

Washington, D.C. June 1st 1919

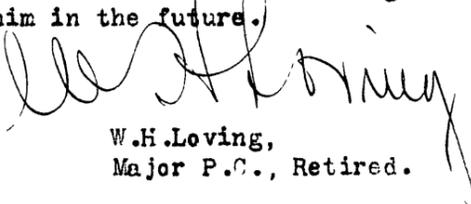
From: Major W. H. Loving, P.C.

To: Director, Military Intelligence.

Subject: Activities of A. Phillip Randolph and Chandler Owen.

1. Herewith a stenographic copy of a mass meeting held at the John Wesley Church on Friday May 30th, Messrs A. Phillip Randolph and Chandler Owen being the principal speakers.

2. On Tuesday evening May 20th, Mr. Randolph addressed the Bethel Literary Society of this city. His subject was "Bolshevism a Menace or a Promise". During his lecture he said " Bolshevism is the hope of the world and the salvation of mankind". He urged colored people to join labor unions where they would receive proper protection. He also stated that the I.W.W. was the only labor organization which did not draw the color line.* At the conclusion of Mr. Randolph's address a considerable time was taken up in discussing parts of the address. The first speaker was Prof. Hawkins, Principal of the colored high school of Baltimore, Md. He stated that he was a radical and a socialist and agreed with every word that Mr. Randolph had said. He said further that the only thing that the white man likes that he also likes is COLORED WOMEN. Present at this meeting was a Mr. Edward King, who stated that he was a Russian and a Bolshevist. He congratulated Mr. Randolph for his able lecture on Bolshevism in Russia and other parts of Europe and stated that for some time he had been trying to meet both Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen but this was the first opportunity he had received to meet them. As soon as the meeting was over this strange man disappeared hastily. He was short and inclined to be stout, wore a blue suit, a little bow legged and had white hair. He appeared to be about 55 or 60 years of age. Meeting Mr. Randolph the next day I asked him about this stranger and he said that he had never seen him before, nor did he get a chance to speak with him after the meeting as he went out immediately. Neither Mr. King nor Prof. Hawkins were present at the meeting on Friday May 30th. I shall make a special effort to find out more about Mr. King and report anything that I may learn of him in the future.


W.H. Loving,
Major P.C., Retired.

*The very last sentence of his lecture was this: "Bolshevism is not a menace but a promise".

*J.E. Cutler
Capt. U.S.A.*

JOHN WESLEY A. M. E. ZION CHURCH,
WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 30, 1919.

[Synopsis of remarks of Mr. Chandler Owen.]

<u>Page.</u>	<u>Subject.</u>
2	The passing of the old order--Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns, Hapsburgs, et al.
3	Negroes celebrate George Washington's birthday or his death, oblivious of the fact that Washington held more slaves than any of the slaveholders.
5-7	Documents need to pass by the stage where we revere them any longer--Declaration of Independence (p.5) and Constitution of U.S. (p.7).
9	Chattel slavery.
12	There is a desire that there shall be some evidence of inferiority (on the part of the Negro) and that is the reason today why we find the problem of * * * having his social rights constantly contested.
16	"Food will win the war." The Negroes helped sustain the Confederacy by tilling the fields.
16	Lincoln decided that they would have Negro soldiers, when it was no longer possible to avoid it.
20	The Secretary of the Post Office, A.S. Burleson, has both white men and black men in physical slavery (discussing peonage).
21	Peonage--wives of colored men are maintained outside the prison as mistresses of the overseers and keepers, and 28 per cent of them have children in 9 months after their incarceration. This from Judge McDaniel's report to Atty.Gen.
26	Prior to Dred Scott decision 5 Negroes were counted as 3 in determining the representation of the South; today they are counted as 5.
30	Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens fought against the Negroes having the right to hold office.
33	Child labor--There are more Negro children in school in S.C. than white children.
35	Education--Negroes taught impractical subjects, Greek, Latin, Trigonometry.
40	All Negro actors--Bert Williams, Fisk Jubilee Singers, and Hampton Jubilee Singers--present the Negro as a clown.
41	Mayor Mitchell strong in supporting production of "Birth of a Nation." In 1917, very suddenly, A. Clayton Powell, W. B. Hayes, every Baptist minister (Negro) in New York, and Fred R. Moore, found Mayor Mitchell the best man obtainable.
45	Douglass was to have been with John Brown in his raid, but did not show up, instead he severely denounced the raid.
48	Morefield Storey, Oswald Garrison, Villard, Morgan, Rockefeller--men of the N.A.A.C.P., Y.M.C.A., Urban League, Hampton Institute, Fiske, represent capitalist class and are making fortunes out of the cheap labor of Negro workers.
56	While he and "Comrade Randolph" were in the County Jail of Cleveland, DuBois and the N.A.A.C.P. kept silent--August 4,5,6, last year.
57	Appealing to Negroes to make their fight against the huns of the United States.
58	Sargent Restaurant in Mexico fined for refusing service to Jack Johnson.
61	Aims of the new era--better life for the masses, new leadership, etc.

JOHN WESLEY A. M. E. ZION CHURCH,
WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 30, 1919.

MEETING OPENED AT 9.15 P.M.

PRESIDING OFFICER: Mr. Peaturidge.

SPEAKERS: Mr. Chandler Owen
Mr. A. Philip Randolph
THE REV. WILLIAM C. BROWN--CLOSING THE MEETING.

[Remarks of Mr. A. Philip Randolph.]

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Ladies and gentlemen: Before I introduce the next speaker to you, I may ask you all, whether you be pastors, doctors, lawyers, or solicitors--I only hope each and every one of you will make a fundamental memorandum of Mr. Owen's sentiment. While Mr. Randolph is not feeling so very well, but he will demonstrate to you for a little while on the Messenger Magazine, the only radical Negro magazine in this country that had ever been published by Negroes. I have the greatest of pleasure to introduce to you, now, Mr. A. Philip Randolph. (Applause.)

MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen: I am not going to make a speech, but I want to talk about the business side of our magazine. We are at present engaged in a drive for \$25,000. We are issuing 5,000 shares of stock at \$5 per share. We want you ^o not only to demonstrate your interest in radical propaganda by giving applause, but we want you also to take a definite, concrete interest in the magazine. Today, propaganda is carried on through two fundamental means--speaking and writing. Writing is most important, because it has wider circulation, and the character of permanence. Now, then, in this country today the Negro has no radical publication except the Messenger. I do not say that because

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I happen to be one of the editors, but because it is true. We have been concerned about a certain form of race radicalism--that is to say, Negroes are opposed to lynching, all Negroes are. That is instinctive. Any animal is opposed to death, any individual will oppose any form of extinction, but to deal with fundamental economic and political questions out of which race prejudice grows, that has not been done by any of the Negro leaders in the country. The Crisis is a literary magazine. It deals with poetry, fiction. If a young man plays a piece from Bach or Beethoven, why that is given tremendous emphasis in the Crisis, because its editor is what you might call an 18th century classicist. That is his type of mind. He has not taken on the modern economic, political, and sociological questions of the day. He is what you might call a tingling alliterative writer. He believes in fine phrases, beautiful diction, but today we are concerned about thinking, and revolution in the head which will bring about a revolution in society. Now, opinion begets desires. Desires beget action. Action implies movement from place to place. In proportion as the opinion is sound, correct desires are begetten, and those desires beget correct action, and that action results in the public movement and individual success, so that it is very important today to have correct opinion in the mind of the people on the race question and other questions, and that is the fundamental function of the Messenger. We are trying to make it a national organ. It is circulated in every State in the Union at the present time. The Cleak Makers Board, which is a Jewish organization in New York, bought \$500 worth of shares of the stock issue, the Werkmen's Circle bought \$250

worth. These are white organizations. The United Cap and Hat Makers' Union bought \$50 worth. We had the Joint Cloak Makers' Board last evening to appropriate \$500 for the purchase of stock. All of these are white organizations, but we want colored people also to take the stock of the Messenger, and to use it, to preserve it, and hand it down to your children, because you people in Washington are not allowed to speak. As I have been able to observe the social conditions here, there is what you might call a governmental espionage over the Negroes in Washington. There is a certain amount of silence, a certain amount of fear on the part of Negroes to speak out against anything which affects them, because you are job holders. You are either in the school system or you are in the Government. You are holding some kind of a job, consequently the fear of having that job taken away from you is always present. Now you know that whenever you engage in radical propaganda, that those who have the power to take away your job are opposed to that propoganda, consequently your job is in jeopardy, so that there is a fundamental economic condition and reason why your lips are sealed. Consequently, it is for you to support those who can speak out. Now, no one has any supervision over us. No one controls the Messenger Magazine. No one has any power to regulate our opinion, our propoganda, our fight. We spoke out in time of war and we will speak out in times of peace. We will always speak out, war or no war, and the Negro can never afford to surrender a single point in his fight for freedom. He can never afford at any stage of the game to stop fighting lynching, jim-crowism, and disfranchisement. You will find Negro leaders always talking about

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loyalty in this country. I think it is the last thing for which the Negro ought to feel proud, his loyalty. Why, nowhere in the history of the world have you found people who are loyal to their masters ever becoming free as the result of it. The loyalty of the oppressed to the oppressors has never resulted in the emancipation of the oppressed. The same is true of the Negro. Submissive, subservient, lick-spittle, cringing people will never get free. Now, you will find a good illustration of this in a cur dog on the sidewalk. Whenever you come along you come along you will find him running off the sidewalk. You will find that a mastiff, however, never moves. You will walk around him because you know that he will fight back. Today we need men with backbone. Today we need men who speak out. Today we need magazines that will criticize the Government, that will criticize the President, that will criticize Congress. The President is no more than anybody else, nothing but a human being, subject to fallacies and errors, always making mistakes. He is over in Europe today. He is not making the world safe for democracy, but creating a league of nations to hold back democracy, just like the Holy Alliance that came forth in 1815 when the evil genius of Metternich was present, so that you have got to speak out for yourselves today. Don't depend on white men and white women to work out the problem. (Prolonged applause.) We have too long relied on white people. The Negro leaders are always expecting something to come from the good white folks. Well, nothing ever will come worth while. You have got to get it yourself. If lynching is to be stopped in this country, the Negroes will stop it. If disfranchisement is to be abolished in this

country, the Negroes will abolish it. So that it is for you at the present time to use the most effective method in order to bring about your aims, the achievement of your aims, so that we are trying to present to you a scientific method, a method that is calculated to achieve the ends aimed at. We would like to have every person in this house tonight to purchase a share of Messenger stock, at \$5 per share. We would also like to have you become subscribers to the magazine. Today, the test of one's interest in a thing is the test of what that person is willing to sacrifice for that thing. Now that sacrifice may be in the form of giving up your liberty, giving up your freedom. We had to give up our liberty in Cleveland, because we gave an economic interpretation of lynching in this country. All that you have got to do is to give up a little means. Now, you have been subscribing to Liberty bonds. Buy a race liberty bond, buy a race humanity bond, buy a brotherhood bond, buy a bond against lynching, against disfranchisement. Of course you have been compelled to buy those Government bonds, but here is a question of volition, and it is for you to exercise intelligence, to exercise common sense in fighting this time for yourselves. Negroes have been strong on fighting for other people, but never on fighting for himself. Today, we are trying to get to the point where he will fight for himself. And, do not fear the consequences. Why even four million and a half people in Ireland are keeping Great Britain in an uproar. Think of twelve million people in this country, more than the population of Belgium, more than the people of Armenia--the Negroes in American and yet they have not got a single representative in Congress.

No one to speak for them--being lynched, being jim-crowed, and disfranchised. Their life nor property is safe in this country, so that you need something to speak out. You need some one to criticize those who today are responsible for your condition, in a certain measure, and the Messenger Magazine is doing that. They may stop it, they may put the editors in jail, but the editors will continue to speak, even from the bars in jail, so that we want you to assist us in this fight. Now, I presume you have a method of taking up collection for the general defraying of the expenses, and I suppose it would be proper to conform to that method now. I do not know what Mr. Pesturidge has arranged in reference to that, but if you ladies and gentlemen feel disposed to give something in a general collection here for the expense, we shall appreciate it hugely, I assure you, and at the same time we want you to subscribe for the stock. Mr. Pesturidge has charge of that work. You may see him and pay him now or pay him on the installment plan. We will accept \$1 down and partial payments from time to time. We want you to become a part of this great propaganda. We want you to know something about the current problems as Mr. Owen was speaking to you about--industrial unionism, anarchism, communism, what is meant by a league of nations, what is meant by self-determination, autonomy, annexation, political suzerainty, extraterritoriality--these problems are discussed today among the white people, and you must know them. You see that during the war you were taken from Georgia and carried to Europe, and it was the result of great economic forces operating in Europe and throughout the world--great changes taking place--and you had to report

as the result of those changes. You must begin molding opinion and controlling affairs, in order that they may result in your interest, to your benefit, and the Messenger is discussing these problems fundamentally and scientifically. We are examining all documents, we are going to make a discussion of the treaty that will be signed very soon, and the various international documents that are before the country, the various domestic laws that are before the country, and bolshevism. We want you to know those things. We want you to be intelligent on those questions. You can't do it unless you read, so that we want you to come forward here. Have no backwardness about it, but when you are buying stock here you are buying a liberty bond, a race liberty bond; you are buying a real manhood bond. I want you to come here and show your spirit, show that you mean to fight out the problems that confront you. I wish we had time for discussion. We would like to have you ask any question at all, but the time is too far spent, and besides we want to get this other phase of the work on. Now, I suppose we will take up the collection at this point. Will you just come forward, ladies and gentlemen, and put your money on this table here. I am not a preacher. I do not know much about calling for a collection. I suppose we ought to pass the plates.

