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THE CRUSADER

Vol. V. No. 2

October, 1921

Whole No. 38

Cracker Kultur in S. Domingo

Southern Ku Klux Methods Imported Into Fair Caribbean Isle—A. B. B. Sends Protest to Harding and to American Press

From U. N. I. A.
Branch No. 26

Sept. 7, 1921.

EDITOR The Crusader: We are seeking your aid to expose as far as possible, one of the recent happenings here, almost too gross for a name. This is an example of now-a-days civilization. Do not believe that it's only in "the South" that the Negro suffers serfdom and semi-slavery. Adding to the statement of Wm. P. Pickett, we continue the advocacy—"WHILE WRONG IS WRONG, LET NO MAN PRATE OF PEACE," and that's why we are appealing to the best Negro contemporaries (and do not spare the cost in feeling proud to be numbered among them) for help. We shall try to give to the best of our ability a brief and concise statement, leaving space for your opinion along with those of other valiant and ardent workers.

STATEMENT: As a co-operative body the Division No. 26 of the U. N. I. A. and A. C. L. is in harmonious working with a branch of the Independent Episcopal Church. Its president is the minister of said Independent Episcopal Church, whose origin is in the Church of the Good Shepherd of New York City, incorporated April 8, 1920. As is the custom of this branch of the Independent Episcopal Church to hold choir practice on Saturday nights, on Saturday, September 3, about the hour of 9:30 o'clock, they were practising when, suddenly they were stopped by several marine and civil guards. The captain of the group said, "You are arrested." The Rev. D. E. Philips asked, "Upon what grounds are we arrested?" For an answer the said captain in the person of an American said: "Shut your mouth. All we know is you are arrested." They were immediately taken from their building to the Police Station, and then a little later to the jail to await trial. There were seventeen persons in all who slept in confinement on Saturday and Sunday nights, three minors and fourteen adults. They are: Rev. D. E. Philips, Church Warden Anthony Bastian, Church Sisters N. Potter, J. Williams and Margaret Webster, Mercedes Dario, Violet Hollingsworth, Messrs C. Haynes, E. Bridgewater, S. Carey, E. Esdaile, choir members, and J. W. Butler, organist. These as church workers along with five members of the U. N. I. A. in the persons of C. Henry, 3d vice-president; Jas. Hally, general secretary, and J. Wells, J. Hicks and Rawlins. These five were not at choir practice. The general secretary was demanded from his home to deliver up articles of the association. They took almost everything that was in our

Liberty Hall, such as keys, books, documents and the chart. An inscription "AFRICA WE LOVE YOU. WE'LL FIGHT FOR YOU" was pulled down and stripped to a mince. The wine that was to be used at the celebration of the holy communion was drunk by them. You would be gentlemanly enough to believe, dear editor, that on reaching the prison that the ladies were placed by themselves and the gentlemen likewise! That would be misleading. The idea was to inflict the worst unthinking, inhumane punishment. Male and female were crammed in a small room, size about 15x9x7½. I shall not comment on this, as it speaks for itself from a standpoint of decency and in this season of the year. In this valiant little group was to be found a mother who had to leave her five children to the mercy of her captors. During these days one of the greatest difficulties is to get a morsel of food to them. Four days after, on Wednesday, September 7, they were taken to the Alcaldia for trial. NO PROSECUTOR APPEARED and they were sent back to prison! Mr. Editor, please help us find a term for a case of this kind? Finally, rumor says that the aim is to deport the "stone-walls" of this branch of the U. N. I. A., President D. E. Philips and J. W. Butler, 2d vice-president, they being out, the game is at a close. God knows how long they will be kept shut up until something can be dug up to bring against them for trial. Mr. Editor, can you help us? It is my earnest belief that you can, and will the more readily, when you remember that Force prompted by Revenge is merciless. We are,

Fraternally yours,
Div. No. 26, of U. N. I. A. and A. C. L.

NOTICE TO A. B. B. MEMBERS: Within fifteen days after you have paid your enlistment, or initiation, fee you should receive your membership card. This card is stamped with the official seal of the organization, and if you do not receive said card, duly stamped with the organization seal, you should make a request for same to the Post Commander. Upon his failure to see that you are given such card, communicate with the Executive Head at 2299 Seventh Avenue. All membership cards are issued from the offices of the Executive Head, duly stamped with the seal of the organization, as soon as the member's name and the amount of the enlistment fee allotted to the Supreme Council by the Constitution is received by the Executive Head.

