

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR  
Executive Division  
Mil. Int. Branch.  
MAY 4 1918  
10218-139  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
104

Room 1154, 200 Fifth Avenue,  
New York City.  
May 2, 1918.

Colonel R. H. Van Deman, U.S.A.,  
Chief, Military Intelligence Branch,  
15th and M Streets, N.W.,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Attached herewith is a copy of a letter from one of our agents at Camp Lee. Under another cover we are sending a magazine "The Crisis", to which this letter refers.

This Bureau of course does not enter into the justice of the cause for which "The Crisis" stands, but there seems to be a question as to whether the agitation of this cause among the colored soldiers at this time is wise. May we ask whether you think it advisable for us to put this book on the list of those which it is wise to keep out of our Y.M.C.A. Huts.

Very truly yours,  
WILLIAM G. LOW, JR.  
Intelligence Department,  
Y.M.C.A.

per *Al Hansen*  
Assistant to Chief.

enc.  
u.s.c.

*Regina Lebronsky*  
*Publications 7/8*

MAY 1 1918-3 30 PM

RECEIVED  
MAY 10 1918  
WAR DEPARTMENT

(COPY)

"Please procure and note a magazine called "The Crisis" which is published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Read articles on page 216 entitled "Our President" and note the tone of all the material on pages 217 and 218. Also "Trades Unions", page 234 and the two articles on page 238. Note also the cartoon, page 241. This magazine has been coming to our colored soldiers in large quantities and for free distribution. Our colored secretaries have been reading it and have fallen for its insidious influence. But never has it come out so openly in its appeal to race prejudice as in this current issue. I am quietly side tracking it, but do not wish to raise the cry of denial of right of free speech and press. For some of this stuff may be but the natural expression of the black man in his present situation. The official list of executive officers behind this publication should be investigated, especially the secretary.

"Religious propaganda from the pacifist sects of central Pa. is being sent into camp directed to Chaplains of regiments, and to various other welfare and religious agencies in camp for free distribution and they are often distributing it not noting what it is. One Chaplin brought some of the stuff to a Y secretary and said that he had some religious literature sent to him which perhaps the Y could use to good advantage. The Chaplin had not opened the package and had no idea of the sort of stuff it was. A caution to all army officers to scrutinize carefully literature sent in thus if made by the proper authorities would perhaps help solve the difficulty."

10218-139  
M.I. 4 #28

2-1  
MIB  
R J M  
10218-139  
1918  
WAR DEPARTMENT

May 6th, 1918

From: Chief, Military Intelligence Branch, Executive Division  
To: Intelligence Officer, Y.M.C.A., 200 Fifth Ave., N.Y. City  
Subject: "THE CRISIS"

1. In reply to your communication of May 2d, 1918, concerning "The Crisis", we would strongly advise that you put this book on the list of those other books which it is deemed necessary and expedient to keep out of not only the Y.M.C.A. huts, but all other places.

R.H. Van Deman,  
Colonel, General Staff,

By *Henry T. Hunt*  
Henry T. Hunt,  
Captain, Infantry, U.S.N.A.

No enc.  
bip

MAILED, M.I. B., G. S. MAY 7 1918

IN REPLY REFER TO  
FILE NO. May 8 (3)

HEADQUARTERS  
CAMP GORDON, GEORGIA,

May 8, 1918  
EGM/RSG

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
MAY 14 10218-139  
-6-  
2 Encls.  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
124  
X

From: Assistant Intelligence Officer.  
To: Chief Military Intelligence Branch, Executive Division,  
Washington, D. C.  
Subject: Seditious Literature.

1. We are forwarding under separate cover a copy of "The Crisis", several copies of which were found among the negro troops in this camp. Also a copy of "Life and Deeds of Uncle Sam" and Anti-American Pamphlet found on one of the Russians in the Depot Brigade.

2. Report to D.J.

*E.G. Moyer*  
E.G. Moyer,  
2nd Lt., F.A., R.C.

REC'D U.S. J.C.S. MAY 13 1918

Publications, US  
negro sub...

Capt. J.E. Cutler.

10218-139. M.I.N.

May 12, 1919.

CONFIDENTIAL.

**From:** Director of Military Intelligence.  
**To:** Intelligence Officer, Camp Dix, N.J.  
**Subject:** Request for copy of last month's issue of "The Crisis".

1. Reference is had to your communication of May 9, 1919, on this subject.
2. Herewith is copy of issue of "The Crisis" for May 1919.
3. Your request doubtless has reference to this issue. It contains a sharp attack upon the War Department relative to the treatment given the colored officers and soldiers in the 92nd Division.
4. No special inquiry is regarded as necessary or advisable, but this office does desire any information which may come to your knowledge re the attitude and the grievances of officers and enlisted men in the 92nd Division.

M. CHURCHILL,  
Brigadier General, General Staff.

By:

*J.E.C.*  
J.E. Cutler,  
Captain, U. S. Army.

*M 7/12*

kmm  
1 incl.

EXECUTIVE DIVISION  
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE BRANCH

In replying refer to  
10218-139

M.I.4 #17

WAR DEPARTMENT  
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF  
WASHINGTON

CHIEF OF STAFF  
Military Intelligence Branch

JUN 8

1918

WAR DEPARTMENT

May 16th, 1918

From: Chief, Military Intelligence Branch, Executive Division  
To: Major W.H. Loving, 1523 Columbia St., N.W., Washington, D.C.  
Subject: "Crisis" Possible pro-German publication

1. Information has reached this office that a <sup>Magazine</sup> paper called the "Crisis", published at 450 Fifth Ave., New York City, came close to causing a near riot at Camp Gordon between the colored soldiers there and arriving white drafted men.

2. Many complaints have reached this office concerning this paper. It seems to be handled by the colored Y.M.C.A. of New York City. Please see that this Association discontinues distribution of this paper.

R.H. Van Deman,  
Colonel, General Staff,

By *Henry T. Hunt*

Henry T. Hunt,  
Captain, Infantry, U.S.N.A.

No enc.  
bip

ADJ. CHIEF OF STAFF  
MAY 24 1918  
10218-139  
DEPARTMENT

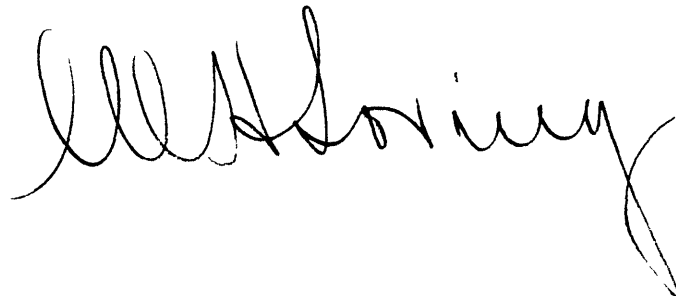
New York, May 23rd 1918.

Captain Henry T. Hunt,  
Military Intelligence Branch,  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Captain Hunt:

The inclosed communication has just reached me, and as it was not signed by you personally, I take it for granted that you did not see it, and take the liberty to call your attention to the second paragraph thereof. This paragraph is so explicit and carries with it such drastic measures, that I thought it best to call your personal attention to it, before taking action to such an extent.

Sincerely yours,



OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
Executive Division  
Int. Branch.

10218-139  
1918

DEPARTMENT

May 25th, 1918

✓  
MEMORANDUM FOR CAPT. HUNT:

IN RE: "CRISIS"

Letter of May 16th was written and discontinuance of the distribution of the "Crisis" in the camps recommended because of the letter received May 2, 1918, from William G. Low, Intelligence Department, Y.M.C.A., per A.C. Hamlin, Assistant to Chief, asking this Department whether we deemed it advisable to put this book on the list of those which it is wise to keep out of the Y.M.C.A. huts.

Captain Bryan, writing from Camp Gordon, Atlanta, Ga., on May 10th, stated that this magazine contained articles tending to excite the negro race in this section of the camp against the white people so seriously as to almost cause a riot among the negro troops at Camp Gordon, but that fortunately it was averted in time. Capt. Bryan stated that Mr. Evans, Chief of the Y.M.C.A. Staff at Camp Gordon, had instructed his colored Y.M.'s to stop the distribution of this paper until further notice.

Because of these two letters I wrote advising that this distribution be stopped in camps.

✓  
Capt. Malone

bip



TEMPORARY OFFICE:  
135 WEST 135th STREET  
TEL. MORNINGSIDE 7040

EMPLOYMENT & ROOMING HOUSE  
252 WEST 53rd STREET  
TEL. CIRCLE 41965

Colored Men's Branch

Young Men's Christian Association

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
THOMAS E. TAYLOR

NEW YORK

May 29th, 1918.

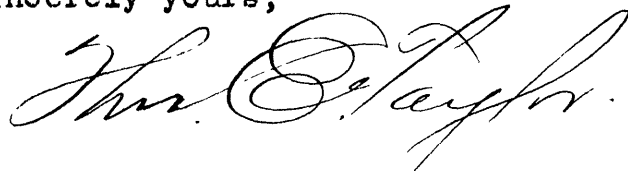
Major W. H. Loving,  
253 West 137th Street,  
New York City.

My dear Major Loving:

Replying to your letter of the 29th with enclosure which I am returning to you, will say that the Colored Men's Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association of New York City has no official connection with the Crisis and has nothing whatever to do with the distribution of their paper.

I am of the opinion that this misunderstanding was probably due to the fact that Mr. E. J. Perry, an agent of the Crisis lives in our building at 252 West 53d Street and had some business cards with the Association's address on them. He was ordered to discontinue the use of the same last February by myself.

Sincerely yours,



Branch Secretary.

TET/AGC  
Enc:

39 E  
WAR DEPARTMENT

OFFICE STAFF  
Ex. 100  
M. I. 4

100-18-139  
13

W. H. L.

New York, May 30th 1918.

