.

In conclusion Brother Langer says that the American Federation of Labor is surely moving. This we do not deny, but may we be pardoned for asking, where?

What Leading Thinkers Say About The Messenger

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

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

* * *

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

H. W. L. DANA,

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

* * *

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

ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE

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

* * *

I have just read the current copy of your magazine. It has a lot of good stuff in it.

ROGER N. BALDWIN.

* * *

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

OSWALD G. VILLARD,

Editor, *The Nation*.

* * *

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

P. FONTANA.

French Minister of Education.

* * *

I've been intending to write you for some months expressing my appreciation of the thoughtful and vigorous work you are doing and of the help I have derived from your paper in understanding the Negro and his problems.

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

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

MARY WHITE OVERTON.

* * *

We must congratulate you, for you have produced a journal that any race should be proud of. It is discriminative, justly critical, far seeing and tolerant. In fact we have failed to find one paragraph in the MESSENGER that strikes a false note.

BERTUCCIO DANTINO,

Editor, *The Crucible*.

* * *

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

THOMAS W. CHURCHILL,

Former President of the New York City Board of Education.

* * *

The work which the MESSENGER is doing is vital.

SCOTT NEARING.

* * *

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

PETER MONAT,

Secretary-Treasurer,

New York Joint Board of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

* * *

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

THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

* * *

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

I regard the MESSENGER as a good publication.

WILLIAM BROSS LLOYD.

* * *

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

CLAUDE MCKAY.