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OCTOBER

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THE CRUSADER

VOL. ICI.

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No. 2

NEGRO ON THE POLITICAL ASH-HEAP

By REV. M. FRANKLIN PETERS

THE American Negro is a political ass. His pedigree extends back some fifty years. To those who doubt his asininity a glance at his record will be convincing. His ability to play the political game is equal to that of an ass—no more, no less.

There has never been any doubt as to the Negro's political orthodoxy, and his moss-back devotion to the Republican party. His predilection for that party is the most remarkable in the political history of this country. Some attribute this loyalty to the Negro's gratitude on sentimental grounds. Others think it is due to a leakage in his brain-pan. On whatever ground it is explained, the truth is, the Negro is a political ass.

For fifty years or more the Negro has cast his vote for the Republican party. Here is the crux of the whole situation: The Democrats, because they never expect anything from the Negro vote, never give him anything in return. The Republicans, because they always expect something and get it, give him the same thing—nothing. Both parties are politically justified.

Experience means nothing to the Negro politically. Having been repeatedly buncoed and shoved aside, he is still a stalwart and moss-back Johnny who is ready to climb upon the Republican band-wagon, only to get a peep into the side-show after November.

All this means that in the most critical period of his history in this country, the Negro is without political power. And unless a miracle takes place, he will have no more after November, and that, in spite of the fact, that many said that the exodus of the Southern Negro would strengthen his political status all around. But an increase in numbers does not necessarily mean an increase in political power. The political power of a people does not reside in the number of its votes, but rather in the capacity to use votes.

This lack of political power can not be attributed wholly to the disfranchisement of the Negro in the South; for, in the North where no such restrictions prevail, he has no greater power. Obviously then, the fault does not lie with the parties, but with the Negro himself. This raises the question as to the nature of political power.

No party, Democrat or Republican, can give political power unless it is first given to that party. The getting of political recognition and

power from a party is like the priming of a pump—nothing can be given out until something is put in. This giving to a party results in a kind of political reciprocity. The whole thing works automatically and offers the most effective means of political coercion. This may be called one of the inexorable laws of politics.

What political power is the Negro prepared to wield in the coming election? The answer to this question will determine how much or how little recognition he will receive after the election.

After much bombast, powwow, kicking, braying and talking at the big-gate, the Negroes of these United States, some twelve million of them, succeeded in sending six or seven delegates to the Republican convention at Chicago. Of course, they were not so much as a drop in the political bucket. But we are told that they called on Mr. Harding and asked him what could they expect if he succeeded in getting in the White House. Mr. Harding replied just as any other politician would reply. He said: "Gentlemen, call on me when I reach the White House." They smiled, saluted him and walked away with easy acquiescence, and, no doubt, thinking that Mr. Harding was a lovely gentleman.

It will be recalled that Woodrow Wilson made the same promise and extended the same invitation to the Negroes of this country. In response to his invitation they called at the White House and Mr. Wilson kicked them out. This episode was considered by some Negroes as heroic, but to others it merely strengthened the conviction that the Negro is a political ass.

Whoever resides at the White House will be a politician. The first interest of a politician is to be elected, the second is like unto it—to stay elected. The six or seven delegates sent to Chicago to represent the Negroes had no political power. That is, they could not elect Mr. Harding, nor could they defeat Mr. Harding. On what political ground then is Mr. Harding obligated to the Negroes of the United States?

The Negroes of the United States ought to be prepared to defeat the Republican party in November. And that defeat ought to be so overwhelming and decisive that all doubt concerning the Negro's political solidarity would

vanish. This should not be done through spite, but with marked deliberation, and with the consciousness that this is the greatest opportunity he has ever had in the use of his ballot. Whatever political weapon the Negro expects to use, none can be more powerful and effective than the proper use of his vote at the polls. Such a step would prove a thousand-fold more effective than making a pilgrimage to the White House in March. This pilgrimage-making to the White House after elections to see the President is nothing short of a piece of unpardonable, blankety-blankety stupidity.

The political game is a nasty, dirty game, entirely unbecoming a democracy. And yet, it is just this game that the Negro must learn

to play. It is a game which touches every phase of the life of the nation. All are affected whether they take an active part in it, or whether they choose to remain neutral, negative and indifferent. It is all the same. We are face to face with realities, and it is through a proper appreciation of these realities we must get political independence and power, even though it is in a limited degree.

The whole truth of the matter is this: As long as the Negro shows an utter lack of interest in politics as a part of his life; as long as he uses his vote in his habitual and asinine fashion, he must always remain a negligible political quantity, and justify the conviction that he is a political ass.

SUPPRESSED FACTS

By WILLIAM H. DAMMOND

SAYES, Arthur, Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft, during all their administrations, exerted their powers toward nullifying the three constitutional measures for protecting Negroes. During more than half of the past fifty-one years the Republican Party was in power throughout the Federal Government; and during all of those years of Republican rule the Republican Party openly nullified the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments.

Neither Harding nor Coolidge ever did anything in the way of effecting ratification of the "war amendments." It is therefore untrue, dishonest and dishonorable for any Negro to attempt to deceive his fellow victims into thinking that they ought to vote for Harding and Coolidge because of the adoption of these constitutional measures.

More than three months ago, in the Republican State of Minnesota, a "caucasianess" and her white male "friend" colluded in falsely accusing several Negroes of raping her overnight. The result was that several innocent Negroes were murdered there. Although the cracker murderers are publicly known, the Republican State of Minnesota has not imposed, and will not impose the maximum punishment (life sentence) upon a single white murderer.

To no human being ever came a clearer call to duty than that which awaits for every Negro who will be able to vote in America this autumn. That sacred duty is to vote against Harding, Cox, Coolidge and Roosevelt.

Not even Thomas Woodrow Wilson, notorious enemy of justice, could do us more damage than those race-traitorous Negroes who, if successful, would have our race accept the dastardly policy of "peaceful and gradual" emergence from our widespread subjection to theft, violation of civil rights, rape and murder. Usually these gradualists are either dangerously ignorant or are equally dangerous Negroes who, well educated, are well paid mercenaries. Honest, intelligent Negro leaders instantly reject the tranquil snail pace the moment they win their eagerly sought opportunity to carry us upward with lightning speed.

One year's continuance of present conditions spells more Negro girls raped with impunity

by crackers in the South, further millions of dollars stolen from Northern and Southern Negroes, additional unavenged Negroes murdered in such commonwealths as Minnesota, Illinois, and all the rebel states. Are you guilty of wishing our race to progress gradually?

The city of Washington was not the first capital of the United States. John Adams was the first President whose official residence was there. Race prejudice did not play any part in coining the term "White House" which was innocuously derived from the circumstance that the building was made of "white free stone."

At the year of 1820 the number of Negro slaves in various Northern States and "the District" were as follows: Rhode Island, 14; Connecticut, 23; New York, 46; New Jersey, 2,246; Pennsylvania, 386; Delaware, 3,305; District of Columbia, 6,050; Michigan, 27; Illinois, 746; Missouri, 24,990.

Upon the 24th and 25th infantrymen was foisted Garlington, a Carolina cracker, to defend (!) the Negro soldiers. Never did Roosevelt's dishonor more clearly expose its hypocrisy than when he refused to relieve our black soldier boys from that same Garlington that said that he (Garlington) would not accept the word of any Negro under oath. Roosevelt said that he would not hesitate a moment to cause accused Negro soldiers to be tried (?) before a court martial even if every member of the court were a white Southerner.

Warren G. Harding further showed his hundred per cent. allegiance to the party of Hayes, Harrison, and Roosevelt when that Ohio Senator made it his business not to vote in favor of destroying the jim-crow car lawlessness.

THE BIRTH OF A WILD FLOWER.

By Frederic H. Williams, Detroit.

I was a tiny seed,
Implanted in Mother Earth,
Who, enamored of the Flaming
Sun conceived, and gave
Me birth.



THAT
THESE
SHALL
BE
FREE!

EDITORIALS

THE HOUSING SHORTAGE.

While legislators side-step and hesitate, while Fifth Avenue mansions remain closed up, shuttered and unused, the housing shortage grows more acute for the workers, with all the menace to health, morals and a proper nutrition to themselves and children which such a situation brings.

In the meantime there is negligence on the part of the famous (or fatuous) Department of Justice in the prosecution of builders, landlords and others who are in illegal combinations to hamper the work of building new houses which would relieve the situation and incidentally deprive the landlords of some of their present opportunities to bleed the tenants white.