From: Major W. H. Loving, P.C.  
To: Chief, Military Intelligence Branch.  
Subject: "The Crisis".

1. Investigation of the "Crisis", a negro monthly journal or magazine as per your communication of May 16th-10218-139 M.I.4 17, reveals the following:

2. The "Crisis" is a magazine owned and controlled by the association known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of which Major J.E. Spingarn is Chairman of the Board of Directors. See marked copy inclosed.

3. A letter inclosed from Mr. Thomas E. Taylor, Secretary for the New York Branch of the Colored Y. M. C. A. discloses the fact that his association has no official connection with the "Crisis" and has nothing whatever to do with its distribution. It also states how, in his opinion, a report to that effect was circulated.

4. It is true however that Field Secretaries of the Colored Y. M. C. A. do handle the distribution of the Crisis in isolated places where other agents are ~~not~~ too far from the camps. But Mr. Taylor states that the actions of such Field Secretaries are of their own accord and are not sanctioned by the Y.M.C.A. nor authorized.

5. As Major J. E. Spingarn is Chairman of the Board of Directors of this Organization, and we know that he would not allow his name to be connected with any publication that the government would brand as being possible pro-German, I respectfully request that a copy of this correspondence be forwarded him before any further action is taken .

*W. H. Loving*  
*neg. 100-18-139*

20218-139. M.I.N.

Sgt. J.E. Butler.

May 31, 1919.

Mr. Robert A. Bowen,  
Translation Bureau,  
United States Post Office,  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Bowen:

Receipt is acknowledged of a copy of the June issue of THE CRISIS, which you forwarded with your letter of May 24, 1919.

This criticism of the War Department by the editor of THE CRISIS, for the alleged mistreatment of colored officers and enlisted men, which began in the May number of this periodical and to which you invited our attention at the time it was published, is receiving our careful consideration.

We shall be glad if you will continue your interest in this matter, and forward to us any information that may come to your knowledge which bears upon it and comes from sources which appear to be reliable.

Sincerely yours,

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

*Mailed 5/31/19  
D.C.*

mm

H.I.4 #47

MIB  
JES

June 3rd, 1918

Mr. Charles H. Studin,  
#55 Liberty Street,  
New York City.

My dear Sir:

We understand that you have been designated by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to read and censor the contents of its organ, The Crisis, in advance of publication.

A great many complaints have been directed against the contents of The Crisis in the past, and we suggest that you make a special effort to eliminate all matter that may render the paper liable to suppression in the future. Congressional legislation authorizes the severe repression of seditious and disloyal utterances, and of all attempts to encourage discontent with American institutions during the progress of the war.

The Government is anxious that the legitimate grievances of loyal citizens shall have a fair hearing, and that all just causes of complaint be cured so far as the exigencies of the war permit; This Branch will be glad to co-operate with you in any constructive programs which you may suggest for the eradication of any just causes for complaint, but it can not tolerate carping and bitter utterances likely to foment disaffection and destroy the morale of our people for the winning of the war.

Very truly yours,

M. Churchill,  
Lieut. Col., F.A., N.A.,  
Chief, Military Intelligence Branch,  
Executive Division

By

J.E. Spingarn,  
Major, Infantry, R.C.

No enc.  
bip

MAILED, M. I. B., G. S. K. JUN 6 1918

Charles H. Studin  
No. 55 Liberty Street  
New York

10218-139  
1918  
WAR DEPARTMENT

June 12th, 1918.

Attention of Major J. E. Spingarn  
-----  
Lieut. Col. M. Churchill, F. A. N. A.  
Chief Military Intelligence Branch,  
Executive Division, War Department,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:-

In reply to your letter of June 3rd, 1918, concerning "The Crisis", I beg to assure you that no pains will be spared to make all future issues of this magazine comply with the wishes of the Government both in letter and spirit. Those associated in its publication are loyal to the last degree and their paramount purpose is to render all the aid at their command to co-operate with the Government in winning the war.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People appreciates your sympathetic offer to assist it in any constructive programme it may suggest for the elimination of just grievances. On the other hand, it is possible, owing to the unique position held by this organization and the influence of The Crisis among a large number of our citizens, that the Government may feel that we can render certain services better than other agencies, and I am authorized to say that we will regard it as a privilege to be called upon to perform any function which may be assigned to us.

Very truly yours,

Charles H. Studin

REC'D M. I. B., O. C. S. JUN 13 1918

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
XXXXXX Division

J.E.Cutler

10218-139-MIN

July 3, 1919

Mr. Robert A. Bowen,  
Translation Bureau,  
U. S. Post Office,  
New York City, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Bowen:

We thank you for calling to our attention,  
in your letter of June 25th, editorial in the July  
number of the Crisis; also, in your letter of June  
30th, article by William N. Colson in the July issue  
of The Messenger.

Both of these periodicals appear to need  
watching and we are noting regularly what they pub-  
lish in criticism of the War Department and of the  
Army.

Very truly yours,

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

By

A. B. Cox,  
Colonel, General Staff,  
Chief, Negative Branch.

No encls.  
bc.

Mailed 7/3/19  
B.C.

July 30th, 1918

Mr. Charles H. Studin,  
#55 Liberty Street,  
New York City.

My dear Studin:

I have delayed answering your letter for the reason that the whole question that you raised is awaiting a final decision here. When I can state more definitely what the policy is to be I shall be in a position to write you further. In the meanwhile I simply wish to thank you for your dis-interested and patriotic services, and to say that such services are highly appreciated by the Government.

Cordially yours,

MAJOR J. E. SPINGARN

Major, Infantry, R.C.

bip

HEJ-BM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
Foreign Office  
Washington, D. C.

REPORT MADE BY <b>Howell E. Jackson</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE <b>Atlanta, Ga.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>May 10, 1918</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>May 8, 1918</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION <b>IN RE: "Crisis". Possible Pro-German publication.</b>			

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

At Atlanta, Georgia.

Capt. Bryan Military Intelligence Officer, Camp Gordon, furnished Agent with a copy of the above named magazine, which is published in New York by a society for the benefit of the colored race at 50 Fifth Avenue. In reading over this magazine, there are articles therein which tend to excite the negro race in this section against the white people, and the magazine is made up mostly of articles on lynching negroes in the South and in Agent's opinion should be suppressed. This magazine is distributed freely by the colored Y.M.C.A. at Camp Gordon.

Capt. Bryan further informed Agent that the only trouble they had had with negro troops at Camp Gordon since he had been Intelligence Officer at that Camp was several days ago when some new white draft men were coming into Camp; that on this occasion there were some 50 or 60 negro troopers at the depot and upon the entrance of the new draft men at this Camp, the negroes began guying them and making slurring remarks as to their ability to become soldiers. Capt. Bryan stated that this almost caused a riot, but fortunately nothing of a serious nature happened.

Capt. Bryan seems to think that such disturbances were caused by this "Crisis" magazine.

Agent interviewed Mr. Evans, Chief of the Y. M. C. A. staff at Camp Gordon relative to this publication. Mr. Evans stated that this magazine was distributed at the colored Y.M.C.A. and there left in the lobby of this institution for who ever desired to read it; that he had instructed his colored Y.M.'s to stop distributing this paper until further notified.

page 2.

COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO.

Atlanta - Washington-

7-877



"Crisis" (Cont'd)

Agent Jackson for May 8th.

In view of the fact that Capt. Bryan had only one copy of this magazine, and as it was his desire to furnish this copy to the Chief of Military Intelligence at Washington, Agent will endeavor to secure another copy for the consideration of the Department in Washington. If it is impossible to secure such copy, this copy of which Agent speaks can be secured from Col. Van Demon's office.

REPORT MADE BY <b>Amer. Prot. League</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE <b>New York, N.Y.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>June 13, 1918.</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>June 5</b>
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TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION  
**IN RE: "THE CRISIS" - Publication,  
 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.**

610 218-139  
 ENCL: SB  
 BB-818

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:

(Investigation by Lieut. W. T. Carothers, A. P. L.)

Referring to Report made by Agent Manuel Sorola at San Antonio, Texas, dated May 2nd. 1918, for April 23rd., which was turned over to the American Protective League by the Department of Justice for investigation in New York City, relative to the above subject, we beg to submit the following Report of Lieut. W. T. Carothers of this League:

" 'The Crisis' is the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, an organization of some eight years standing - organized, sponsored and conducted by men of known reputation, both white and colored. Its object has been to do all possible to protect the colored people in this Country and to promote their interests in every fair and honorable way.

'The Crisis' is published monthly at 10¢ per copy and has a circulation of about 75,000, widely distributed among colored people.

I had a very satisfactory talk with A. G. Dill (colored), Business Manager, regarding their activities and sentiments. They have no feelings whatever of disloyalty towards this Country, and are doing and promoting all possible in War work - Enlistments, Draft, Cantonments, Red Cross, etc. He showed me newspaper clippings from all over the Country, bearing out his statements.

The little pamphlet enclosed, states the aims, etc. of the organization and also gives the names of those back

*Handwritten note:*  
 W. T. Carothers

COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

of it, men of character and standing.

I also attach a letter I received from Messrs. Randolph And Owen (colored men), of whom I thought it well to seek information, etc., regarding 'The Crisis' and those interested in its publication. I would especially call attention to the next to last paragraph of their letter, which gives me much satisfaction, appreciating, as it does, the methods I have employed in getting into direct touch with these people in the right way - the only way to obtain the results desired.

The last paragraph of their letter expresses concisely the prevalent feelings held by colored people. I have talked relative to their feelings toward their treatment and their feelings toward our Government.

I also attach three copies of 'The Crisis', including the April number, the one containing the supposed seditious matter. They may, at times, as in this April issue, express ideas rather heated and critical of the treatment accorded their race, but I do not think they have any thoughts of disloyalty".

