

NEW CURRENTS OF THOUGHT AMONG THE COLORED PEOPLE OF
AMERICA

by

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IF WE MUST DIE

If we must die, let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If we must die, oh, let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honor us, though dead!

Oh, kinsmen! We must meet the common foe;
Though far outnumbered, let us still be brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one death-blow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but - fighting back!

Claude McKay.

The African race is like an india-rubber ball.
The harder you dash it to the ground the higher it
will rise.

Bantu Proverb.

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New Currents of thoughts among the Colored People of America.

I.

Negroes like all other races are guided by their great men and in spite of their inferior status in America, they have produced men of ability who have to some extent determined their destiny. For this reason the year 1895 is especially significant in the history of the Negro in the United States. It was in this year that the career of Frederick Douglass who had stood as the leader of his race came an end and the accession of a new leader was proclaimed both north and south. This year is significant not only because a new leader had taken the stage but because the latter presented a new philosophy of race adjustment.

Douglass, who was born in slavery in 1817, had fled from slavery and through his superior mental gifts had become one of the powerful orators of the Abolitionists. He had lived to see the fruits of his efforts to emancipate his race and had himself become one of the beneficiaries of his struggles. He believed that the Negro should share the full political, economic and social privileges accorded any other American citizen. Douglass had been accorded these rights for he served as Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia and U. S. Minister to Haiti. But the length of years had not only brought to

Douglass the fulfillment of his hopes, but had permitted him to live to see that in the South "By secret societies, like the KU KLUX KLAN, and by open intimidation, the conservative whites had practically recovered from the Negroes, whom the Republicans had enfranchised, the political power...." (1,p.1) Again, "In this nullification of the 15th Amendment to the Federal Constitution and other measures designed to secure suffrage for the former bondsmen, President Grant had acquiesced." (1,p.1) Douglass lived to see a once idealistic and enthusiastic North in its emotionless and soulless rush for industrial supremacy abandon the Negro to the mercies of the South. With this aspect of affairs the career of Douglass came to an end.

But just as the policies of Douglass seemed to fail there came upon the stage a new prophet, Booker Washington. Washington was born in 1856 and in the dawn of freedom had worked his way to Hampton Institute, then the hope of Freedmen. After graduating from Hampton, he was sent to Alabama to start a school for the newly emancipated slaves. First he attempted to see what was needed most by his people. Washington seemed to sense instinctively that the greatest need of the Negro was respect for work and an education that would not only inculcate this respect but make him an efficient worker capable of

competing with the white laborer. As Washington slowly produced tangible results from this type of education and overcame the South's opposition to education for the Negro, he saw in this a basis for race adjustment as well as for race development. So far his influence was local. But the occasion was not long wanting when Washington was to announce to his race and the country his program. He was invited to speak at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895. The climax of his speech came in the words that were taken by both the North and the South as the solution of the Negro Problem: "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress". (2, p. 240). Clark Howell, in commenting, declared "That man's speech is the beginning of a moral revolution in America". (2, p. 239) The South seized upon this as the justification for disfranchisement, Jim Crow cars and exclusion of Negroes from public places of accommodation. The North accepted it as a basis for reproachment with the South on the Negro Problem. Here we might pause to estimate the leaders, Douglas, who has just passed off the stage and Washington, the new leader. There is no more just appraisal than that of Prof. Kelly Miller. He says "Douglass was like a lion, bold and fearless, Washington is lamblike, meek and submissive; Douglass escaped from personal bondage, which his

soul abhorred; but for Lincoln's proclamation, Washington would probably have arisen to esteem and favor in the eyes of his master as a good and faithful servant. Douglass insisted upon rights; Washington insists upon duty. Douglass held up to the public scorn the sins of the white man; Washington portrays the faults of his own race. Douglass spoke what he thought the world should hear; Washington speaks only what he feels it is disposed to listen to. Douglass's conduct was actuated by principle; Washington's by prudence. Douglass had no limited copyrighted programme for his race, but appealed to the Decalogue, the Golden Rule, and the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States; Washington, holding these great principles in the background, presents a practical expedient applicable to present needs. Douglass was a moralist, insisting upon the application of righteousness to public affairs; Washington is a practical opportunist, accepting the best terms he thinks it possible to secure." (4, p. 18)

After the Atlanta pronouncement, Washington became the accepted leader and spokesman of the Negroes of the United States. His books and articles from time to time specified his program for his race in America. He recognized first, that however much the Negro had been forced to work during slavery, he must during freedom work more. Again, he was aware that slavery had created

in the Negro a contempt for work. He said on one occasion: "More pressing than all else for the masses of the Negro people directly after the war was the need of learning to work as free men for wages....., the Negro had worked in slavery for 250 years; it was necessary that he should learn to work in freedom." (6,p.3) This indeed showed a knowledge of social and psychological factors in the problem. Again in speaking of this attitude towards work, he said: "All the teaching of slavery tended to make the Negro regard labor with the hand as a curse. When freedom came his first notion was that he was to cease, to a very large extent, to work. It has been necessary to teach the masses of the Negro people in the South that freedom means harder, more earnest, and persistent labor than they ever knew in slavery." (6,p.6)

Washington regarded actualities of more weight in adjusting the Negro to his new condition than mere abstract and formal principles of justice and equality. He saw a backward race plunged into the midst of race having the advantage of centuries of experience with political and social institutions. He saw the ruling race entering an era of industrial organization unknown to any other age. To him the question of how to make the Negro fit into this civilization and thus prove himself capable of this civilization was of more moment than the right to vote and

enjoy certain social privileges. As no other man at that time seemed to realize, Washington saw that the economic background was the only secure basis for a race to wage its fight on. During slavery when household economy prevailed in the South, the Negro had been the chief artisan. But after slavery the Negro was steadily losing his erstwhile monopoly. (6, p. 6)

Wilcox in his investigation said that figures "seem to show that the Negro race at the South, in its competition with the whites lost ground between 1890 and 1900 in the majority of skilled occupations which can be distinguished by the census figures." (1, p. 23)

Washington saw in Santo Domingo and Haiti examples of political failures because of economic weakness and points with statesmanlike warning to these republics as danger signals for his race in America. In his "Working with the Hands," he says: "The thoughtful and progressive men in the republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo now recognize the fact that while there has always been a demand for professional men and women of the highest type of scholarship, at the same time many of these scholars should have had scientific and industrial education as would have brought them directly into contact with the development of the natural resources of their country." (5, p. 18)

Again, "It is actually time that many of the people of Haiti, some of them graduates of the best universities of

France, content themselves with wearing clothes imported from Europe."(5,p.19)

With Washington the program of industrial education was not especially designed for the colored man because he was a Negro but because it was suited to any race at the same cultural stage. He recognized the evolutionary aspect of the situation. "In laying special stress upon hand training for a large portion of my race, I ask no particular education for the Negro, because he is a Negro but I would advocate the same training for the German, the Jew, or the Frenchman were he in the same relative stage of development as the masses of the Negro."(5,P.64) Washington saw that for any system of education for the Negro to be effective it must do more than impart knowledge. Slavery had destroyed all vestiges of organized or regulated marital relations. The family no longer existed for the Negro as a polygamistic or monogamous institution. His only sense of home was the immoral surroundings of the cabin and quarters. "The Negro", he writes, "has had to learn the meaning of freedom"(5,p.98) The education therefore proposed for the Negro was social as well as intellectual.

Finally, another feature of the Washington program was his insistence that achievement rather than learned disquisitions upon racial equality was the strong-

est argument that the Negro could present as proof of his fitness for American civilization. To quote, "There is still doubt in many quarters as to the ability of the Negro, unguided and unsupported, to hew out his own path, and put into visible, tangible forms the products of civilization. This doubt can not be extinguished by mere abstract arguments, no matter how ingeniously and convincingly advanced....., we must re-enforce arguments with results. one farm bought, one house built, one home neatly kept, one man the largest taxpayer and depositor in the local bank, one school or church maintained, one factory running successfully, one truck garden profitably cultivated, one patient cured by a Negro doctor, one sermon well preached, one office well filled, one life clean lived - these tell more in our favor than all the abstract eloquence summoned to plead our cause." (5, p. 29)

The idea of industrial education for the Negro was not original with Washington. A similar type of education had been proposed by Douglass a half century before; but, because the industrial development of the country had not reached the degree of perfection that Washington found, the idea died without fruit. The general acceptance of the Washington program merely reflected the commercialism of the North and its concomitant

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crass philosophy. Even so, the insistence by Washington upon industrial education before attempts at higher forms of productive genius was unhistorical; for long before Germany reached her present industrial development, German poetry and painting had become famous. Then the implication of the Washington policy that Negroes should submit to disfranchisement and social discrimination was bound to react upon the white race. In the North where the Negro had achieved some degree of social and political equality there was danger of reaction; for could not his enemies ask, "Does not your prophet thus teach?"