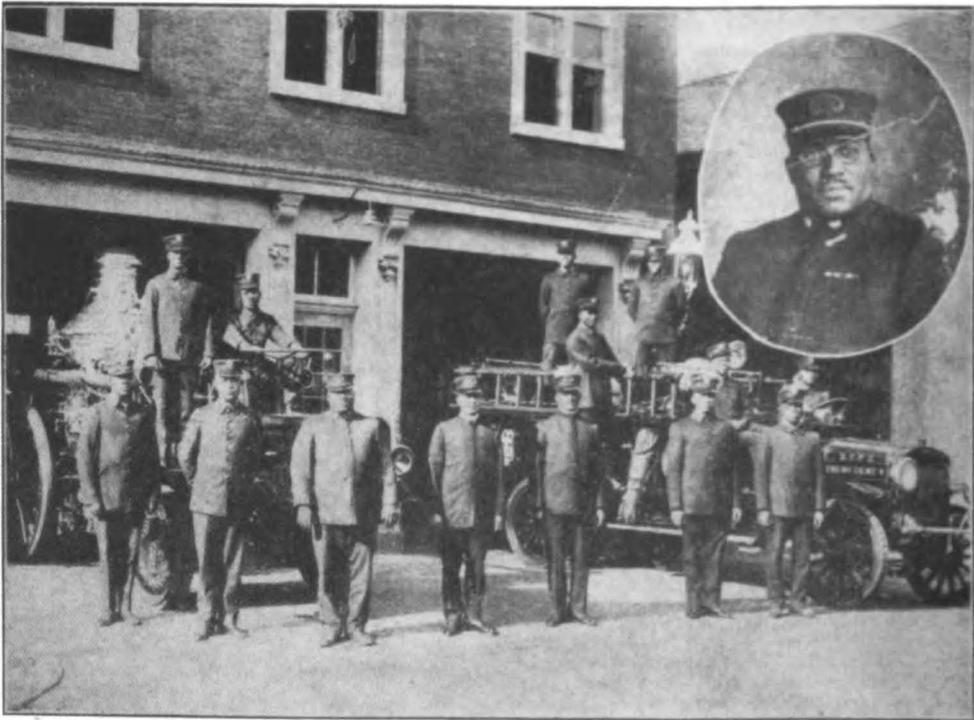
Washington's Colored Fire Laddies

They Have Their Own Company and Are Rated as Among the Bravest and Most Efficient in the Department

By
Washington Correspondent

FOR many years the Fire Department of the District of Columbia numbered but a very few colored men among its personnel, and the most of these held inferior positions, for regardless of the meritorious service rendered, whenever any of them were promoted the usual white man tactics were indulged in and they were ignored for the higher positions, while white employees who had seen less service and

ner, since retired, and obtained his endorsement for the project, whereupon he went to the Hon. Commissioner Louis Brownbon to see what he thought of the project. The Commissioner was won over to the idea and promised Gibson, Key and Holmes that he would take it up with the Board of Commissioners. Later, the colored committee received the gratifying information that the board was unani-



NO. 4 ENGINE COMPANY, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FIRE DEPARTMENT
The colored fire-fighters of Washington, D. C., have established an enviable record and have the confidence and esteem of all officers of the Department and of the Washington Public whose hearts they have so often thrilled by their unhesitating Courage and Heroism. In the insert the colored captain of No. 4 Engine Company, Captain Charles E. Gibson.

were far less competent were promoted over their heads. Becoming tired of such treatment, Chas. E. Gibson, then a private, called the other colored members of the department together at his home and discussed the shabby treatment meted out to them. All of the colored members were drivers with the exception of Frank Hall who was at that time detailed to the Chief Engineer's office. The members decided to take their grievances to the Chief Engineer and ask for a colored house to themselves to be officered and manned by colored men. Private Gibson called on Chief Engineer Frank J. Wag-

mously in favor of the project and the colored company came into being on April 3, 1919, at 8 o'clock a. m. It occupied the house of old No. 3 Engine Company, on Virginia avenue, between 4½ and 6th streets.

Chas. C. Gibson, senior colored member of the department, was appointed captain of the company; J. G. B. Key, lieutenant, and R. J. Holmes, sergeant.

The colored company has made an enviable record for itself, and has won the highest commendation from the superior officers of the
(Continued on page 12)

"DAUGHTERS OF THE EVE AND DAWN"



MISS DELMA HOLLAND, a beautiful student at Hampton—we wonder how the professor can concentrate on his instructions, or can't he?—who recently visited New York and had her photo taken at Walter Baker's studio.



MISS BELL WATKINS of New York. Oh, yes, New York has its beauties, too, as anyone will admit who once watches the Sunday Promenade up and down Seventh Avenue. It's Seventh Avenue now—not Lenox Avenue, as in the past.

1241



MISS ETHEL MOSES, a belle of Philadelphia, and the daughter of Rev. W. H. Moses of that quiet city.



MISS C. WASHINGTON, a beauty of Norfolk, who recently visited New York to have her photo taken in the world famous Walter Baker studio.

Photographs from Walter Baker Studio, New York

EDITORIALS

"While wrong is wrong, let no man prate of peace"

IS NOT THIS TREASON?

Within the last two months a certain Negro leader has made for himself the following unenviable record:

He has treacherously repudiated Social Equality for the Negro and has unscrupulously appealed to all the worst passions of the white race for support of his claim of being the only living "Moses of the Negro Race"—the only Negro leader whom the whites should recognize—in exchange for his surrender of Social Equality for his race.

He has attempted to destroy the rich, historical inheritance left us by Toussaint L'Ouverture, Banneker, Frederick Douglass, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Moshesh of the Basutos (South Africa) and hundreds of other Negro leaders in politics, science, education, etc., etc., and in a letter to the editor of *The New York Tribune* (published by that paper on September 18) says that "they (Negroes) have done nothing praiseworthy on their own initiative in the last five hundred years," and repeats the white South's assertion that "they have made no political, educational, industrial, independent contribution to civilization for which they can be respected by other races."

He has given a blanket endorsement to the Government of the United States for all its future wars—regardless of whether that government recognizes our legal claims upon it for protection of our rights as citizens of the United States or continues in its stolid refusal to recognize those claims; regardless of whether that government goes to war with Black Haiti, Yellow Japan or some other colored nation or with friendly Soviet Russia, whose actions in behalf of the Liberation Struggle of the darker races speak louder than all the hypocritical protestations of friendship made by those nations who oppress us with one hand the while they make the "double-cross" of their peculiar friendship with the other hand; regardless of whether the United States government goes to war in self-defence or to uphold the principle of White Supremacy so dear to the hearts of "100 per cent." white Americans.