The letter referred to above from Messrs. Randolph And Owen, to Lieut. W. T. Carethers, under date of June 3rd., 1918, reads as follows:

"Pursuant to our conversation over the 'phone Saturday, relative to what we know of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and 'The Crisis', we beg to submit to the Department of Justice the following facts:

First - The N. A. A. C. P. is an organization of a large number of the best white and colored people in the United

States, banded together largely for the purpose of fighting race and color disfranchisement on the political field, peonage on the industrial field, ignorance and prejudice on the intellectual field and Jim Crowism, segregation, lynching and all forms of discrimination in civil life.

Second - 'The Crisis' is the Official Organ of this Association, through which publication it gives publicity to its Propaganda, which is very largely Propaganda of a truthful and serviceable character.

Third - The Editor and Managing Editor are Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Augustus G. Dill, respectively, both of whom are able students from Harvard University, and Dr. DuBois is, we think, M. A. from the University of Penna., and P. H. D. from the University of Berlin.

May we not, in closing, congratulate this new method the Department of Justice has adopted of going directly to intelligent honorable and capable colored and white people, to ascertain information. It is the only proper way, just as you did with us in the case of the 'Messenger'. We trust your Department will continue this and dispense with ignorant white or colored detectives, sneaks and scheming politicians as sources of information.

We wish to reiterate that there is no pro-German movement among Negroes - organized or unorganized. But there is great discontent with the lynching, disfranchisement, segregation, Jim Crowism and all kinds of discrimination practiced against colored people, especially at a time when they are fighting and dying side by side with their

white fellow citizens".

On file at the office of the American Protective League, 35 Nassau Street, New York City, are copies of "The Crisis" for April, May and June, 1918.

Also a copy of pamphlet entitled, "The Why and Wherefore of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People".

Address Reply to  
Chief, Bureau of Investigation,  
And Refer to Initials.

**Department of Justice,  
Bureau of Investigation.**

AHP:MFH

GENERAL OFFICE OF STAFF  
Executive Director  
1000 Building  
SEP 20 10 41 AM '18  
1918  
WAR DEPARTMENT

*ANS*  
*W. A. R. ...*

Washington, D.C., June 4, 1918.

Charles DeWoody, Esq.,  
Box 241,  
New York, N. Y.



Dear Sir:-

The Department is interested in ascer-  
taining the source of the financial support of  
"The Crisis" the magazine published by the Na-  
tional Association for the Advancement of Colored  
People at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Our investigation shows that this peri-  
odical is being distributed free of charge in  
large numbers, and it is thought that German pro-  
pagandists may be securing copies for distribution.

Very truly yours,

*W. A. R. ...*

Chief.

*7112*  
*13.13818*  
*W. A. R. ...*

REPORT MADE BY <b>SAF. PRO. League</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE <b>New York, N. Y.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>July 24, 1918</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>167-18-1</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION <b>X. 101: "THE CRISIS" - Publication, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.</b>			

WAR DEPARTMENT  
DD-518

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC

(Investigation by Lieut. W. T. Carothers, U. S. A.)

MURKIN - SUBJECT

Reference is hereby made to Report of this League in the above matter for June 5th, 1918.

After the above mentioned Report had been submitted, this office received from the New York Office, for investigation, a letter from Chief A. B. Bielaski, which reads as follows:

"The Department is interested in ascertaining the source of the financial support of 'The Crisis', the magazine published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Our investigation shows that this periodical is being distributed free of charge in large numbers, and it is thought that German propagandists may be securing copies for distribution".

The matter was assigned to Lieut. W. T. Carothers of this League, who supplements his previous Report with the following additional information:

"I talked with Mr. Dill (colored) Business Manager, who stated that 'The Crisis' is the Official Publicity Organization of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was officially supported by them until within the last two or three years, when it became self supporting. The association's revenue comes from subscriptions and from a Membership

of 35,000, subscription fee being \$1. a year.

The object of the Association and 'The Crisis', as I have stated before, is to secure the full measure of justice for the colored people of America, to promote their welfare in every honorable way.

The circulation of 'The Crisis' has steadily grown - One year ago being 40,000 and now 75,000. This large increase in the last year has been due, so Mr. Dill stated, to the fact that they had made a hard drive all over the Country among colored people, for new subscribers and great efforts have been made to increase the selling demand. All copies are sold at 10¢ and none are distributed by the Company, or by Agents, gratis. The subscribers at \$1. number 19,000, the balance of the circulation being sold through Agents, almost all of whom are colored and number probably 1,200, distributed throughout the Country. All Agents correspond directly with the New York office. During the last year there has been some increase in the number of Agents, but the sales of Agents have greatly increased.

Copies of the magazine are charged to them at a fixed price. The sale of the magazine throughout the Country seems to be fairly distributed. The states having the largest distribution are Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, California, District of Columbia and Massachusetts. The circulation seems, however, to be well diversified.

Whatever profits 'The Crisis' has ever had, have been put back into additional equipment; increase of office



force, etc.

Attached is a current number of 'The Crisis', calling your attention to editorial and other articles and also the inside cover page which states the object, etc. of the National Association.

The managers of 'The Crisis' will be glad to cooperate in giving us any additional information which we desire".

On file at the office of the American Protective League, 35 Nassau Street, New York City, is a copy of "The Crisis" for July, 1918.

C O P Y

May 29th, 1918.

Major W. H. Loving,  
253 West 137th St.,  
New York City.

My dear Major Loving:

Replying to your letter of the 29th with enclosure which I am returning to you, will say that the Colored Men's Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association of New York City has no official connection with the Crisis and has nothing whatever to do with the distribution of their paper.

I am of the opinion that this misunderstanding was probably due to the fact that Mr. E.J. Perry, an agent of the Crisis lives in our building at 252 West 53d Street and had some business cards with the Association's address on them. He was ordered to discontinue the use of the same last February by myself.

Sincerely yours,

Branch Secretary.

TET/AGC

Enc:

EXHIBIT "C"

CHIEF OF STAFF  
HEADQUARTERS  
WAR DEPARTMENT

SEP 20

4518-139

1918

New York, May 30th, 1918.

WAR DEPARTMENT

From: Major W. H. Loving, P.C.  
To: Chief, Military Intelligence Branch.  
Subject: "The Crisis".

1. Investigation of the "Crisis", a negro monthly journal or magazine as per your communication of May 16th, 10218-139 M. I. 4-17, reveals the following:
2. The "Crisis" is a magazine owned and controlled by the association known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of which Major J. E. Spingarn is Chairman of the Board of Directors. See marked copy inclosed.
3. A letter inclosed from Mr. Thomas E. Taylor, Secretary for the New York Branch of the Colored Y. M. C. A. discloses the fact that his association has no official connection with the "Crisis" and has nothing whatever to do with its distribution. It also states how, in his opinion, a report to that effect was circulated.
4. It is true however that Field Secretaries of the Colored Y. M. C. A. do handle the distribution of the Crisis in isolated places where other agents are too far from the camps. But Mr. Taylor states that the actions of such Field Secretaries are of their own accord and are not sanctioned by the Y.M.C.A. nor authorized.
5. As Major J. E. Spingarn is Chairman of the Board of Directors of this organization, and we know that he would not allow his name to be connected with any publication that the government would brand as being possible pro-German, I respectfully request that a copy of this correspondence be forwarded him before any further action is taken.

EXHIBIT "D".

Papers MUST NOT be removed from this file except for Photostat purposes, and then only by the Photostat Division.

Papers must be placed in this file in chronological order. *There must be no split files.*

Brief of Case contained herein. No....10218-139....

**NOTE**

Letters No.....1..... to No.....19..... are not on this brief.

This brief starts with letter dated..... Oct.3-18.....

Date

10/3/18. EMMETT J. SCOTT to MID: Enc. two lettrs. recd. by Dr. DuBois of THE CRISIS re. treatment of colored soldiers, conditions in France and at Camp Sherman. 22 (2 enc.) 20-21

10/10/18 G. M. S. To E. J. Scott, suggesting that Mr. Scott write Mr. DuBois that the the two lettrs. sent to this office Oct. 3rd and sent Mr. Scott by Dr. DuBois were receiving attention. An investigation of the general situation as regards the treatment of colored soldiers at Camp Sherman is now underway, and it was probably unwise to start special investigation leading to identity of complainant, as it would undoubtedly add to his troubles.

10/11/18 G. M. S. to Wm. G. Low, Jr., Enclosing copy of letter from J. G. Wiley, Y.M.C.A. Sec'y. to Dr. DuBois, regarding discontent among colored soldiers serving in the Service of Supplies, for reason that they could not look for advancement beyond 1st Class Private, bearing upon ques. <sup>improvement of</sup> of service given colored soldiers by Y.M.C.A. colored secretaries, could not be improved.





"WITH THE COLORS"



members of this army ~~and~~  
~~and~~ in America that we wish to in-  
ject into the whole world.

Sincerely yours.

James G. Wile.

Y.M.C.A. Secy.

12 Rue d'Aguesseau

Paris.

OK conserved by  
Franklin P. Smith  
Chaplain 36 Eng  
Army in France



ARMY AND NAVY **AUG 21 1918**  
 YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION **YMCA**  
 "WITH THE COLORS"

OFFICE CHIEF  
 EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
 10218-139  
 1918  
 WAR DEPARTMENT

August 18 - 1918

Dr Du Bois: Dear sis for the last 5 years I have been reading the Crisis and I'm very much interested in the well fare of the Colored Race as I am a Black man and now that I am in the army and have to be oppressed as even though I'm in the service it is getting worse every day there are so many Southern officers and non Commissioned officers that we the Negro are treated awful I thank God that I can stand up for my self I am a patient in the hospital and they put the Black man in the back of the ward and put up a bed sheet between me and the white as the other day I just got so angry at the way we are

TO THE WRITER:—SAVE BY WRITING ON BOTH SIDES OF THIS PAPER  
 TO THE FOLKS AT HOME:—SAVE FOOD, BUY LIBERTY BONDS AND WAR SAVINGS STAMPS



ARMY AND NAVY  
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION  
"WITH THE COLORS"



Jim Crowed that I lost my head  
and says I wonder if the  
Kaiser will put up a sheet in  
the trenches and say don't kill  
him, he is a negro and one  
of the Neg. Commission officers  
was in the office at the time I  
spoke so he said to me now  
here young fellow we will  
put you any where we want any  
where we want to you are  
in the army now and when  
we go to \_\_\_\_\_ we have so  
many of our colored people  
here in the Hospital that are  
sick and getting no treatment  
and just to ignorant to speak  
for them self oh I just wish  
that you could see how we have  
to be treated while trying to make  
the world safe for Democracy  
and freedom for all they want!

