

THE APPEAL

AN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER

ISSUED WEEKLY

J. Q. ADAMS, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

ST. PAUL OFFICE

No. 301-2 Court Block, 24 E. 4th st.

J. Q. ADAMS, Manager.

MINNEAPOLIS OFFICE

No. 2812 Tenth Avenue South

J. N. SELLERS, Manager.

TERMS, STRICTLY IN ADVANCE:

SINGLE COPY, ONE YEAR \$2.00
SINGLE COPY, SIX MONTHS 1.10
SINGLE COPY, THREE MONTHS .60

When subscriptions are by any means allowed to run without payment, the terms are 60 cents for each 15 days and 5 cents for each odd week, or at the rate of \$2.40 per year.

Remittances should be made by Express Money Order, Post Office Money Order, Registered Letter or Bank Draft. Postage stamps will be received the same as cash for the fractional parts of a dollar. Only one cent and two cent stamps taken.

Silver should never be sent through the mail. It is sure to wear a hole through the envelope and be lost; or else it may be stolen. For one who sends silver in letters do so at their own risk.

Marriage and death notices 10 lines or less \$1. Each additional line 10 cents. Payment strictly in advance, and to be announced as all must come in season to be news.

Advertising rates, 15 cents per square line, each insertion. There are fourteen square lines in an inch, and about seven words in an square line. No single advertisements less than \$1. No discount allowed on less than three months contract. Cash must accompany all orders from parties unknown to us. Further particulars on application.

Reading notices 25 cents per line, each insertion. No discounts for time or space. Reading matter is set in breviter type—about six words to the line. All head-lines count double.

The date on the address label shows when subscription expires. Renewals should be made two weeks prior to expiration, so that no paper may be missed, as the paper stops when time is out.

Occasionally happens that papers sent to subscribers are lost or stolen. In case you do not receive any number when due, inform us by postal card at the expiration of five days from that date, and we will cheerfully forward a duplicate of the missing number.

Communications to receive attention must be brief, upon important subjects, plainly written only upon one side of the paper; must reach us on Wednesdays, if possible, not later than Wednesday, and bear the signature of the author. No manuscript returned, unless stamped with postage.

We do not hold ourselves responsible for the views of our correspondents.

Soliciting agents wanted everywhere. Write terms. Sample copies free.

In every letter that you write us never fail to give your full name and address, plainly written, post office and state. Business letters of all kinds must be written on separate sheets from letters containing news or matter for publication. Entered as second class matter at St. Paul, Minn.



SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1917.

Any prejudice whatever will be insurmountable if those who do not share in it themselves truckle to it and flatter it and accept it as a law of nature. —John Stuart Mill.

THE MAN WHO DARES

I honor the man who in the conscientious discharge of his duty dares to stand alone; the world, with ignorant, intolerant judgment, may condemn, the countenances of relatives may be averted, and the hearts of friends grow cold, but the sense of duty done shall be sweeter than the applause of the world, the countenances of relatives or the hearts of friends. —Charles Sumner.

A LITANY OF ATLANTA.

In September, 1906, there was a brutal massacre of colored people at Atlanta, Georgia. Scores of colored men, women and children were murdered because of their color. Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois wrote the story of the massacre in the form of a litany which appeared in the New York Independent shortly after its occurrence. It was "done in the day of death."

The recent massacre at East St. Louis so resembles the Atlanta murderfest that we print in this issue Du Bois' "A Litany of Atlanta," by express permission of the New York Independent.

CRIME AGAINST CIVILIZATION.

In the opinion of THE APPEAL, the strongest article denouncing the East Saint Louis massacre was an editorial published in the Christian Register of Boston, Mass. The Register is the leading Unitarian paper published in the United States and perhaps that accounts for the article. The Unitarian church is one of the few Christian denominations in America in which there is no color line. The orthodox Christian sects in America are so filled with prejudice that the ruthless massacre of helpless men, women and children fails to bring out a protest.