It was the struggle for the darker peoples' territory, and resources, and labor, which brought on the war, so that it is well for you to get an understanding of the problems in relation to the league of nations and the darker peoples. Now you will find Mr. Pesturidge located at 408 Florida Avenue, where he will be pleased to accept any money as partial payment,

or payment in full, for stock in the Messenger or for subscriptions.

We hope to return to Washington soon. We are going to hold a meeting in the Howard Theater. The date has not been set as yet, but plans are on foot for that. When we have finished that meeting we are going to the coast. We are speaking to white and colored audiences, because the white people need education on this problem just as well as you do, and we are giving them direct, straight-from-the-shoulder talk. We don't have two speeches, one for the white people and one for the colored people, but we tell them the same things we tell you. We are telling them of the crimes they have perpetrated upon you. We are telling them of the responsibility for that. We are telling them of the methods which we are going to use, and we are also telling you how to do it, and we want you to assist us in carrying on the fight.

MR. G. W. MORTON (a member of the John Wesley Church). Why, Mr. Randolph, what is the general intention, or the general position of your magazine upon things spiritual? Is it as radical along other lines of free thought, or is it in line with intents and purposes of the Christian church, or churches?

MR. RANDOLPH. Well, I may say that the magazine is consistently radical on all subjects. It is radical on all subjects. I should like for you to read the magazine and make up your judgment as to the character of its radicalism on the subject in question. I should not like to go into that here; in fact, haven't the time. Your question is very important, though, very pertinent, and I want you to feel that I am entirely interested in it, but I can't discuss it just now. I would like for you

to read our magazine, over a series, for sometime back, and continue to follow it up, because we are discussing every institution in the country, the church, the press, the stage, the school system, and the Government. All of those institutions shape public opinion, and public opinion regulates human action, and it is very necessary to have those agencies of such a character as to produce correct public opinion. Consequently, we are fundamentally interested in the church as an institution, we are interested in its propaganda, we are interested in presenting the proper point of view in all questions relating to the church, so that you will find the matter in the magazine will be of such a character as to cause you to take one side or the other as to its position on the subject. If any one wishes to ask a categorical question, I am willing to answer a categorical question.

If no one else is ready to take out any stock just now, and if you have finished contributing to the general collection, I presume that it is time to call the meeting to a close. Here the speaker explained that a stenographer was sent to the meeting by "a good friend" to take the meeting in order that his remarks might not be incorrectly reported.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. We thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen, for \$4.75, and also I will ask Reverend Brown to say a few words before we close, and he will bring the meeting to a close. And we also have the Messenger in hand. I do not really know whether I can sell that in the churches, but, anyhow, I think, you will meet me outside after the close of the meeting. So I have the pleasure of asking Reverend Brown to bring the meeting to a close.

THE REV. WILLIAM C. BROWN. My friends, I have listened very carefully to Mr. Owen's address, and I have also listened with equal attention to the address of Mr. Randolph. I have not read the Messenger, but I shall do so. Suffice it to say that I am interested in all movements for the betterment of mankind, and certainly I am interested in movements for the betterment of our own race. I appreciate our ^{my} difficulties here in this country, our abridgment of privileges here, and the many hindrances we have as a race in this country, and I would not put a straw in any man's way who is endeavoring to make out conditions here better, but I would rather help him to do so. There are many different thoughts and propagandas getting abroad today, and it is just what we expect, because of the unsettled conditions and the reconstruction period through which we are passing. The world has never seen such an age as it sees now. These are great times in which we are living. These are great times in which we are living. It is perfectly natural that active minds and progressive minds will reach out and ramify in various ways, looking for a better condition than that which we have. It is also perfectly natural that some will go much farther than others, and that those who go in certain directions, farthest away from the stated and set way of thinking and from the present method and condition of things, will be termed, perhaps, radical. I do not know how to define radicalism, but I do know that some things ought to be done and that some ~~this~~ kind of a propaganda must be set abroad, and that we must think more progressively than we have thought if we wish to enter into our own, and we must do that, as the speaker has said, ourselves and not trust that to be done by another. But I am glad to know that we are not

doing it alone, and that we are not trusting it to be done by another. I am pleased to know that there are colored men and white men in various parts of the country who are thinking that a new era must soon dawn, not only for the Negroes in this country but for the entire people of the United States. I am pleased to note, also, that there are white men in the United States of America, born in the South, born of Negro-hating parents, who have set themselves firmly to the task of making life better for the colored people and for all people in the United States of America. I knew of Plato Durham. He was a man in my own State, and considered to be one of the meanest men in the State of North Carolina. It was my pleasure, yesterday, or day before yesterday, at the Livingston College Commencement to hear Plato Durham, Jr., a man who finished Trinity College in North Carolina, Yale University, and Oxford in England, come out firmly for the rights of men and more especially for the rights of the Negro. Every right that the white man enjoys, he said the Negro must enjoy, and that he, himself, has consecrated himself to this service, to fight for the rights of humanity and for the rights of the Negro, until all discriminatory laws, until all jim-crowism, until all of these things so distasteful to us as a race, and that give the lie to democracy, shall have been removed. That, at least, makes us feel just a little better, because he is simply one man of many in the South who have agreed to help to do this work. He said this--and then I am through--he said that a man said to him "Durham, what is the trouble with you? Why are you so definite, why are you so positive in your declaration concerning Negro freedom?" He said to the man, "Over in France a commanding general asked some men from a certain

regiment would they like to go and be among the number to be assigned to a very difficult work, bending Von Hindenburg's line." He said "They said 'yes.'" Among them was a captain, and when the attack was made this captain was wounded twice. The men endeavored to drag him back to the rear. He would not go back, and when they looked he was crawling on hands and knees toward the enemy. In this condition a machine gun bullet entered his brain, and there he lay motionless upon the ground." He said, "That man was my brother, and I have sworn to God that his death shall not be in vain, that the democracy he fought for, and world freedom, so far as I am able, shall be enjoyed by all peoples, irrespective to race, color, or previous condition of servitude." (Applause.) And then he turned to us and said, "Will you help?" And we said, "We will, God helping us, we will fight for every right that every other man has. We will fight for it until we get it in this country."

I appreciate the work these young men are doing, and I have nothing but the kindest words for them, and sympathy for their struggles. I know the only way to save this race is to develop their manhood, that is the only way. They must put the spirit of a man in them. We may differ as to some minor points, but as to the fundamentals and the essence I agree with them most heartily. I do not know that I believe in some of the various propagandas that are going abroad, that try to discount the church and try to discount everything, for we must understand, my friends, that all of these things came and served their age. You could not expect George Washington to think like I think today when he lived so far in the rear of me,

but what our task and our duty is, is to make you think the way you ought to think, and to this these young men have assigned themselves, and I want to say to them, "you have my help." There are courageous men in this town. Even some of the men who hold offices in this town are courageous, and there is one courageous man who preaches in this pulpit Sunday after Sunday, and he says what he wants to say and keeps out of jail too. (Applause.) And I shall continue to say it when my people's rights are in question. May the Lord bless you, and I am going to subscribe for your magazine. I want to see what you are talking about, and I am sure you are going to have success. You will make the young Negro think, for without thinking we shall remain what we are, slaves--forever more. (Prolonged applause.)