TO THE WRITER:—SAVE BY WRITING ON BOTH SIDES OF THIS PAPER  
TO THE FOLKS AT HOME:—SAVE FOOD, BUY LIBERTY BONDS AND WAR SAVINGS STAMPS





ARMY AND NAVY  
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION  
"WITH THE COLORS"



3

got a red Cross - house here for  
patients to go those that are on  
the mend the whites go mon-tue  
thur and friday and every day  
in the week (they have it  
posted in, the ward Colored  
patients allowed only wednesday  
from 2. to 4:15 now I just  
took it on my self to let  
any people know that are superior  
to me just how we the Black  
man are treated in camp  
I am willing to subscribe  
any amount that I am able  
and will do so as soon as I  
hear from you & I remain  
hoping to get your ideas and  
thoughts about the way we are  
treated.

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON

DEPT. OF STAFF  
10218-139  
22  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
53X(50)  
1918

Oct. 3, 1918.

MEMORANDUM FOR MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
Attention of Cap. J. E. Cutler.

Dr. DuBois of THE CRISIS, 70 Fifth av., New York City,  
has sent to the office the two letters herewith enclosed, with  
the thought that they should be investigated without preju-  
dice. One refers to conditions in France and the other to cer-  
tain conditions alleged to exist at Camp Sherman, Ohio.

EMMETT J. SCOTT,  
Special Assistant to the Secretary of War.

clw

*Negro Subversion  
Conditions and*

DESPATCHED  
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13

October 10th, 1918.

Mr. Emmett J. Scott,  
Special Assistant to Sec'y. of War,  
Room 151 State War & Navy Bldg.,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Scott:

In regard to the two letters which Dr. Dubois sent to you and which you forwarded to this office under date of October 3rd, I would suggest that you write Dr. Dubois that both are receiving attention and consideration.

The general situation as regards the treatment of colored soldiers at Camp Sherman is now under investigation. For the sake of the writer of this letter who says he is a patient in the hospital there at Camp Sherman, it is probably unwise to start a special investigation which would lead to the discovery of his identity. A patient, no matter of what race, who has the attitude of mind toward the hospital authorities, which this writer reveals in his letter, is not likely to get the utmost courtesy of treatment and it would but add to his troubles possibly, if it were known that he had been complaining to Washington about the matter.

The letter from James G. Wiley, Y.M.C.A. Secretary in France, adds another item to our information regarding the situation there. As you know, that situation is under investigation at the present time.

You have noted, no doubt, that General Pershing has recently been giving some personal attention to the colored men in the Service of Supplies.

Very truly yours,

E. L. Munson,  
Colonel, United States Army,  
Chief, Morale Section.

By:

J. E. Cutler,  
Captain, United States Army.

No encl.

alw.

mailed

10218-130.

117  
24  
October 11th, 1918.

Mr. William G. Low, Jr.,  
Room 1154, 300 Fifth Avenue,  
New York City.

Dear Mr. Low:

The attached copy of a letter written by James G. Wiley, Y.M.C.A. Secretary, now in France, is forwarded to you for your information.

It bears upon the question of whether the service given the colored soldiers by the colored Y.M.C.A. secretaries can be improved and is an addition to the information already forwarded to you on this subject. This letter came to this office in a confidential way.

The censorship was so ineffectively done that the letter can be copied in full. The words through which a line has been drawn constitute the portion of the letter which the censor crossed out.

Very truly yours,

E. J. Munson,  
Colonel, United States Army,  
Chief, Morale Section.

By:

J. B. Sattler,  
Captain, United States Army.

1 encl.

alw.

10/11/18

511

MEMORANDUM FOR COLONEL MASTELLER:

Subject: Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Editor of the CRISIS.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois addressed the Bethel Literary Society of this city on Tuesday evening, April 27th. He began his lecture by explaining to the audience the attitude that he had taken at the beginning of the war, and how the CRISIS was threatened to be suppressed because he, as editor, dared to cite the wrongs and injustices that were being heaped upon the colored race, while the government refused to attempt to correct the same. He spoke of Major Spingarn's assignment to the Military Intelligence office and the recommendation he had made to the Director of that bureau to be allowed to get together some of the most intelligent men of the colored race in the Intelligence Bureau so that when the question of unrest among Negroes arises, these men would be able to point out to the government why the unrest existed and offer a remedy therefor. He said that Major Spingarn sent for him to come to Washington to assist him in working out this plan, and to ask him if he would come into the bureau as captain, should the plan carry. So, like any other patriot, he said, "I consented to undertake the work". Leaving this subject, he endeavored to explain just how he got to France, but carefully avoided the real truth as stated in my MEMO of April 26th. When he reached France he went to the Military authorities to secure a pass to visit the colored soldiers at the front. He was given a pass and when he returned to his hotel an orderly was sent post haste to take up the pass. The next day he was able to get another pass and left Paris at once, but on account of poor transportation facilities, he was unable to get more than forty or fifty miles from Paris, when he was forced to return on account of shortage of food. As soon as he returned to Paris the second time, an orderly appeared and took up the second pass. He then went the third time to the military authorities and was told that his case had been taken to Great Headquarters and it was necessary for him to wait a few days for their reply. In a few days authority came to grant him a pass but it was necessary for him to sign papers to the effect that he would not visit Germany nor write anything to America detrimental to the military authorities in France. This he did willingly. In this connection he stated that he was quite fortunate in meeting in France an army officer whom he had known in America, and who assisted him in every way possible towards securing this pass. He did not mention the name of the officer, but it is believed that the officer referred to is Major Spingarn, as after-

wards he spoke of meeting Major Spingarn in Paris. The officer who was detailed to accompany him, he said, turned out to be one of his old friends. He did not call the name of this officer, but I have learned that it was Captain Boutee, a colored officer from Louisiana. As further proof that this officer was Captain Boutee, his photo appears in the back ground of one of the pictures taken of the Pan-African Congress and published in the last issue of the CRISIS. From France, he also wrote a long story on Captain Boutee. As Major Spingarn is the Chairman of the Board of Directors for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Dr. DuBois went to France to represent that organization, it can be clearly seen that Major Spingarn would give him all the assistance possible to further his purpose. You can therefore see why Captain Boutee was selected, if it be true that Major Spingarn played any part in the role. He said when they started out from Paris, the following message went out to all Division, Brigade and Regimental Headquarters-"A man by the name of DuBois will be in your area in the next few days. Watch his actions and conversation". Dr. DuBois then explained how Captain Boutee had taken him to see the whole 92nd Division and facilitated the matter of collecting data etc. In conclusion he said, "For further information regarding my trip, read the CRISIS".

W. H. Spingarn  
Maj. P. C. Retired

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER

United States Post Office  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

TRANSLATION BUREAU

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WAR DEPARTMENT  
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RAB:RG

April 25, 1919. HPK

Brigadier General M. Churchill,  
Chief of Military Intelligence Bureau,  
Executive Division,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:-

The May issue of "THE CRISIS", the  
negro magazine published in this city, contains  
matter on pages 13-14, and again on pages 16-21, which  
it may be fitting to call to your notice.

Yours very truly,

Robert A. Bowen.

*W. A. D.*

DESPATCH

APR 26 1919

Major Kayser.

10218-139. M.I.N.

May 5, 1919.

HPK

MEMORANDUM FOR CAPTAIN FIELD:

Subject: "The Crisis" Magazine.

1. Herewith is copy of "The Crisis" for Colonel Hartshorn, as requested. The letter from Colonel Greer to Senator McKellar is found on page 19 of this issue.
2. In this connection copy of letter from the Post Office Department, New York City, to this office and our reply thereto are attached. It is learned that the P.O. Dept. has released this issue of "The Crisis" for distribution.
3. It is requested that you personally deliver these papers to Colonel Hartshorn with our request that, should he desire to exhibit them to other officers in the War Department, he do so in person and not through the medium of enlisted or civilian messengers.
4. Return of these papers is requested.

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

By:

K. G. Masteller,  
Colonel, General Staff,  
Chief, Negative Branch.

lmm



XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXX Division

J. E. Cutler

10218-139-M I.3a

May 3, 1919.

Mr. Robert A. Bowen,  
Translation Bureau,  
United States Post Office,  
New York, N. Y.

1 + PK

My dear Mr. Bowen:

The May issue of "The Crisis", to which you invited our attention by your letter of April 25th, contains matter which is, as you anticipated, of special interest to this office. There seems, however, to be no ground on which action by the War Department is required, or is advisable.

Your courtesy in bringing this matter to our attention is very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

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

By *K. C. Masteller*

K. C. Masteller,  
Colonel, General Staff,  
Chief, Negative Branch.

no incls.  
bc.

MAILED  
MAY 3 1919

1 Enc  
CHIEF OF STAFF  
Executive Division  
Mil. Int. Branch.

10218-139

Camp Jackson, S.C.  
August 20, 1919.