The only adequate measure offered to cope with the situation—municipal house-building and operation—is opposed because it would decrease the present fat profits of the blood-sucking landlords, and because it happens to be at present “unconstitutional” in a capitalist State.

In the meantime the workers are herded two and three families in the same apartment, and, even at that, are forced to deprive themselves of necessary food and clothing that the landlord may be paid his pound of flesh.

HELPING PROSCRIPTION.

Such is the “slave psychology” of the New World Negro that there are millions of Negroes in America and the West Indies who daily (unconsciously or consciously) aid in the maintenance of the ostracism and proscription of their race.

From the timid and servile individual who spoils his chance for service in a white restaurant by the quavering inquiry as to whether they serve colored people, to the ignorant porter or bootblack who willingly brushes the clothes or shines the shoes of the white person but feels highly insulted when called upon to perform the same services for members of his own race, who may be as high above him, socially and intellectually, as any of the whites upon whom he so willingly waits—they are all tacitly acknowledging the aristocracy of color and the caucasian dictum of Negro inferiority and thus doing more to handicap the race than any mere dictum from any other race, unsupported from within our own, could jossibly have done.

“AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS.”

“Africa for the Africans” is synonymous in meaning to those older and better known racial slogans of “Europe for the Europeans” and “Asia for the Asiatics.”

“Africa for the Africans” no more means that all Africans and people of African descent must be confined to the African continent than “Europe for the Europeans” means that all Europeans must be kept to Europe. Negroes in other parts of the world will not necessarily have to pull up stakes and go to Africa, though there is ample room and vast opportunities on the wide and healthy African plateaus for many times their numbers. *But Negroes everywhere would derive colossal and immediate benefits from the successful application of the slogan “Africa for the Africans.”* Masters of their ancestral home, they could demand respect in the lands of the other great races. Even weak Liberia and Haiti, handicapped as they have been by foreign political interference and financial discrimination, have helped to increase Negro prestige. With powerful Negro states in the motherland to back us up bars now raised against us would automatically collapse overnight. Nations have little respect for the weak and unorganized, but are mighty diplomatic where organized force is concerned. Japan, with her organized 70,000,000, gets more respect from her sister nations than the Negro race with its unorganized 250,000,000.

“Africa for the Africans” means government of the people of Africa by the people of Africa and *for* themselves and the glory, advancement and protection of the entire Negro race, as opposed to the present system of government of Africa by and in the interests of European capitalists. With strong and stable Negro states in Africa (or elsewhere, for that matter; South America, for instance), the reproach so often thrown at the Negro that he is not fit for self-government would no longer have force, nor would its accompanying corollary that, not capable of governing himself, he is necessarily not fit for participation in the political systems of other peoples among whom he may be thrown.

“Africa for the Africans” does not necessarily mean a single empire or republic of the huge continent, the second largest of the great land masses of the earth. Europe and Asia both harbor scores of independent nations. Even the comparatively new Ameri-

cas are divided up into many separate entities.

"Africa for the Africans" is not offered as a panacea for all the ills of the Negro race, but specifically for those political and economic ills which are the outgrowth of white domination of the Negro race and exploitation of the vast mineral, forest and agricultural wealth of the Negro motherland. Too, it can hardly be questioned that independent, unhampered evolution for the Negro in Africa must greatly influence for the better the position of Negroes throughout the world, thus tending to a solution of *most*, if not all, of the ills of even the Negro resident in other lands and freeing the majority of the Negro race for progress along lines of its own race-genius.

"Africa for the Africans" does not necessarily mean that African development thereafter would be along capitalistic lines. Those who have studied the Negro peoples of Africa are aware that wherever these peoples have had opportunity for independent development their peculiar race-genius has led them into the sphere of what in the European world are today known as Socialism and Communism, both having been in practical application in Africa for centuries before they were even advanced as theories in the European world.

The fight for a free Africa now being taken up by large numbers of New World Negroes in support of the "Ethiopian Movement" in South Africa and the Mohammedan renaissance in the North and East does not mean that these New World Negroes are losing interest in the fight against injustices at home. It merely means that they have at last recognized the lessons of history. And history teaches nothing more clearly than that national independence, bolstered up and protected by powerful force, is the only way of escaping alien domination and oppression.

CHRISTIANITY AS PROPAGANDA.

To students of the race question in different parts of the world it has long been evident that the Christian religion was being prostituted by the white man to his own selfish and racial ends, and that far from being extended in the sense of the "Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man" it was being pushed upon non-Christian races because of its value as "a pacific creed" that would help in the maintenance of white political control over those races.

To those who have not had the leisure to study the race question from this angle, the following comparison between the effects of Mohammedanism and Christianity from

Lothrop Stoddard's book, "The Rising Tide of Color," will undoubtedly be painfully enlightening:

"Islam has thus two avenues of approach to the African Negro—his natural preference for a militant faith and his resentment at white tutelage. It is the disinclination of the more martial African people for a pacific creed which perhaps accounts for Christianity's slow progress among the warlike tribes of South Africa, such as the Zulus and the Matabele. Islam is as yet unknown south of the Zambesi, but white men universally dread the possibility of its appearance, fearing *its effect upon the natives*. Of course, Christianity has made distinct progress in the Dark Continent. The natives of the South African Union are predominantly Christianized. In east-central Africa Christianity has also gained many converts, particularly in Uganda, while on the West African Guinea coast Christian missions have long been established and have generally succeeded in keeping Islam away from the seaboard. *Certainly, all white men, whether professing Christians or not, should welcome the success of missionary efforts in Africa.* The degrading fetishism and demonology which sum up the native pagan cults cannot stand, and all Negroes will some day be either Christians or Moslems. In so far as he is Christianized, the Negro's savage (independent) instincts will be restrained *and he will be disposed to acquiesce in white tutelage.* In so far as he is Islamized, the Negro's warlike propensities will be inflamed, and he will be used as the tool of Arab Pan-Islamism seeking to drive the white man from Africa and make the continent its very own."

BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!!!

The danger to the Negro race now is not that the downfall of tyrannous, Africa-partitioning Europe will be too far delayed, but that, being accelerated as it is by internal ruptures as well as by external pressure from the fast awakening masses of Asia and Africa, it may be precipitated into un hoped-for early occurrence and so find the Negro unorganized and unprepared to seize the golden opportunities presented. Organized, the Negro would be able to share with the Asiatic the opportunities of the hour. Unorganized and unprepared to take his place as an ally and equal of the Asiatic, he would find that the downfall of Europe had only brought about a change of masters, and the long fight for freedom would have to be begun all over again.

Such is the situation facing us, as indicated by the rapid move of world events.

The future of the race—our very racial life—now depends upon our ability to organize, and to organize quietly and efficiently. To tell a man what you are going to do to him is to put that man on guard and so jeopardize the threatened attempt. We must do less talking from now on, and more organizing. We must organize quietly and *secretly*, as other groups have done in the past. For this purpose and because we do not believe that you can play effectively against the other man while allowing him to see “your hand,” we have organized the *African Blood Brotherhood*, which now has several thousand members and over fifty posts in secret operation throughout Africa and the West Indies and other parts of the Ethiopic world. Every race-proud Negro, every Negro interested in his future and that of his race is invited to join the *African Blood Brotherhood*, and join NOW—before it is too late!

For information write to the editor of THE CRUSADER.

A SLAVE RACE.

For the possession of those very traits which we consider virtues the white man brands us as a servile people, a slave race.

We have always been loyal to *his* flag, to *his* government, to *his* cause, to *his* interests, and quite naturally he can find no explanation for these phenomena other than that we must be of servile stock.

The fact that in spite of his consistent ill treatment of us in times of peace we have yet never failed to rally to *his* colors in times of war but adds strength to his belief that we are hopelessly servile and deserve no greater consideration than other beasts of burden which he has trained to his purpose. On no ground but servility can he explain our practical acquiescence in his domination. He knows that were he in our place he would never submit to treatment such as he now metes out to us, and certainly would never lick and fawn over the hand that ill-used him. He knows that he would never be loyal to institutions that were opposed to his interests and his very racial life, nor to a flag or “country” that gave him no protection at home or abroad, but that stood rather for his oppression and for the dissemination of vicious doctrines aimed at his self-respect. And our continued loyalty to *his* flag, *his* institutions, and *his* country (for, after all the ignorant ranting to the contrary, the United States, with a white population of 90,000,000 and an insignificant minority of at the most 12,000,000 Negroes, is a white man’s country, and nothing that is likely to happen can change that cold fact),

but confirm him in the belief that we are safely servile and that, accordingly, he has nothing to fear so far as we are concerned. He feels that while he may be ultimately forced to relax his strangle-hold on those other races who do not carry the white man’s chains so gracefully and so proudly, that in our case it is rather an opportunity to further rivet his political and economic hold than a need to relax these before “the rising tide of color”—in which by all signs of the times we promise to play a very servile and most damnable part indeed.