He has advised Negroes to be loyal to all flags under which they live (when he could just as well have kept his mouth shut on the subject) regardless of the fact that

it is manifestly impossible for Negroes to be loyal to Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Italy and Spain, and still free Africa from the oppressive exploitation of those capitalist-imperialist plunderers.

He has refused to denounce the presence and murderous acts of United States marines in the island of Haiti.

He has attempted to divide the race along lines of color which would destroy what race unity we have so far achieved and substantially weaken us.

Is not any single one of these things treason—*treason of the blackest sort?*

The name of the Negro leader who repudiated Social Equality for the Negro, ignorantly attempted to destroy the race's precious historic background painfully woven in blood and sacrifice during the last five hundred years by Negro men and women in the Americas and in the Motherland, Africa, gave a blanket endorsement to the United States for all its future wars and pledged the loyalty of the American Negro under all and any conditions and circumstances; advised Negroes to be servilely loyal to the governments that rob and oppress them; cowardly refused to denounce the acts of the United States marines in the island of Haiti, and attempted to sabotage race unity—the name of that leader is *Marcus Garvey!* And every bit of the evidence of his treachery appears either over his own signature in the white press or is contained in his own personal organ, *The Negro World!*

Marcus Garvey has in the past, without cause and without evidence, branded every critic of his actions a traitor to his (?) 400,000,000 Negroes. With far greater cause and with ample evidence, is it not now time that Marcus Garvey was branded for the traitor to the Negro race that his shameless compromises and servile surrender of Negro rights clearly show him to be?

A FREE AFRICA

When the editor of *The Crusader* speaks of a free Africa—and it was the editor of *The Crusader* who, within the last decade began in the Americas the "Africa for the Africans" agitation which has since attained such tremendous proportions—he has in mind an Africa really and completely free. Not an Africa whose white capitalist-

imperialist bonds have been exchanged for the capitalist or feudallist bonds of a *Negro Potentate*, with a piratical court and an antiquated system of knights, lords and other potential parasites upon the Negro workers. The editor of *The Crusader* visualizes an Africa in which the workers shall control, and shall produce wealth for themselves and not for parasites—an Africa in which there shall be no "GREAT rich men" and no miserable poor. An Africa such as there was before the misfortune of the white man's presence. An Africa such as still exists in certain inland territories where white rule is only nominal. An Africa in which the native system of Communism would reign supreme with such necessary additions to progress as the Machine Civilization of the Western World. The editor of *The Crusader* seeks no throne or office in the free Africa of his conception. He would be satisfied with the mere fact of African liberation and wisely organized power of resistance. And he is so much in earnest in the fight for a free Africa that he does not look upon the task of freeing Africa as exclusive to himself by right of some mysterious "Divine Decree," or by virtue of an election to the created-for-the-purpose office of "Provisional President of Africa"—both office and election being engineered at a convention at which the vast, overwhelming majority of the delegates happened to have come, not from Africa, but from the West Indies and the United States of America, and therefore could have no mandate from the African people to elect a "Provisional President" for them. To him, the important thing is to free Africa. He does not believe Africa can be freed by talk, and he knows that it will take the entire man-power and mobilized intelligence of the Negro race to accomplish the task. He has neither the wish to, nor the illusion that he could hog the "show" of freeing Africa.

Another point that the editor of *The Crusader* would like to see clarified in the minds of those who have taken up his cry for a free Africa is that a free Africa should not mean that every Negro outside of Africa would have to go to Africa or that the Africans could not live abroad. The major cause that would send Negroes to Africa would be their desire to escape oppression in white lands. And if Africa was liberated and made powerful—either as one state or as several—this cause would no longer exist, since the citizens of a free, strong state are always able to live, without insult and without oppression, wherever

they please. Given a free strong Africa and the Negro's status would experience automatic elevation the world over. To what extent that status would be raised would be entirely dependent upon the degree of the power developed by the free Negro nations. There is therefore no need to confuse the issue of a free Africa with the issue of wholesale Negro migration to Africa. Negroes will have to go to Africa to establish connections and carry on propaganda and organize the natives for the Struggle. Negroes can go to Africa to better their economic conditions and to participate in "Government of the Negro, by the Negro, for the Negro." Africa, when developed commercially and industrially, could easily add to her own millions all the millions of Negroes now in other parts of the world. But—and this is important—given a free, strong Negro state (or states) in Africa and no Negro will have to go to Africa to escape oppression elsewhere.

GARVEY UPHOLDS KU KLUXISM!

Not since the day of Booker Washington has there been such shameless surrender of a vital guiding principle in the Negro Liberation Struggle, such servile kowtowing and catering to the worst passions of the Negro-hating white South as contained in Marcus Garvey's statement in the *New York World* of September 9, 1921. In that statement Mr. Garvey clearly manoeuvres for white support in his self-appointed position as the only living "Moses of the Negro race," and, in a spiteful attack on Dr. DuBois, repudiates the latter's commendable claims to full race equality—social, economic, political, etc.—for the Negro race. Says Mr. Garvey:

The Universal Negro Improvement Association stands in opposition to the Pan-African Congress and to the leadership of Du Bois because they seek to bring about a destruction of the black and white races by the social amalgamation of both. The Dr. Du Bois group believe that Negroes should settle down in communities of whites and by social contact and miscegenation bring about a new type. The Universal Negro Improvement Association believes that both races have separate and distinct destinies, that each and every race should develop on its own social lines, and that any attempt to bring about the amalgamation of any two opposite races is a crime against nature.