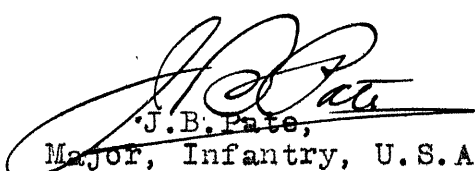
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WAR DEPARTMENT

190X

From: Intelligence Officer, Camp Jackson, S.C. <sup>A. C. DUNNE</sup> M. L. 3-D. 4/8/20/16  
To: Director of Military Intelligence, Washington, D.C.  
Subject: Negro publications.

1. Attached herewith is a copy of "The Crisis", a negro publication, published at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
2. This journal was found in circulation among the negro troops at this station.
3. Special attention is invited to the articles marked on pages 179, 180, 207 and 208.

GAS/f  
1 Incl.  
OK (34)

  
J.B. Pate,  
Major, Infantry, U.S.A.

M.I. B. 1000  
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QUOTATIONS FROM SEVERAL ISSUES OF THE CRISIS

DR. W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, DIRECTOR OF PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH  
DR. J. E. SPRINGARN, CHAIRMAN OF BOARD

NOVEMBER 1916: 'The time has come to hold the Wilson Administration and the Democratic Party to a "strict accountability". --- Four years ago a considerable number of the race helped to elect a Democratic president. This was done under fair promises of just treatment, "not grudgingly given but in generous fashion". The result has shown the experiment to have been the utmost political folly and race-suicide, and has shown that the Democratic party cannot be trusted to deal fairly with our race in this country. The votes of the men of color for the Democratic candidates for President were obtained by fine phrases and false pretenses. No sooner had the Democratic Administration come into power than Mr. Wilson and his advisors entered upon a policy to eliminate all colored citizens from representations in the Federal Government. ---- There were no "deserving Colored Democrats" to be found in the country.'

'The Administration was "too proud to fight" Mexico but did not hesitate to conquer the Black Republic of Hayti and Santo Domingo. -- The President has expressed himself as in sympathy with the "enslaved men and women of Mexico," but has found no words of sympathy for the colored citizens of America. "The New Freedom" does not include the Negro. "Humanity" for which the President has expressed such great love, does not include the Colored Race. ---- No man has done so much since the Emancipation to separate and divide the Nation into groups, and to eliminate the Colored Race as a representative group of Americans, as the President himself.'

'Colored men, we must arise! Those who vote and those entitled to vote must strike for their liberties. --- Four years more of President Wilson will mean our complete elimination from American politics.'

INCLUDED IN EDITORIAL: 'the one problem to which the United States gives no attention and in which it exercises no common sense, has not yet been consummated.' ---- Then we shall welcome some 40,000 more colored comrades to help us in the fight for freedom. ---- a system that gives to the rich man and the leading gambler a ridiculously disproportionate share of the world's income. These strikes are coming now because of the rapid increase in the cost of living and the expanding demand for labor in the piling up of world wealth.'

Referring to primaries- 'in the South they are conducted with fraud and unfairness!.'

Referring to work of Josiah Royce- 'Their surviving descendants, if sufficiently provided with the means of corruption and if sufficiently down-trodden, may remain henceforth models of degradation.' ---- And yet strenuous effort has been made at Columbia and elsewhere not only to deprive colored men of University training, but to keep them from developing their own Universities. ---- 'Remember that domestic service is slavery. Lack of appreciation, lack of good manners on the part of the employers, makes it often a very unpleasant kind of slavery. No woman enters domestic service if she can help it, as a rule. And at present almost any woman can help it.'

'Scientists'- Dr. Woods Hutchinson, 'cannot as yet compete on equal terms in the arena of civilized life with the white race. They are but a child-race by contrast- only half a century from slavery and scarcely two centuries from savagery---'

'Southern Civilization'- 'of lynching fame, ranking close to end. (referring to sets of Encyclopedia Britannica sold in different states) This is not only the natural fruits of slavery; it is the fruit of present political and legal conditions in the South.'

Referring to recent Primary in Georgia --- 'the slime of the most nauseating politics ever known in Georgia- none of it even nearly borders on to the method of campaigning now going on in behalf of Hugh M. Dorsey.'

Reference to article in New Republic on Suffrage Convention- 'if some poor, old black woman, disfranchised and deprived of her rightful support by a lyncher's mob which had made a mistake, had happened into that convention 'we' would not have 'gloried' or 'revelled' in her. We would have passed the hat and told her to go home and not agitate for the impossible.'

'Mr. Hughes'- 'No intelligent Negro can vote for Woodrow Wilson, but he can vote for Allan L. Benson or He Can Stay Home on election day, unless Mr. Hughes satisfies him by some statement more specific than the Nashville speech and more recent than the speech of ten years ago.'

EXTRACTS FROM LETTER TO CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, among the signatures are those of J.E. SPINGARN and W.E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS.

'that Mr. Wilson grievously disappointed us.'

'that you have no race policy and propose to treat all Americans squarely. If Negroes were Americans- if they had a reasonable degree of rights and privileges we could ask no more than this; --'

'We must continually demand such positive action as will do away with their disabilities. Lynching is a national evil of which Negroes are the chief victims. It is perhaps the greatest disgrace from which this country suffers, and yet we find you and other men of influence silent in the matter.'

'those disfranchised masses of the South --- '

'It seems to us that we have a right to know your attitude toward lynching, disfranchisement, caste and race hatred,-'

'possession of a dark face or a drop of Negro blood will in your administration act as a bar to appointment to office ---'

THE LOOKING GLASS: "One cannot keep down a feeling of pity for a large class of women in the South who cannot meet in street, or store, or car, a well dressed and comely colored girl without experiencing a pang of suspicion, a spasm of fear. For there arises unbidden, unavoidably, in the minds of such women, the ugly question, whose daughter is she, and whose mistress is she to be? ----

"A hostility, deep seated and passionate as that which proceeds from white women of a class toward black women as a class, shoots beyond the mark and attacks indiscriminately all colored women without regard to character, without regard to standing or respectability--'

'Escaping Slaves' - "where they don't arrest fifty niggers for what three of 'em done."

'Matters of governships and judgeships are only bagatelle compared to the real importance of this Negro exodus going on from Georgia.'

"And the Negro will not come back once he leaves the South."

"In one instance, of which we have knowledge, a Negro woman paid \$57 for a bedroom suite worth not more than \$25 and then she almost lost her money and the furniture because the dealer claimed she still owed \$3! "

"in the Negro's heart he has no love for proscription, segregations, lynchings, the petty persecution and cruelties practiced against him, nor for the arresting of 'fifty niggers for what three of 'em done,' even if it does take all of this to uphold the 'scheme of civilization'."

'Mob Murder'- 'The bodies of two Negroes, Wiley Tidwell and Manuel Carter, who were lynched at Hohenwald early Thursday morning for the killing of Bud Burns at the Gordonsburg mines Friday night, last, were quietly interred today.'

"The excitement incidental to the lynching has almost subsided at Gordonsburg and Hohenwald. Since the mob that killed the Negroes were masked no one knows who composed it and no effort is being made to arrest the members. Sheriff O.C. Christian, from whom the keys to the jail were taken at the point of a pistol, was unhurt by the mob and has

resumed the duties incidental to his position. It is said that nothing will be done about the lynching ---

"Officers of the law in both Lewis and Maury Counties have not abated their search for the (third) Negro. Although no strong hope is held out for his immediate capture the officers hope to get him finally."

Quotation from speech made at a Circus by a Southerner to prevent the people from securing souvenirs from an elephant that had been hung for killing its Keeper.

'Do you choose to forget that here is the cradle of American culture, the home of gallant men and saintly women? I beseech you in the name of all this not to sully your own fair names and drag the name of our proud State in the quagmire of shame and dishonor by rudely dissecting this erring quadruped as you would a common Negro.'

'Dodging Christ'- 'It would seem at least conformable to God's natural creation that the racial family should be completed religiously and ecclesiastically by the full organization of teachers and pastors and fathers in God.'

'The white Episcopal bishops have practically refused to be bishops of black folk.'

'Let the church see to it that the color line is absolutely and entirely ignored; or else grant the request.'

"Since 1906, ten years, 4000 or 5000 men have died by violence in South Carolina. In ten years more South Carolinians have been shot to death or otherwise slaughtered by South Carolinians than were killed in one of the great battles of the war of secession."

"As for the unmarried men, they, a few of them, play bridge or poker occasionally, but their chief pleasure seems to lie in drinking round the bars of the town and exalting, for periods short or long, the colored ladies above their wash-tubs."

'Lies Agreed Upon'- 'that the Ku Klux Klan gang were pure hearted crusaders instead of the cut-throats and rascals that they really were.'

'Colonel McAfee organized the Ku Klux Klan in Shelby and Mr. Dixon would perpetuate this event by shrouding the bronze image of the Colonel in the uniform of the Klan. It would be hard to conceive of a statue more grotesquely treated. The events which a statue thus designed would be intended to perpetuate are but little understood by people other than our own and never will be. It is history that belongs to the past, that should be of record and stored in the archives as a sealed book.'

"The simple truth about the origin and birth of Abraham Lincoln makes a more beautiful, a more romantic, and a more easily understood story than the evasive and untrue one that has been given and accepted and written into history. He was born in North Carolina and not in Kentucky; his mother was Nancy Hanks; neither his mother or himself ever saw Kentucky or Thomas Lincoln, until the infant Abraham was two years old. The marriage of Lincoln and Nancy Hanks was one purely of expediency that an unfortunate young woman and her child might find a home."

THE HORIZON - Sub-title 'Industry'

'They expect 1000 members. It is doubtful, however, if the Central Labor Council would seat a Negro delegate.'

'The largest grain elevator in the world is being erected at Girard Point, Philadelphia. Twenty-five hundred Negro laborers are being employed.'

Sub-title - 'Education', referring to a school tax- 'The whites were trying to get the whole of it.'