THE B. M. C.

We fervently hope that the great convention in New York city of the Odd Fellows will mark the beginning of a beneficial healing of the old sores and a closing of enervating schisms in the grand old order.

Divisions in an order so large and powerful, and therefore so eminently fitted to render great service to the race, not only affect the organization itself, but, far more important, affect the entire race as well, since, so long as there are inside bickerings and ruptures, it will be impossible for the order to render any great service to the race, since, engrossed in its own quarrels, it will be unable to give the progressive thought and action desirable in racial spheres.

So far as outward signs go the convention was a grand success. Brilliant in the extreme, it dazzled even blase, sophisticated New York, although New York was not sufficiently dazed to prevent the perpetration of wholesale robberies and profiteering hold-ups upon the strangers within her gates. However, the brilliance was intense. But it is with more than outward signs that we are concerned, and we sincerely hope that the order will have taken on new unity and a more progressive and racial outlook as a result of its recent convention.

OUR LONE MONOPOLY.

Other races have secured monopolies in one line or other in the strenuous fields of industry and commerce, and (like the Germans) in certain lines of scientific research and achievement. The Negro, it now develops, also has a monopoly. The monopoly of the super-asses.

Of course, we are not denying that other races are afflicted with a surprisingly large number of asses. So, too, are we. But in addition we have the affliction of the super-asses.

Some of these are now engaged in telling us why we should continue, in the face of past experience with the treachery of the

Republican Party, to vote the Republican ticket. Others tell us that a vote for any party other than the two old parties would be a vote thrown away, not knowing that a *vote of protest is never a vote thrown away.*

Still others would have us satisfied with the pittance handed out to us, and tells us that it would be "running away" to strike out on our own initiative to create a race heritage for our coming generations and to win back from the despoilers the rich lands of our fathers.

From one quarter of the jackass stalls comes the truly asinine bray, "What better Africa for the Africans can we desire than Harlem?" As if two square miles of crowded, filthy tenements in a zone of high rents and soaring living costs, could be compared with the vast riches and illimitable healthy and fertile stretches of Africa. Too, the braying ass ignores the fact that only a small per cent of the total Negro population in America resides in Harlem, that the great mass is in the South, and that there Negroes experience a veritable hell on earth, with neither their lives, the virtue of their daughters nor their property safe from wanton attack. It (the braying ass) also forgets, or more probably does not know, that even in Harlem Negroes by no means enjoy absolute equality of opportunity with their neighbors, since Harlem is neither owned by Negroes nor self-supporting, and discriminations exist both in the renting of apartments and offices and in competition of colored men with white men in businesses that are in any way (and few lines that are not) dependent for supplies and stocks upon other white men between whom and the first group a community of interest is either existent or possible of establishment. But even if everything were milk and honey in Harlem, would the braying ass have us blind and oblivious to the sufferings of our own blood brothers in the South?

From still another quarter of the jackass stalls, vibrant with excitement and a terrible fear of losing a comfortable berth, comes the tremulous bray that the Negro is going to stay in America until "all the English in this country voluntarily return to the banks of the Thames and all the Irish go back to the shores of the Shannon; when the Germans return to the Rhine and the French to the Rhone; when the Italians seek the Tiber, the Russians the Neva and Volga, and all the Jews once more take their stand on Jordan's stormy banks; then, and not till then, will we consider a return to the fever-stricken banks of the Nile. Even then, like the prophet of old, we will probably have to be translated in a fiery chariot." This par-

ticular ass is one Charles W. Anderson, whose super-asininity prevents him from recognizing that an ass so often and so overwhelmingly repudiated as he has been by those he essays to "lead" and would lead, were they to follow him, along the degenerating back-ways which only are familiar to his jackasship, could hardly hope to be able to speak for any one but his own asinine self, the final disposition of which is as uninteresting to race-proud Negroes as is the disposition of the carcass of the more common jackass.

As for his sputtered mass of glittering "geographicalities," we must admit that only a super-ass would see even the slightest comparison between the Negro's degraded position in this country and the favored position of the English, the Irish, the Germans, the French, the Italians, and the Russians, all of whom are admittedly within the charmed circle of the dominant race, are part and parcel of the ruling group, and, moreover, where they have not been yet assimilated, have that behind them in their mother countries which demands and obtains for them the fullest respect and widest recognition of their rights. The Jews, who of all those named in the effusive brayings are in a position comparable to that of the Negro (the Jew not being admitted into the charmed circle of the dominant race, albeit considered as of the white race for purposes of historical jugglings, and, like us, having no powerful nation of his own race to see that his rights are respected), are even now engrossed in the Zionist movement and literally moving heaven and earth in the interest of a free Palestine. Many Jews have gone to Palestine from the United States and England, where they are merely tolerated, as well as from the countries of continental Europe, where they are openly persecuted. But a free Palestine, while representing opportunities for Jewish emigrants, will also tend to make Jewish migration thither largely unnecessary—providing Palestine ever becomes strong enough to demand and secure respect for the Jewish race throughout the world. The same applies in the case of independent Negro states in Africa. And patently Africa offers greater opportunities for the development of powerful nations than those offered by the small and comparatively barren area of Palestine.

Of course, being of the genus jackass, he could hardly be expected to know much about Africa, and appears to labor under the impression that Africa is no larger than the banks of the Nile. Or if his brayings of the Nile are to be interpreted in the same sense in relation to the Negro as his reference to

the banks of the Thames in relation to the English, to the Shannon in relation to the Irish, etc., he shows a lamentable ignorance that any school geography could have enlightened. As for the "fever-ridden" part of his description of the banks of the Nile, he, of course, does not know that these same banks, up to and far beyond the first cataract, have been used for the last thirty years as a health resort by hundreds of thousands of Europeans who annually leave their far famed Riviera for the superior charms and healthfulness of the "fever-ridden" banks of the Nile! Of course, there are fever-ridden sections of the Nile—above Khartoum in the sud region of the Sudan, where an unhealthy condition is caused by the existence of immense swamps, the draining of which will be difficult but not impossible. But none but one of the genus jackass would libel the Nile as "fever-ridden" because of a comparatively small stretch of river where fever conditions are prevalent. Too, there are also fever-ridden sections of some American and European rivers.

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But to wind up, this super-ass in presenting his arguments why the Negro will not leave this country, jackass-like cites only what *the Negro has done for the country* and mentions nothing that *the country has ever done or intends doing for the Negro* as a reason why he should remain:

"And why should we leave this country? We have done the States some service, and they know it. We have always stood ready to smite the foes and defamers of our country. We have fought in all the country's wars."

One would think that even a jackass could

have "hashed" up a better argument than that to show why the Negro should remain in this country, where he has always been oppressed and is likely always to be oppressed? Wouldn't you?

"THE BLACK STAR LINE."

The attitude of THE CRUSADER towards the Black Star Line has been consistently one of constructive criticism. We have never sought to destroy, but rather to make success possible by demanding efficient management and modern business methods. Among the fanatical followers of Mr. Garvey this attitude has been interpreted as of "wicked opposition" to the Black Star Line and the allied enterprises of the U. N. I. A., and there has been resentment among the very ones whose interests—along with those of the race in general—we sought to safeguard. At last, however, the light is breaking. Many stockholders have seen the truth and have thanked us for our criticisms. The management of the Black Star Line, too, has reacted to our criticisms by undertaking several important local reforms. It is evident, however, that wider and more radical reforms must soon be instituted if the company is to escape disaster. Certainly intelligent investors are not satisfied with the present prospects of the Black Star Line.

The Black Star Line has been in existence as a going and publicly supported enterprise long enough to have begun paying dividends months ago. What are the reasons for this failure to make the line a profitable concern? Our readers may find some of these in the Haitian Letter, published on another page.