Was there ever such servile surrender of a principle vital to the dignity and well-being of the Negro race and such absolutely rotten logic as contained in Mr. Garvey's statement? In the first place he twists Dr. DuBois' demand for full racial equality: social, economic, political, etc., into a de-

mand for social equality alone, and then he gives to the term social equality the false interpretation given it by Negrophobists of the worst type when he speaks of "social amalgamation"—intermarriage, miscegenation, etc.—as a certain consequence of social equality and condemns as "a crime against nature" the marriage of two beings of the same human stock, but of different color and characteristics due to the operation over thousands of years of certain climatic and physical influences. Next he speaks of Negroes settling down in communities of whites as if there's any "settling down" to be done to put Negroes in communities of whites! Negroes are already in such communities, and the need for full racial equality, including social equality, etc., would exist even if Negroes were all to go back to Africa. An independent Africa would have to have diplomats and commercial agents in white and other communities, and would have to be as emphatic in its demand for the general recognition of the principle of race equality as was Japan at the Peace Conference. Nobody can accuse the Japanese of trying to "settle down in communities of whites and by social contact and miscegenation bring about a new type." Yet it is a well-known fact that the Japanese are scrupulous guardians of their right to live where they please and to marry whom they choose.

There is no difference in the attitude of white Negrophobists who would deny social equality to the Negro as a mark of his alleged racial inferiority and the attitude of Mr. Garvey in repudiating the principle of social equality because it is at present advocated by a rival in the comedy of "We are the sole saviors of the Negro by Divine Decree." There is remarkable similarity, for instance, in the attitude of "Provisional President" Garvey and "Emperor" Simmons on the question of social equality for the Negro, as is easily apparent by a comparison of Mr. Garvey's statement with the following quotation from the *New York World's* expose of Ku Kluxism, Inc.:

"Social Equality Put Under Ban," is a set of resolutions (in the Searchlight, Atlanta, Ga.,) denouncing the Rev. M. Ashby Jones, a pastor and son of a chaplain in Lee's army, for permitting a Negro to attend an inter-racial committee gathering at his home and for calling that Negro "mister" in the presence of a "body of fair womanhood of Atlanta,"—said resolutions being boldly adopted by "Patriotic Societies of Atlanta," no address given. "White Woman Marries a Negro" heads a story from Omaha on page 2 of the same issue, and "Separate Cars for Negroes" takes up a whole column on page 3. "Look Out, Patriots!" shrills another headline on that page. "Enemy

Would Place History in Public Schools—Backed by Negroes and Catholics." On page 6 is another set of resolutions condemning President Harding for appointing a Negro, Henry Lincoln Johnson, as Register of Deeds, and indorsing the opposition made by Senator Watson of Georgia to the appointment.

In repudiating Social Equality for the Negro, Mr. Garvey has done no more and no less than "Emperor" Simmons, Hoke Smith, Ben Tillman, Vardaman and other Negro-haters. Hadn't his friends better appoint a guardian for Marcus Garvey—a guardian that will exercise an intelligent censorship over his unintelligent and maniacal ravings and servile surrender of Negro rights?

STUPID TACTICAL BLUNDERS

Bitter disappointment is in store for those who favored and supported the stupid tactical blunders made by certain leaders in the Liberation Struggle in mixing the necessarily unfriendly (to certain whites) propaganda of the Liberation Struggle with affairs of business enterprises that, at least in the beginning, would have to depend for support upon whites. By openly mixing business enterprises with the Liberation Struggle and its propaganda they at once invited attack and presented a vulnerable front for that attack. And neither the invitation nor the vulnerability has been ignored by the white business man.

These stupid tactical blunders have placed the morale of the entire Liberation Movement in jeopardy. Let those business enterprises fail and the morale of many now enthusiastic participants in the Liberation Struggle would be smashed. Business enterprises could have been launched and supported without making known to the world the connection between such enterprises and the Struggle. Leaders prominent in the Struggle should have kept to the background in the staging of such business ventures. As it is such leaders really had no business ability and have done more to hurt the enterprises than otherwise. But even with business ability of the rarest sort they should have kept in the background upon the simple logic that the known presence in such business enterprises of men who were known, (*supposed* would probably be the better word!) to be working against white world domination would sooner or later draw the fire of the dominant white business world against the Negro enterprises with which they were connected.

We will be fortunate indeed if the inevitable collapse of some of these enterprises does not seriously set back the Liber-

ation Movement. Our only hope is in having the people recognize in time the serious tactical blunders that were committed and the certainty of failure under the specified circumstances.

THE WORKERS' PITIABLE PLIGHT

Five million jobless men and women walk the streets of the cities and towns of the United States. In a country where there is enough for all, millions are suffering the bitterest privation and facing actual starvation. Wages are being slashed at the same time that rents are being further increased and food prices again made to soar. The unemployed have been auctioned off—sold as so many slaves—in Boston and other cities. In New York such startling methods of calling attention to the terrible plight of the workers is tabooed by the Police Commissioner for fear, we suppose, of agitating the sufferers.