The article from the Christian Register, which follows, is not so long as some of the articles which have appeared in the daily papers, but it is evidently the most sincere which THE APPEAL has seen: The hideous outrage against law and humanity in East St. Louis, Ill., makes us turn again from the barbarities of war to the ferocities of peace, from crimes against civilization abroad to crimes against civilization at home. The testimony of eye witnesses shows that nothing is to be learned among white people of this city from the cruelties and brutalities of foreign conquest. No tribes of any name or time have ever outdone the white men and women who burned colored men, women and children the other day in this American city. Nothing more revolting was ever charged against Negroes than was done by these white

people. The organization of the manhood of the nation for the protection of human life and liberty on the seas and for the deliverance of democracy in the world will be needed at home after its task abroad is done. While our fellow-creatures in the United States are hunted and tortured as if they were wild beasts, government can scarcely be called democratic. So long as colored people are proscribed, discriminated against, segregated and despised, ill-will and antipathy will furnish fertilizers of hatred and murder.

WARNS AGAINST RACIAL HATRED.

It is so unusual for a Christian minister to preach against racial hatred that THE APPEAL is pleased to note that one minister has the courage of his convictions.

In his sermon last Sunday, Rev. H. E. Peabody, pastor of the South Congregational Church, in Chicago, said that racial hatred within the United States is more dangerous than all Germans outside this country.

Dr. Peabody likened the East St. Louis massacre to the "atrocities of the unspeakable Turk in Armenia."

"The country's perils are not all on the sea and beyond," said Dr. Peabody. "Think of the moral earthquake and volcano that has burst in the midst of the land, in our own state, since last we met.

"Who would have believed that a massacre that reminds one of St. Bartholomew's night and of the atrocities of the unspeakable Turk in Armenia, could occur among our own fellow-citizens in East St. Louis?"

"But, beware! The peril is nearer than that. The mutterings of the volcano are felt in Chicago. The single explosion is not the most significant thing. The race prejudice, contempt and hatred, working—working beneath—these are the hell below—and they find some lodgment in all our hearts; God help us.

"There is far more danger to the republic from race hatred within our borders than from all the Germans put together.

"Christian citizens of Chicago, think this thing through. Try to make up your mind beforehand what you will do and say when the earthquake and

the volcano shall be around you. Our country is in dire need of clear heads and stout hearts—Christian hearts, both within and without."

THE DRED SCOTT DECISION.

It was fifty years ago—March 6, 1857,—that the Supreme Court of the United States rendered its decision in the famous Dred Scott case. The results which followed this decision were stupendous and far-reaching.

Dred Scott was a slave belonging to a surgeon in the United States army. He was taken by his master to Fort Snelling, in the State of Illinois, territory from which, by the ordinance of 1787, slavery had been forever excluded. Afterward he was carried into Missouri, where he was hired as a slave. Claiming freedom on the ground that his residence in Illinois had wiped out his status as a slave, his case was taken before the Supreme Court for settlement.

After a three years' consideration of the case the decision of the court was pronounced in an exhaustive opinion delivered by Chief Justice Taney, seven of the nine judges concurring.

In substance, the decision was as follows: (1) That persons of the African race were not, and could not be, acknowledged as "part of the people," or citizens, under the Constitution of the United States. (2) That Congress had no right to exclude citizens of the South from taking their Negro servants, as any other property, into any part of the community, and that they were entitled to claim its protection therein. (3) That the Missouri Compromise of 1820, in so far as it prohibited African slavery north of a designated line, was unconstitutional and void.

The decision raised a storm from one end of the country to the other and made the civil war a foregone conclusion.

The Year Book of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America for 1917 states that 747,000 people "joined the church" during the year 1916. Judging by the evidences of Christianity as exemplified by the so-called Christians in the country "joining the church" is largely a matter of hypocrisy. The people of the United States are further from true Christianity than ever before in the history of the nation.