AMERICAN KULTUR IN THE ISLAND OF HAITI

AT last the Wilson administration has been forced upon the defensive in its Haitian policy—a policy of the wanton destruction of the independence of a sister republic and the cold-blooded murder by American marines of unarmed Haitians.

That Secretary Daniels has been forced to resort to make statements of the utmost falsity to explain the presence and deeds of American marines in the republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo and that the falsity of these statements were long ago exposed are due entirely to The Nation (New York) which, through its articles by Herbert Seligmann, Lewis Garnett, and recently, James Weldon Johnson has tried its utmost to inform the American people of the tragedies that are being enacted in

the West Indian Island under the guise of establishing "law and order."

Secretary Daniels makes the statement that "the United States undertook its task in Haiti in pursuance of treaty obligations, and the preservation of order by marines has been directed toward the end of securing stability and safety to the inhabitants."

As the lives and property of foreigners in Haiti have never been endangered we can only infer that Secretary Daniels in speaking of "treaty obligations" intends to refer to the conventions which the United States has forced upon the Haitian and Dominican peoples at the point of the bayonet. In Santo Domingo, as Lewis S. Garnett found, "there is no President, no Cabinet, no Congress, and there has

not been for four years; there is only the arbitrary rule of the United States Marine Corps. There is a censorship so dictatorial and so humorless that the word 'Liberty' is stricken out from the program of the Teatro Libertad in the capital city. By official order of the United States authorities it is now plain 'Teatro.' And this in the name of America, while we were fighting to make the world safe for democracy!" He found that elections and the sessions of the Dominican Congress had been suspended, that the citizens were declared ineligible for the office of "Secretary of State of the Departments of War and Marine, and of Interior and Police," while "other orders followed in rapid succession, removing the ministers of Foreign Relations, Finance, Justice, Agriculture, etc., and naming officers of the American navy to fill these offices and administer them, in the choicest of phrases, "according to the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Santo Domingo, in so far as these are not modified by the military government." And he sums up his report:

"There may have been need for financial interference; there never was and could never be, excuse for such ruthless suppression of every institution of popular government and for the substitution of a military despotism."

Herbert J. Seligmann, investigating for *The Nation*, conditions in Haiti under the American occupation, found that, "The Haitians in whose service United States marines are presumably restoring peace and order in Haiti are nicknamed 'Gooks,' and have been treated with every variety of contempt, insult and brutality. I have heard officers wearing the United States uniform in the interior of Haiti talk of 'bumping off' (i. e., killing) 'Gooks' as if it were a variety of sport like duck hunting. I heard one marine boast of having stolen money from a peaceable Haitian family in the hills whom he was presumably on patrol to protect against 'bandits.' I have heard officers and men in the United States Marine Corps say they thought the island should be 'cleaned out'; that all the natives should be shot; that shooting was too good for them; that they intended taking no prisoners; that many of those who had been taken prisoners had been 'allowed to escape,' that is, shot on the pretext that they had attempted flight. . . . I know that men and women have been hung by the neck until strangulation impelled them to give information."

After seeing at first hands the horrors of the American occupation and receiving the confidences of the murderers of helpless Haitians, Mr. Seligmann very properly begins his report with the terrible but truthful words that, "To Belgiums Congo, to Germany's Belgium, to England's India and Egypt, the United States has added a perfect miniature in Haiti."

James Weldon Johnson investigating for the N. A. A. C. P. and giving the results of his investigation in *The Nation* shatters the argument that the United States embarked on the murder of Haitians and the wrecking of the Haitian Constitution and Government merely for altruistic purpose. In the first article of his series in *The Nation*, Mr. Johnson remarks that "most Americans have the opinion—if they have any opinion at all on the subject—that the United States was forced, on purely humane grounds to intervene in the black republic because of the tragic coup d'état which resulted in the overthrow and death of

President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam and the execution of the political prisoners confined at Port-au-Prince July 27-28, 1915; and that this government has been compelled to keep a military force in Haiti since that time to pacify the country and maintain order."

Mr. Johnson then proves the absence of any grounds for such a naive opinion:

"The fact is that for nearly a year before forcible intervention on the part of the United States this government was seeking to compel Haiti to submit to 'peaceable' intervention. Toward the close of 1914 the United States notified the government of Haiti that it was disposed to recognize the newly-elected president, Theodore Davilmar, as soon as a Haitian commission would sign at Washington 'satisfactory protocols' relative to a convention with the United States on the model of the Dominican-American convention. On December 15, 1914, the Haitian Government, through its Secretary of Foreign Affairs, replied: The Government of the Republic of Haiti would consider itself lax in its duty to the United States and to itself if it allowed the least doubt to exist of its irrevocable intention not to accept any control of the administration of Haitian affairs by a foreign power.' On December 19, the United States, through its legation at Port-au-Prince, replied, that in expressing its willingness to do in Haiti *what had been done* (italics ours) in Santo Domingo it 'was actuated entirely by a disinterested desire to give assistance.'"

After relating the events of the overthrow of Guillaume and emphasizing that "through all of this the life of not a single American citizen had been taken or jeopardized," Mr. Johnson continues:

"The overthrow of Guillaume and its attending consequences did not constitute the cause of American intervention in Haiti, but merely furnished the awaited opportunity. Since July 28, 1915, American military forces have been in control of Haiti. These forces have been increased until there are now somewhere near three thousand Americans under arms in the republic. From the very first, the attitude of the occupation has been that it was dealing with a conquered territory. Haitian forces were disarmed, military posts and barracks were occupied, and the National Palace was taken as headquarters for the occupation. After selecting a new and acceptable president for the country, steps were at once taken to compel the Haitian Government to sign a convention in which it virtually foreswore its independence. This was accomplished by September 16, 1915, and although the terms of this convention provided for the administration of the Haitian customs by American civilian officers, all the principal custom houses of the country had been seized by military force and placed in charge of American marine officers before the end of August. The disposition of the funds collected in duties from the time of the military seizure of the custom houses to the time of their administration by civilian officials is still a question concerning which the established censorship in Haiti allows no discussion."

Mr. Johnson began his report by defining, as follows, the reasons of the American occupation:

"To know the reasons for the present political situation in Haiti, to understand why the

United States landed and has for five years maintained military forces in that country, why some three thousand Haitian men, women and children have been shot down by American rifles and machine guns, it is necessary, among other things, to know that the National City Bank of New York is very much interested in Haiti. It is necessary to know that

the National City Bank controls the National Bank of Haiti and is the depository for all of the Haitian national funds that are being collected by American officials, and that Mr. R. L. Farnham, vice-president of the National City Bank, is virtually the representative of the State Department in matters relating to the island republic."

TIME

By WILLIAM H. BRIGGS

MOST people are compelled to do certain kinds of work. They do not always like their work, and this fact probably accounts for their not always making a success.

Almost every one is harnessed to some job, some position, some responsibility. But when a holiday comes, a person is apt to yield to the pull of his dominant ambition, and by the way he spends his leisure hours, you can almost determine what that ambition is. If you had a free day yesterday ask yourself this question: How did I spend my time during the free day? Did you dig a deeper rut than you are now in, or did you make an effort to improve your position? As you take care of the days, so will the years take care of you. There is an art of which every one should be master—the art of reflection. Did you ever stop to think that the soul of man is a trinity, whose members are feeling, intellect, and will? Each is ultimate, irreducible and unique. Feeling is not a kind of thinking, nor is thinking a species of volition. For all their difference, however, all three faculties work in wonderful unison; and the problem of time is the problem of balancing their activities. When we perceive the truth of this fact we recognize that man is an organism which adjusts itself in many manners to vicissitudes, and that what marks him off most sharply from all other animals is his reflective foresight. The ape has feelings and the ape acts, but between his feelings and his conduct there is little or no control. The creature does not check and postpone his impulsive responses in order to consider whether they will redound to his own future good. Nor does he seek out the consequences of an impending act and anticipate its pleasure or pain. But this is the very gist of human life. In so far as a man acts on impulse he is not exhibiting the power which distinguishes him from lower animals. Of course, he may be a man in a purely zoological sense, even though he habitually fails to ponder and look ahead, just as he might be a biped, though paralyzed in both legs. But he would impress nobody as human. We should say of him: "What a brute!" And the epithet would not be poetic license, but sober fact.