'In the white schools each male teacher averaged \$646 and each female teacher \$355 a year. In the Negro schools the averages were \$166 for men and \$83 for women! There were 5,926 white children in school and 8,415 colored children. The average length of the white school term was 140 days and the colored 70 days. The per capita expenditure for white pupils was \$21.10 and for Negroes \$1.27. Each white teacher enrolled 31 pupils and each colored teacher 84! Here is Justice for you!'

'Social Progress'- 'The colored people of Panama have been successful in keeping the "Birth of a Nation" out of the public theatres; but the Y.M.C.A. is proposing to present it privately to "white people only".'

'Meetings'- 'The address to the country scored peonage, segregation and lynching, but did not mention Mr. Hughes.'

'Over 700 Negro children in Savannah, Ga., cannot find accommodations in the colored Public Schools.'

'In many Southern cities the colored teachers do not receive notice of their reappointment or dismissal until just before the opening of the school. In Jacksonville, Fla., they were notified this year one day before the opening.'

'A woman who "claimed" to be one of the large number of descendants of General Robert E. Lee, tried to raise a row in New York when she found colored women attending the City Committee of the Hughes Alliance. She was quickly hustled out and effort was made to keep the incident out of the papers.'

'A colored man, charged with assaulting a white woman, barely escaped a mob at Dothan, Ala. When he was brought to trial the jury exonerated him and the judge referred to this as "One of the many cases in which innocent men are charged with crime."

'Sixteen members of the Lima, O., mob have been indicted and 13 are in jail. Meantime the woman who was attacked identified as her assailant not the man whom the mob tried to lynch but another colored man who had been in jail three months, and could not have possibly been near her!'

'general conduct of Policemen throughout the United States toward colored people is a growing scandal and is evidently part of an understood scheme. In Richmond an attorney was dismissed for protesting against the beating of a colored woman by a policeman. Colored men have been beaten so brutally in Richmond, Kansas City and Jacksonville that the authorities have had to order investigations.'

'prominent white woman of Elizabeth, N.J., was beaten, gagged and robbed in her home last June by a colored man. Two days after a colored repairer of lawn mowers was arrested charged with the crime and identified by this woman twice under oath. He was put in jail and threats were made against his life. In August another colored man was arrested in White Plains, N.Y., wearing the clothes stolen from the robbed residence and confessed that he was the real culprit.'

'brutal shooting of a colored porter at Selma, Ala. -- the murderer has been tried and as the evidence is so overwhelming against him he was declared "insane at the time of the murder." A commission will eventually determine whether he is still insane.'

'Can any Self-Respecting Colored Voter Support the Candidates of the Democratic Party?'

JUNE 1917: 'A time of National Crisis must be a time of redoubled effort and vigilance if the Negro is to advance his status during the war as the women of England and the oppressed masses of Russia have advanced theirs. The N.A.A.C.P. never heeded your support more than now.'

'at this critical time in the history of our country and the world to express the attitude and aspirations which they think fitting for the twelve million Americans of Negro descent---'

'We trace the real cause of this world war to the despising of the darker races by the dominant groups of men, and the consequent fierce rivalry among European nations in their effort to use darker and backward people for purposes of selfish gain regardless of the ultimate good of the oppressed.'

Referring to the Negroes helping with the War- 'We urge this despite our deep sympathy with the reasonable and deep-seated feeling of revolt among Negroes at the persistent insult and discrimination to which they are subject even when they do their patriotic duty.'

'Let us, however, never forget that this country belongs to us even more than those who lynch, disfranchise and segregate.'

1. The right to serve our country on the battlefield and to receive training for such service;

2. The right of our own men to lead troops of their own race in battle, and to receive officers' training in preparation for such leadership:

3. The immediate stoppage of lynching;

4. The right to vote for both men and women;

5. Universal and free common school training;

6. The abolition of Jim Crow cars;

7. The repeal of segregation ordinances;

8. Equal civil rights in all public institutions and movements.'

'neither the world nor America can be happy and democratic so long as twelve million Americans are lynched, disfranchised, and insulted- so long as millions of other darker folk are exploited and killed.'

'Officers'- 'Justice and right calls for the admission of Negroes to the civilian training camps on the same terms as white men. This right the CRISIS and Dr. Spingarn demanded from the first and we were refused.'

'We are assured that the General Staff will not refuse Negro troops. It may not, but there is every evidence that it intended to in the plan drafted previous to the declaration of war which did not become a law. We are told to "wait" for our camp until after all white officers are trained, and some colored papers actually rejoice at this, unable to grasp the clear fact that once enough whites are trained for all regiments, no Negroes need apply.'

'Where in heaven's name do we Negroes stand? If we organize separately for anything- "Jim Crow!" scream all the Disconsolate; if we organize with white people- "Traitors! Pressure! They're betraying us!" yell all the Suspicious. If, unable to get the whole loaf we seize half to ward off starvation- "Compromise!" yell all the scared. If we let half the loaf go and starve- "Why don't you do something?" yell those same critics, dancing on their toes.'

'we demand Negro officers for Negro regiments. We cannot get them by admission to the regular training camps because the law of the land, or its official interpretation, wickedly prevents us. Therefore give us a separate training camp for Negro officers.'

'~~WE~~ SHOULD WORRY'- 'The American Negro more unanimously than any other American group has offered his services in this war as officer and soldier. He has done this earnestly and unselfishly, overlooking his just resentment and grievous wrongs.'

'If they do not want us to fight, we will work. We will walk into the industrial shoes of a few million whites who go to the front. We will get higher wages and we cannot be stopped from migrating by all the deviltry of the slave South; particularly with the white lynchers and mob leaders away at war.'

'Will we be ousted when the whites come back? THEY WON'T COME BACK!'.8

'We'll fight or work. We'll fight and work. If we fight we'll learn the fighting game and cease to be so 'Aisily' lynched.'

'If we don't fight we'll learn the more lucrative trades and cease to be so easily robbed and exploited.'

Some of the reasons given for the migration of the Negro are, - lynching, bad treatment, poor schools, low wages, injustice in the courts, oppression, etc.

'From Oklahoma we learn that Negroes are migrating because of threatened segregation laws and mob violence.'

'and how badly they were treated by the whites.'

"That which a regard for common justice, fair play, human rights could not accomplish, a fear for our bank accounts is doing, and we are asking: Why is the Negro dissatisfied? What can we do to keep him in the South? We can't afford to let him go; he means too much for us financially. He works for little; his upkeep costs us little, for we can house him in any kind of a shack, and make him pay us well for that; we do not have to be careful of his living conditions; he is good natured, long suffering, and if he should happen to give us trouble we can cope with that and the law will uphold us in anything we do."

"If you thought you might be lynched by mistake, would you remain in South Carolina? Ask yourself that question if you dare."

'How great this migration will eventually prove depends upon a number of things. The entrance of the United States into the war will undoubtedly have some effect. When the war ends it is doubtful if the labor shortage in Europe will allow a very large migration to the United States for a generation or more.'

THE LOOKING GLASS:

'a passionate appeal to raise up their 12,000,000 of colored citizens to equal human rights and dignity, to wipe out the national stigma on the commonwealth that every man or woman born with a dark skin is born into the shame of exclusion and the life of a pariah race?'

'Think of it! Old "No'th Ca'liny" home of the K.K.K., the jimcrow car, mob murder, segration and damnation congratulating the new-born Russia, talking about the brotherhood of man and hoping that the "Lord of Liberty may keep them steadfast!'

'no educational facilities worthy of the name'

'the testimony of a Negro shall not be given weight against the word of a white man, most especially in cases between white men and Negroes or when a white man can be convicted upon such testimony.'

'approved hours for making arrests of Negroes charged with misdemeanors are between ten o'clock at night and two or three o'clock in the morning --- storm the Negro cabin, drag the accused out of bed, perhaps beating into insibility if he is slow-----'

'In tragic truth it must be confessed that there is in the south, South Carolina most certainly, no protection for the life or person of any Negro of whatever standing, sex, or age against the intent of the bloody minded white man.'

'Negroes pay the same railroad fares as other passengers, but are forced to ride in second hand, filthy, unsanitary, combination coach and baggage car jammed next or near to the locomotive tender; if the Negro coach becomes crowded, which is more frequent than otherwise, they are compelled to stand and ride thus to their destination, although they have paid for a seat.'

'Residential segregation agitation, now rife, seeks to force Negroes into certain blocks or districts in towns and cities and certain townships or districts in the rural districts. These laws when applied will simply mean that whatever portion of any city is most undesirable will be open to Negroes for residential purposes; -- 'The viciousness and injustice of laws of this character readily reveal themselves when examined.'

'Disfranchisement'- 'If the whites had enough sense to treat the Negroes as God wants and wills, the world would call the South a paradise of love and devation.'

'It may be necessary that the Tillmans, Vardamans, and scores of others must be paralyzed as was Ben Tillman, or die before it can come to pass. When Ben Tillman was living and making money by abusing Negroes he said, "Throughout the South every white man is living in a state of horror of Negro rapine," but Governor Fishback of Arkansas declared he lied and he did, and God paralyzed him.'

'Ghetto'- 'Negroes in Richmond, Va., have organized to fight segregation, and the Civic Improvement League has registered a strong protest against Richmond's segregation ordinance.'



'Three sophomores of Howard University offered to join the navy. When they asked what services would be required of them they were told they would be assigned to the "mess department". The boys returned to Howard.'

'In Mansfield, La., a white man convicted of the murder of Green Columbia, a Negro, was given a jail sentence of thirty minutes in a cell and discharged.'

APRIL 1918: 'Editorial'

'out of the insult and prostitution and ignorance and lies and lynchings of the South- up toward a chance, a new chance,- nothing more.'

'The United States Department of Labor has been doing all it can to put this light out. Long since it stopped helping Negroes to find jobs in the North.'