Charles Edward Russell, a member of the American Commission to Russia, appeals to the American people to help Russia build a republic. Perhaps in the years to come when the Russian republic has been built, some great Russian will aid the establishment in America a republic which knows neither race, creed nor color.

Mr. William H. Steward, editor of the American Baptist, Louisville, Ky., celebrated the seventieth anniversary of his birthday last Thursday. Brother Steward has been in the harness for many years as an editor and also as a church worker and is a living refutation of the adage that "the good die young."

The National Evangelistic Alliance of America has appealed to President Wilson that flags on public buildings be at half-mast on Sunday, July 29th, in memory of persons who lost their lives in the East St. Louis riots.

THE ILLINOIS HORROR

Ashamed to Register From East St. Louis.

(Chicago Daily American.) W. R. Neal is manager of a hotel in East St. Louis, Ill. Today when he registered at the Congress Hotel he gave his address as St. Louis, Mo. "I'm ashamed to say I came from East St. Louis," he told the clerk.

Brought Disgrace on Lincoln's State.

(From the Chicago Daily News.) Mob frenzy displayed in some of its most dreadful forms in East St. Louis yesterday has brought disgrace and just reproach upon the state of Abraham Lincoln.

The Most Disgraceful Outbreak.

(From the Chicago Journal.) The East St. Louis affair is the most disastrous and disgraceful outbreak the state has known for a generation; perhaps the worst it has ever known. That it should come during the heat of a foreign war and on the eve of Independence Day makes it still more ominous.

The Law Itself on Trial.

(From the Chicago Herald.) East St. Louis, Ill., the law itself, are all on trial until this grim, terrible business is settled and settled rightly. Failure of justice means a vicious precedent that will plague the Commonwealth for years to come. When the issue of law or anarchy is presented as plainly as in the orgy at East St. Louis there should be but one answer.

The Shame of Illinois.

(From the Chicago Tribune.) The riot at East St. Louis is one of the worst blots on the good name of an American community in our whole history. Illinois must bow her head in shame before this disgrace. We have no excuse. There can be no excuse for such a break down of the most primitive safeguards of civil government, for such a betrayal of the first duty of ordered society.

Will Sue for Damages.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with former Judge Edward Osgood Brown of the appellate court president of the local chapter, is planning to institute suits under the Illinois statutes against the city of East St. Louis and St. Clair county for personal damages on behalf of the dependents of the Negro men and women who died at the hands of the incensed mobs in the orgy of murder and arson several days ago.

Under the statutes, the dependents have actions against both the city and the county for damages to property, life and limb, the judgments not to exceed \$5,000 in each case. This may mean suits for nearly \$1,000,000 when the final loss of the scores killed, the hundreds injured and the many homes destroyed is recorded.

The Illinois Massacre.

(From the Chicago Evening Post.) "In our town we don't let a nigger get off the train long enough to brush yowah coat, not even if he's a po' nigger on a Pullman."

"They'll tell you this in just these accents in some of the southern towns of Illinois. And it was from these towns that the militiamen came to "maintain order" in East St. Louis.

This is the whole story of the failure of the militia in the worst race riot that has disgraced Illinois since Lovejoy was martyred.

Troops from Northern Illinois should have been sent to East St. Louis; troops from Southern Illinois should not have been sent there. For the twilight zone of the Mason and Dixon line cuts across the central and southern portions of the state.

N. A. A. C. P. Anent the Horrible, Inhuman Mob Massacre at East St. Louis, and one of its Innocent, Young Victims



When the first troubles in East St. Louis became public late in May, the N. A. A. C. P. recognized that this was something of the utmost importance. East St. Louis is one of the great centers whither the migration of at least a quarter million of colored people has set. It was therefore of the utmost importance to understand any troubles that might arise and to ward them off if possible. We recognized the strong interest that various people South and North had in stopping colored migration and discouraging the emancipation of the colored race.

