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DR. DU BOIS REPEATS CHARGES

If those alone who "sowed the wind shall reap the whirlwind," it would be well. But the mischief is—that the blindness of bigotry, the madness of ambition, and the miscalculations of diplomacy, seek their victims principally amongst the innocent and the unoffending. The cottage is sure to suffer for every error of the court, the cabinet, or the camp. When errors in the seat of power and of authority are generated in high places, it may be compared to the torrent which originates indeed in the mountain, but commits its devastation in the vale.—Colton.

In the July issue of the New York Crisis, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, that able journalist, scholar, political economist and socialist "returns to his mutton," so to speak. He proceeds to give Hon. Emmett J. Scott "a Roland for his Oliver." The article is shrewdly worded, placing the redoubtable scholar in the lime-light by citing from official documents relative to his trip abroad and showing that Dr. Du Bois appeared over there as the champion, of the badly treated black men in the United States Army, bringing upon himself the opprobrium of those white men higher in authority, while Scott was nestled close to the Secretary of War and his advisors and that the aforesaid Scott suppressed these facts instead of exposing them.

But why should we explain these matters, when Dr. DuBois' own language speaks for itself? He says:

We fought and worked on the Western Front, 200,000 strong under a thousand black officers; we helped to crush the most serious obstacle to the modern democratic movement since Napoleon Bonaparte; we gained the sympathy and respect of France and the civilized world—and what is more important, we gained a new self respect and a new consciousness of power.

Despite all this great success, we made one serious blunder and lest in the future we repeat this mistake, let us look it now full in the face and seek to understand it. During the draft and the period of cantonment training the whole science and intelligence of the race stood on the firing line; we relentlessly discovered exposed and fought its discrimination. We did not wholly remove it, but we did overcome much and above all we knew the essential facts. We suffered with open eyes.

Those opening lines read "mighty good," but they are only the prelude to the lumbering up of heavy artillery. He proceeds with his recital as follows:

Mr. Emmett J. Scott as Special Assistant to the Secretary of War, he came gradually our mouthpiece for complaint and intermediary for redress. It was difficult work. Considering the discriminations of the draft law, the prejudice of the South and North and the Espionage Act, Mr. Scott seemed to be doing as well as any one could expect under the circumstances. The Crisis noted this, gave him every public and private aid and thanked him for his efforts. Mr. Scott several times expressed similar appreciation and once wrote the editor on the occasion of the proposed special bureau in the War Department.

This is scant praise and it is not all that Mr. Scott will get in that insidious attack that this learned writer has staged against one of the most diplomatic race leaders in the country. Pope's remark:

"Damn with faint praise,"

seems to apply in this case. He quotes and reproduces a letter from Mr. Scott endorsing and approving Dr. Du Bois's celebrated advice to the colored people of this country in that he advised them to wait until the war was over before pressing their claims for absolute justice in this country for citizens of color.

This only went to show that both Scott and DuBois were of one mind. Certainly in giving such advice, Hon. Emmett J. Scott was consistent, while Dr. W. E. B. DuBois was inconsistent. The two had hitherto represented opposite schools of thought. Thousands of colored people, who did not agree with the late Dr. Booker T. Washington and his followers had enlisted under the DuBois banner for this very reason. As a result

of this "turn-coat" business, this class of people were left virtually without a leader and they are cherishing bitter feelings towards this distinguished historian and scholar to this day.

But, it may be that we are saying too much. Let us quote further from Dr. DuBois relative to this matter. He says:

On December 1, the editor of The Crisis went to France. Within a month after landing he was utterly amazed and dumbfounded at the revelations poured upon him. He heard of conditions, acts, conspiracies, wholesale oppression and cruelty of which he had no previous inkling. He did not expect to find that the black soldiers had been altogether happy. War is war. The soldier, black or white must endure cold and heat, rain and mud, hunger and hurt. More over the editor knew that the colored soldier in addition to all this would feel the sting of prejudice and discrimination.

But the editor of The Crisis and we are persuaded, not one other American Negro in a million knew or dreamed of conditions like this:

- 1. Wholesale dismissal and transfer of Negro officers regardless of merit.
2. Wide and continuous distribution of printed and spoken propaganda against an "inferior" race.
3. Open reiteration of unfounded charges of cowardice and infamous crime.
4. Deliberate attempts to discourage morale, withhold equipment and untrained units into battle.
5. Mistreating, overworking and almost enslaving many of the steepest laborers.
6. Dismissing and demoting white officers who refused to join the anti-Negro campaign.
7. Organizing one of the bitterest and most stinging campaigns of personal affront and insult ever attempted in a civilized land against a race of people.