MR. G. W. MORTON (a member of John Wesley Church, arose). I do not wish to prolong the meeting, but I want to make a qualification of that question I asked Mr. Randolph. I want to say that I am heartily in favor of anything that will help the Negro, individually or collectively. I am radical myself, and I suffer for that reason, being radical along certain lines, but there is one old landmark, or one old line, to which I hew constantly, and that is put God in the forefront of everything. If there is anything that is enjoyed today, if there is any progress that we have made, if there is anything to which we must aspire in the future, we must have God as a foundation. (Applause.) Our old fathers and mothers in the cotton fields, praying in the fence corners, their words live in our hearts today, and by their prayers we are making progress. Let us not forget them as we go along. Let us not forget, and whatever you do you have what help I can

give you--which is not much. I shall subscribe to your magazine, but if it seems in the least to dig at the foundations of the church, at the cornerstone, Christ Jesus, I am not for it. (Applause.)

MR. RANDOLPH. I want the gentleman to read our magazine before he lectures us on the contents. I appreciate your sentiments very much, but of course it would be unfair to take a position upon a thing which you have not read, and, consequently, I must ask you to read the magazine. And, I don't want to discuss this matter here with you, but you will like the radicalism, I think.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Ladies and gentlemen, just to corroborate what Mr. Randolph had said, he gave me a card last week before he left Washington for New York, to go down to the Socialist party at F and 9th Streets. I was not ashamed to sell the Messenger Magazine, that is published by the two editors, to the white folks, but I was somewhat surprised to see how fast they called for the Messenger Magazine and the Negro World paper from me, and I had to sometimes, probably, walk three or five blocks to introduce the Messenger Magazine to some of our most highest type of cultured colored people in the District of Columbia, who would say, "Boy, that don't do me any good, we can't read books." I was surprised to see how the socialists bought the paper. I sold 45 copies of this Messenger in less than 15 minutes, and, also, they gave me a card to visit them Sunday afternoon coming. I thank you.

THE REV. WILLIAM C. BROWN. I am glad to have these gentlemen here. Our church has been kind of a forum. Anything worth saying, people may come here and say it. (Applause.) Anything worth saying. Any organization or

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institution that has a message for the people may say it here, I am glad to have them. Let us rise please and close with the Mizpah benediction.

(THE END.)

JAN 17 10 21 8-2
WAR DEPARTMENT

353 West 137th Street.
New York, N.Y., Jan. 17, 1918.

From: Major W. H. Loving, P. C.
To: Director of Military Intelligence.
Subject: Calling attention to The World Forum, organ
of the International League of Darker Peoples.

1. I am inclosing herewith literature regarding the International League of Darker Peoples, recently organized in New York City, including "The World Forum", which is the official organ of this movement.

2. Among some of those identified with this movement are A. Philip Randolph, George Frazier Miller and Chandler Owen, whose records are already on file in the Bureau. There is one white man prominently associated with this movement in the person of Reverend R. D. Jonas, of Chicago, sometimes known as "Prophet" Jonas.

3. This new organization seems to be organized along the same lines and for the same purpose as the Universal Negro Improvement Association of which Marcus Garvey is President-General and on which I have made several reports. The new movement is broader in conception as it includes all of the colored races of the world, while the movement headed by Mr. Garvey is a purely Negro movement.

4. It will be noted from inclosed literature both organizations have called mass meetings for night of January 16, 1918, and in different parts of the city. Strict vigilance is being kept on all such meetings and a full report will be made in the event anything out of the ordinary occurs.

3 inclosures.

W. H. LOVING,
Major, P.C., Retired.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF

MAR 10 1919
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WAR DEPARTMENT

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253 West 137th Street.
New York, N.Y., March 6, 1919. *1 enc*

From: Major W. H. Loving, P.C.
To: Director of Military Intelligence,
Washington, D. C.
Subject: Publication- "THE MESSENGER"

CAPT. HAYES
M. I. 4-41

1. Herewith, for your information, a copy of the last issue of "The Messenger", a colored Socialist publication of New York City.

2. The editors of this publication are A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, whose activities are well known to the Department.

Negro's Subversion
1 inclosure.
Socialism

W. H. Loving
W. H. LOVING,
Major, P.C., Retired.

DESPATCHED
MAR 10 PM 1 24

(COPY)

STAFF
MAR 20 1919
DEPARTMENT

March 11, 1919

Adolph Germer, Esq.,
803 West Madison Street
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrade Germer:

Your letters of recent dates have been received and answered. We have intended to write you, however, about some other matters.

First, we wish to find out whether you are ready to begin some substantial and fundamental work among the colored people. We have had occasion, out of their requests and expense, to address them in Washington, Phil., Harrisburg, and New York during the last sixty days, at all of which places we were well received and appreciated.

Secondly, the Messenger is going exceedingly well just now. For February we got out ten thousand; for March twelve thousand; and for April we are to put out fifteen thousand copies. Our circulation is increasing rapidly and the colored people in the large centres like Pittsburg, Phila., New York, Baltimore, Washington, Boston and Chicago are quite responsive. This very month we have put out in Pittsburg - 1,500; in Phila. 1, 320, in New York 2, 800, in Baltimore 350, in Washington 1, 630, in Boston 315 and in Chicago 2,000.

We might state that several locals have been written repeatedly to us about certain work, but no definite reply could be given while Comrade Owen was in the Army. Minneapolis, St. Louis, Phila., Cleveland and Denver have made requests, and I believe, Providence. Minneapolis wanted three weeks work, St. Louis four I believe, Cleveland for a long period.

The ripeness of the time suggests immediate beginning and the work can largely take care of itself. For instance when I spoke in Harrisburg, people came from Pittsburg, Altoona, Phil. etc. and the collection was \$73.52. In Washington a smaller gathering contributed \$82.00 Hence you see the trend.

Have you received the last two issues of the Messenger? We would like to know whether the government has distributed your mail. It is common for your letters to be opened and marked.

MAR 20 1919
#27689

March 18th, 1919

From: Office of M.I.D., 302 Broadway, New York
To: Director of Military Intelligence
Subject: The Messenger

1. Enclosed herewith is a copy of a letter addressed to Adolph Germer which I believe was sent by A. Phillip Randolph, Editor of The Messenger. It contains some very suggestive information and the original was obtained from a confidential outside source.

(Enc.)
T/S

John B. Trevor,
Captain, U.S.A.

10-25-276
13

(M) Has our Propaganda Section subscribed to "The Messenger",^{50x}
published No. 2305 7th Avenue, New York ?