Let us take time to briefly analyze the conduct of one endowed with this unique reflective foresight. We find there are three stages in it. First, you find yourself in a position which makes trouble for you, and you must sense this trouble feelingly. You may be thwarted in a desire, or brought into pain. Secondly, you plan to escape the difficulty, and, in planning, you look ahead to the probable outcome of each project which you consider. Against your private wishes you weigh the effects of gratify-

ing them. Against the demands of other people you set what you deem to be your rights. Against your own bad habits you array your better knowledge. Having done this, you finish off the affair with a decisive act. And it is this act which, when judged in the light of the circumstances, reveals the precise degree and quality of control which your reflective mind exercises over your career. Your character is nothing more nor less than the management of just these interplaying impulses, appetite, feelings, foresight and arguments. In your adjustment of these forces, you show yourself as in no other way. Blame no other person for your failure. It is in reality due to a lack of alertness and intelligent industry for which you can hold yourself responsible.

Some wisdom comes out of every natural and innocent action. Time is always bringing the occasions that disclose their value. Our words and actions to be fair, must be timely. Force yourself to reflect on what you read, paragraph by paragraph. But remember, a man or woman may as well expect to grow stronger by always eating as wiser by always reading. Too much overcharges nature and turns more into disease than nourishment. The beautiful laws of time and space once dislocated by our inaptitude are caverns and dens. Opportunity means a time or occasion favorable for some purpose. Opportunity comes to the competent with gladness because of the strength inspired mastery. Having arrayed better knowledge against bad habits. Bare knowledge never accomplishes anything. If you will take time, you can cultivate your thoughts just as you can cultivate any muscle in your body or any mental faculty, but you cannot do it without an effort, and preceding that effort must be a purpose. Heed the law—any law—and your way will be strewn with satisfaction. If you think disjointedly, you will express yourself in the same way; if you have no clear thought, you can produce no clear action; if you are incapable of continuous thought upon a given subject, you will be incapable of continuous action along any given line. There are no idle and unproductive thoughts. Every one is posted on the debit or credit side of the soul's ledger, and goes to build up or tear down the fabric of time. Idleness buys nothing, bears no interest, pays no dividends. But the minute you invest thought, time, the breath of investment, puts life into it and it becomes active income-yielding property. They who know how to employ opportunities will often find that they can create them, and and we achieve depends less on the amount of time we possess than on the use we

(Continued on page 21.)

HAITI AND THE BLACK STAR LINE

Haitian Letter, Part One.

Port au Prince, Haiti, Sept. 16, 1920.

BETWEEN ten and twelve months ago there were faint sounds of the "Negro World" in this city, and some who exaggerated said Marcus Garvey is moving America. It was not taken seriously. The "Negro World" was coming into this island indeed; it did appear as if the sale of this paper was growing, for the talk of the black man's doings in the United States was heard oftener through the appearance of the "Negro World" everywhere. The talk was of the U. N. I. A. Suddenly a notice appeared in the local newspapers that a meeting to form a branch of the U. N. I. A. would be held on a certain date. This came off on a Sunday afternoon when the building was packed with natives and English-speaking people. The President of the republic, who regretfully could not attend, was represented by one his Ministers. The meeting was successful and everybody went away with high hopes of becoming a member. Shortly after another meeting was called, and those who attended had to leave. It was one of the most disorderly meetings one ever witnessed. Nevertheless there were members by this time, but the prospective ones shuddered. It did not last long as the body of the U. N. I. A. broke up. A second attempt was made by a far more intelligent body, but it went down quicker than it grew. The causes of the failures for the founding to the U. N. I. A. I will not here comment on.

The nature of the reports (if any) that went up to the head office at New York, and how they took it is not known by us. Business appeared dormant. Then there was the startling announcement that the agency of the Black Star Line, Inc., is in the hands of a certain gentleman here. Through this advertisement one remembered the U. N. I. A. A glitter of hopes beamed. We understood that this agent prepared an office with its furnishings, and no doubt was getting employes. Then the scene changed. (We must here state that all kinds of reports—"lies" we would entitle them—were being posted to the office of the U. N. I. A. in New York by different people, and the officers in that office just sat at ease and swallowed everything.)

One day, in the month of May, Mr. Luc Dorsinville & Co., of this city, arrived from New York armed with a contract signed by himself and Mr. Marcus Garvey. This contract is for one year and gives him authority to establish himself as general agent for the Black Star Line, Inc., in the Republic of Haiti and to constitute sub-agencies in the island. He called a meeting by public announcement and the members of the U. N. I. A. and others attended. He showed his position and asked for co-operation. As a man full of energy, and with the desire to see the thing get a footing here, he installed an office with its requirements, got a sign-board, flag, etc., etc. He sent out a circular to the merchants of this city who signed, promising to assist the movement in every way. Considering that cargo from this port alone may not be sufficient he opened up sub-agencies in the towns of Jeremie, Gonaives,

Port de Paix and Cape Haitien, and three weeks before the arrival of the boat he had 77 people of this city who booked their names for passage on the "S. S. Yarmouth" for New York. The sub-agents in the towns named above got busy too. They were in high glee, they lauded loudly the idea or fact to have a boat of their own to take passengers and their cargo without any ado, and here they secured as much freight as could fill the "Yarmouth" two times. There were also many passengers waiting, along with these the Government mails. But during these times all kinds of lying reports were being sent up to New York. Mr. Dorsinville did not mind it. The merchants here got their cargo ready, but the agent could not hear from the head office as to the time of arrival of the boat here, so the cargo had to be given to the other lines.

Immediately after this happened the agency received a radio message (June 24) that the "S. S. Yarmouth" would call here from Havana. The public was notified in the local newspapers by the agency. Anxiety reigned as the propagandists put forth the argument that there was no boat of the Black Star Line—"Its only a phantom boat." It became a reality when they saw the "S. S. Yarmouth" hove in sight, and until she docked ere they believed.

The "S. S. Yarmouth" arrived at Port au Prince at about 12:30 P. M. on Sunday, June 27, and she docked at about 1 P. M. The agent, Mr. Luc Dorsinville, boarded her and welcomed her safe arrival. After a little while on this ship the Captain and other officers were taken ashore and shown around the city, taken to a few private houses where the people were all delighted to see them.

There was a public meeting at the Theatre Parisiana on Monday evening, the 28th. The orchestra played sweet pieces, indeed. The agent opened the meeting and showed the cause, its usefulness and asked for co-operation. This was responded to by a dull speech from one of the officers of the ship. He tried to show the Haitian public the reason they had a white man as captain on the boat. Ah, just here they were disappointed. Nevertheless the local papers spoke well of it the next day.

This is Tuesday. On the arrival of the boat the Captain informed the agent that he wanted coal. The situation became worse today. In a conference with the agent, Captain and another officer, the agent suggested wood, and it was agreed upon. The agent cancelled the idea immediately on the Captain's proposal to give him a letter of credit to proceed to Guantanamo for coal. Later the Captain returned to the agent and told him he had met a friend who could give him fifty tons of coal. He was glad to hear this and made himself somewhat easy. Some time after the Captain hurried to the agency and informed them he had failed to get the coal. It was late in the evening—a day had gone. Seeing things were bad the agent went about for the wood and succeeded in getting twenty tons of lignum vitae at \$6.00 per ton which were put alongside the ship, and put on board by laborers. The whole staff of the

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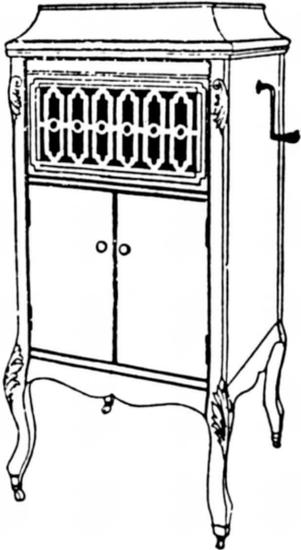
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 —I Know the Reason Why. Quartette.
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- 22085**—Moaning Trombone.
\$1.00 Memphis Blues.
- 22087**—Russian Rag.
\$1.00 St. Louis Blues.
- 22086**—Hesitating Blues.
 —Plantation Echoes. Vocal Chorus by
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agency was kept busy over the affairs of the boat.