Fearing such a reaction, a group of Negroes, bred in Northern colleges, launched a party of opposition within the race. The guiding spirit among these radicals was William Trotter, who spurned a more lucrative career to counteract the Washington propaganda. The organ of this party was The Boston Guardian, in whose pages were found denunciations of each public utterance of Washington. Cartoons were invoked to complete the assault. The Guardian has gone on its career of denunciation. But in the party of opposition there was one man whose brilliant career had been in the field of scholarship. He was primarily an artist. Consequently, possessing a mind unfit for the rude and commercial affairs of the world, he saw in the Washington policy the death of all spiritual and

artistic strivings of his race. Thus the strength and spirit of opposition centered in Dr. DuBois.

From Washington we hear the voice of Washington preaching thrift, patience and skill in workmanship while from Atlanta we catch the words of the idealist and scholar telling the Negro to vote, paint, sing and carve as other men. DuBois believed that the best method of fitting the Negro for American civilization was for the brightest minds to receive the best culture of America and to become missionaries among the masses. Speaking of this from Atlanta, he said, "In the case of the emancipated and enfranchised Negro this duty to his fellowmen revealed itself most pressingly and imperatively as a call for enlightenment and inspiration for the mass from leaders. Much as the Negro race needed to know in agriculture, they needed to know still more as to Life." (7, p. 155)

Again, "There are many ways of developing manhood and inspiring men.....one which the experience of 4000 years of civilized life on this earth has proven of foremost value.....that is the sending of missionaries of culture among the masses." Consistent with this attitude of valuing the spiritual possessions of man more than material achievement, DuBois charged the Washington program with being commercial and narrow. "Mr.

Washington", he said "came, with a simple definite program at the psychological moment when the nation was a little ashamed of having bestowed so much sentiment on Negroes, and was concentrating its energies on dollars.... he put enthusiasm, unlimited energy, and perfect faith into his program, and changed it from a bypath into a veritable way of life." (7,p.157)

Moreover, DuBois regarded the race problem of America more than local adjustment. He saw that it was the historical problem of Races. It was the immemorial Rassenkampf. He said "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line." (7,p.195) Again "....., that the awakening of the brown and the black races will follow in time no unprejudiced student of history can doubt" (7,p.197) To him no race could maintain itself by meekness. To temper American culture with the natural gifts of the Negro thru selfassertion was his program. ".....He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed in his face." (8,p.4) Thus the DuBois - Washington controversy raged while members of the race aligned themselves in

opposite camps. One man, however, Professor Kelly Miller of Howard University, represented the opinion of the majority of thoughtful and critical Negroes. Miller recognized the claims of both protagonists. He believed that each was right but each had but half the truth. To him it was essential both that the Negro should be efficiently schooled in the economic demands of the day, and that he should demand participation in all the political and social activities of other American citizens. (4)

During the controversy the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was formed by northern white men of liberal opinion and prominent Negroes. The organ of the association has been the Crisis of which DuBois is the editor. The Crisis has devoted itself to interpreting to the white race the feelings of the Negro and to giving publicity to injustices done the latter. With time the ardor of the controversy cooled and with the death of Washington it came to an end. But DuBois through the Crisis has stood as the spokesman of radical opinion among his people. While Washington's work has proved fruitful not only to the Negro and become the prototype of industrial education in America, and the South especially, radical opinion has really triumphed among Negroes. This is due partly to the reactionary policy inaugurated by Robert Moton, the successor of Washington at Tuskegee.

The position at Tuskegee carries with it the tacit assumption of the leadership of the Negro race in America. Moton has accepted this position and become the spokesman of the dwindling conservative school of thought. Washington, during his career had broadened his program so that he had allowed a place for higher education for the more gifted members of his race; had denounced lynching, although emphasizing the harm it did the white man; and had advocated the admission of Negroes into politics after a period of schooling in the elements of civilization. But Moton, who has neither the vision nor the genius of his illustrious predecessor, has become, in his attempt to imitate the diplomacy and meekness of spirit of the former, a model of humiliating cowardice and sycophancy. Meekness in the master was noble but in the imitator it has become grovelling. Moton condones the crimes of the whites against the Negro and declares that the average white man in the South treats the Negro with absolute fairness and the Negro has unreasonable ill-feeling against his white brother. Such an attitude has forced the adherents of the conservative view to forsake their camp for that of the radical wing. Thus the conservative school has lost its place among the masses of colored people; and Tuskegee is no longer the temple of the Negro's aspiration, but merely a school like all others.

II

Within the last few years a new school of radical thought has sprung up among Negroes. The radical school of the past is now conservative and reactionary in the eyes of the new leaders. This new school owes its rise to four factors: First, the spread of education among the masses of Negroes; second, the inadequacy of the Negro Church and ministry; third, the failure of the Republican Party to better the condition of the masses; and finally, the World War.

The first leaders among Negroes led a constituency that was far beneath them in education. But as freedom has borne its fruits, education has become diffused among the masses. The man today who undertakes the leadership of the race not only must meet the opposition of the other race but he must submit himself to the searching and scrutinizing criticism and examination of an intelligent constituency. His leadership may be repudiated within his own ranks and he can no longer speak with authority. Today a large number of Negroes with college and university education refuse to accept unchallenged the exhortations and arrangements of their leaders.

Leadership was once centered in the ministry. The church has been the great civilizing institution for

the race while the Negro has long lived in the theocratic stage. But the church and ministry have not kept pace with the growth of the race. The faith of the fathers has not been broad enough for the children; while the fathers themselves, know more about the children of Israel than their own children. Thus the influence of the church has declined and the leadership has shifted from churchmen to laymen. A rallying cry for the church to regain its former prestige is heard in what was known as a New Voice in Race Adjustments. Representative prelates and religious laymen of both races met in Atlanta in 1914 to discuss means of cooperation between the two races. (9) The voice has never been echoed.

Another factor giving rise to the new school has been the failure of the Republican Party to ameliorate the condition of the masses of Negroes. The Republican Party is historically the party of the Negro. It has always regarded the Negro as its charge and the Negro in turn has shown his gratitude by undivided allegiance. It was the party that set him free; so it must be the party to keep him free. The party has rewarded this devotion by a few offices such as those of the Register of the Treasury and diplomatic positions in Liberia and Hayti. The masses of the Negroes have for a long time been dazzled by these brilliant honors bestowed upon a few favorite ones

but the charm has been displaced by the sore needs of the many. They ask, "What does it profit us that our brother is in high place in Washington and we must bear the daily scorn of the white man?"

The World War more than any other factor stirred the depths of the Negro race and awakened in them a new conception of their value in American life. It created in the masses a respect for individual worth. The new school found fertile soil for the general acceptance of their views. While the Negro has been regarded as the most loyal element in the population, nevertheless, his masters, mindful of their wrongs to him and their own spirit of retaliation, were dubious at times as to his allegiance. Then the rumor of German plots among Negroes seemed to confirm this apprehension. The majority of the white press of the country gave little credence to the effectiveness of German propaganda, while one southern paper feared that the Germans might prove successful in "planting fruitful seeds of seditious trouble among that small percentage of Southern Negroes who, poisoned by too much foolish exploitation by well-meaning philanthropists in the North and East, have come to feel that the Negro's destiny in the South is best to be served by the overthrow in some fashion or other of peculiarly Southern institutions." (10) The fear of disloyalty on the part of the Negro was not without

cause. This was the first national crisis in which there was any doubt on the part of the whites. That "small percentage of Southern Negroes poisoned by too much foolish exploitation by well-meaning philanthropists" were the beneficiaries of modern education and were the leaders of the new school. In spite of the avowal of loyalty on the part of the Negro press, they nevertheless, as the Literary Digest observes, took occasion to reassert and emphasize the extremes to which ill-treatment of the Negro leads. (10)

Before the war the Negro was primarily an agricultural worker. The majority of his problems were those that concerned his adjustment to the plantation owners of the South; but the war changed the entire aspect. The cessation of European immigration created a scarcity of labor in Northern industries. To relieve this shortage of labor northern capitalists turned towards the South in quest of Negro labor. Thus began the migration of thousands of Negroes from southern fields to northern industrial centers. It is estimated that during these migrations more than 400,000 Negroes migrated north. Here the Negro found himself beset by those problems that meet the industrial laborer. He began to think in terms of labor in relation to capital. The first problem was his relation to the unions. Labor unions in the North had always discriminated against the Negro while those in the South had refused him

admission. Consequently the Negro saw no reason for his loyalty to white unions, while the unions on their part sought to keep the Negro out of the industries. It was only in 1919 that the American Federation of Labor voted to admit Negroes into full membership. In the meanwhile the I.W.O.'s and Socialists were inviting the Negro into their ranks on terms of equality. There is to be found in the entrance of the Negro into industrial occupations and his exclusion from the conservative unions, the cause for his inclination to accept radical propaganda.

Immediately upon the entrance of the United States into the war the question of the Negro came up in Congress. The northern wing was as usual ready to use the Negro as all other citizens. But the South was apprehensive. To conscript large number of Negroes was a source of menace to the Bourbon South. These southern leaders feared the result of sending black men to France to fight for democracy which they did not enjoy at home. Then they knew that in France color was no bar to civil and social equality. "Would not men who had fought for and tasted of real democracy demand the same when they returned?" queried many a Southerner. In spite of southern opposition not only were Negro soldiers sent to France but more than a thousand Negroes were commissioned officers. These France saw and enjoyed the freedom of the

new world. They fought and killed white men; expanded under the realization of their new found manhood and returned to America endowed with a new spirit.