In Russia, too, there are hardships for the workers—but hardships coming not from "man's inhumanity to man," but from causes beyond the control of those in power: drought and the accumulated consequences of the brutal Allied blockade. In Russia, however, the Workers' Government is doing everything in its power to ameliorate the sufferings of the people. In the United States there is only hypocritical sympathy, while the screws are tightened on the workers—their wages slashed, their rents increased and nutritious food put far beyond their reach. In Russia the government moves in the interest of the workers. In the United States the government moves in the interest of the Capitalists with such measures as the Fordney Tariff Bill which has had no small part in sending up the cost of living.

MR. GARVEY'S PLACE IS IN THE UNITED STATES

We are surprised to learn that Marcus Garvey, president of the Black Star Line, President-General of the U. N. I. A., President of the Negro Factories Corporation, etc., etc., is contemplating a trip to Europe this year.

In the present condition of most of Mr. Garvey's enterprises it appears to us that Mr. Garvey's place is right here in the United States for many months to come. Certainly his manifold duties as president of the Black Star Line, etc., etc., demand his presence here at this critical period in the history of those enterprises. Or is Mr. Garvey convinced that something is about

to happen and desires to be absent from the scene at the time it occurs? Is he seeking to establish an alibi to give himself the opportunity of afterward explaining that if he was here it would never have happened?

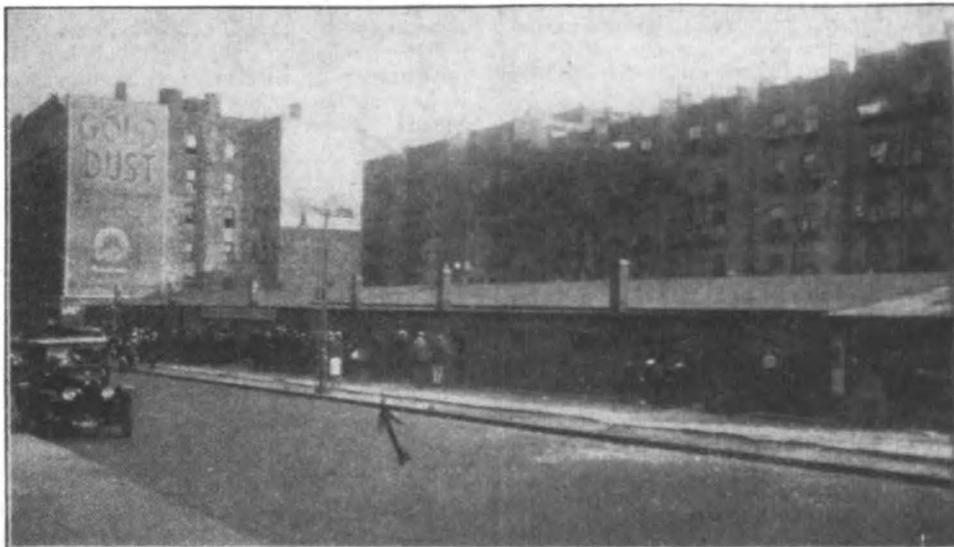
THE U. N. I. A. FINANCIAL REPORTS

The analysis of the financial report of the Universal Negro Improvement Association in this issue of THE CRUSADER, is as startling as it is informative. It reveals a state of affairs in the finances of the Association as to challenge the efficiency of its executives, give serious thought to its intelligent followers and check the truculent enthusiasm of its most fanatical adherents. The customary torrent of abuse and lies which is usually used by its chief spokesman to wash away justified criticism will not avail in this instance. Either the report is as analyzed or the publishers of it are incompetent. If they are incompetent (and the report proves the contrary) then they are guilty of deliberate misuse of funds by diverting them from the purpose for which they were solicited. Instead of solvency it shows a condition that is as near bankruptcy as can be without being declared so legally.

No doubt, Mr. Garvey will resort to his old practice of blaming some one else, but he, as president of the New York Division and President-General of the Association, its virtual dictator, cannot conveniently plead ignorance. True, he was away for some time, but the report covers much of the time when he was in control of affairs. At any rate this is no time for Mr. Garvey to go to Europe or Africa. He is needed here to assume the responsibilities of his many offices.

We await with interest an explanation, free from abuse and confined to the points made in Mr. Domingo's analysis.

We also look forward with pleasure and interest to seeing reports of the financial condition of the Black Star Line, the Negro Factories Corporation, and the African Communities League for the year ending 1921, published in the Negro World, in whose columns public support has been and is now being solicited for the above-named corporations. Or shall we have to procure these reports from the Secretary of State for New York? It is about time that the searchlight of investigation was turned upon the financial side of Negro organizations even as The New York World is turning it upon the Ku Klux Klan.



THE AULIC OF HIS MAJESTY—Liberty Hall, New York, where on the night of August 27, a "royal" Court Reception was held by His Majesty, the "Provisional President" of the Invisible "Empire-Republic" and knighthoods and even ladyships conferred upon the FAITHFUL, who are content to follow blindly and without question, so long as their Contributions are forthcoming weekly from the Imperial Treasury, the President of the Empire—or is it the Emperor of the Republic? We humbly confess our inability to solve this jumble-puzzle. Anyhow, here's the first photograph of Liberty Hall to be published.

—Photo by our own Secret Service

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WASHINGTON'S FIRE LADDIES

(Continued from page 6)

department. These officers are all proud of the record of the colored fire-fighters and will not hesitate to tell you that the colored company is as good as any company in the department. When they turn out on additional alarms they are very much in evidence, as was demonstrated a few weeks ago at 14th and Pennsylvania avenue at a second alarm fire. They were the third company due at the fire, but got there FIRST, and got water and a good position, so the uptown fire laddies will really have to hustle if they want to stay on a par with the colored fire-eaters. Since the installation of No. 4 Engine Company they have responded to 285 box alarms, 34 local alarms, 26 additional alarms, putting out 33,900 feet of hose and having a running time for the engine of 74½ hours up to September 5, 1921, besides attending to small fires that were extinguished with the chemical tank extinguishers, Johnson pump, etc. Capt. John H. Vinstein, the drill master of the department, says the colored men learned their drills quicker than their white comrades in every respect. The captain is proud of this company and boasts of its going further into fires and getting in as quick as any company in the city.