For four long months story after story and document after document poured into the editor's hands substantiating the above charges. For four months the editor was helpless. Every step he took was heralded by the Intelligence Service of the American Expeditionary Force as follows: Headquarters, Ninety-Second Division, American Expeditionary Forces, A. P. O., 766

1 January, 1919 SECRET.

To Intelligence Officers— A man by name of DuBois, with visitor's pass, reported on his way to visit this Division. His presence at station of any unit will be immediately reported in secret enclosure to Assistant Chief of Staff G-2, these headquarters. Likewise prompt report will be made to G-2 of all his moves and actions, while at station of any unit.

By command of Brigadier-General ERWIN P. P. SCHOONMAKER, Major, General Staff, A. C. of S. G-2.

We do not see why Dr. DuBois should have presumed that fair treatment would be accorded colored soldiers when they were in charge of a Department of the Government known to have not only racial antipathy to the Negroes, but towards the Jews. They practiced their devilry upon Lieutenant Flipper a decade ago and found a way to officially proclaim that Lieutenant Whittaker cut his own ears from his own head. They declared Col. Charles Young to be unfit for service, disabled and suffering from diseases of which he did not know, although he could ride forty miles on horseback and could "cut a pigeon's wing" to the "queen's taste" had he felt so inclined.

But Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, to our astonishment admits that he signed a pledge not to communicate to this country the distressing facts that came under his observation. Is he not aware that Hon. Emmett J. Scott was compelled to observe a pledge even more drastic than the one that he signed? How else could he have held the position as Special Assistant to the Secretary of War?

Secrecy is the watch-word in that Department. It appears to us that Dr. DuBois is blaming Mr. Scott for doing the very thing that he (Dr. DuBois) was compelled to do. Bringing the matter home to ourselves, this is why we have never held public office and it is why we have not connected ourselves with many of the organizations that are now in existence. We want the right of free speech and the right to criticize and advise in matters pertaining to a race with which we are identified.

Let us presume for a moment that Dr. DuBois had been appointed a captain in the regular army, commonly known as a "desk captain," would he have dared to have edited the matter that is now appearing in the New York Crisis? In view of the pledge that he admitted that he signed when he was not a desk captain, we feel confident that he would have been as coingly silent as the distinguished race leader who has had an office adjacent to the one occupied by the distinguished Secretary of War.

Speaking of himself in the third person, DuBois says: He was compelled to sign the following pledge as to his correspondence with America: "To avoid criticism of all Allied Forces; to avoid any observation tending to aid the enemy or to injure morale of the Allies, and not to pub-

lish any written statements, or give out any interviews, except through the censorship of the Intelligence Section of the General Staff."

He landed in America, March 31 and in the ensuing issue of The Crisis he felt it his duty to ask Mr. Scott our special representative in the War Department three simple questions of fact.

Those three simple questions of fact have aroused all of this furor and have caused no end of trouble. No one doubts but what Emmett J. Scott knew about these conditions and a great deal more than he will ever dare give to the public. If W. E. B. DuBois signed a pledge in France, not to communicate to this country what he saw there, how could Emmett J. Scott communicate to the public what he knew here? There was only one way out and that was through the door of resignation. Even had he resigned, he dared not disclose what he knew when he held office.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, as a captain would have had official lock-jaw up to this time and certainly he knows it. There is one confirmation in the Scott letter that Dr. DuBois has reproduced and that is that it shows that Emmett J. Scott did advocate and favor the appointment of Dr. DuBois to a captaincy in the regular army. It looked to us like a trap, in to which the able scholar walked. Certainly, it has marred his career in no small degree and it has estranged an army of people who formerly admired and praised him. Here is more of the same kind of information.

The Crisis dislikes and avoids personal controversy. The Crisis knows that it is easier to criticize than to do. The Crisis is eager to give Mr. Scott every credit due and to make every allowance for the singular difficulty of his position. But the Crisis in its position as public mentor and adviser and newspaper absolutely refuses to be turned around by its determination to know why it was that in this the most critical period of the existence of the Negro race, 200,000 of the best blood of our young manhood—men who offered their lives for their people and their country could be crucified, insulted, degraded and maltreated while their fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers had no adequate knowledge of the real truth.

What good would it have done these fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers to have known the truth, when there was not help and citizens here were being denied the fundamental rights guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States? We, who were in this country were not permitted to speak above a whisper. The press was silenced and many a man is in the penitentiary today, who is as guiltless of any crime as the dripping snow. Did Mr. Scott conceal fatal knowledge? Had he given out the information, would he have saved human life? Could he have mitigated or improved conditions by giving the facts to the country, when there was not a newspaper in the land that would have dared to have given space to his disclosures or a mail-carrier, white or colored, who would have dared to knowingly transmit this information even in the mails?