The following paragraph on "The Messenger" is taken from
~~the~~ weekly summary of March 21, 1919 :

"THE NEGRO, AND THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER", published by
"The Messenger Publishing Company", a negro publication of
#2305 7th Ave., New York City, publishes an article on page 6
in its issue of March, the title of which is "Social Equality".
The author of this article advocates political, economic and
social equality in every sense of the phrase. His definition
of social equality embraces intermarriage between white men
and negro women and negro men and white women. This publication
would ordinarily be of little importance except for the fact that
we have had a very large number of negro soldiers in France where
the bar to social equality has been almost universally thrown
down. It is feared that upon the return of these negroes to
their homes in the United States articles of this nature will
lead a certain class of the race to strive to attain the dubious
ideals of the writer, and it is not necessary to add that this
will be fatal in nine cases out of ten. If the author of this
article cannot be suppressed in any other way he might be
induced to make a visit in the Southern States."

The Propaganda Section does not subscribe for "The Messenger".

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

In replying refer to

10218-296

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

July 1, 1919.

NOTED:

~~MR. CHURCHILL~~

CAPT. DALRYMPLE
M.I. 4-48

MEMORANDUM FOR COLONEL COXE:

Subject: "The Messenger", July, 1919.

1. Herewith copy of July issue of THE MESSENGER, forwarded to this office by Major Loving.
2. With the colored population in a state of general unrest and having definite grievances as a foundation for a smoldering resentment against the government, the viciousness of the propaganda contained in this issue cannot be overstated. The standard in this respect set in the preceding number of this magazine is more than maintained. Both Dr. DuBois and Dr. Moton are put on the grill and their leadership ridiculed and discredited. Negro industrial workers are openly urged to join the I.W.W., and not the American Federation of Labor.
3. The attitude toward the Army of a large proportion of the more intelligent negroes who have been in military service is probably set forth with some degree of accuracy in the article contributed by a former officer in the 367th Infantry (pp. 24-25). The failure thus far of the General Staff and of the War Department to get into a position that is openly and publicly defensible, as regards the handling of colored troops, leaves the way entirely open for radical propaganda among these ex-service men.
4. The statement in Par. 2 of Major Loving's communication gives the results of the latest effort on our part to discover whether this periodical is being financed in part from Bolshevist and I.W.W. sources. There is plenty of evidence in the magazine itself of identity of principles and purpose with these groups of radicals, but so far nothing in the nature of a more tangible connection has been discovered. It has been reported that THE MESSENGER is being recommended and that copies are being sold at meetings held by agitators belonging to these groups. George Frazier Miller, whose record is in our files, is a regular contributor to the columns of THE MESSENGER.
5. The discussion of the Moens case in this issue of THE MESSENGER (pp. 28-31) is especially to be noted. The editors state that they met Moens in 1914, when he first came to this country, and that they put him down at once as a fake scientist. Yet nowhere in this lengthy discussion of the case is there a reference to the

feeling against him, more or less current among negroes as well as among whites, on the ground that he may be a German agent. The case is made the basis for an argument on the application of some of their doctrines and theories, without mentioning this phase of the matter. As stated in the preceding paragraph, no evidence is in hand to indicate that the two editors, Randolph and Owen, are other than straight-forward and sincere in advocating their doctrines, but in this connection they appear at least to be suspiciously ignorant and, for them, remarkably innocent. It is a fair assumption that they are either falling easy victims to German or Bolshevist intrigue, in their fanatic advocacy of new doctrines among colored people, or they are deliberately lining up as paid agents for special propaganda purposes, with assurances that they will be taken care of if they get into trouble. It has been reported to this office that Moens was seen in New York City in May and also that Edward King, a Russian Bolshevist, who is well known to Department of Justice investigators, attended a Randolph meeting held here in Washington on May 20th and afterward expressed approval of the work that Randolph and Owen are doing.

6. It is stated in this issue (p. 33) that the circulation of this magazine is now above the 20,000 mark. Information from independent sources makes this figure seem not at all improbable; it is certain that its circulation has been rapidly increasing.

J. E. Cutler
J. E. CUTLER,
Captain, U. S. Army.

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE
ROOM No 806
302 BROADWAY
NEW YORK CITY

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
Vice
Inch

27241

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6 21

DEPARTMENT

113K(5C)

February 20th, 1919.

From: Office of M.I.D., 302 Broadway, New York City.

To: Director of Military Intelligence.

Subject: "The Messenger", Issue of February, 1919.

Attention of Major Wrisley Brown.

1. This letter will confirm my telephone message of this morning in regard to the subject, a negro publication put out, so I am informed, by a colored methodist publication society in Philadelphia.
2. According to the information which I have received, a thousand copies of this paper were circulated in the negro quarters in this city, but we have so far been unable to get possession of an example.
3. This issue is frankly revolutionary, and according to my informant, the people back of it, A. Phillip Randolph, Louis George, and a man named Owen, have been in consultation with the National Assn. for the Advancement of the Colored People, which is now recognized to be one of the offshoots of the National Civil Liberties Bureau. Owing to the fact that civilian investigations have been discontinued it is of course impossible for us to verify this information; nevertheless, I am well satisfied that it is accurate.
4. I called up the Philadelphia office on the telephone as soon as we learned that nine thousand copies were still held by the printer, owing to the fact that they had not been paid for. Captain Elkins, of Major Geary's office, has just informed me, however, that they have been unable to secure a copy, and that their information is that the paper was published in New York. This information, however, I believe was given to Captain Elkins' representative in order to block the investigation.

Not a subscription.


John B. Trevor,
Captain, U.S.A.

JBT-LAA

REC'D, M. I. B., O. C. S. FEB 24 1919

OFFICE OF STAFF
General Branch 0

JAN 17

10218-296
(2) 2-1
WAR DEPARTMENT
273(50)

253 West 137th Street.
New York, N.Y., Jan. 15, 1919.

1 enc.

From: Major W. H. Loving, P. C.
To: Director of Military Intelligence.
Subject: Calling attention to The World Forum, organ
of the International League of Darker Peoples.

RECEIVED
JAN 15 1919

1. I am inclosing herewith literature regarding the International League of Darker Peoples, recently organized in New York City, including "The World Forum", which is the official organ of this movement.

2. Among some of those identified with this movement are A. Philip Randolph, George Frazier Miller and Chandler Owen, whose records are already on file in the Bureau. There is one white man prominently associated with this movement in the person of Reverend R. D. Jonas, of Chicago, sometimes known as "Prophet" Jonas.

3. This new organization seems to be organized along the same lines and for the same purpose as the Universal Negro Improvement Association of which Marcus Garvey is President-General and on which I have made several reports. The new movement is broader in conception as it includes all of the colored races of the world, while the movement headed by Mr. Garvey is a purely Negro movement.

4. It will be noted from inclosed literature that both organizations have called mass meetings for the night of January 16, 1919, and in different parts of the city. Strict vigilance is being kept on all such meetings and a full report will be made in the event that anything out of the ordinary occurs.