As stated above 77 people booked, but on a visit to the ship given to the public some of them called at the agency and complained of its dirty condition. (Remember the Captain had told the agent to put the time of the visit to the ship at 4 P. M. in order that they may have time to make a "clean up.") Having no stationery from the office of the Black Star Line in New York the agent printed a book of tickets (a copy is enclosed) on which he sold passages to 27 passengers bound for New York via the ports of Gonaives, Port de Paix and Cape Haitien where there was also waiting passengers and freight and mails. Passengers were going on board at about 5 P. M. on Tuesday, the 29th day scheduled for the sailing. They were all turned off the ship, and the Captain rushed to tell the agent that the ship would leave for Kingston, Jamaica, to carry the passengers from Havana and to take coal.

Imagine the state of affairs. Some of the passengers were foreigners and had arranged to leave, and thus were put in a very unpleasant position. Just here the storm clouds burst. The passengers all rushed to the agency to relate the incident. Some demanded their money paid for tickets, but he having handed over the sum of \$300 to the purser of the ship before the above occurrence was not entirely in a position to reimburse. There were also other heavy debts to be paid by the agency. A bill went into the office for supplies for the ship which reached the sum of \$469.64, and laundry, \$78.50. Up to this time the Black Star Line, Inc., had not deposited any money in any of the banks here that the agent could draw on for current expenses. The agent made reports and kept the head office in touch with everything in connection with the situation here.

(To be Continued in Next Issue.)

INVESTMENT INFORMATION

THE INSTALLMENT STOCK GAME

It is being tried in colored communities by white rascals and their Negro tools, so read the following extract from the "The Crooked Game": Confessions of a master "con" man, published in the World Magazine of February 15, 1920. Read, digest and be on your guard.

"It was a good many years ago that the fight on the bucket shops began. * * *

"Well, it put a lot of deserving brokers out in the cold, among them the present author. Now, men will not stand by and starve, especially brokers, who are always gentlemen of fortune, more or less, and as deserving as most men. We simply had to have some other way to get the money.

"In this emergency the instalment stock business suggested itself. Instead of bucketting, which was forbidden by law, we could sell stock on the part payment plan and thus, in effect, keep on margining and bucketting. First one man entered this field and then another until at present every prominent bucketteer of the old days is now selling stock dollar down and dollar a month.

"The instalment stock business differs in detail but not in essence from the old plan. It has its advantages and virtues, but, in the last analysis, it is just another device for speculative trading—for gambling your money and judgment against those of the broker. The game works this way: You buy your stocks by paying down 10 per cent. of their cost at the time of purchase and thereafter 5 per cent. per month until the stocks are paid for. Thus you have eighteen months in which to pay for your shares. If, in that time, the stock should decline 10 points or 50 points, you would not lose your shares, but would have to pay for them at the price fixed when you originally bought them. Thus, if you bought a share of Red Copper at 100 in May, 1918, you would pay 100 for it at the maturity of your arrangement in November, 1919, eighteen months later. If, in the meantime, the stock declined to 50, that was your lookout. You had simply made a bad investment. Of course, you were privileged to

sell out at any time, providing you paid the loss.

"On the other hand, if you bought a share at 100 and paid your first instalment of 10 per cent. you made all the profits resulting from a rise, and were allowed to sell at any time and pocket your profit. Here is where the speculative feature comes in. The man who used to frequent the bucket shops now sits before the blackboard in the instalment stock houses and buys stocks at 10 per cent. deposit, betting on a rise. All that has been accomplished is that the margin has been increased from 3 points to 10. Also, this new system has practically eliminated selling short. Ninety-nine per cent. of all instalment stock buyers play for a rise. Thus the broker is always on the bear side of the market.

"This was the game I got into when the bucket shop laws finally put me out of that field. I saw the possibilities of the new system and decided to try them out. I knew a broker in Philadelphia who was having trouble with his partner and was willing to sell his limping business for a small sum. For \$5,200 I bought him out, lock, stock and barrel, and promptly moved the whole concern to New York where I was shortly blooming out in Broad Street as the Co-Operative Brokerage Co., Dealers in Unlisted Stocks. * * *

"By the end of a year or so I had a very large list of customers who had bought standard stocks of me on the instalment plan and were slowly paying off their indebtedness. Many of these customers had now been paying their instalments for twelve months and more. As soon as a man reached this stage the real focus of my game developed. I knew that in a few months he would mature his payments and demand his shares. Before that could happen I must get in my work.

"Now I began to work what is called the "shift" on him. He received a letter from me

(Continued on page 30.)

AUTUMN LEAVES.

By BEN E. BURRELL.

The leaves must fall, the world grow golden
brown,

The trees be gaunt and bare, the cold
winds blow,

And birds to summer lands will then have
flown,

Knowing too well the winter banks of
snow;

And you and I, too, shall keep watch and
wait

When our life's summer endeth and the
fall

Beckons us onward to the winter gate,

Through which we pass to wait the dis-
tant call.

The leaves must fall ere yet our world grows
gray,

Ere broken be the bow and silver cord;

And since our feet come no more this earth
way,

Let us give weary ones a kindly word.

They, too, may pass it onward, and in time
Some erring feet to goodness may be

turned,

Its healing touch be passed from clime to
clime,

Till fourfold to ourselves it is returned.

The leaves must fall. Our work is scarce
begun

Ere we drift outward in the dusk and
dew;

Life's battle is not ended nor half won

Before our feet have found warm lands
and new;

And there, perhaps, our work shall never
cease:

To weary mortals still a hand to lend,

To search and find the balm for earthly
peace,

The stream's beginning and the river's
end.

The leaves must fall. There is no end to
life;

Through autumn, winter, changing into
spring;

From morn to eve, from lesser strife to
strife,

Each hour of time the souls of men take
wing.

By work well done, forgetful of the night,
Unto the ambient glories nearer drawn;

From more to more, imprisoned in the light,
And lost into the orisons of dawn.

882

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The Walter Baker School of Photography at 463 Lenox avenue will open its fall session with an immense picture show and dance at the Manhattan Casino on Wednesday evening, November 10.

Mr. Walter Baker, the founder of Baker's School of Photography and organizer of the Colored Photographers' Association, has been in the business over twenty years. He has been in New York City over twelve years, and has conducted a studio at 463 Lenox avenue for the past ten years.

The object of the school is to place a colored photographer in every town of 5,000 or more colored people, in the country. It usually takes a student from three to four months before he or she receives their diploma. After he has received a diploma, he becomes a member in good standing of the Colored Photographers' Association, which enables him to locate at once, with the assistance of the association in some town where he can immediately start business. It not only helps him select a location where he has practically no competition, but it also helps him open his shop, thereby starting him in business at once.



WALTER BAKER

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NOTICE.

The public is warned not to pay any money intended for The Crusader to one James Russell who, this office is informed, is now touring the country representing himself as being connected with The Crusader. Russell is a tall, light brown-skin man, of rather pleasant face, with dark hair slightly mixed with gray. Any information leading to his exact whereabouts will be appreciated by this office.

TIME

(Continued from page 14.)

make of our time. From this day on, do your best. If you are right, time will prove it. If you are not right, all pretense, or saying so, will not make it right. And so, let the decisive act have force and direction after careful and timely thinking. This, couple with perseverance, honesty and enthusiasm, will surely triumph and bring with it knowledge of victory achieved because of consistent and intelligent use of time.

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NEGRO MUSICIANS WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

By CHAS. A. HENRY

T cannot be too often urged that musical art fails unless it be co-extensive, in aim and grasp, with life: inclusive of the great, the small, and hardest of all, inclusive of that commonplace which lies between these. This is no plea, on either limit, for repulsive realism or withdrawn fastidiousness. It is a plea for sincerity and comprehension.

What a legacy it is, since our crowning, disabling weakness is our small and clumsy appreciation of our fellows. It is not wholly our own fault. The average man or woman lives in a very small circle, and with that enclosure, so bound are we by custom and convention that we tend to lose even that tiny fraction of difference from our neighbors in which, as William James once declared, "the interest of life lies."

It is quite true that we can, if we will, enlarge our circle by the study of history, while biographies, letters, memoirs and diaries may help. But not one who tries to write these succeeds, and not all who read either understand or appreciate.

In the hidden future, beside the qualities of confidence, courage and self-sacrifice, another quality—always a pre-essential of these in their highest degree—will be acutely needed, the quality which we call vision.

Where there is no vision the people perish, so the "men of Hezekiah" recorded the warning of Solomon. For perish, some read "cast off restraint." In either case, the warning applies with dreadful reality to the Negro musicians at this present hour.