'HOUSTON AND EAST ST. LOUIS,' giving the number of white and colored men, killed, imprisoned, fined, acquitted, etc. Notes- Military law and Civil law, 'White policemen who caused the riot not even indicted. No white army officers tried.'

Under this article is shown a picture of a park, near Houston, Tex. where the riot started. This park is maintained by taxes on 70,000 whites and 40,000 Negroes. At this entrance is displayed a sign 'Negroes Keep Out.'

'SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY'

'Russia'- From the New York Evening Post, on the murder of General Dukhonin. 'Then with a single blow of his musket, he beat Dukhonin to the ground. The General immediately leaped up, his face bathed in blood, and tried to speak, but he was immediately transfixed by a dozen bayonets and then upon that bloody body a fury of blows rifle butts and heavy boots descended. The crowd fought to get nearer to the corpse. It was stripped of every stitch of clothing. Scenes of grotesque horror were enacted. Two soldiers, having each snatched one of the General's boots, fell upon each other with curses and blows.'

Finally, the body, entirely naked, was propped up against the railway car and, laughing like madmen, the crowd gave itself up to a series of monstrous amusements. Sailors, Red Guards, and soldiers threw snowballs and mud at the head of the dead man.'

'America'- Chattanooga Daily Times. 'Jim McIlherron, the Negro who shot and killed Pierce Rodgers and Jesse Tigert, was tortured with a red-hot crowbar and then burned to death. A crowd of approximately 2000 persons, among whom were women and children, witnessed the burning.'

'---- The Negro was led to a hickory tree, to which they chained him. After securing him to the tree a fire was laid. A short distance away another fire was kindled, and into it was put an iron bar to heat.'

'When the bar became red hot a member of the mob jabbed it toward the Negro's body. Crazed with fright, the black grabbed hold of it, and as it was pulled through his hands the atmosphere was filled with the odor of burning flesh. This was the first time the murderer gave evidence of his will being broken. Scream after scream rent the air. As the hot iron was applied to various parts of his body his yells and cries for mercy could be heard in the town.'

After torturing the Negro several minutes one of the masked men poured coal oil on his feet and trousers and applied a match to the pyre. As the flames rose, enveloping the black's body, he begged that he be shot. Yells of derision greeted his request. The angry flames consumed his clothing and little blue flames shot upward from his burning hair before he lost consciousness.'

A LETTER FROM BRAZIL: 'in trying to show how superior they are to the "niggers", white people have disgraced their civilization by committing acts of savagery unexcelled by the lowest tribes in the heart of Africa.'

'for the crime of unwittingly seating himself at the side of a Texan at a public lunch counter.'

'I got this Chicago story from an eye witness, the son of a Confederate officer, who told it with the greatest sang froid, at lunch in a Brazilian boarding house.'

'responsible for crimes against civilization and the good name of the United States like the Waco Horror, may have another concrete example of the effect of the "social equality" humbug in a land where nearly every one has some learning ---'

'A friend of mine, a very likable fellow in himself, assures me that "the only way to handle an American "nigger" is to knock him down and talk to him about it afterward.'

'two inch paragraph I once cut from the New York Times, which contained nine references to the color of a man accused of a commonplace crime.'

'when Bethman Hollweg declares; "We'll knock Belgians on the head and then talk to them about it afterward," then Waco becomes Verdun and white civilization commits suicide.'

'--- the treasure that you would generously spend for the redemption of Belgium is being paid in needless sacrifice for the slavery that you maintain at home.'

'NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE:'

Telegram to the President relative to burning of Negro in Tennessee.  
"You have spoken out so nobly against German crimes in Belgium and on the high seas that we beg of you to break your silence and to denounce properly these terrible mob acts which cover us with shame and humiliation at the moment when we as a nation would speak and act for justice and righteousness, for decency and humanity abroad."

Reply from United States Attorney General, "Under the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Federal Government has absolutely no jurisdiction over matters of this kind; nor are they connected with the war in any such way as to justify the action of the Federal Government under the war power."

'this matter again before the President lest the laws be flouted and justice denied. A statement from the President at this time, if he would be dispensed to make it, would have a tremendously stimulating effect on the morale of the colored people whose sons are preparing to give their lives for America and who in sadness of heart and some disturbance of mind are looking apprehensively toward Tennessee to see whether in our own nation law or mob violence is to be supreme.

The President's inspiring moral leadership as a man, no less than his position as President, gives him the opportunity, and may we suggest respectfully, the responsibility of speaking out. Hundreds of thousands of colored soldiers in the army and millions of their fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers would receive a new baptism of devotion to their country if it were made clear that the equal protection of the laws was to be afforded all men, whether white or black.

This Association wishes it understood that it does not and will not condone the crimes nor apologize for the offenses of the colored men.'  
Letter to Governor Tom C. Rye.

'-- in the name of its ninety branches and ten thousand members, and on behalf of the outraged citizenship of the whole country, appeals to you to take action to bring to justice the perpetrators of the foul wrong against the honor of your State in lynching and torturing a Negro accused of murder. Thousands of colored men in your State and the nation now serving their country in the battle for democracy await Tennessee's answer to their appeal for justice at home.

---- Such outrages as this, the third one to occur in your State within nine months, place America in an unenviable position when she seeks to protest, however rightfully, against Belgian atrocities committed by German soldiers.'

'Memphis, Dyersburg, and now Estill Springs! We ask, for the information of the newspapers receiving our press service, what the great State of Tennessee proposes to do in regard to the violators of her law.'

Reply from the Governor states that he deprecates the murder but puts the matter up to local officials.

'LOUISIANA LYNCHINGS'- To Governor of Louisiana.

"Press dispatches in New York papers report that three Negroes were lynched near Delhi, Louisiana, as the outgrowth of trouble between whites and Negroes, the lynched colored men having been accused of stealing hogs. --- Such acts as this mob lynching because of alleged hog-stealing put the President and the United States in a most embarrassing and difficult position when the executive of the country seeks to protest, however rightfully, against outrages committed in Belgium or Armenia."

'OTHER LYNCHING MOBS'- 'that a colored man had murdered a policeman and dangerously wounded another and that the murderer was being pursued by a posse, and that lynching was feared. The Governor was implored not to wait until a request for help came from local authorities as previous experience had shown that local Tennessee authorities could not be relied upon to safe-guard Negro prisoners against mob violence.'

'A colored man lynched in Georgia, was accused of entering a house to commit robbery and of having kidnapped a young child who was later found near the house uninjured. This lynching was described as an 'orderly' lynching.'

'THE 24th INFANTRYMEN'-

'President Wilson granted a respite to the five colored infantrymen condemned to death by the second court martial for partition in the Houston affair.'

Spokesman of delegation presenting petition- "The hanging of the thirteen men without the opportunity of appeal to the Secretary of War or to their Commander-in-Chief, the President of the United States was a punishment so drastic and so unusual in the history of the nation that the execution of additional members of the Twenty-fourth Infantry would to the colored people of the country savor of vengeance rather than justice."

#### THE LOOKING GLASS

'The Liberator as a successor to the defunct Masses, particularly when its prospectus promises that

It will assert the social and political equality of the black and white races, oppose every kind of racial discrimination, and conduct a remorseless publicity campaign against lynch law."

'The people of the country have no conception of the race conditions that exist in Washington. I did not have- though I visited here often- until I came here to live. If the people knew the real status of affairs they would band themselves together and make a protest that would be heard in all the states in this Union. And it is my purpose to tell them a few things and to put them to thinking and to cause them if I can, to make their protest.

This is one of the prettiest cities in the world. It has magnificent buildings- public and private; it is clean and well kept; it abounds in lovely parks and beautiful shade trees, but it is infested with black men and women at every turn. You cannot enter a street car that they do not jostle you. You cannot take a seat in anyone of the beautiful parks that one of them does not take a seat beside you. You cannot enter a public building that they are not in evidence. Many of the finest apartment houses use them as sub-managers. Not a few of the stores have them as clerks. They are on the police force. They are everywhere; doing the work, usurping the places, holding positions that white men and women ought to have. You cannot picture in your imagination a worse race condition of more race equality than exists right here in the Capital of the Nation....

Anything that ought to be done can be done. "The truth is mighty and will prevail." I may not live to see it; it may not come in my day; but if the people of Mississippi will start a movement to redeem the Capitol from Negro domination, the movement will spread more rapidly than some people think.'

'This is the South which it is the business of the Negro to civilize.'

'--Until we viewed the situation, did we fully realize that right in the heart of the city of Anderson is a rope mill, where white girls work almost side by side with big strapping, odiferous Nigger bucks, but such is the case, for we took in the scene with our own eyes and there are hundreds of people who will take the stand today and swear that such a condition exists, although the law against whites and blacks working in the same room is very plain.

Standing at a row of machines was a bunch of pretty girls and young matrons, one of whom the writer recognized as a girl belonging to one of the best families in the county, but forced by adverse circumstances to work for a living. Within ten or twelve feet in the front and rear of these girls were a number of Negroes. No partition of any kind separated the two races.'

#### THE AMERICAN AMUCK

Quoting from article from George M. Bradt- Toussaint l'Ouverture was just a bad nigger who ran amuck in Haiti and lay down just as soon as Napoleon sent over General leclerc to punish the rebellious Haitians. He was born a slave and showed his slavish streak by betraying his French masters to Spain, then surrendering to France, and later betraying every trust reposed in him. He finally died a prisoner in France.

Now we really object to this bad nigger, no better than Estenoz or a number of others happily dead in Cuba, being mentioned in the same breath with Washington. One might as well place Lincoln and Jose Miguel side by side.'

'This same despicable method is being used today by white American soldiers in France.'

'A colored soldier writes to his wife, "Dear, you do not know what we have to go through here, but in the end 'The Great God' above will right all wrongs. I would never have dreamed that the American white man would ever at this time, when each and every man of the dear old U.S.A. is sacrificing his all and all for his country regardless of his creed or color, use prejudice and try his utmost to poison another nation against the American Negro soldier. Just for the sake of you I am swallowing some bitter pills in that respect. You know my temper.