Negro Subversion
3 inclosures.
OK 82

W. H. Loving
W. H. LOVING,
Major, P.C., Retired.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
U. S. ARMY
FOR INTELLIGENCE
27241 FEB 24 1919
WAR DEPARTMENT

February 20th, 1919.

From: Office of I. I. D., 502 Broadway, New York City.

To: Director of Military Intelligence.

Subject: "The Messenger", Issue of February, 1919.

Attention of Major Wisley Brown.

1. This letter will confirm my telephone message of this morning in regard to the subject, a negro publication put out, so I am informed, by a colored methodist publication society in Philadelphia.
2. According to the information which I have received, a thousand copies of this paper were circulated in the negro quarters in this city, but we have so far been unable to get possession of an example.
3. This issue is frankly revolutionary, and according to my informant, the people back of it, A. Phillip Randolph, Louis George, and a man named Owen, have been in consultation with the National Assn. for the Advancement of the Colored People, which is now recognized to be one of the offshoots of the National Civil Liberties Bureau. Owing to the fact that civilian investigations have been discontinued it is of course impossible for us to verify this information; nevertheless, I am well satisfied that it is accurate.
4. I called up the Philadelphia office on the telephone as soon as we learned that nine thousand copies were still held by the printer, owing to the fact that they had not been paid for. Captain Elkins, of Major Geary's office, has just informed me, however, that they have been unable to secure a copy, and that their information is that the paper was published in New York. This information, however, I believe was given to Captain Elkins' representative in order to block the investigation.

John S. Trevor,
Captain, U.S.A.

JBT-LAA

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M.I.4 #46

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
M.I.D. #10218-296

MAR 10 218-296

February 27th, 1919 DEPARTMENT

2731(50)

Hon. Emmett Scott, ✓
Assistant Secretary of War,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

We are reliably informed that a thousand copies of a publication known as "THE MESSENGER", issue of February, 1919, have been circulated in the negro quarters of New York and Philadelphia. We have been unable to secure a copy.

This issue is frankly revolutionary, and the people said to be back of it are A. Phillip Randolph, Louis George, and a man named Owen. These parties have been in consultation with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which is reported to be a recognized off-shoot of the National Civil Liberties Bureau.

This information is sent to you as it is believed you may be interested. If, later, we are able to secure a copy of the publication or additional information, same will be sent to you.

Negro Subversion

Very truly yours,

JOHN M. DUNN,
Colonel, General Staff,
Acting Director of Military Intelligence,

By:

Carlton J. H. Hayes,
Captain, U. S. A.

bip

MAILED M.I.B. 4 U.S. MAR 1 1919

(COPY)

OFFICE OF THE STAFF
MAR 23 1919
WAR DEPARTMENT

March 11, 1919

Adolph Germer, Esq.,
803 West Madison Street
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrade Germer:

Your letters of recent dates have been received and answered. We have intended to write you, however, about some other matters.

First, we wish to find out whether you are ready to begin some substantial and fundamental work among the colored people. We have had occasion, out of their requests and expense, to address them in Washington, Phila., Harrisburg, and New York during the last sixty days, at all of which places we were well received and appreciated.

Secondly, the Messenger is going exceedingly well just now. For February we got out ten thousand; for March twelve thousand; and for April we are to put out fifteen thousand copies. Our circulation is increasing rapidly and the colored people in the large centres like Pittsburg, Phila., New York, Baltimore, Washington, Boston and Chicago are quite responsive. This very month we have put out in Pittsburg - 1,500; in Phila. 1, 320, in New York 2, 800, in Baltimore 350, in Washington 1, 630, in Boston 315 and in Chicago 2,000.

We might state that several locals have been written repeatedly to us about certain work, but no definite reply could be given while Comrade Owen was in the Army. Minneapolis, St. Louis, Phila., Cleveland and Denver have made requests, and I believe, Providence. Minneapolis wanted three weeks work, St. Louis four I believe, Cleveland for a long period.

The ripeness of the time suggests immediate beginning and the work can largely take care of itself. For instance when I spoke in Harrisburg, people came from Pittsburg, Altoona, Phil. etc. and the collection was \$73.52. In Washington a smaller gathering contributed \$82.00 Hence you see the trend.

Have you received the last two issues of the Messenger? We would like to know whether the government has distributed your mail. It is common for your letters to be opened and marked.

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE
ROOM No 806
302 BROADWAY
NEW YORK CITY

#27689

OFFICE OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

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WAR DEPARTMENT
273X(50)

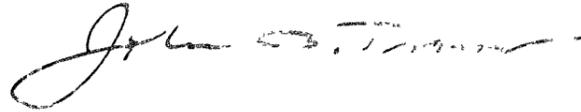
March 18th, 1919

1 enc.

From: Office of M.I.D., 302 Broadway, New York
To: Director of Military Intelligence
Subject: The Messenger

1. Enclosed herewith is a copy of a letter addressed to Adolph Germer which I believe was sent by A. Phillip Randolph, Editor of The Messenger. It contains some very suggestive information and the original was obtained from a confidential outside source.

Negro Subversion



John B. Trevor,
Captain, U.S.A.

1 (Enc.)
T/S L.H.

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1919 MAR 27 PM 1 24
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10216-296 MIS-

1919

CONFIDENTIAL

From: Director of Military Intelligence.
To: Capt. John B. Trevor, U.S.A., 302 Broadway, New York City.
Subject: The Messenger.

1. Reference is had to your communication of March 18, 1919, #27689, re this same subject.
2. It has been reported to this office that A. Philip Randolph was heard, not long ago, to make this statement: "It makes no difference to us how many copies of The Messenger are sold; they are all paid for any way."
3. It has been reported, also, that Randolph makes short talks on socialism to industrial workers (whites as well as colored) at the noon hour and that he receives \$15 for each talk that he gives.
4. One of ^{our} the agents has stated that Randolph and Owen were expecting to secure some financial support from Mary White Ovington.
5. This is for your information. No verification of these reports has been made.
6. It is believed that it would be well for you to ascertain who is financing the publication of The Messenger.

M. Churchill,
Brigadier General, General Staff.

By: *J.E.C.*
J. E. Outler,
Captain, U. S. Army.