Vision is of the essence of mysticism, a thing so little understood by many because the word is so variously used. Traditionally, it may be defined as vision of and union with God in an atmosphere of love.

The pageant, "The Open Door," commemorating the 50th anniversary of Atlanta University, which was given in Atlanta last November is to be given in Boston, Mass., at Symphony Hall (the home of the Boston Symphony Orchestra) November 16, 1920, under the direction of Miss Ware, who will be assisted by some of the leading musicians, namely: Mr. R. Nathaniel Dett, Mr. Clarence Cameron White, Mr. Ernest Hayes, Mr. John Backley, Dr. W. C. Taylor, and Mr. Charles A. Henry and several others.

This pageant is a wonderful description of the progress made by the Negro race in America, and furthermore substantiate what Milton wrote, noting "a complete and generous educa-

tion that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully and magnanimously all the offices, both public and private, of peace and war.

It shows what education has meant to the race. It includes everything that can give strength and nobility to the individual—permanent courage, good citizenship, good morals, willingness to serve and suffer for the good of men and of the race.

Further, there is quite a difference between ability and the purpose that is in the heart of man; also that it should be sufficiently emphasized that conduct is profoundly affected by keeping the thoughts centered on the highest and permanent interest of life.

For, after all, with all education, all that we do is circumstantial evidence of what we think and believe.

Musical Notes.

Grand song festival of Negro Spirituals and Songs, under auspices of the "Knights of Pythias." Edward H. S. Boatner, baritone, assisted by chorus of 200 voices at Jordan Hall, November 1, New England England Conservatory Building, Boston, Mass.

"In a Persian Garden," a cycle for four solo voices, with pianoforte accompaniment by Liza Lehmann. To words from the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, in Jordan Hall, September 30, New England Conservatory Building, Boston, Mass. Miss Revilla Hughes, soprano; Miss Marion Anderson, contralto; Mr. Harry Delmore, tenor; Mr. Edward H. S. Boatner, baritone.

Reception in honor of Mr. Frank Hexter, of Philadelphia, Pa., and Mrs. Blanche Diggs, by Mr. Stanley Hexter. Piano solo, Mr. R. Nathaniel Dett; by request, "Juba Dance"; baritone solo, Mr. Edw. H. S. Boatner; "I Don't Feel Noways Tired," by Mr. H. T. Burleigh; soprano solo, Mrs. E. H. Smith; "Yesterday and To-day," Spross; tenor solo, Mr. Percival Parham; Rosay; piano solo, Mr. Frank Hexter; recitation, Mrs. Florence Taylor; trio, of Eben. Baptist Church; "Every Time I Feel the Spirit," Diton, Mrs. E. H. Smith, Mr. Charles Henry, Mr. Edw. H. S. Boatner.

Boston had a great Sunday afternoon recital September 12 at Ebenezer Baptist Church, with a "Dett program" rendered by the following artists: Mrs. Lyllian J. Gwynn, soprano, of New Bedford, Mass.; Mr. Louis V. Jones, violinist; Mr. R. Nathaniel Dett, pianist and composer, and the Ebenezer quartette, Mrs. E. H. Smith, Mrs. G. Jones, Mr. Chas. A. Henry and Mr. Edw. H. S. Boatner.

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See page 15
page 16

NOTICE.

Owing to incorrect information on the part of a former agent of this magazine the wrong cut was inserted with the article on Columbia Lodge in our last issue. The cut was not that of the energetic Exalted Ruler, Mr. Walter Dixon.

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THE NEGRO PRESS

By LYNWARD F. COLES

Philadelphia, Pa., August 6, 1920.
Mr. Cyril V. Briggs,
Crusader Office, 2299 Seventh Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Editor:

As a Negro I am deeply interested in all that goes for the betterment of my race. Therefore, I desire (not as an advocate of race first philosophy so much preached by Hubert H. Harrison) to speak a word concerning the Negro newspapers and magazines, but as one who is deeply interested in Negroes being apprised with the information concerning themselves that can be procured only by reading Negro papers. The words "Negro newspapers and magazines" are used erroneously, for there is no such thing as a Negro newspaper or magazine in the sense in which it is so often used. We, however, use the words here in order to convey the meaning as to who operate the magazines and newspapers and for whom they are edited or by whom they are to be read.

Some seventeen or eighteen years ago, when I first learned to read well enough, I got hold of *The Richmond Planet* and the *Atlanta Independent*, edited by John Mitchell, Jr., and Benjamin J. Davis, respectively. At that time I thought these papers were all that one could desire. Their editorials on lynching and disfranchisement, etc., inspired me very much. Since that time these papers, like Rome of old, have played their part well and have vanished like a snow man before a July sun in order that the way be made for the *Afro-American*, published by Mr. Murphy, who writes a good editorial as a rule, and the *New York Age*, edited by Fred R. Moore, at one time edited by Thomas Fortune, who made it his business, as does Mr. Moore, to keep before his readers the same old story about lynching, segregation, etc. But Mr. Fortune and Mr. Moore fail to offer a solution to our so-called problem. The *New York Age* is very fortunate to have Mr. James Weldon Johnson as its contributing editor. He is a very liberal writer, and as a rule he faces the issue as it is and not straddle on questions to please himself. His object seems to be to apprise his readers of the truth. The *Detroit Leader* and the *Cleveland Advocate* are very good papers; the former advises the Negro to look well before he passes his vote in the coming election, while the latter, edited by Messrs. Ormond A. Forte and Ralph W. Tyler, was a staunch supporter of Leonard Wood for President. After Wood was not nominated, even though the two gentlemen were opposed to Mr. Harding at first, they are supporting him now because he happened to speak a few words concerning the lynchings which have taken place throughout the country in his acceptance address. The *Amsterdam News*, the *New York News* and the *Philadelphia Tribune* are dead papers, the *Philadelphia Tribune* having been edited for thirty years by Mr. Christy Perry and Mr. Grant Williams, both editors being staunch supporters of Senator Penrose. The *Chicago Defender*, edited by Mr. Abbott, is a Hearst paper, and therefore publishes only such news of which Mr. Hearst desires to apprise the colored readers.

These papers are beginning to give way to such papers as the *Indianapolis Freeman* and *The Ledger*. These latter are very well edited and are more or less liberal. The *Philadelphia American*, edited by Arthur W. Lynch, is a very good paper, and the editorials are very well written. Mr. Lynch reviews editorials from a number of the metropolitan dailies each week. All these papers are playing their parts well and should be read by the colored people in order that they may know what is happening among the members of their race. But these papers are giving way rapidly to the papers edited by the *New Negro*, such as the *Emancipator*, edited by Mr. W. A. Domingo and Mr. Richard B. Moore, who have a new vision and who stand for the best, nothing less, nothing more, for the Negro. The *Negro World*, edited by William H. Ferris and Hubert H. Harrison is a new paper very well edited. Mr. Ferris being a great literary man, he writes well and is up-to-date on almost every question from a literary point of view. He, however, would have the Negro vote for Mr. Harding, because he shook hands with Major Lynch at the Republican convention in 1912 in Chicago. Mr. Hubert H. Harrison is a close student of political economy, psychology and history, and those who know him are not surprised at his complimentary editorials. I am, however, surprised to know of his connection with the U. N. I. A. and A. C. L., and I am also surprised of his race first doctrines which he delights in preaching.

The magazines which stand out pre-eminently are the *Tattler*, edited by Mr. John Carter Baker and Mr. James St. Clair Gibson, at 1511 N. Camac street, Philadelphia; the *Favorite Magazine*, edited by Fenton Johnson; *The Promoter*, edited by Mt. Hodge Kirnon; *The Lagos Weekly Record*; the *Gold Coast Independent* and other *Gold Coast* and *Nigerian* papers and magazines, edited by such men as Casely Heyford and John Mensah Sarbah. The *Crusader*, edited by Mr. Cyril V. Briggs and *The Messenger*, edited by Mr. Chandler Owen and Mr. A. Philip Randolph rank well with the *Nation*. The *Liberator*, the *Melting Pot*, the *Truth Seeker*, the *One Big Union*, *Good Morning* and *Gale's Magazine*, edited by Linn A. E. Gale's Company in Mexico; also the *New Republic*, *The Searchlight* and *The Freeman*. Mr. Briggs is a close student of economics and of psychology and political history. He writes clearly and in a wonderful style. He faces issues just as they are without equivocating or retreating a single inch. Messrs. Randolph and Owen are connected with the *Rand School* in New York City, and this fact makes the person who knows of the reputation of that school expect these gentlemen to be in a class by themselves so far as economics, political history and psychology are concerned. They have a vision that is fifty years in advance of their time. They are the most persistent, fearless and indefatigable leaders of their race.