Thus we find the causes of the new school of thought in (1) the diffusion of education; (2) the inadequacy of the Negro Church; (3) the failure of the Republican Party to better the condition of the masses, and (4) the World War.

III.

The new radicalism, represented by the Messenger, a magazine edited by two young colored men in New York City, is the most fundamental and thorough movement ever initiated among Negroes. The uncompromising stand taken by Douglass and other post bellum leaders only asserted the right of Negroes to enjoy the rights of other American citizens and made their appeal to abstract principles of rights; while the later radicalism, guided by DuBois, relied on the conscience of the American people and the courts. But this new school begins its career by a scientific analysis of the problem and relying on the force of the Negro as an economic factor, and ignoring abstract principles, concludes that only force, economic and otherwise, can secure recognition for the Negro.

The light of scientific criticism is first

turned upon the old leaders of Negroes. These old leaders are charged with incompetence and venality. In speaking of the "most notable Negroes in the country," who were chosen to present the war aims to their people, the Messenger said: "We doubt very seriously that the persons selected will present these problems to the country and the methods for their solution.

"The reasons are: (1) the leaders have not had a modern scientific education in economics, sociology and world politics; nor have they had the necessary contact and acquaintance with the radical movements, political and economic, that are producing rapid, violent and stupendous social changes throughout the world in general and America in particular, (2) the capitalist forces that caused their selection would not permit them to present a fundamental solution for the economic, political and social problems of the Negro even if they had the requisite qualifications?" (14) Then it adds: "The New Negro will keep keen vigil over these big Negro leaders," (14) In its Who's Who column of the same issue the Messenger gives an estimate of the two most conspicuous leaders, DuBois and Moten. In speaking of DuBois it has the following: "Sometimes Dr. DuBois has been termed a sociologist..... There is nothing in Dr. DuBois's works, however, which justifies this conclusion." (14) Again, "It needs to

be said in extenuation of his scientific shortcomings that Dr. DuBois was educated at a time and place where political science was not in great favor and where political science was little taught. Greek, Latin and classicism were stressed at Harvard. None of the older Negro leaders have had the modern education."(14) In addition, "DuBois's conception of politics is strictly opportunist. Within the last six years he has been Democratic, Socialist and Republican.....Propitiation-for-favors policy."(14) The indictment against Moton is even more severe. "The leader (Moton) of Tuskegee is set up by the white ruling class as the leader of the Negro. This is indeed regrettable in view of the fact that this hand-picked Negro leader does not express or typify the needs and desires of the masses, nor is he allowed to do so. He must obey the orders of those who pay his salary - and those who pay his salary are opposed to the interests of those whom Moton is presumed to lead.....Moton has neither the courage, education nor the opportunity to do anything fundamental in the interest of the Negro."(14) The Messenger of March 1919 takes the consideration of another leader, Kelly Miller. After assigning him the position of a compromiser and palliator, it proceeds to pass final judgment. "Untrained and poorly informed on modern economic, political and social problems, Miller is not prepared to lead."

Controlled and checked by his employers, he has but little opportunity to do what he knows might be beneficial to his race." In an article on the failure of the Negro leaders the Messenger concludes: "Truly the Negro leaders have failed. Most of them are too old to be reformed which means "re-educated". The hope of the race rests in the new leaders with a more thorough grasp of scientific education, and a calm but uncompromising courage." (15)

The fundamental character of the new radicalism is reflected in its conception of the nature of the Negro Problem. The leaders are thoroughly imbued with the economic interpretation of history. They consequently see in the race problem a conflict of class interests in which the Negro is the victim. In slavery they see only the exploitation of black labor by white men while the seeming humanitarian spirit of the North was only a cloak for their underlying economic interests. The Civil War was merely an economic struggle between two antagonistic economic stages of production. At the end of that struggle the Negro became the protege of the Republican party because that party represented capitalistic interests and had to hold political power to run its mad career during the days of industrial expansion. But as the industrial growth continued and the majority of the Negro voters were disfranchised, the problem has not been so much to hold

the Negro votes. It has been the game on the part of Republican and Democratic capitalists to prevent the union of Negro and white labor and thereby use the Negro to scab on white workers. This menace continually before white labor would make them amenable to the terms of the capitalists. The leaders of the new radicalism would break down these barriers, such as race pride and prejudice, that prevent the solidarity of all labor. To them the interests of the Negro, since the majority of them are workers, lie with the working class of white men and any alignment with the wealthy classes is a travesty and incongruity. We have this statement concerning the Reconstruction Period:

"During this period the Negro was a political football between his former slave-masters and northern political adventurers. The economic basis of this contest was the power to tax; to float bonds; to award franchises; in short, to gain control over the financial resources of the newly organized states."(14) In an editorial in the same issue are reasons set forth why white and black workers should combine in labor unions. They are:

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

"Second, the history of the labor movement in America proves that the employing class recognize no race lines. They will exploit a white man as readily as a black man....."

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

"Fourth, self-interest is the only principle upon which individuals or groups will act if they are sane.....Every member is a part of the industrial machinery, must be organized, if labor would win its demands.

"Fifth, if the employers can keep the white and black dogs, on account of race prejudice, fighting over a bone; the yellow capitalist dog will get away with the bone - the bone to which we refer, is profits." (14)

Thus to these leaders the Race problem is purely an economic issue and can only be solved by the alignment of black and white workers.

The political role proposed for the Negro by these new leaders is consonant with its economic interpretation of the problem. They regard the Negro as the proletarian element of the population and hence hold that he should ally himself with a proletarian or labor party. The heretofore support of the Republican party has been only an evidence of ignorance and venality on the part of the old leaders.

"The new Negro leaders are pointing out the Republican party as the worst fraud under which Negroes have been laboring. The Democratic party is openly against the Negro. The Republican party is ever striking him a blow in the back. Either one or the other of these parties has been in power for the last fifty years, the Republican the greater part of the time. Jim-Crowism, segregation,

lynching, disfranchisement and discrimination are as much the work of the Republican as the Democratic party. Jim-Crowism was upheld in a decision by Charles E. Hughes. Lynch laws thrived under McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. The Grandfather disfranchisement laws were passed under the guardianship of the Republican party. The Sumner Civil Rights Bill was declared unconstitutional by the Republican Supreme Court.

"Lastly, the Republican party is the party of plutocracy, of wealth, of monopoly, of trusts, of big business. But the Negroes - 99 per cent of them - are working people. They have nothing in common with big business and their employers. They ought to belong to the workers' party. And that is the Socialist party." (14)

Of the Negro political leaders they say:

"In the Republican party, Charles Anderson, Ralph Tyler, W. T. Vernon and W. H. Lewis are figures of national proportions. These are men of the old school who make much over what they style as, 'playing the game of politics', which in other words simply means getting next to 'campaign slush funds' and landing a rubber-stamp job.....

"Even the generous student of politics can not accord to them any fundamental understanding of the relation between politics and the business of getting a living." (14)

A series of articles by the editors of the Messenger urge Negroes to forsake the Republican standards and become socialists. The reasons are:

"First - Because the Socialist Party represents the working man and 99 and 9/10 per cent of Negroes are working people.

"Second - Because the Socialist Party would abolish wage-slavery. Today you work

for wages. With wages you get food, clothing and shelter. Without these things you can not live....Think of it, your wife, and your children, toil, toil and toil for what? Cheap food, cheap clothing, cheap housing. Nothing more than an animal's existence you get..... Socialism will abolish this.

"Third - Because the Socialist Party would have the tools which produce life's necessities owned by the government and the government controlled and democratically managed by the people.....The Negro suffers from high rents throughout the country. The Republican and Democratic parties cannot nor do they desire to offer any relief..... A Negro Republican or Democrat whom you might elect to office can do you no good whatever. Because he is a tool of the party which is controlled by the very landlords who rob you through high rents." (16)

Another labor organization recommended to the Negroes by these leaders is the I.W.W. "The I.W.W. is the only labor organization in the United States which draws no color line. It deals chiefly, too, with unskilled laborers and most Negroes are unskilled laborers.....For instance, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, has in its organization, the conductors, firemen, engineers and switchmen. Negroes are not permitted to join, notwithstanding the fact that there are 149,000 Negroes engaged in transportation work. The I.W.W. would include these 149,000 Negroes, who have the power, by stopping their work to tie up the railroads as completely as the Big Four Brotherhood.