Chas. E. Gibson, the captain of No. 4 Engine Company, was appointed a private in the department on July 28, 1902, being the first colored man appointed for over twenty-three years. Soon after J. G. B. Key was appointed a private—on October 1, 1902, followed by R. J. Holmes on November 18, 1902.

GUESS WHO I AM?



MISS PLAINFIELD of Plainfield, N. J. Plainfield residents are left to guess her real name. Send in your guesses to "Guessing Editor," The Crusader, 2299 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

"Figures Never Lie, But Liars Do Figure"

Turning the Searchlight on Some Recent Figuring and Garvey's Repudiation of the Principle of Social Equality.

By
W. A. DOMINGO.

IT is a much frayed and time-worn aphorism that "figures never lie, but liars do figure." Sometimes a balance-sheet is a more valuable revealer of truth that is suspected by those responsible for its publication. Voluntary publication of a report or a balance sheet carries the clear implication that its publishers recognize that its contents are of public interest and as such subject to public scrutiny and criticism. Especially is this true when the publishers exhaust every trick of propaganda in trying to convince the public that the statement is true and, in that particular, different to those issued by other or similar organizations or institutions.

Ever since Marcus Garvey, president-general of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, president of the African Communities League, managing editor of *The Negro World*, president of the Negro Factories Corporation, provisional president of Africa, etc., etc., rose into prominence as a race leader, he has sought to give the impression that all the enterprises of which he is virtual dictator, are typical and representative of the best efforts of Negroes. He has not advertised them as being merely so many Negro enterprises, but as being the only genuine undertakings of the race. Other enterprises are counterfeit; his are genuine. His thirty-one day convention is not a convention of his organization, but is tautologically described as an "International Convention of the Negroes of the World." With an ungenerousness that is despicable, and an unscrupulousness of methods that is beyond the pale of decency, he sends a cablegram broadcast to the world denouncing the Du Bois Congress in Europe as a fraud while glorifying the one presided over by him in New York as a Simon-pure, honest-to-goodness convention of the entire race.

Apart from the petty meanness of a rival resorting to "knocking," one cannot but be amazed at Mr. Garvey's interpretation of social equality; and above all interpreting the phrase in such a manner as to endorse the prejudiced white man's oft-repeated lie that miscegenation and social equality are one and the same thing. Let Mr. Garvey, Dr. McGuire, Rev. Eason and the swarm of paid officials of the U. N. I. A. repudiate the right of Negroes to be treated as equals in a world no longer individually, but socially organized, and by so doing indorse segregation and its children: jim-crowism, lynching, disfranchisement, etc., if they will, but can dishonesty sink lower than for the Garveyites to pass a resolution on the subject at the 12th Regiment Armory on August 1, and send it broadcast to the world, giving the impression that it represents the sentiment of intelligent Negroes? No one will deny the right of the U. N. I. A. to oppose miscegenation or endorse social inferiority, for they should be the best spokesmen of their own concepts of anthropology and of what rights they are willing to forfeit while living in America! But it is unscrupulous, to say the least, for them to ascribe their own myopic views to all Negroes.

Not the least reprehensible of the many "fantastic tricks which make the angels weep" is the recent report of the parent body of the U. N. I. A. contained in the *Negro World* for August 13. Let us examine it a little.

According to the Chancellor's report the total receipts of the Parent Body from the alleged total of 4,500,000 members from September 1, 1920, to July 30, 1921, is \$90,048. Of this amount \$45,624.74 or over 50 per cent, went for salaries; cables and telegrams alone reached \$1,258, while traveling expenses were over \$5,000.

The receipts disclose the true membership of the organization, despite the President General's exaggerated claim of four and a half millions. Each member pays into the organization a death tax of ten cents per month, which is remitted to the Parent Body. The report shows that \$19,562.80 of death taxes were paid in during the ten months covered by the report which proves that the actual membership, far from being the millions of Mr. Garvey's fertile fancy, is less than 20,000! But according to the Auditor General, Elie Garcia, the amount that should have been collected is \$83,227.60, which subjected to examination reveals a membership of a little less than 90,000! Speaking then for less than one-fourth-thousandth of his alleged 400,000,000 Negroes, how can Mr. Garvey honestly claim that his convention is any more genuine than Du Bois'? At least Du Bois has never been caught lying that the membership of the N. A. A. C. P. is forty-five times larger than it really is!

Another illuminating disclosure is that the bank balance of the Parent Body is only \$2,383, or \$17,179 less than the amount of money collected as death tax, which amount is usually held intact by fraternal organizations for the specific purpose of paying out death benefits. The Universal Negro Improvement Association is incorporated in the State of New York as a membership corporation and as such is no doubt subject to the law governing the limitation of the use of death tax to the purpose for which it is collected.

An item in the same report shows that \$3,993.37 was received as "Convention funds," yet nowhere is there an item of expenditure to show how much was spent on the convention, although the bank balance is less than the above-mentioned sum! Also, although local New York borrowed \$643.89, and sundry loans amounting to \$227.00 were made, yet neither sum is shown as being paid back to the Parent Body nor as being an account receivable! Nor is Liberty Hall entered anywhere as an asset of the organization!