The officers in our regiment are all gentlemen ----. We love our officers and our Colonel, and we are taking the slurs, insults, and the sarcasm that confronts us daily on duty and off duty from the heathen people who do not know any better, but bye and bye, some day in the end there will be a justification. Oh, our wives, our mothers, sisters, brothers, and our families pray that we may be able to govern ourselves!'

#### AFRICA

'-- that hitherto and in all future plans so far formulated the black areas are under the absolute domination of a white general government, in which they have no voice, vote or influence.'

'finding how effectively the Negro is fighting in this war there is arising a singular unanimity among white peoples that the African Negro should be disarmed "for his own good"; so that after the war he may still be the victim of the devils who have hitherto raped and enslaved him.'

'What I would like to do more than anything else is to work among the colored men over here. They are not having the happiest kind of a time and I have heard of no one who is specially interested in them, though there may be plenty who are, There have been some race disturbances

#### GHETTO

'killed at his home in Temple, Tex., because of alleged association with the wife of his employer.'

'Benton, La., Jim Hudson hanged, living with a white woman.'

'Fayetteville, Ga., 'Bud' Cosby hanged; intent to rob and kidnapping.'

'G.W. Lynch who hid McIlheron was shot to death by the posse.'

'Fairfax, S.C., Walter Best hanged; accused of murder.'

'Rayville, La., two hanged and one shot to death, accused of killing hogs. In the fray one white man and one Negro were killed.'

'Willacoochee, Ga., Ed Dansy, shot. Killed two white officers, wounded three others.'

MAY 1918 'Editorial'

'Save'- 'I believe that this is Our War and not President Wilson's War and that no matter how many blunders the administration makes, or how many obstacles it puts in our way we must work the harder to win the war.--- If the colored citizens of the country seize this opportunity to emphasize their American citizenship by effective war activities, they will score tremendously.'

'The Negro and the War Department'- 'It seems to be necessary to insist upon justice toward the Negro from the War Department. -- As Negroes, we propose to fight for the right, no matter what our treatment may be; but we submit to the public that intentional injustice toward colored soldiers is the poorest investment that this nation can make just now.'

'The Examining Board recommended that Colonel Young be "retained in active service". The Secretary of War approved this recommendation and directed that "Colonel Young be placed on active duty." The Adjutant General, knowing the difference between "active service" and "active duty" immediately retired Colonel Young from active service and placed him on active duty with nothing to do.'

'Twelve million Negroes demand that Colonel Young be restored to "active service!"

'The permission to make such transfers has been denied by the War Department.' Referring to the transferring of technically trained colored men from one division to the other.

'The Division Commander has repeatedly urged that all colored members of his command, and especially the officers and non-commissioned should refrain from going where their presence will be resented.'

'--- This sergeant entered a theatre, as he undoubtedly had a legal right to do, and precipitated trouble by making it possible to allege race discrimination in the seat he was given. --- Nevertheless, the sergeant is guilty of the greater wrong in doing anything no matter how legally correct that will provoke race animosity.'

'---other action of the War Department.' "It has been called to the attention of this department that many of your white registrants have been examined by colored doctors. This matter has been taken up with the Adjutant General and he desires that this practice be discontinued."

UNCONSCIOUS INSULT: From addresses at Food Conservation Meeting.

'referred to her "old black mammy" ---'

'-- began her speech by saying "An old darkey down South was asked to change a ten dollar bill, etc.'

'should be showered with the protests of nearly one hundred colored women present, to so ridicule our race in a meeting called for the unity of all American women --' 'It is even doubtful if they knew that Negroes could be insulted. Imagine such a situation in a civilized land!'

'A PROTEST'- 'I did not, however, think that The Outlook would sink to publishing so scurrilous an article as that on the Negro soldier. It is a libel that begins with a lie and is built on the sneer that Negroes are dogs and not men.'

'The WAR' 'Not being able to keep out Negro soldiers Petersburg next demanded that there should be no colored officers of any rank. -- the United States of America refused to sign any treaties with Petersburg. -- no Negro officers at Camp Lee.'

'Within the soul of each member of my race the conscious self is saying, Serve your country; while the unconscious out of the depths is thundering, you have a poor cause to serve.'

'Our President, who has so nobly expressed our sentiments as to the rights of oppressed in other countries, realizing the staggering burden of the colored people of this nation, could greatly alleviate that burden by a word in our behalf at this time, for not withstanding our loyalty, the question that is first and uppermost in the minds of a vast majority of the black people of this country, Are we included in this world that is to be made safe for democracy?'

"IMPOSSIBLE ATROCITIES "

Was lynched most barbarously near Memphis, and parts of his body, according to the newspapers, carried away as souvenirs. Many citizens of Memphis, protested, but they were ignored. Last winter a Negro man near Memphis was burned at the stake, gasoline was poured over his body, and his head was cut off and taken through the streets as a trophy. Last fall a Negro was burned to death in Dyersburg, and thousands of white people stood by and gloated over his agonies. And now at Estill Springs we have another burning.

'Why don't we stop these outrages? Will there be any genuine effort made to apprehend and punish the members of the Estill Springs mob? We know there will not be any such effort. Was there any effort made to prevent mob violence in this case?

'The crime was committed Friday, the man was lynched Tuesday -- 'County officers were heard to say Friday that he would be lynched. Newspaper reporters from Nashville came out to report the burning and followed the officers and dogs all night. Yet nobody came from Nashville or anywhere else to prevent mob violence.'

'We are guilty of criminal negligence, if not of acquiescence in the brutal deed, and we would as well confess it with bowed heads and take what the Northern papers give us.'

'We all know that the common people of our state understand that nothing will be done when they lynch a "Nigger".'

'-- that a community that would permit a "Nigger" to commit a brutal crime and escape lynching would be untrue to our traditions, devoid of chivalry and lacking in real manhood.'

Extracts from a letter written by one although not of the illiterate class, from a class that displays considerable ignorance. A class however that the Crisis claims have been permitted to cope with the settlement of the Negro problem.

'He was no more than an ape when he came from Africa.'

Referring to the mark on the Negro being the curse put on Cain, he goes on with his deduction that when Cain was sent to the land of Knod, since there were no women there, Cain must have taken an Ape for his wife.

'Did you ever see the Skeleton of a negro and the Skeleton of a Negro placed together? I have, and you cant tell one from the other-- -- and Surely if the Negro is the image of God the white man is not, for surely he hasnt got two Images.'

Referring to all of the above-

'Had any such article come out of Belgium or Armenia, we should know what to think of the unspeakable Germans and Turks responsible. A wave of horror would sweep over the country and there would be an extra rush to the enlistment offices. But when Americans thus debase themselves nobody volunteers to end the evil, nobody speaks about it- at least, nobody who is white- and we complacently turn to the congenial task of setting up democracy in Germany.'

'There is a Canadian soldier going around the country deeply stirring our rural communities with the tale of the crucifixion of three Canadians by German fiends. What reception would one of our black soldiers get if he were to lecture on the fiendishness of burnings in the South?'

'CRIME'

'Governor Catts, of Florida, and members of the Board of State Institutions, have leased 789 convicts, most of whom are Negroes, to the highest bidder.'

'a Negro boy who stole a bicycle was given five years at hard labor while a white man who stole \$1,900 was given two years.'

'The following lynchings have taken place since our last issue- George McNeel, hanged for alleged attack upon a white woman; Spencer Evans, hanged, convicted of criminal assault upon a colored woman at court, sentenced to be hung, but a mob took him from jail and lynched him; Peter Bazemore, for alleged attack upon a white woman.'

INTELLIGENCE BRANCH

In reply: refer to  
M.I.-3c

WAR DEPARTMENT  
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF  
WASHINGTON.

July 19, 1918.

10218-139  
45

EXTREMELY CONFIDENTIAL

NOTED:  
M. CHURCHILL

MEMORANDUM FOR COLONEL COXE:

1. The "Crisis" is a radical monthly magazine published in the interest of the colored races.

2. I have had extracts made from several articles in these publications, and most of them appear to be extremely radical and antagonistic in tone.

3. The magazine itself would seem to be responsible for a great deal of the present negro unrest and disaffection, and is apparently published for the sole purpose of creating antagonism and race prejudice with a view to exciting the colored races to acts of violence against the whites.

*Harry A. Taylor*  
Harry A. Taylor  
Captain Infantry, U.S.R.

MN

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE CHelsea 9386

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Jun. 19, 1919.

Hon. J. E. Cutler,  
Washington,  
D. C.

Dear Sir:

Do you realize that during 1918 sixty-three Negroes were lynched, burned and tortured by lawless mobs; that since January, 1919, twenty Negroes have been lynched; that five of these have been burned to death at the stake - and this in America? In the city of Vicksburg, Mississippi, on May 16, 1,000 white men and women watched a Negro being tied to a tree, riddled with bullets and burned to a crisp. (The man's guilt was questioned by the Vicksburg papers.)

Do you realize that the lynching, torturing and burning of Negroes (the direct result of an un-American, undemocratic, and unjustifiable denial of their civil and political rights) challenge America's honor and menace her future?

You may say "This is the Negro Problem." Yes! but not the Negro's problem. White men commit these injustices and must correct them.

We seek the support of every white man and woman who believes that the constitution of the United States with relation to the Negro is more than a "scrap of paper." We do not care how large or small your contribution to the cause may be; we need your enrollment to make American democracy include the Negro!

The enclosed "Program for 1919" (we have spoken only of lynching) explains what the Association seeks to accomplish and its budget needs.

Sincerely yours,

*John R. Shillady*  
Secretary

P. S. Checks may be made payable to J. E. Spingarn, acting treasurer, 70 Fifth Avenue.