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"There is another reason why Negroes should join the I.W.W. The Negro must engage in direct action. He is forced to do this by the government....He has no political power. Three-fourths of the Negroes in the United States are disfranchised.....Therefore, the only recourse the Negro has is industrial action, and since he must combine with those forces which draw no line against him, it is logical for him to throw his lot with the I.W.W." (17)

Just as with Douglass the Republican party was the ship and all else the sea, so with these new leaders the Socialist Party and radical labor organizations are the only means of the Negro's salvation. The success of their program is reflected in the result of recent elections in New York City in which one-fourth of the Negro's vote supported the Socialist platform. (20)

These new leaders are ready with a program to deal with lynching. This crime against the Negro is not to be met with meekness and resignation. Their program "includes two methods: First, physical force, and second, economic force." Continuing, they say: "Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence recognizes the law of self-defense. Our information also records that the right of self defence is recognized in the laws of all countries.....We are consequently urging Negroes.....confronted with lynching or mob violence to act upon the recognized and accepted law of

self-defence.....The Messenger wants to explain the reason why Negroes can stop lynching in the South with shot and shell and fire. All mobs act on the principle of pessimism.....The very numbers who engage in it are evidence of the cowardice of the mob. But when the mob knows that somebody is going to have to give his life, each man thinks that he may have to give his life." (18) In this same argument they cite the cases of Memphis, Tennessee and Long View, Texas, where white mobs desisted from their intentions to lynch Negroes when they were met by armed resistance on the part of the latter. The other weapon advocated is economic. "Physical force is not the only weapon of the Negro. He has tremendous economic power.....Now one of the best ways to strike a man is to strike him in the pocket-book. Cotton is the staple crop of the South. The Negroes are the chief producers of cotton. They also constitute a big factor in the South in the production of turpentine, tar, lumber, coal and iron, transportation facilities and all agricultural produce. They should be thoroughly organized into unions, whereupon they could make demands and withhold their labor from the transportation industry.....and the South will be paralysed industrially and in commercial consternation....

"The problem will become national because the textile industries of the North and West are dependent

upon the products of Negro labor." (18) But since the economic life of the world is integrated and sensitive to any dislocation, the problem becomes to these leaders international just as the blockade of southern ports during the Civil War. Their program is by no means general and without specific means of attainment; for in their address to southern Negroes they present a plan of organization within the churches, lodges and schools for armed defense while a scheme for organization is offered the farmers for economic defense.

The Race Riots that came as an aftermath of the war give evidence of the new spirit among Negroes. In an extensive article by the editors of the Messenger, they take up the cause and the remedy for these periodic racial conflicts. After discussing at length the historical conditions such as slavery and the animosity engendered during Reconstruction, giving rise to racial antipathies, they present immediate causes. "First, what are the economic causes?" they ask. "As to the first proposition, the economic cause, we maintain that the capitalist system is the fundamental cause of riots. By the term capitalist system, we mean, in short, the exploitation of human labor-power and the natural resources of the country, for private profits." (19) Then we have as phases of the capitalist system, first, the peonage system in the South

among Negroes, and second, the crop-lein system, which makes perpetual peasants out of both white and black. "The Negro farmer being in debt, cannot leave. To escape is to violate a contract; to violate a contract is to commit a crime which might result in being remanded to convict camps or lynched.....Negroes don't protest or resist because they are intimidated and cowed by lynching bees. Negroes and poor whites don't unite against a common exploiter because race prejudice exists and is artfully cultivated to keep them apart." (19) That the causes of these riots are essentially economic, they cite instances of Waco, Memphis and East St. Louis, where Negro laborers were imported by the capitalists to take the places of white labor or increase the supply and thereby lower wages. Again, "In Chicago, the riots grew out of the fight between the packers and the workers. There are about 60,000 workers in the packing industry. Of these workers, it is estimated that about 15,000 or 18,000 are colored. They were just on the verge of organizing to get more wages and decent working conditions. About 5,000 Negroes had already joined the union. For all of them to join the union would enable the workers, by calling a general strike, to paralyze the entire industry and secure their demands....Hence something must be done to prevent this combination of black and white workers. The race riot was the most con-

venient and effective instrument at hand." (19). Race prejudice, ever smoldering and fanned to flame now and then by the press and Southern demagogues, is only a psychological or contributory cause, as is also the spirit of violence engendered by the late war.

The remedy proposed is:

"The people must organize, own and control their press.

"The church must be converted into an educational forum.

"The stage and screen must be controlled by the people."

As an immediate solvent the following program is advocated:

"1. Physical force in self-defense. While force is to be deplored and used only as a last resort, it is indispensable at times. The lesson of force can be taught when no other will be heeded. A bullet is sometimes more convincing than a hundred prayers, editorials, sermons, protests and petitions.

"2. Larger Negro police force. A larger police force in Negro districts will help to keep down riots. The behavior of the police in all the race riots in the United States has justified Negroes in believing that the police, so far from being impartial, were in collusion with the white rioters.....

"Lastly, revolution must come. By that we mean a complete change in the organization of society. Just as the absence of industrial democracy is productive of riots and race clashes, so the introduction of industrial democracy will be the longest step toward removing that cause. When no

profits are to be made from race friction, no one will longer be interested in stirring up race prejudice." (19)

Such a program is clearly and unequivocally revolutionary. While some may doubt the wisdom of such advice, these leaders point to the salutary results of part of their program. For example, in the same number of the Messenger a large cartoon portrays on one page the old Negro leaders: Miller, advocating Christian humility; Du-Bois, counselling oblivion of wrongs; and Moton, base servility, while white mobs are slaughtering defenseless Negroes. On the opposite page the new Negro, armed with pistols and courage, is driving off white mobs, who flee and drop their weapons upon meeting this unexpected resistance. The comment is that the "New Crowd Negro" is making America safe for himself. These cartoons are supposed to picture what happened in the recent race riots. (19)

As an evidence that the consolidation of economic interests is a solvent of racial antipathies, is presented the occurrence in Bogalusa, Louisiana, where three white men were shot dead and a number severely wounded in the defense of a fellow Negro labor organizer. (21)

As further evidence of the revolutionary aspect of this school we shall review its attitude towards the war. While the older leaders were counselling the race to forget their wrongs and support the nation in the combat

with Germany, these leaders were urging the colored people to press their case and in the crisis obtain some concessions. "It is unfortunate that no Negro has been able to carry his mind to Germany yet - so insistent are the demands upon his efforts to make the world safe for democracy in that part of the world known as the United States." (22) We have this new focus of attention because a new Negro has come into prominence, so that the "gospel of obey and trust has been replaced by one of rebel and demand." (22) They refuse to be inundated by the wild and uncritical hostility against Germany but assert calmly, ".....did not Great Britain and France violate the territorial and political integrity of Greece just as truly as Germany did the same in Belgium?" (20) Again in taking a stand, that is not strictly racial, against the war, the editors of the Messenger demand that American troops be brought out of Russia and even advocate an international strike if such is not done.

In estimating the value of the war to the Negro, they say that in spite of all encomiums and orations the Negro has received about the same as any other subject people, namely: "(1) Loss of life - especially the flower of youth; (2) Loss of rights and privileges; (3) Loss of limb; (4) Loss of source of production; (5) Tax burden increased; (6) Misery of participants; (7) Increase in

prostitution; (8) National and race hatred." (15) In addition, ".....the Negro has gotten nothing from his shouldering arms and failing to produce mischief and confusion.....The Germans are alleged to be the enemy. But Germans are not lynched, while Negroes are. Germans can ride in any part of the car in any state in the union. The Negro is confined to the Jim-Crow Car in the South. Negroes are disfranchised. Germans are not." (17) All of this indictment is not directed against the Germans, but the editors desire to "expose the hypocrisy of the United States government on the one hand and the venality and ignorance of Negro leaders on the other", (17) who advised the Negro to be loyal to the country. "The Huns of Georgia are far more menacing to Negroes than the Huns of Germany." (17) Then lest the Negro should prove loyal again without considering the probable advantages to himself, the leaders give the following admonition:

"No intelligent American Negro is willing to lay down his life for the United States as it now exists. Should another war break out and he had the option after a balancing of interests he would no doubt cast his lot with this country again. But ere he does that, let him hesitate like the Irish before he follows the way of blind patriotism as he did in 1917. Let him not so thoughtlessly part with his men and his Liberty Bonds until his country can insure him an opportunity to develop his best capacities." (17)

We shall now examine their stand on the question of social equality. It was this issue that gave birth to the first radicalism. By advising his people not to demand social equality, Washington had won the support of the South and divided the allegiance of his race. Social equality is the rallying cry of the South whenever she wants defense or justification for denying the Negro even his primary rights. No one seems to know what it means; for it may be the right to invite a colored person to dinner or it may be expanded to include the right to vote. In a proposed plan of reconstruction, in which a scientific and sociological analysis of social equality is offered, the new leaders make their stand on this issue clear.

"We favor 'Social Equality' in every sense of the phrase.....Democracy cannot exist upon a foundation of caste."

After showing that social equality comes through identity of treatment and free interchangeability, they give attention to the American problem.

"We favor the intermarriage of white men with colored women as well as colored men with white women. Why?

"First, there is no natural or instinctive aversion to this as shown by our four million mulattoes in the South where it is alleged that the strongest natural antipathy and race antagonism obtain.

"Second, according to the ablest sociologists, anthropologists and socio-

biologists, such as Jacques Loeb, Lester Ward, Franz Boas, and Maurice Parmelee, society is the beneficiary of race miscegenation.....

"Third, it is supported by monistic philosophy in that the more complex combinations are the higher and most useful racial forms and organic structures.

"Fourth, race purity is both a myth and without value.....