No encl.
lm

REPORT MADE BY H. W. FINCH	PLACE WHERE MADE NEW YORK CITY	DATE WHEN MADE MARCH 5, 1919	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE March 5, 1919
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION IN RE: JAPANESE INTRIGUE WITH NEGROES & OTHER DARK SKINNED RADICALS Dr. Orbatta and S. Yuroiwa			
STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC M. I. 4-41			
<p>Our informant the Rev. A. D. Jones, reports that <u>Dr. Orbatta</u>, who was formerly connected with the Chinese Ass'n. at ... 34 St., N.Y., went with him, Jones, last night to a meeting of 15 or 20 negroes held at the St. James Presbyterian Church, N.Y. Mr. Jones, instead of questioning these subjects, follows the course of getting them into meetings and always arranged to have them called upon to make a speech. Dr. Orbatta was asked by Jones if he, Orbatta, had anything to say on the race question, and Dr. Orbatta replied "no, it is policy for Japanese to be reticent and to do nothing to interrupt relations with Japanese and white envoys at this time." Mr. Jones lays particular stress upon the words "at this time" because of the manner in which it was said. Dr. Orbatta expects to go back to Japan within the next month or two and Mr. Jones is attempting to arrange to go with him. We have a photograph of a conference of the International League of the Darker Peoples, which was held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, Jan. 19, 1919 with members of the Japanese Peace Mission. The Japanese who conferred with the negroes was <u>Skuvoiya</u>, who is said to be the Japanese William Randolph Hearst, in that he owns the Japanese "Times" and seven other influential Japanese papers. The negroes present were the very radical <u>A. Philip Randolph</u>, <u>Madam C. J. Walker</u>, a very wealthy negress, <u>Thomas W. Swann</u>, <u>C. F. McGill</u>, <u>Louis L. George</u> and our informant, A. D. Jones. The meeting was arranged by A. Philip Randolph at the request of Madam Walker. Madam Walker</p>			
COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO.			
7-577			

Finch for March 5, 1919.

was anxious to know whether or not there was any way of having the race question brought up at the present peace conference. The meeting was arranged with the Jap to ascertain if, with the aid of the Japanese, this could be done. Mr. Kuroiwa replied that the Japanese intended to present the matter at the peace conference. As this was the purpose of the meeting, nothing further of interest was discussed.

In line with the peace conference, Dr. Orbatta told our informant last night after the meeting in the Church that he, Dr. Orbatta, had received information that President Wilson had conferred with the Japanese Ambassador and had told him that if the Japanese introduced a race resolution before the conference at this time it would have a "naughty" effect. Dr. Orbatta said it was after this conference between President Wilson and the Japanese Ambassador that it was decided to follow President Wilson's advice, but since the Japanese have seen fit to change their minds and intend to agitate a settlement of the race question.

There are several organizations being formed around New York which should be closely watched, one of which is the International League of the Darker Peoples. This organization intends to amalgamate the negroes, Japanese, Hindus and other dark skinned peoples for the ~~present~~ purpose of agitating for reforms for those races. W. Philip Randolph, who is on the photo at the conference held Jan. 7, 1919, is a most radical negro and is the editor of the negro paper called "Messenger" many articles in which are of a highly inflammatory nature, and one or two of

Finch for March 5, 1919
 Re: Dark Skinned Radicals.

of which come pretty close to constituting a violation of the Espionage Act. Nine thousand copies of the February issue are being held up by the printer, who will not release them because he desires \$300 in advance. One thousand copies were released several of which I have. This issue, we understand, was printed in Philadelphia, Pa. by the Christiana Monitor Press. The succeeding issues are to be printed by the Westmore Press, New York City.

A negro socialist organization has been formed known as the Natl. Ass'n. for the Promotion of Labor Unionism Among Negroes. It is commonly referred to as the N.A.P.L.U.N. and the national headquarters are at 2305 Seventh Ave. N.Y. In part of their preamble they state:

"Black and white workers should combine for no other reason than for which individual workers are combined, viz, to increase their bargaining power, which will enable them to get their demands."

Further on:

"This (combination with the whites) will serve to convert a class of workers which has been used by the capitalist class to defeat organized labor, into an ardent, class-conscious, intelligent, militant group."

The advisory board is made up of well-known, scholarly radical labor leaders. There can be found in my recent report under the head of Negro Bolsheviki Activities the names of this board.

Our informant is getting impatient because he desires to be paid for his services. He made a trip to Philadelphia recently at his own expense to get information for us and has taken some of these people out to dinner on several occasions. In view of the fact that the matter is one which should interest the State Dept. I shall call the local office of the Secret Service to find out whether or not they can use the services of our informant, as I think the matter is one which is important enough to have some attention.

10218-296
M. I. 4B-23

H T J

June 23, 1919.

Chief, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:

Enclosed you will please find copy of a report
made to this office on June 18th, 1919, relative to Edward
King, Russian Bolshevist.

This is sent for your information and appropriate
action.

Very sincerely yours,

M. CHURCHILL,
Brigadier General, General Staff,
Director of Military Intelligence.

By:

Horace T. Jones,
Captain, U. S. A.

encl
ms

Delivered to
D. C. J. June 23, 1919.
H. G. S.

M.I. 3-C.

OFFICE OF STAFF
Reserve Division
M.I. 3-C

10218-296

18

CONFIDENTIAL

3-1-T4

Washington, D. C.

June 18th., 1919.

From: H. B. Arnold.
To: Major Henry G. Pratt.
Subject: Edward King, Russian Bolshevist.

1. In covering recent meetings held by the Negroes in Washington, D. C., and particular the meetings of May 20th. and 30th., 1919, before the Bethel Literary Society of Washington and the John Wesley Church, the activities of Rhiliip Randolph and Chandler Owen, both connected with the Messenger, a radical publication pertaining to the negro situation and etc., the following was noted.

2. At the meeting of May 30th., 1919, held at the John Wesley Church, a rather lengthy talk was made in reference to the negro situation in general and the Messenger in particular. Attention was directed to the fact that this publication was considered the only real radical sheet the negro had today and all were asked to subscribe thereto and in this connection it was noted that several white organizations were supporting same, among which was The Cloak Makers Board, a Jewish organization of New York City, the Workmen's Circle and The United Cap and Hat Makers Union. This address was made by Randolph.

3. At the meeting of May 20th., 1919, held before the Bethel Literary Society, the main subject of the address was "Bolshevism a Menace or a Promise" and during said lecture it was stated that "Bolshevism is the hope of the world and the salvation of mankind"; it was also stated that "Bolshevism is not a menace but a promise". The speaker urged the colored people to join labor union where they would receive protection and stated that the I. W. W. was the only labor organization which did not draw the color line. This address was made by Owens.

4. Present at this meeting was a white man known as Edward King, who congratulated Randolph and Owen on the able lecture on Bolshevism and stated that he, King, was himself a Russian and a Bolshevik. After the meeting closed this party left the hall and nothing was seen or learned of him since. Inquiry was made of several of the visitors but nothing could be learned of the man or his connections. However, since this meeting your agent has learned that this man is a known radical of the Soviet type and considered a leader among some such radicals. He is described as being a man of about 55 or 60 years of age, gray hair, a slight limp in one of his legs and a little bow legged, when seen at the meeting in question he wore a blue suit and appeared to be short and stout.

5. Full report of the meetings referred to above has been made through Major Loving. Investigation relating to the present whereabouts of King is being conducted and further report will be information is received.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Director, Division
Mil. Int. Branch
JUN 27 10 21 8-296 1919
21
DEPARTMENT
273X(50)

New York, June 26th 1919

From: Major W. H. Loving, P.C.
To: Director, Military Intelligence.
Subject: The "Messenger".

1 enc.