The same rule of conduct that prevailed inside of the American lines in France operated outside of the American lines in this country. Dr. DuBois continues:

It is not simply a question of what Mr. Scott personally could or could not accomplish—God knows we are all of us helpless enough in this bitter fight—it is the vaster question of the right of concealing fatal knowledge; if Mr. Scott could do nothing, how did he know that others were equally helpless? How did he know that all of us together would be equal ly helpless?

Again we ask the question, did Mr. Scott conceal fatal knowledge? That is, did he conceal facts that would if known have averted the execution of a human being? If he did, then Dr. DuBois is correct in his conclusions. Dr. DuBois tells him what he could have done. Here it is:

Why could he not have reassembled the editor's conference or even some larger meeting of influential men and said to them in confidence: "Hell is loose in France, and our boys are dying in soul and body—what can be done?" If he could not act publicly could he not have passed the word quietly to his friends? Was his only recourse silence and the repeated assurance to "inquire that everything was going well?" Suppose we discovered that some colored official was concealing the knowledge of lynchings on the ground that he could not stop them; shall we not try the power of every one—the vast, combined power of all before we surrender? No concealment is ever a cure for crime.

Did Mr. Scott's position depend on his not revealing the desperate conditions in France? We do not believe it. We believe that Secretary Baker would have halted the anti-Negro campaign had he known its lengths. We believe that the colored press, even with the limitations of the Espionage Law could have worked up a public opinion that would have brought Greer and his accomplices home; and even granted that also nothing could have been done we ought at least to have known the truth.

These meetings of those of a simi-

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SPRING TIME OF YOUTH. Mme. Rose's Hy-quality Preparations are the Sensation of the Times. THEIR EFFICIENCY IS AS YET UN-EQUALLED. THEY ARE COMPOUNDED WITH THE UTMOST CARE AND A SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE SKIN AND HAIR. AGENTS WANTED. BEAUTY CULTURE IN ALL OF ITS BRANCHES TAUGHT BY MAIL. DIPLOMAS GIVEN.

lar character were held and well-nigh every thing was said that could be said. Hon. Emmett J. Scott in particular and other higher officials in general received a veritable "ox roast." It did not halt the anti Negro campaign. So what is alleged Mr. Scott did not do was done by others, but it was done. In this connection, it would be well to mention William Monroe Trotter, Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett, Rev. W. H. Jernigan, Rev. A. C. Powell; Rev. J. Milton Waldron, Dr. E. W. Moore and a host of others, all doing exactly what Dr. DuBois says should have been done.

What matters it whether it was done by the one or by the other so long as it was done? On the other hand Dr. W. E. B. DuBois was on record as having recommended in the New York Crisis that we let our wrongs and our grievances wait, until after the war was over. By what scheme of reasoning, can he now lambast Scott for doing the very thing that he had advised him and others to do? Our esteemed literary friend proceeds to give even Hon. Ralph W. Tyler a parting shot for concerning him he says:

The sending of Ralph Tyler finally as newspaper correspondent was an excellent move but it came too late and, indeed unless Mr. Tyler had special facilities accorded him, he could send nothing essential past the censor. He had no special facilities and he sent nothing. But that was not all. Despite the fact that Mr. Tyler had the same opportunities as the editor of the Crisis to learn the truth, he has since his return published practically nothing and revealed no essential fact.

Mr. Tyler, was sent like most of the others were sent, handicapped from the start. Only those who stayed on this side of the Atlantic in their own right or went over there untrammelled like Editor William Monroe Trotter are in a position to speak. In view of their restrictions and promises, they would violate solemn obligations, so to do. The New York Crisis concludes:

The Crisis therefore, leaves the matter precisely in the position that it was before: 1. Did Mr. Scott know the treatment which black troops were receiving in France? 2. If Mr. Scott did not know, why did he not find out? 3. If he did know, what did he do about it?

We do not believe that there is any doubt that Hon. Emmett J. Scott had been informed of conditions as they existed in France and in this country. The question is what could he do and what did he do about it? His duties were to receive complaints and to forward those deserving of consideration to the proper authorities for a rectification of conditions and a remedying of evils alleged to exist as affecting colored men in the army. If he did not do this he is blamable. If he did do this, then he did all that could be expected of him to do. The only one who can answer this question with accuracy and certainty is Secretary of War Baker. Why not apply to him for information upon this subject?