"Any restrictions upon inter-marriage are particularly objectionable with respect to the subjection and oppression of the Negro woman who becomes the victim of the lust of a Southern white man and gives birth to an illegitimate child, and has no action or redress in the courts of law to protect either the child or herself." (23)

There is no need of comment on this other than that the authors add that this stand is not based upon the belief in the inferiority of his race, but "because of our recognition that the principle of social equality is the only secure guarantee of social progress - the inevitable trend of evolution." (23)

The Negro Church does not escape the scourge of these new leaders. According to them the church has failed because it has sold itself for money. It has changed itself from an institution of moral guidance into a business for profits. Those colored churches that have remained under white organizations are dominated by white capitalists who determine the brand of religion which is fed to its communicants. In addition the Negro minister

has failed to educate his people in the substantial things of life; while he himself is ignorant of the practical economic and political interests of his people. "It has failed to use its power to rouse the Negro against disfranchisement and lynching.

"No conference of Negro churches has ever gone on record as endorsing the principles of unionism." (16)

The constructive advice offered is that the Negro ministry should be educated and the church be used as an educational forum. "The New Negro demands a new church - a church that is the center of his social, economic and political hopes and strivings." (16)

The foregoing program represents the new philosophy as expressed by the editors of the Messenger Magazine. This magazine is the mouthpiece of the most recent radical thought among Negroes. It styles itself the "Only Radical Negro Magazine in America." While its radicalism is fundamental and thorough, there are other magazines of radical opinion. The Crisis, which was once a revolt against conservative opinion among colored people and the champion of the Negro's fight for universally recognized principles of justice, has become more militant and evinced some of the new radicalism.

The occasion for the announcement of the new spirit is an address to returning Negro soldiers.

"We are returning from the war! The Crisis and tens of thousands of black men were drafted into a great struggle. For bleeding France and what she means and has meant to us and humanity and against the threat of German race arrogance, we fought gladly and to the last drop of blood; for America and her highest ideals, we fought in far off hope; for the dominant Southern oligarchy entrenched in Washington, we fought in bitter resignation. For the America that represents and gloats in lynching, disfranchisement, caste, brutality and devilish insult - for this, in the hateful upturning and mixing of things, we were forced by vindictive fate to fight, also.

"But today we return! We return from the slavery of uniform which the world's madness demanded us to don to the freedom of civil garb. We stand again to look America squarely in the face and call a spade a spade.....

Then we are "given a list of charges against America:

"It lynches.

".....for fifty years we have lynched two Negroes a week, and we have kept this up right through the war.

"It disfranchises.

".....The land that disfranchises its citizens and calls itself a democracy lies and knows it lies.

"It steals from us.

"It organizes industry to cheat us. It cheats us out of our land; it cheats us out of our labor.....It keeps us consistently and universally poor, and then feeds us on charity and derides our poverty.

"It insults us.

"It has organized nation-wide and latterly a world-wide propaganda of deliberate and continuous insult and defamation of black blood wherever found.....

"This is the country to which we Soldiers of Democracy return. This is the fatherland for which we fought! But it is our fatherland. It was right for us to fight. The faults of our country are our faults. Under similar circumstances, we would fight again. But by the God of Heaven, we are cowards and jackasses if now that war is over, we do not marshal every ounce of our brain and brawn to fight a sterner, more unbending battle against the forces of hell in our own land.

"We return.

"We return from fighting.

"We return fighting." (25)

This form of radicalism differs from that which finds expression in the Messenger in that it still holds the interest of the country superior to that of any group and seeks to correct its faults as we would those within our family. There is, however, no limit put upon the means of correcting these faults. The group represented by the Messenger, on the other hand, places race interest above the nation and identifies it with the world-wide interest of the working classes. They would destroy national lines as readily as racial barriers. The Crisis would make the country right, while the Messenger holds right above country.

The riots in Washington and Chicago seemed to crystallize the new opinion among Negroes that there was

more salvation in resisting oppression than in turning the other cheek. This was voiced at the last session of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Crisis, which is the organ of the Association reports the meeting. In the first editorial we have an exhortation to fight. "Behold the day, Old Fellow Black Men! They cheat and mock us; they kill and slay us; they deride our misery. When we plead for the naked protection of the law, there where a million of our fellows dwell, they tell us to "go to Hell!" (26)

"To Your Tents, O Israel! And Fight, Fight, Fight for Freedom!" (26)

The expression on the part of the delegates is unequivocal. Bishop Hurst, after speaking of the "damnable injustice to the Negro", said: "If need be, they (the colored people) must be ready to offer their lives for their freedom and things that make life worth living. As a race, we gave the country 400,000 of our best sons to make the supreme sacrifice in order to make the world free from German oppression. These same boys should be willing to make this country free from American oppression against their race. I know they are willing and ready. Some may say this is madness. If it is, let me reassure them that the entire race must be mad, for this is the language they speak today and the only thing they will listen to." (26)

This is significant when we realize that it comes from a member of the clergy - a class generally conservative - and the bishop in question heads a church of over half a million communicants.

That this is the language of the masses of Negroes is clearly shown by the following case in Georgia. In the city of Bainbridge, the City Council passed an ordinance to enforce all women without any other employment besides household duties, to secure work. This was mainly directed against colored people for it was not long before the wives of a number of colored men were summoned into court and fined on the charge of vagrancy. An indignation meeting was held and the city authorities were informed that if this law was not repealed, the colored people would "resist to the last drop of blood in their bodies." (27) No further arrests were made.

The September Crisis openly advocated the use of force in contrast to its former equivocal stand. It pays a tribute to every man who in the recent riots took his stand "back of the impregnable fortress of the Divine Right of Self-Defense." (28) Then the article concludes that, "If the United States is to be a land of Law, we would live humbly and peaceably in it - working, singing, learning and dreaming to make it and ourselves nobler and better; if it is to be a Land of Mobs and Lynchers, we

might as well die today as tomorrow.

"And how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his gods?" (28)

After the war the Crisis offered a plan of reconstruction. In the matter of education it warned the Negro not to surrender his right to attend white schools in order to avoid the humiliation often accorded him. It advised him to stay and fight. In regard to religion sound advice is offered. Everyone acquainted with the religious life of the Negro has seen their towering churches, richly endowed, rising amidst misery and poverty. Concerning it it says: "In religion we must, in the larger cities, stop building and purchasing new church edifices and begin to invest the money of the church in homes, land and business, and philanthropic enterprises for the benefit of the people." (29) In business the Negro is advised to continue his advance into manufacturing and create a substantial business class. Finally, every man and woman is urged to vote - not for parties but for men who guarantee friendship and fair play by their past record.

Faith in the Republican Party is lacking with the Crisis as with the Messenger. "If any Negro", it reads, "has a lingering hope that the Republican Party has learned anything recently let him straightway give it up..."

"The Republican Party.....deliberately refused to nominate a Negro in the largest Negro congressional district in the North...." (30)

It was the Crisis that had advised the Negro in 1912 to vote for Wilson and thus chastise the Republican Party. This chastisement failed to make the party repent.

More problematic than politics is the question of social equality. Here the Crisis tries to meet the artifice of the South when it attempts to blind the country to the wrongs done the Negroes by the bogey of social equality. It says:

"If 'social equality' means the right to vote, the abolition of 'Jim-Crow' cars, the stoppage of lynching, universal education and civil rights, then social equality is exactly what we want and what eventually we will and must have.

"If, on the other hand, 'Social Equality' involves the denial of the social right of any individual of any race or color to choose his own marital mate, his own friends and his own dinner companions - in fine, to be master of his own home, then no sane person ever dreamed of demanding the slightest interference with such an obvious right, and any one who accuses Negroes of such a demand writes himself down as an ass or a deliberate liar." (31)

This change in the attitude of the Negro is recognized by those outside of the race as well as its members. "The United States", says the Chicago, Illinois, Tribune,

'has a new type of black man to deal with. This type is developing a strong social consciousness out of which arise questionings and resentments.' The paper continues:

"The new type works hard, grows prosperous, and simultaneously with the realization of the worth of its labor, is irked by patronage, by those jokes about the razor, which some of us still think are droll, and by that lofty petting which some of us still believe colored men from 17 to 70 must like. They do not." (26) This expression on the part of the white race seems to epitomize what is going on in the Negro's mind. Patronage was once received by him with affability but since he has come to distrust it, he has experienced first a certain indifference towards it which has gradually grown into resentment. This is founded on a new evaluation of his worth and the dignity that goes with this new estimation. An example of this new social consciousness is manifested in a mass meeting in New York City, which "adopted resolutions demanding that captured German colonies in Africa be turned over to the natives; that if the lynching of Negroes was not stopped in America a revolution of 12,000,000 Negro citizens might be used to stop it." (31) But social consciousness is not the only factor. Some feel as Bishop C. S. Smith who says to his half million communicants: "Our backs have been forced against the wall" (28), while

Bishop John Hurst says that if while acting justly the Negro is attacked, he should "use his gun with effect and impose respect." (28) Rev. C. J. Robinson of Tennessee served notice on the President of the new attitude. In an open letter addressed to President Wilson, he wrote: "Before the Negroes of this country will again submit to many of the injustices which we have suffered, the white man will have to kill more of them than the combined number of soldiers that were slain in the great world war." (28).