So much for a swift glance at the Chancellor's report. Let us look at the Liberian Construction Loan. When this project was launched, in a signed front page letter addressed to "fellow men of Negro race," Mr. Garvey stated that it was for the purpose of erecting administrative buildings and constructing railroads in Liberia. The uninitiated believed it was to be loaned to the Government of Liberia,

and this view was amply justified by the utterances of prominent speakers at Liberty Hall. The loan netted \$144,450.58. Of this large amount only \$4,000, or less than 3 per cent. of the money raised, reached Africa! A saw-mill costing \$4,463 was, according to Mr. Garcia's report, still in Hoboken, N. J., on August 13.

But let us look at how the rest of the money was spent. Salaried officers and employers received nearly \$27,000, or more than three times the amount spent on Liberia, and nearly seven times the amount that has actually reached the country for which the money was supposed to be raised! Traveling expenses were \$10,872, which amount could have bought at least five of the wooden vessels now being sold by the U. S. Shipping Board! But the most surprising feature of the affair is the fact that \$80,994.20, approximately 9-16 or 56 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. of the money collected for Liberia, which did not go for salaries, etc., instead of being used to construct railroads or erecting administrative buildings, was invested in the Black Star Line and the Negro World! In other words, 20 times as much of the Liberian loan as actually reached Africa was invested in Garvey's enterprises in America! How good an investment is the \$34,440 of the amount placed in the Black Star Line can only be judged when the present market value of the stock of that concern is ascertained. Apparently the \$46,555.20 invested in the Negro World have magical qualities for yielding profit, for the Negro World is estimated by the signer of the report, G. E. Stewart, minister of religion, dispenser of truth and chancellor of the U. N. I. A. as being worth \$60,000! A Baron Munchausen-like profit of \$13,000 in a period of declined circulation among Negro newspapers!

The balance sheet, too, is an eye-opener. It might be remarked in passing that despite the great growth of the association claimed by its officers, the bank balance this year is less than that of last year for the organization's parent body. Last year it was \$3,324.31. This year

it is \$2,383. In order that assets may offset the liabilities of the association and that a condition of solvency should appear, the association is credited with Black Star Line and Negro Factories stock at par despite the fact that the former corporation has not shown a cent's profit since its founding, and the latter had a severe set-back in the closing down of its only "factory"—a millinery store—months ago! Indeed, according to rumor the "Shady Side," on which several thousand dollars were spent, is a wreck (certainly there have been no excursions advertised on that boat this summer) and, according to an uncontradicted report in the Brooklyn Standard-Union of Sunday, July 17, 1921, the "Yarmouth" has been seized from the Black Star Line by its former owners, The North American Steamship Company. The "Kanawha" being a yacht (now reported held up in Cuba because of boiler troubles, although several thousand dollars were recently spent to put in new boilers) cannot be expected to do much in the way of earning money in carrying freight and immigrants to Africa.

Also of interest is the fact that instead of marking off a reasonable portion of uncollected death tax, arrearage from branches, and uncollected checks as being dead and uncollectible, indeed, these items are credited as assets at their full face value. No depreciation is allowed upon either the building in Liberia or the furniture and fixtures in New York. Last but not least is the disclosure that contrary to the often printed statements of responsible officers of the U. N. I. A., the organization as such never owned a single share of stock in the Black Star Line until the funds of the Construction Loan became available!

Possible the newly conceived and launched African Redemption Fund might yield enough to redeem Africa by purchasing a huge block of B. S. L. and N. F. stocks. Certainly the above casual analysis of the various reports furnish proof or refutation of the aphorism referred to above: "Figures never lie, but liars do figure." Certainly some explanation should be forthcoming.

1248

No Mollycoddleism in Bible

Jehovah a God of War—Paradise Lies Under the Shadow of Swords—No Place for Serviles in Earth or in the Heavens

Compiled by
WM. H. WILCUS

JEHOVAH of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel.—I. Sam. 17:45.

Jehovah, mighty in battle.—Psa. 24:8.

The Book of the Wars of Jehovah.—Num. 21:14.

The sword of Jehovah and of Gideon.—Judges 7:20.

If I whet my glittering sword and my hand take hold on judgment; I render vengeance to mine adversaries and will recompense them that hate me. I will make mine arrows drunk with blood and my sword shall devour flesh.—Deut. 32:41, 42.

Be ye therefore imitators of God as beloved children.—Eph. 5:1.

Blessed be Jehovah, my rock, who teacheth my hands to war and my fingers to fight. He teacheth my hand to war so that my arms do bend a bow of brass.—Psalms 141:1 and 18:34.

Now Deborah, a prophetess, . . . sent and

called Barak, the son of Abinoam, out of Kedesh-Naphtali and said unto him, "Hath not Jehovah, the God of Israel, commanded, saying, 'Go and draw unto Mount Tabor and take with thee ten thousand men of the children of Naphtali and of the children of Zebulon? And I will draw unto thee, to the river Kishon, Sisera, the captain of Jabin's army, with his chariots and his multitude; and I will deliver him into thy hands.'" . . . And Barak called Zebulon and Naphtali together to Kedesh, and there went up ten thousand men at his feet, and Deborah went up with him. . . . And they told Sisera that Barak, the son of Abinoam, was gone up to Mount Tabor. And Sisera gathered together all his chariots, even nine hundred chariots of iron, and all the people that were with him, from Harosheth of the Gentiles unto the river Kishon. . . . And Jehovah discomfited Sisera, and all his chariots,

and all his host, with the edge of the sword before Barak. . . .