To our mind, it seems that the gun of the distinguished scholar and journalist should be levelled upon the white officers guilty of having degraded, enslaved and persecuted colored men in the army and that the making of a scapegoat of Scott is only making it impossible to secure punishment of those responsible for the outrages. While DuBois and Scott are fighting each other, the Negro fighters in the War Department are laughingly making their escape from criticism or deserved punishment.

We have never favored the Booker T. Washington school of thought, of which the Hon. Emmett J. Scott is the representative. It favors too much of cringing, of moving along the lines of the least resistance, of "bending the supple hinges of the knee, that favor follow fawning." We have been impressed with that school of thought, advocated by Dr. W. E.

DR. FRED PALMER'S TOILET REQUISITES advertisement featuring skin whitener, hair dresser, and face powder, with an illustration of a woman.

B. DuBois the late Bishop Alexander Walters, Editor J. R. Clifford, Hon. H. C. Smith and William Monroe Trotter. But we have not in recent years affiliated with any of these organizations preferring to be independent and to be in a position where we could speak without fear or favor.

We believe in fair play and it is for this reason that we do not see our way clear to approve of the action of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in attacking one of the most popular race leaders in the country, who has done what he could to ameliorate the conditions of our people in the army and outside of it. He was placed in a veritable "strait-jacket" in the War Department and made the buffer for the complaints of the colored people. We would not have accepted the position at ten thousand dollars per year and yet he came out of the job a poorer if not a wiser man. If he wishes to write a history of the war in order to secure a lifetime competency to support himself and family, let him do it without any criticism. If Dr. W. E. B. DuBois wishes to do the same thing, let him do it.

We would like to see them both worth a quarter of a million dollars before death. They are entitled to it and let them have it but what is the use of the one "cutting the throat" of the other while our enemies look on with evident amusement and satisfaction. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois has evidence of the treatment of the colored soldiers in the army. What is he doing with this evidence other than publishing it in the New York Crisis and using it as a battering ram to destroy Scott, who according to his own evidence did all that he could for him?

The men affected in the army, that is the white men, regard as harmless these disclosures. They can do no good until they are put in the legal form of charges and filed with the President of the U. S., as Commander in chief of the Army and Navy, the Secretary of War, the Chief of Staff or the Adjutant General of the United States Army. When they come in this way, these guilty white officers, one of whom is known as Brigadier General Erwin and who referred to Dr. DuBois as "A man DuBois" will take notice and will be

inclined to repeat the words of Shakespeare: Approach thou like the rugged Russian bear, The arm'd rhinoceros or the Hyrcanian tiger; Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves Shall never tremble.

They are now beginning the unheeded proceeding of trying the head of a State for the offenses committed during times of war. This will give Dr. DuBois the opportunity he desires. American officers in Europe under this ruling will be liable for crimes committed upon their own soldiers during the time of the same struggle. Will Dr. DuBois collect and put in legal form the facts that he has gathered which he says is constituted as follows:

"But the Crisis in its position as public mentor and adviser and news paper absolutely refuses to be turned one moment from its determination to know why it was that in this the most critical period of the existence of the Negro race, 200,000 of the best blood of our young manhood—men who offered their lives for their people and their country could be crucified, insulted, degraded and maltreated while their fathers, mothers, sisters, and brothers had no adequate knowledge of the real truth.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Hon. Emmett J. Scott is not guilty of any of these charges. White army officers are chargeable with these offenses and the only way to reach these regular army officers is through the regular channels of the court-martial. You might do it too through the request for an official investigation in the Congress. Has he done this or does he propose to do it? God knows we regret this unfortunate controversy. W. E. B. DuBois stands head and shoulders in many respects above any other race leader in the country. This petty business of attacking one of his fellows cannot do him any material good and it may do Emmett J. Scott much material harm. Certainly, it will tend to divide our people, who should at this time, above all others be united.

Let him call off this attack upon Scott and file his charges before the proper committee in the Congress and with the Government officials at Wash-

ington to the end that the Negro-haters' smiles in the army may be turned to frowns and the divisions now so discernible among the colored people of the United States may be obliterated for ever more. Among the colored folks at least, Dr. DuBois, let us have peace.

A hundred years, to be sure, is a very little time for the duration of a national error; and it is so far from being reasonable to look to its decay at so short a date, that it can hardly be expected, within such limits, to have displayed the full bloom of its imbecility.—S. Smith.

Trouble and over-work make some people ill-tempered. You should know how it is yourself.

The people of this world have been about the same in evil and goodness for many centuries in fact ever since the foundation of the world.

Thousands of people can submit plans that not one person in a million can execute.

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