James Weldon Johnson, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, speaking before a mass meeting in Tremont Temple, Boston, declared that, although the Negro "could not settle his grievances by force of arms, it could help its cause materially by retaliating when attacked." In his analysis of the Negro problem is also found the economic background; for Johnson sees in the antagonism between whites and blacks the hand of the employing class to prevent the solidarity of the workers. (32)

Among the other Negro radical publications we find a weekly, the Negro World. It accepts the challenge of race conflict and bids the Negro be prepared for the struggle.

"It is true that all races look forward to the time when spears shall be beaten in agricultural implements,

but until that time arrives it devolves upon all oppressed peoples to avail themselves of every weapon that may be effective in defeating the fell motives of their oppressors.

"In a world of wolves one should go armed, and one of the most powerful defensive weapons within the reach of Negroes is practice of race first in all parts of the world." (33)

In this paper there is open advocacy of Bolshevism. "Every Negro who lays claim to leadership should make a study of Bolshevism and explain its meaning to the colored masses. It is the greatest and most scientific idea afloat in the world today that can be easily put into practice by the proletariat to better its material and spiritual life.....It might make the United States safe for the Negro." (34)

Again the editor makes an appeal to the Black men of the world to prepare for the great war of races. "Fellow men of the world, I here beg of you to prepare, for a great day is coming.....the day of the war of the races, when Asia will lead out to defeat Europe, and Europe and the white man will again call upon the Negro to save them as we have often done. The new Negro has fought the last battle for the white man, and he is now getting ready to fight for the redemption of Africa." (35)

These excerpts give the tone of this paper

which is peddled weekly on the street-corners of the leading cities of the country.

Another magazine of importance bearing a monthly radical message to Negroes is the Challenge. This magazine "fears only God." In an article entitled, "Our Challenge to the American Congress", we have the following: "Volumes have been said here about justice to Frenchmen and Belgians and even Poles; nothing about justice to the 12 millions who have borne faithfully every burden imposed upon them by our government." (36) It too speaks of the New Negro, fresh from the battlefields of France, conscious of his wrongs, who has come back with the determination to die for a principle here as he was compelled to do in France. Its voice becomes emboldened as we trace the sentiment in its different issues. To quote from the Challenge of July, 1919, we have the following:

"The Negro who believes himself Free is both a liar and a jack-ass.....From this day, nevertheless, with the fires of resentment burning in every corner of our tortured souls we swear Holy Allegiance to High Heaven that we will be free. We renounce with scorn the old law of turning the left cheek once the right be smitten, of love thy enemy as thyself. Love Hoke Smith, Vardaman, Reed, Blease, Williams, Thomas Dixon? Love every white devil that lies on innocents and does not even pause at stabbing an unborn Black baby in its mother's breast? Never, Never, Never.

"Love for Love
Hate for Hate

Respect for Respect
Smite for Smite." (37)

In this same issue is found an Oath set forth as the proper allegiance of the Negro:

"An Oath

"BY ETERNAL HEAVEN.

"I swear never to love any flag simply for its color, nor any country for its name.

"The flag of my affections must rest over me as a banner of protection, not as a sable shroud.

The country of my patriotism must be above color distinctions, must be one of laws, not of men; of law and not lawlessness, of LIBERTY and not BONDAGE, of privilege to all, not special privilege to some.

Kaiser is not the only word synonymous with IMPERIALISM, TYRANNY, MURDER and RAPINE.

PRESIDENT AND KING are not the only words synonymous with DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM, PROGRESS.

I shall love not names, but deeds. I shall pay homage to any and all men who strive to rid the world of the pestilential diseases of WAR, PREJUDICE, OPPRESSION, LYNCHING.

I am a Patriot.

I am not merely of a Race and a Country, but of the World.

I am BROTHERHOOD." (37)

In another issue we find the six demands of the new leaders:

"We demand.

"First; That instead of being re-Americanized into accepting sterner patriotic obligations we be thoroughly informed why we should be loyal to any government that does not protect our lives and property the same as it

protects those of other people with less claim to protection.....

"Second: That we be told why we should disclaim all previous respect for Germans and Germany when no matter how diminished the respect of white Americans for them may be it still transcends that which white Americans have for us,.....

"Fourth: That we be told why we were shipped 3,000 miles over sea to wage war, brutal and insensate, on people against whom we had less real grievance than against that lawless element of America that robs us of life,.....

"Fifth: That the same Federal officers used now in hunting down illicit whiskey makers all over the South, often using force to meet resistance from captives, be likewise employed to hunt out every white devil that lynches.....

"Sixth: That to avoid threatening bloodshed both Congress and the President take immediate steps to make life better for the thousands of Negro soldiers who made as daring sacrifices "Over there",....."(38)

This magazine spares not even the President of the United States. He is designated "A Man without a Purpose" and is pronounced the colossal blunder of the age. The inconsistencies between his policy at home and abroad as well as dealing with the different powers is held up for derision. (39) Nor does it hesitate to advise the Negro to join the I.W.W. and similar organizations. (40)

The Crusader is another of these recent publications advocating radical opinion. It is a monthly magazine well put up. Besides advancing radical opinion this

periodical urges respect for race and price in achievement. The editors offer a Race Catechism:

"Question: How do you consider yourself in relation to your race?

"Answer: I consider myself bound to it by a sentiment which unites all.

"Question: What is it?

"Answer: The sentiment that the Negro Race is of all races the most favored by the Muses of Music, Poetry and Art, and is possessed of those qualities of courage, honor and intelligence necessary to the making of the best manhood and womanhood and the most brilliant development of the human species.

"Question: What are one's duties to the Race?

"Answer: To love one's Race above one's self and to further the common interests of all above the private interests of one.....

"Question: How can you further the interests of the Race?

"Answer: By spreading Race Patriotism among my fellows; by unfolding the annals of our glorious deeds and the facts of the noble origin, splendid achievements and ancient culture of the Negro Race to those whom Alien Education has kept in ignorance of these things.....

"Question: Why are you proud of your race?

"Answer: Because in the veins of no human being does there flow more generous blood than in our own; in the annals of the world the history of no race is more resplendent with honest, worthy glory than that of the Negro Race, members of which founded the first beginning of civilization upon the banks of the Nile...." (41)

The tone of this magazine is less violent than some of the others. It is more hopeful and constructive. In its pages we find educational material concerning the different forms of African culture and investigations which portray the past glories of the African race. Besides this hopeful sentiment there is a move to unite men of African descent. Africa is pointed out as the fatherland of the race in America and there is the hope of the race. Africa must be for Africans. (42) This must be granted by the chief powers of the world or it must come by force. "Is the world about to witness the long-prophesied universal reign of justice that shall assure universal peace? Or must Negroes prepare to use force to realize their just aspirations? Will the end of this war see Africa for the Africans in the same sense as Europe is for the Europeans? Or must there be a greater war with Asia and Africa united against a race of Kaisers? Negroes, while hoping for the best, should prepare for the worst." (42)

The editors regard Africa as a solution of the problem in America. "It is now up to the Negro to decide whether he wants a solution with genuine Liberty and full unhampered opportunities, under a happy existence upon the shores of his fatherland, Africa, or whether he prefers to continue a doormat and legitimate game for

torture and burning by the vicious, murderous caucasian." (43) The same sentiment finds numerous expressions in poems.

This magazine repudiates the old Negro leadership and advises new political allegiance. In speaking of Moton, it said: "Moton, the man who once apologized for his wife's attempt to ride as a human being and so betrayed the Race's legitimate aspirations to be treated like human beings, has once more proved the traitor to his race and given emphasis to the truths that "no man can serve two masters"....."(44) They conclude that this type of leadership would have passed uncensured but the new spirit among Negroes will neither cringe nor permit its leaders to cringe. In political matters the magazine is pro-Negro. It is willing to support only that party that gives the Negro absolute equality. Consequently since the Socialist Party is the only party today that approaches this standard, it is the party with which the Negro should ally himself.(41)

Among the older Negro publications conspicuous for radical opinion is to be found the Chicago Defender. This is a weekly newspaper whose columns blazon forth in sensational headlines the injustices done the race. Its scathing denunciations of the white race and its exhortations urging the Negro to retaliate have

caused it to be barred from the state of Arkansas and confiscated from the newstands of Birmingham. The general attitude of this paper is defiant and merciless in exposing the sins of the South. In politics it supports the Republican traditions.

The Afro-American, a solid respectable weekly published in Baltimore, Md., has attracted some attention lately. It declares itself to be independent in all things. Besides gathering news concerning the race in all parts of the world, this paper does not hesitate to denounce the white race and government, both local and national, whenever they appear hostile to the Negro. While this paper shows radical tendencies and accepts the Republican tradition, conditionally - since it believes the Socialist party is not strong enough to assist the Negro materially - its influence is felt locally where it is consolidating Negro sentiment. The Boston Chronicle is similar in this respect.

With this we have completed a consideration of the principal Negro publications representing the new Negro.

A distinct tendency of the new philosophy among Negroes has been to make the Negro problem an international question. This tendency is represented, first, by the Universal Negro Improvement Association with its

weekly paper, The Negro World; Second, by the secret trip of William Monroe Trotter to the Peace Conference; and third, by the Pan-African Conference held in Paris in 1919 at the call of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois. The first movement indicates a permanent effort at uniting the forces, economic and political, of the black world to obtain justice while the latter two are endeavors to bring international opinion to bear upon the United States.