The *Crisis* made the way eleven years ago when it was founded by William E. Burghart Dubois, who styles himself as a psychologist. It is well gotten up from every point of view,

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and thought it a wonderful magazine and liked its policies up until 1917, at which time the "close ranks" editorial appeared. At that time I had to take exception since it seemed to me from what I could glean from the trend of the editorial that Dr. Dubois was camouflaging and quibbling to avoid facing the truth. However, I consider Mr. Dubois one of the greatest literary men in this country, barring none. I have often wondered why these papers and magazines are not more extensively read by Negroes, and especially in colleges like Howard University, Fisk, Livingston, Shaw and Lincoln in the United States and in Codrington, Harrison and Mico in the West Indies. It seemed to me that if these universities would spend a little time in teaching Negro literature instead of all of the time in teaching a little Latin and less Greek, our children would be proud of the race to which they hold identity, because they would know more about such persons as Lady Lugard, Morel, Ludolphus, Blyden, Ellis, Ratzel, Kidd, Es-Saadi, Casely Hayford and a host of others, Negro and white that have written concerning the Negro race. It is a very noteworthy fact that Mr. Nevel H. Thomas, of the Dunbar High School in Washington, is inculcating and instilling the habit in his pupils of reading the Negro literature. Senator Reed Smoot went up in the air because the library of Howard University had on its shelves a little pamphlet on "Bolshevik and Soviet Government," which was written by Authur Rhys Williams. This distinguished gentleman had the pamphlet removed from the library, yet this same gentleman knows that the "Clansman" and the "Birth of a Nation," written by Tom Dixon which ridicules the Negro in the worse manner possible, and has never asked for the removal of same. Mr. Graham, from the State of Pennsylvania, offered a bill to have all Negro papers censored with the hope of suppressing them. The Negro should not compromise with these gentlemen, but should insist on having Negro newspapers and magazines and literature read in Negro homes and schools. To compromise with these gentlemen would be a "covenant with Death and an agreement with Hell."

LYNWARD F. COLES.

"THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO."

Boston, Mass., Sept. 13, 1920.

Mr. Cyril V. Briggs,

Editor, The Crusader.

Dear Sir:—The article, "The Psychology of the American Negro," which I read in your August number, pleases me so much I am persuaded to thus express my delight.

I am very fond of reading, especially anything in the line of ethics, and am compelled to acknowledge Rev. Peters' article the most logical expression concerning our race I have ever read.

One point in his article which strikes me most forcibly, and indicates an awakening in our race, especially those who would guide our intellects, is Rev. Peters' personal definition of the term he is discussing.

Among our chief failings is lack of originality and the shortsightedness of limiting ourselves to established precedents.

Individuality is one of the signs of measuring the possibilities of any people. If all of the men of our race could read that article

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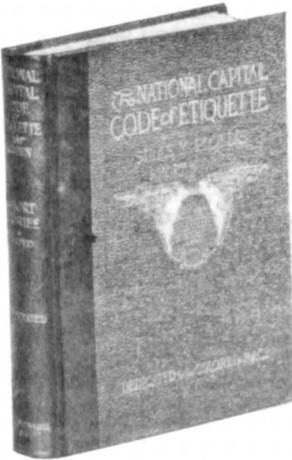
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(even as limited in scope as you had to make it) and take it in its proper sense, I feel they would experience the most clarifying influence to our much befogged ideas, and therefore having seen the light, we would march on all together as an army with firm tread, and confident heart, because knowing how, when and why, until we take our rightful place as men among men.

I have often wished there was a publication among us that would be a little more "The People's" than so much the "Editor's," so as to give opportunity to those of us who are sincere, who are thinkers, and those of us who read (even though not college graduates) to express our ideas. Some of which might not only be encouraging to each other, but helpful to the Editor also. I think the financial encouragement to the editor who will try this plan will be so great as to cause him to wonder why he had not adopted this idea long ago.

I would also like to see a publisher among us democratic enough to get away from what appears our idea that all valuable thought emanates from possessors of diplomas, and encourage those of us in the more ordinary spheres of life who are anxious to give expression to what may be helpful ideas even though not couched in the best rhetoric. With best wishes for the continuance of your individuality and independence, I am,

A New Admirer,
DANIEL F. WILSON,

39 Cunard Street, Roxbury, Mass.

P. S.—I just noticed after commencing this that the Rev. M. Franklin Peters is your Associate Editor. More power to him.

AN OPEN LETTER TO MARCUS GARVEY

539 Beaubien Street,
Detroit, Mich., Sept. 11, 1920.

Mr. Cyril V. Briggs,
Editor of "The Crusader."

Dear Sir:—I must greet you with credit for your continuous but modest and constructive criticism of Mr. Garvey's destructive policy. I ask that this letter be published for Mr. Garvey as an open one. Those of us of the African race who think more of the race than of millions of dollars in the sinking fund, respectfully request of Mr. Garvey that he change his present destructive policy. Except the provisional president of Africa can change his ways and adopt a purely human intelligence and constructive tactics, he must surely bring upon the race a moral ruin and destruction to himself. Therefore not only should the men mentioned in the September number of "The Crusader" be asked to join his advisory cabinet, but men like Cyril V. Briggs, W. E. B. DuBois, Duse Mahomed, Ali Efendi and Kelly Miller should be respectfully asked to join. We want them there even though Mr. Garvey may not and we must have them. It is the unsound judgment and bad management of Mr. Garvey that prevent their being in the movement. The attack on Mr. Du Bois must be stopped. Indeed he is more cultured than our provisional president. The great fault of Mr. Du Bois lies in his belief that he is an American, but we have, unfortunately, many black 'Englishmen,' too. That should not prevent influential people from rendering their due services to our race at this time. Too much credit cannot be given the electors and electorate for the splendid nominations and elections of the U. N. I. A. This

alone saved the entire movement. With best wishes, I am, truly,

(Signed) JAMES N. LOWE.



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INVESTMENT INFORMATION

(Continued from Page 19)

calling attention to the various virtues and prospects of Eureka Copper Smelting stock, let us say. I always had some pet stock which cost me little or nothing and wasn't worth printing. On this stock I had most attractive literature, reports, prospectuses, follow-ups, what not? I immediately set in to pelt my customer with this literature and with repeated personal letters urging upon him the great future of this stock. When I felt he was sufficiently prepared I wrote him and told him that his purchase of Standard Oil stock, let us say, was about to mature. I congratulated him again on this excellent purchase and reminded him that it was through my advice and my excellent instalment plan that he had been able to acquire so fine and large a holding. Then I put forward the Eureka Copper proposition and advised him to exchange his Standard Oil shares for a much larger block of the Eureka stuff. I held forth glittering chances of rises and the likelihood of big dividends.

"No need of going into this too minutely. In 75 per cent. of all cases the customer was lured by my subtle arguments and exchanged his standard, good-as-gold shares for my worthless stuff. That was what we wanted. That was the heart of the scheme. We figured definitely on getting three-fourths of our customers into this swindle, and we did a little better than we expected. With the rest, who would not yield to my lures? I carried out the contract. I bought and delivered the contracted standard shares, and there was an end to it.

"But the 75 per cent. had rough going. Their Eureka stock did not turn out well. In a few months or a year came the inevitable blow-up. The customer was wiser, and I richer. This game yielded a net profit of about \$90,000 in fifteen or sixteen months. Then I thought I had gone far enough and turned my firm over to other men, selling out at a good price."

INVESTMENT INFORMATION.

247 W. 63d St., New York City, 8-22-20.

Mr. Cyril V. Briggs,

Dear Sir:—I observe you do not advise investment in the United Produce Dealers' Association. Will you kindly state the reason in the next issue of The Crusader.

Respectfully yours,

CHAS. PITCAIRN.

After investigation of the United Produce Dealers' Association, The Crusader is glad to recommend the merits of that concern to the investing public, as we did do in our last issue which came out just a few days after the receipt of above query, insertion of which in that issue was impossible.

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Van and Schenck, character duet. Orchestra accompaniment | A2966 |
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