1. I inclose herewith a copy of the "Messenger" for July.
2. On June 24th the editors of this magazine were called before the District Attorney and questioned concerning the stock which they are now soliciting. I understand that they were able to give a satisfactory account of thier activities and were immediately released.

W. H. Loving
W.H.Loving,
Major P.C., Retired.

DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE OFFICE
CHICAGO ILLINOIS

REPORT

W. R. DEPARTMENT

PERSON

R. Powers Jr.

REPORTED BY

Chicago

SUBJECT INW AGITATION AMONG NEGROES

PLACE

Nov. 6 1919.

OFFENSE CHARGED

DATE

Copies of the Messenger listed as the only radical negro magazine in American was secured at the Radical Book Shop. This magazine is the October issue and the editors are named as A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, Victor T. Daly, Business Manager, W. A. Domingo, George Frazier Miller and Wm. N. Colson, Contributin Editor.

Page 4 contains an editorial on racial equality.

Page 15 under the heading "Economics and Politics" contains a series of articles by the editors called "Why Negroes should be Socialists."

Page 17 is an article entitled "The Negro Radicals" by the editors.

Page 19 by George Frazier Miller is an article called "The Social Value of the Uncultured" This article deals with the recent race riots in Washington, Chicago, Charleston, Long View, Knoxville and elsewhere and one paragraph reads as follows: "While we take no pleasure in racial conflicts and deplore most profoundly the bloody combats that disrupt the tranquility of any community life, we are, nevertheless, elated at the dauntlessness of the colored people in the aforementioned contests and the spirit of determination which possesses them in these days of anguish and uncertainty."

On Page 21 under "Education and Literature" is a story called, "A Court-Martial Tragedy" (first publication of facts gleaned from official documents and interviews with soldier-prisoners by a white investigator). This story is a resume of the Houston Texa. race riots and trouble.

On page 26 appears an article written by Lt Wm. N. Colson entitled, "The Social Experience of the Negro Soldier Abroad"

Attached herewith is a clipping from the Chicago Daily News of Nov. 5, 1919, the article being written by David Lawrence and dealing with the negro problem.

COPY TO

D I O FILE No

WAR DEPARTMENT
HEADQUARTERS CENTRAL DEPARTMENT
CHICAGO

DIO-II 7767 NOVEMBER 7, 1919.

From: The Department Intelligence Officer - Chicago,
To: Director Of Military Intelligence,
7th & B Sts., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

SUBJECT: I. W. W. AGITATION AMONG THE NEGROES.
(D.M.I. FILE NO. P.F.34040 M.I.4-F)

1. Enclosed, herewith, copy of a radical negro publication, "THE MESSENGER," of October, 1919, clipping from the "Chicago Daily News" of November 5th, concerning radical agitation among the negroes, and copy of report of November 6th, which summarizes articles of importance in the copy of "The Messenger", enclosed.

2. Enclosures are self-explanatory.

T B Crockett
DVB-P *Wick* THOMAS B. CROCKETT,
MAJOR, INFANTRY.
Encl. copy of "The Messenger", Oct., 1919,
" " " clipping from "Chicago Daily News", Nov. 5, 1919,
" 2 copies report, 11-6-19.

(Copy to Major Strauss, New York,
)encl. copy of report, 11-6-19.

3 Encls

10218-296

25

190X

CAPTAIN SNOW
M. I. 4.

DESPATCHED
1919 NOV 10 PM 3 15
M T

DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE OFFICE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

CHIEF OF STAFF
JAN 20 1919
WAR DEPARTMENT

REPORT

PERSON REPORTED BY Alvin L. Hansen.
SUBJECT Intercepted letter from Miss Alice Hogge. PLACE Chicago, Ill.
OFFENSE CHARGED DATE Jan. 15, 1919.

Miss Alice M. Hogge, 6028 Drexel Ave., (Phone Hyde Park 5273) came to this office and made the following statement:

"I am the principal of the Webster School, located at 3315 Wentworth Ave., at the edge of the "black belt" and have a good many negro children under my direction; in fact, 28% of my pupils are black.

"The play-ground adjoining the school, at 33rd and LaSalle, is used by the colored children of the schools, and is closed by the city officials at 9 o'clock. In October, 1917, during the time the 8th Regiment was at the 8th Regiment Armory, the play-ground buildings were broken into regularly (after 9 o'clock) and used for immoral purposes.

"The girls who were attracted for this purpose often hung around the play-ground during the afternoons, where they came into constant contact with the school children.

"I noticed that the race feeling was very high between the members of the 7th and 8th regiments. I spoke of this to a Captain of the 7th, who said that he feared for the peace of the community unless the 7th were held as long as the 8th.

"On many occasions when I went to the school building in the morning, I would find windows broken, the result (so I was informed) of street brawls between the whites and blacks. When I appealed to city officials for aid, in an attempt to remedy the situation, I was informed by someone, whose name I do not remember, that the police women had been instructed not to enforce certain ordinances relative to soliciting in the 2nd ward.

"The transient officer at my school at the time these soldiers were there, was a white woman. Both she and I have been accosted on the street by both colored men and women, asking us to enter these saloons and brothels of the neighborhood.

"In one case, where I investigated, I learned that a sailor in uniform was playing the piano for the inmates of a private house where liquor was being served and prostitution practiced. In this case, the girl was but 13 years of age, who said that she had been served with beer and whiskey. This is merely an example; the detectives of the Board of Education can give more full information and more instances.

"The race feeling is still very high in the neighborhood. When white

page 1

Copy taken out
A.L.H.

COPY TO

MEJ

5527

D I O. FILE No

DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE OFFICE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

REPORT

PERSON	REPORTED BY	Alvin L. Hansen,
SUBJECT	Intercepted letter from Miss Alice Hogge.	Chicago,
OFFENSE CHARGED	PLACE	Jan. 15, 1919.
	DATE	

and negro children engage in any altercations, the negro adults encourage their activities. In two instances the brawls have resulted in serious injury to one or both of the participants.

"On Halloween Eve, a negro drew a revolver while a street brawl was raging, whereupon he was stoned by the whites of the neighborhood and severely injured.

"On Thanksgiving day, two small boys in a fight (one white and one black) resorted to knives and both were badly cut.

"There is a general feeling among the blacks that they are not receiving a square deal at the hands of the white people, the cause of this being, chiefly, that the white landlords will not make repairs for the negro tenants. The negroes, however, are entirely to blame for this, because of their own destructiveness. The feeling is that their grievances should be told to the returning black soldiers who are expected to redress their wrongs.

"I believe that conditions are such now that the return of the negro soldiers in large numbers would be dangerous; the blacks are heavy drinkers and what would happen would depend largely upon how much liquor they drink; at any rate, I think their return in large numbers would foment disorder.

"The members of the 7th Regiment often expressed to me the belief that the only thing which kept the 8th Regiment in check was the presence of the 7th Regiment. I would suggest, therefore, that when the 8th regiment is demobilized, that its members be discharged in small numbers, at some place distant from the place where they were recruited."

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