The first movement, represented by the Universal Negro Improvement Association, attempts to solidify the Negro races in all parts of the earth by economic cooperation. Its program is announced in the Negro World, whose editor is a West Indian: "We have long realized that in order to command the respect and admiration of the world the Negro must cease being an object of charity and sympathy.....For this reason we believed that the starting of a steamship line to carry the produce of Africa, the West Indies and Central America to the United States and the erection of factories to change the raw material into the manufactured products and to make shoes, clothing and other necessities of life would give employment to thousands of Negro men and women....."(48)

The movement is being approved by the Negroes and its leaders can boast that: "Seven months ago today the U.N.I.A. and the Black Star Line Steamship Corpora-

tion had a very small bank account. Today the U.N.I.A. publishes a newspaper with a circulation of 40,000 and owns Liberty Hall and the adjoining lot and two office buildings.....Today the Black Star Line owns the S.S. Yarmouth, soon to be rechristened the S.S. Frederick Douglass....."(48)

The business enterprises effecting this economic foundation are the West African Baking Co., Inc., The Black Star Line, Inc., and The Negro Factories Corporation of New York, and the West Indies Trading Association, Ltd. of Canada.

The hope of these leaders is to be able to wring justice from the white race by the threat of the strike of black labor who supply the raw materials and food at the base of man's resources and finally build a new African Empire.

The second attempt to internationalize the Negro question was the secret trip of William Monroe Trotter to the Peace Conference at Paris. The government refused passports to representatives of the National Equal Rights League to attend the Peace Conference. In spite of this refusal Trotter disguised himself as a cook; and after many discouraging attempts for weeks to secure employment on board a ship, he succeeded in arriving in Paris in the greasy garb of a scullion. After accoutring

himself according to the manners of a delegate, Trotter presented a memorandum to Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League of Nations, setting forth the complaints of the American Negro. The petition declared in part that "It is notoriously indisputable that colored Americans were deprived of or denied, either in law or in fact, full liberty and democracy." Besides this petition a memorandum was presented to every member of the Peace Conference describing the position of the Negro in the United States. Then further publicity was given to American injustices. The French dailies carried on their front pages vivid accounts of lynchings in Georgia. While the President of the United States announced to the world that America was the champion of democracy and righteousness, the daily propaganda of Trotter held up to the attention of the world, then fixed upon Paris, the hypocritical position of America. President Wilson had dismissed Trotter from the White House when the latter headed a committee to present the case of the Negro. Again the president had refused to receive him in Paris. This Trotter proclaimed to the world. The French press wondered. French citizens gave a suite of offices to Trotter, from which he sent out daily accounts of America's treatment of the Negro. It is difficult to estimate the effect of this propaganda but it is certain from the

tone of the French press that it helped to free the world from the spell of America, while Trotter whom the president had smothered in America became his nemesis in Paris. (49), (28)

Another scheme to unite peoples of African descent is represented by the Pan-African Congress. This is significant of the trend of thought of American Negroes not only because they were represented in the Congress, but because the Congress was called at the instigation of an American Negro, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois. This Congress met in Paris during February, 1919. Representatives, fifty-seven in all, came from the United States, French West Indies, Haiti, France, Liberia, Spanish colonies, Portuguese colonies, Santo Domingo, England, British Africa, French Africa, Algeria, Egypt, Belgian Congo and Abyssinia. (50)

After these representatives of black men from all parts of the world gave the status of their people in their respective localities, resolutions were passed providing for another Congress to be held in Paris during the year 1923.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted and presented to the Peace Conference:

"1. The Negroes of the world in Pan-African Congress assembled demand in the interests of justice and humanity, for the purpose of strengthening the forces of civil-

zation, that immediately steps be taken to develop the 200,000,000 of Negroes and Negroids; to this end, they propose:

1. That the Allied and Associated Powers establish a Code of Laws for the international protection of the Natives of Africa similar to the proposed international Code for Labor.

2. That the League of Nations establish a permanent Bureau charged with the special duty of overseeing the application of these laws to the political, social and economic welfare of the Natives.

II. The Negroes of the world demand that hereafter the Natives of Africa and the Peoples of African descent be governed according to the following principles:

1. The Land: The land and its natural resources shall be held in trust for the Natives and at all times they shall have effective ownership of as much land as they can profitably develop.

2. Capital: The investment of capital and granting of concessions shall be so regulated as to prevent the exploitation of Natives and the exhaustion of the natural wealth of the country. Concessions shall always be limited in time and subject to State control. The growing social needs of the Natives must be regarded and the profits taxed for the social and material benefit of the Natives.

3. Labor: Slavery, forced labor and corporal punishment, except in punishment of crime, shall be abolished; and the general conditions of labor shall be prescribed and regulated by the State.

4. Education: It shall be the right of every Native child to learn to read and write his own language and the language of the trustee nation, at public expense, and to be given technical instruction in some branch of industry. The State shall also educate as large a number of Natives as possible in

higher technical and cultural training and maintain a corps of Native teachers.

5. Medicine and Hygiene: It shall be recognized that human existence in the tropics calls for special safeguards and a scientific system of public hygiene. The State shall be responsible for medical care and sanitary conditions without discouraging collective and individual initiative. A service created by the State shall provide physicians and hospitals, and shall enforce rules. The State shall establish a native medical staff.

6. The State: The Natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the government as fast as their development permits in conformity with the principle that the government exists for the Natives and not the Natives for the government. The Natives shall have voice in the government to the extent that their development permits, beginning at once with local and tribal government according to ancient usage, and extending gradually as education and experience proceeds, to the higher offices of State, to the end that, in time, Africa be ruled by consent of the Africans.

7. Culture and Religion: No particular religion shall be imposed and no particular form of human culture. There shall be liberty of conscience. The uplift of the Natives shall take into consideration their present condition and shall allow the utmost scope to racial genius, social inheritance and individual bent, so long as these are not contrary to the best established principles of civilization.

8. Civilized Negroes: Wherever persons of African descent are civilized and able to meet the tests of surrounding culture, they shall be accorded the same rights as their fellow-citizens; they shall not be denied on account of race or color a voice in their own government, justice before the courts, and economic and social equality according to ability and desert.

9. The League of Nations: Greater security of life and property shall be guaranteed the Natives; international labor legislation shall cover Native workers as well as whites; they shall have equitable representation in all the international institutions of the League of Nations, and the participation of the blacks themselves in every domain of endeavor shall be encouraged in accordance with the declared subject of Article 19 of the League of Nations, to wit: 'The well being and the development of these people constitute a sacred mission of civilization and it is proper in establishing the League of Nations to incorporate therein pledges for the accomplishment of this mission.'

Whenever it is proven that African Natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any State or that any State deliberately excludes its civilized citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and cultural, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the attention of the civilized world."

Blaise Diagne, President.
W.E.B. DuBois, Secretary. (50)

The 8th and 9th articles of these resolutions are clearly an attempt to bring international pressure to bear upon the treatment of American Negroes. They show, in addition, that the Negro is beginning to recognize that his problem is only one of the many problems of subject racess and that racial solidarity is the only way to escape the fate of disappearing races.

Economic enterprise among Negroes has been confined largely to individual efforts. Many successful enterprises are the results of cooperation. But this has been among the few adventurous individuals. There

is a movement on foot at present to organize the Negroes in co-operative guilds so that through the combination of many owners of small amounts of capital the Negro may retain his resources within the race and thereby increase his economic resistance to oppression.

"At meetings of twelve representatives from seven states in the Crisis office, August 26 and 27, the Negro Cooperative Guild was established. Its program is threefold: 1. To induce individuals and clubs to study modern consumers cooperation, its extent, methods and objects. 2. To hold an annual meeting for encouraging the establishment of cooperative stores. 3. To form a central committee for the guidance and insurance of such stores." (51) This is offered by the editors of the Messenger as a means to prevent bankers and capitalists from fleecing the Negro farmer. (15)

In an article entitled: "Why every Negro should be a Co-operator", the Messenger furnishes economic reasons for cooperation and advantages accruing thereto. (18) Other issues of this magazine continue the advocacy of this movement. The campaign has been successful for cooperative stores and banks have sprung up throughout the country.

In the religious life of the Negro we see

a significant change. Although it is difficult to procure written evidence of this change it is nevertheless reflected in the church attendance and the cry from the Negro pulpit. The religious ardor of the Negro has always been one of his peculiar traits. Christian teachers found in his meek and docile soul fertile soil for implanting doctrines of love and forgiveness. The first forms of religion was a mixture of Christianity and reminiscent African rites. But a more purified form of worship has succeeded the old. All classes of Negro society have found their way into the church on Sunday. During periods of unusual oppression the altar has been sought where prayers for deliverance were sent up. A new day has come. They no longer see the use of carrying their troubles "to the Lord in prayer." A recent writer has noticed this change in attitude. "The growing indifference is especially noticeable among the Negroes of the younger generation." (52) Then the causes of this growing indifference on the part of younger Negroes are given: "First, the Negro has reached the conviction that Christianity, as preached and practiced, is not the great moral force or agency for good that they are asked to believe it is.....the Christian church has watched with vacant unconcern the burning alive of his people at the stake - men, women and children - and their persecution worse than man of the Middle Ages." The writer

believes that this is a favorable sign. "But the growing agnostic tendency of the Negro is emblematic of increasing racial intelligence, for as intelligence spreads, superstition and fear will be dissipated; and in superstition and fear, Christianity is deeply rooted." (52)

There are other factors besides the intellectual awakening that have contributed to the failure of the church to attract young Negroes. These are the same agencies that operate with other races. Once the church was the center of the social life of the Negro. It was here that the social instinct was gratified. But today there are many centers of his social life. While the Negro preacher is complaining that he is unable to have a prayer meeting, the young people are congregating at the Y.M.C.A. or at the moving picture show. Just as the Negro church once afforded more of an outlet for his lively social nature than the home, so today the various social centers are more attractive than the dull church meeting.