Before, however, our representative could get to East St. Louis, the terrible riot of July 2 had taken place. A hundred or more colored people were killed, scores of homes and property destroyed, and six thousand refugees crossed the bridge into St. Louis. The St. Louis Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. immediately began relief work. Our members, prominent in professions and in business, for nearly ten days gave almost their entire time to the succor of the victims. A mass meeting was called and a special finance committee appointed. Contributions came from as far as Kansas City and Chicago and some \$400 and \$500 was immediately collected. The Association worked in conjunction with the white Red Cross and with other colored individuals in the city.

Immediate steps were taken to prepare legal cases against the city and county. The Legal Committee of the Association held open doors and hundreds of declarations of losses were received by Attorney Phillips. Dr. W. P. Curtis and others gave much time to the wounds of the victims. From the National Office, Dr. Du Bois was sent to make a thorough study of the situation, and Miss Martha Gruening to inquire into the attitude of the employers and labor unions.

Dr. Du Bois organized a force of twenty-five volunteer workers and five paid workers. Chancellor Lloyd of the Knights of Pythias kindly donated the parlors of the Pythian Hall, and Dr. Curtis donated an office on Market Street. Clerks were installed and the stories of nearly two hundred victims carefully taken down. Detailed statistics covering fifteen hundred of the refugees were also compiled. Visits

were made to the various sections of East St. Louis and to the colored settlements of Brooklyn and National City. Several meetings of the executive committee of the Branch were held and one mass meeting of citizens which overflowed the beautiful Presbyterian Church on Pine street. Every effort was made to cooperate with churches and other organizations with notable success. We also got in touch with leading white citizens like Ex-Secretary Nagel and Mr. C. M. Hubbard and Miss Pulliam of the Red Cross.

The Chicago Branch contributed \$200 to the relief funds and also, under Judge Brown, is preparing to give legal aid to the prosecution of the county and city. It will be remembered that Illinois has two statutes which bear upon this riot, first an "Act to indemnify the owners of property for damages caused by mobs and riots," passed 1887, and the other, an "Act to suppress mob violence," approved in 1905. The Association, through its National Office and through the Chicago and St. Louis branches, proposes to leave no stone unturned to bring to justice the guilty perpetrators of the East St. Louis outrage. The St. Louis branch is still active, the investigation of the National Office are proceeding, and the Washington branch is pushing the resolutions for investigation introduced by Congressman Dyer and Dallinger and Senator Sherman. All members of the Branch are urged to write to their Congressmen demanding passage of these resolutions which are H. J. Res. 118, H. J. Res. 124, and S. Con. Res. 10.

Detailed stories of the truth about East St. Louis will appear shortly in various magazines and in the CRISIS. Persons who are convinced by our experience in East St. Louis and elsewhere that a national fighting body of this sort is absolutely indispensable are urged to join the Association and to contribute to our Anti-Lynching and Anti-Mob-Violence Fund. \$100 has been received from the Knights of Pythias of the Grand Jurisdiction of Illinois and other contributions have been sent by various organizations and individuals. Literature and information may be had by writing to James W. Johnson, Acting Secretary, Room 518, 70 Fifth avenue, New York.

A LITANY OF ATLANTA

BY DR. W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS IN THE NEW YORK INDEPENDENT