This changed attitude on the part of the Negro has attracted the attention of Congress. Congressman Byrnes of South Carolina opened the attack on the New Negro in a speech in which he said: "It is manifest that when sanguinary conflicts take place in cities so widely separated and within so short a time, the cause is general and not local." He speaks truly for the new voice of resistance

to oppression is heard in every section of the country. Then representative Byrnes read excerpts from the many radical Negro publications. He sees in all this the insurrection of a new leadership. He said: "It is evident that the leadership of Moton and others, who, following in the footsteps of Booker Washington, preached conservatism to the race, is now being challenged by a crowd of radicals who are appealing to the passions of the Negroes and inciting them to deeds of violence." (53) Byrnes would invoke the espionage law and prosecute these new leaders.

The Messenger editors did not hesitate to make a reply to Congressman Byrnes. They not only accepted his indictment as true but said that the new Negro was resolved to act on the "Lawful principles of self defence" and that they, the editors of the Messenger, believed in meeting violence with violence." (16)

The interest of Congress did not cease here. In the letter from the Attorney General in response to a Senate Resolution of Oct. 17, 1919, for a report on the activities of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice against persons advising anarchy, sedition, and the forcible overthrow of the Government, twenty-six pages are devoted to the activities of Negro radicals. It reports the following:

"Among the more salient points to be noted in the present attitude of the Negro leaders are, first, the ill-governed reaction toward race rioting; second, the threat of retaliatory measures in connection with lynching; third, the more openly expressed demand for social equality, in which demand the sex problem is not infrequently included; fourth, the identification of the Negro with such radical organizations as the I.W.W. and an outspoken advocacy of the Bolsheviki or Soviet doctrines; fifth, the political stand assumed toward the present Federal administration, the South in general, and incidentally, toward the peace treaty and the league of nations. Underlying these more salient viewpoints is the increasingly emphasized feeling of a race consciousness, in many of these publications always antagonistic to the white race and openly, defiantly assertive of its own equality and even superiority. When it is borne in mind that this boast finds its most frequent expression in the pages of those journals whose editors are men of education, in at least one instance, men holding degrees conferred by Harvard University, it may be seen that the boast is not to be dismissed lightly as the ignorant vamping of untrained minds. Neither is the influence of the Negro press in general to be reckoned with lightly. The Negro World for October 18, 1919, states that 'there are a dozen Negro papers with a circulation of over 20,000, and scores with a similar circulation, and there are easily over 50 writers who can write interesting editorials and special articles, written in fine, pure English, with a background of scholarship behind them.'" (54)

Besides special legislation which was recommended in this letter to curb this propaganda, mailing privileges have been refused the Crisis and the Messenger at various times. Individual states have concerned themselves with this matter. In Jackson, Mississippi, a Negro, Rev.

Franklin was fined \$400. and sentenced fifteen months in the chain gang for selling the Crisis. The governor said in reply to a protest that the mildness of this sentence was due to the ignorance of the offender and threatened the editors of the Crisis if they should come to the state of Mississippi. (57)

IV.

When we come to estimate the influence of this new philosophy it is necessary to determine to what extent the literature is disseminated among the masses of Negroes and the caliber of its leaders. The total circulation of these radical publications is nearly half a million. While they are published mostly in Chicago and New York, they are to be found in all the cities of the South, dispensed at newstands and in the churches. Some of these papers are peddled on street corners by the ubiquitous newsboy. The magazines are well put up and printed on dressed paper. The newspapers present an equally orderly and standard arrangement. The editors are mostly young men who are graduates from Harvard, Columbia and other northern colleges having had special training in history, political science, modern sociology and economics. In addition, these publications are constantly filled with articles from equally as well trained supporters. Those who can not write logical and

coherent essays express their revolt against the old resignation in poems and songs. Cartoons express the sentiments of the black artist. Thus we see the circulation of these publications is equal to about one twenty-fifth of the Negro population and are edited by men of training, intelligence, and talent.

What does the new philosophy mean? As we follow its leaders upon their iconoclastic career, they destroy the churches, deny the existence of God, repudiate the former leaders, vituperate the white race, scourge the workers for their indifference and ridicule the social surgeon. Convention is hypocrisy and traditions are lies. But all their revolt is not formless and without a sound basis. They seem to see in the American race problem an inevitable struggle which, as Karl Pearson holds, is a suspended struggle. (56, p/23) When two dissimilar races meet upon the same territory and assimilation does not seem probable, one generally annihilates the other. It becomes more acute as the inferior race rises in culture to the level of the superior and the inferior race must accept a subordinate position or enter the lists against the dominant race. These new leaders accept the challenge of the race struggle. The race problem has reached this crisis in America. While these leaders unhesitatingly advocate the use of force in self defense, they must realize that in any general upris-

ing victory lies on the side of the heaviest artillery - and the white man possesses all the artillery. One wing of this party is revolutionary. It holds the interests of the race above that of the nation. It advocates a new social order and a change in the form of government. It bids the masses of workers to rise and capture the means of production. Its leaders pledge themselves to support the Socialist Party in politics and the I.W.W.'s in labor organization. There is some ground for the new political alignment, for the traditional, blind and emotional adhesion to the Republican Party has not brought any substantial good to the Negroes in spite of the plums that have fallen to some fortunate politicians. But these leaders overlook the local advantages that have come in the form of better schools and representation, through the support of the Republican Party that has not been generally inimical, although indifferent at times. Moreover, the present impotence of the Socialist Party in national affairs should be considered. The Negro can not afford to be martyred to future possibilities.

The strongest point of this new philosophy lies in its advice to the Negro to achieve economic independence. This was not originated by the new school. The same was advocated by Booker Washington. Self respect is an attribute of possession. The large number of Negroes in personal

service has been the basis of his servility and dependence. It has given him a superficial culture. A substantial industrial class supporting a prosperous enterprising class will give the only sure foundation to culture and independence. Therein rests the strength of the new movement.

But the method of attaining economic independence as advocated by these new leaders differs from that advocated by Washington. The latter emphasized individual enterprise and initiative while the former, recognizing the growing tendency towards cooperative enterprise, urges the establishment of collective undertaking. This advice is sound for few Negroes possess sufficient capital to undertake business careers. This is only possible by uniting small quantities of capital. Many enterprises have been the fruits of this advice. Besides the cases cited there are found in the South banks and stores run on this basis. The periodicals themselves which voice the new sentiment are supported by the cooperation of large number of Negroes who have bought the stock.

These successful efforts at cooperation and the universality of the new philosophy brings us to a new phase of the race problem. While the Negro has always been conscious of his race in America, he has not always had race consciousness. The northern Negro has heretofore felt little interest in the difficulties of his southern brother

The prosperous man of color has been inclined to be unsympathetic towards his less fortunate kinsman. But in this new philosophy the North has become one with the South and the well-to-do resents the ills done the low. This race consciousness extends beyond America. Negro leaders have heretofore concerned themselves only with the American problem and have shown indifference to Africa and the West Indies. But now this awakened race consciousness is expanding through the race wherever it is found. The West Indian Negro is conspicuous in the radical movement in America while the Universal Negro Improvement Association is planting branches in Africa. The Pan-African Congress initiated by DuBois illustrates the same tendency. Once the American Negro centered his attention upon his meagre achievements in America, but now he is digging up the former glories of African culture. He has become conscious of everything that affects men of color in any part of the world. The Negro has thus achieved race consciousness which now must be reckoned with.

Thus far we have considered the effect of the new philosophy upon the Negro. Now it remains to indicate the effect of the new thought upon the white man. From the north we have those who represent the abolitionist type warning the Negro that they remain loyal to him in his

strivings for justice - abstract - but they can not follow him in his alliance with the radical elements that make the prosperous tremble. From the South we hear defiance. They would make no truce with these leaders who advocate Socialism. These are the reactions of the ruling classes in the two sections. But the laboring white man who has cast aside the delusion of his superiority extends his hand in sympathy. This is apparent both in the North and in the South. The reaction to the stand taken by the Negro in the riots has elicited respect from all classes. The press has sounded warning that Negroes will not be shot down as formerly and that those who incite such conflicts must pay the price. No doubt, the psychological effect produced in the white man will make him hesitate before using violence against men of color.

The new spirit which has produced the New Negro bids fair to transform the whole race. America faces a new race that has awakened, and in the realization of its strength has girt its loins to run the race with other men.

V.

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