A Litany of Atlanta
Silent God, Thou whose voice afar in mist and mystery hath left our ears an-hungred in these fearful days— Hear us, good Lord!
Listen to us, Thy children: our faces dark with doubt, are made a mockery in Thy sanctuary. With uplifted hands we front Thy heaven, O God, crying: We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord!
We are not better than our fellows, Lord, we are but weak and human men. When our devils do deviltry, curse Thou the doer and the deed: curse them as we curse them, do to them all and more than ever they have done to innocents and weakness, to womanhood and home. Have mercy upon us, miserable sinners!
And yet whose is the deeper guilt? Who made these devils? Who nursed them in crime and fed them on injustice? Who ravished and debauched their mothers and their grandmothers? Who bought and sold their crime, and waxed fat and rich on public iniquity? Thou knowest, good God!
Is this Thy justice, O Father, that guilt be easier than innocence, and the innocent crucified for the guilt of the untouched guilty? Justice, O Judge of men!
Wherefore do we pray? Is not the God of the fathers dead? Have not seen in Heaven's halls Thine hearse and lifeless form stark amidst the black and rolling smoke of sin, where all along bow bitter forms of endless dead? Awake, Thou that sleepest!
Thou art not dead, but flown afar, up hills of endless light, thru blazing corridors of suns, where worlds do swing of good and gentle men, of women strong and free—far from the cozenage, black hypocrisy and chaste prostitution of this shameful speck of dust! Turn again, O Lord, leave us not to perish in our sin!
From lust of body and lust of blood Great God deliver us!

FROM lust of power and lust of gold, Great God deliver us!
From the leagued lying of despot and of brute, Great God deliver us!
A city lay in travail, God our Lord, and from her loins sprang twin Murder and Black Hate. Red was the midnight; clang, crack and cry of death and fury filled the air and trembled underneath the stars when church spires pointed silently to Thee. And all this was to sate the greed of greedy men who hide behind the veil of vengeance! Bend us Thine ear, O Lord!
In the pale, still morning we looked upon the deed. We stopped our ears and held our leaping hands, but they—did they not wag their heads and leer and cry with bloody jaws: Cease from Crime! The word was mockery, for thus they train a hundred crimes while we do cure one. Turn again our captivity, O Lord!
Behold this maimed and broken thing; dear God it was a humble black man who toiled and sweat to save a bit from the pittance paid him. They told him: Work and Rise. He worked. Did this man sin? Nay, but some one told how some one said another did—some whom he had never seen nor known. Yet for that man's crime this man lieth maimed and murdered, his wife naked to shame, his children, to poverty and evil. Hear us, O heavenly Father!
Doth not this justice of hell stink in Thy nostrils, O God? How long shall the mounting flood of innocent blood roar in Thine ears and pound in our hearts for vengeance? Pile the pale frenzy of blood-crazed brutes who do such deeds high on Thine altar, Jehovah Jireh, and burn it in hell forever and forever! Forgive us, good Lord; we know not what we say!
Bewildered we are, and passion-tost, mad with the madness of a mobbed and mocked and murdered people; straining at the armposts of Thy Throne, we raise our shackled hands and charge Thee, God, by the bones of our stolen fathers, by the tears of our dead mothers, by the very blood of Thy crucified Christ: What meaneth this? Tell us the Plan; give us the Sign! Keep not thou silence, O God!

SIT no longer blind, Lord God, deaf to our prayer and dumb to our dumb suffering. Surely Thou too art not white, O Lord, a pale, bloodless, heartless thing? Ah! Christ of all the Pities!
Forgive the thought! Forgive these wild, blasphemous words. Thou art still the God of our black fathers, and in Thy soul's soul sit some soft darkening of the evening, some shadowings of the velvet night.
But whisper—speak—call, great God, for Thy silence is white terror to our hearts! The way, O God, show us the way and point us the path.
Whither? North is greed and South is blood; within, the coward, and without, the liar. Whither? To death? Amen! Welcome dark sleep!
Whither? To life? But not this life, dear God, not this. Let the cup pass from us, tempt us not beyond our strength, for there is that clamoring and clawing within, to whose voice we would not listen, yet shudder lest we must, and it is red, Ah! God! It is a red and awful shape. Selah!
In yonder East trembles a star. Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord!
Thy will, O Lord, be done! Kyrie Eleison!
Lord, we have done these pleading, wavering words. We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord!
We bow our heads and hearken soft to the sobbing of women and little children. We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord!
Our voices sink in silence and in night. Hear us, good Lord!
In night, O God of a godless land! Amen!
In silence, O Silent God, Selah!