"Curse ye Meroz," said the angel of Jehovah, "curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of Jehovah, to the help of Jehovah against the mighty." Blessed above women shall Jael be. . . . She put her hand to the tent-pin and her right hand to the workman's hammer, and with the hammer she smote Sisera; she smote through his head; yea, she pierced and struck through his temples.—Judges 4:4, 6, 7, 10, 12, 15 and 5:23, 24, 26.

And he (a certain man of the sons of the prophets) said unto him (Ahab, king of Israel), "Thus saith Jehovah, 'Because thou hast let go out of thine hand the man (Ben-hadad, king of Syria) whom I had devoted to destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life and thy people for his people.'"—I. Kings 20:42.

Now on the twelfth month . . . on the thirteenth day of the same, when the king's . . . decree drew near to be put into execution . . . the Jews gathered themselves together in their cities throughout all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus, to lay hand on such as sought their hurt. . . . And the Jews smote all their enemies with the stroke of the sword, and with slaughter and destruction . . . and stood for their lives, and had rest from their enemies, and slew of them that hated them seventy and five thousand.—Esther 9:1, 2, 5, 16.

Therefore set I in the lowest parts of the

space behind the wall, in the open places, . . . the people after their families with their swords, their spears and their bows. And I . . . said unto . . . the people, "Be not afraid of them; remember the Lord, who is great and terrible and fight for your brethren, your sons and your daughters, your wives, and your houses." And it came to pass from that time forth, that half of my servants wrought in the work, and half of them held the spears, the shields and the bows, and the coats of mail. . . . They that builded the wall and they that bare burdens laded themselves; every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other held his weapon; and the builders, every one had his sword girded by his side, and so builded.—Neh. 4:13, 14, 16-18.

The time will fail me if I tell of Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah; of David and Samuel and the prophets; who through faith subdued kingdoms, . . . waxed mighty in war, turned to flight armies of aliens.—Heb. 11:32-34.

Compiled by Wm. H. Wilgus, Mt. Sterling, Ill., typewriter, preacher of the real gospel complete of the real Christ divine of the real Christ-built Church universal, internal, invisible and indivisible, and, therefore, an apostle of the whole of the truth regarding the whole of the duty of the whole of the man and the whole of humanity—"a prophet unto the nations" (see Jer. 1:5) in general and my own nation in particular, and a herald of the glad tidings of the universal fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man.

1249

Program of the A. B. B.

*Offered for the Guidance of the Negro Race
in the Great Liberation Struggle.*

Issued by the
Supreme Council, A. B. B.

A RACE without a program is like a ship at sea without a rudder. It is absolutely at the mercy of the elements. It is buffeted hither and thither and in a storm is bound to flounder. It is in such a plight as this that the Negro race has drifted for the past fifty years and more. Rarely ever did it know exactly what it was seeking and never once did it formulate any intelligent and workable plan of getting what it was seeking, even in the rare instances when it did know what it wanted. It is to meet this unfortunate condition and to supply a rudder for the Negro Ship of State—a definite directive force—that the following program adopted by the African Blood Brotherhood is herewith offered for the consideration of other Negro organizations and of the race in general.

There is nothing illusory or impractical about this program. Every point is based upon the historic experience of some section or other of the great human family. Those who formulated the program recognized (1) the economic nature of the Struggle (not wholly economic, but nearly

so); (2) that it is essential to know from whom our oppression comes: that is, who are our enemies; and to make common cause with all forces and movements that are working against our enemies; (3) that it is not necessary for Negroes to be able to endorse the program of these other movements before they can make common cause with them against the common enemy; that the important thing about Soviet Russia, for example, is not the merits or demerits of the Soviet form of government, but the outstanding fact that Soviet Russia is opposing the imperialist robbers who have partitioned our motherland and subjugated our kindred, and that Soviet Russia is feared by those imperialist nations and by all the capitalist plunder-bunds of the earth from whose covetousness and murderous inhumanity we at present suffer in many lands.

AFRICA

Our Motherland, Africa, is divided by the Big Capitalist Powers into so-called "colonies."

The colonies in turn are parcelled out to white planters and capitalists, some of them colonists, others absentee landlords. To this end the free life of the African peoples have been broken up

and the natives deprived of their lands in order to force them to work, at starvation wages, on the lands of these white capitalists. These planter-capitalists have settled down in our country to exploit the riches of the land as well as the labor of our people.

But our people were not tamely submissive and had to be subjugated. They refused to be exploited and rebelled and fought the invader in an unequal struggle. The invaders, armed with weapons of modern technique and precision as against the primitive and old weapons of our forefathers, were finally able to subdue our people. But not until many a "British square" had been broken and many a sudden disaster suffered by the forces of all of the invading capitalist Powers.

How We Were Enslaved

And the fight is not yet over. A people living in oppression may be compared to a volcano. At any moment it may rise like a giant and run its enemies into the sea. To prevent this eventuality the capitalist planters, with the aid of their home governments, have organized "Colonial Armies," formed and equipped according to methods of modern technique. And to conquer our militant spirit and win us to slavish acceptance of their dominance they brought in the white man's religion, Christianity, and with it whiskey. By the white man's religion our people's militant spirit was drugged; with his whiskey they were debauched. The white man's treachery, the white man's religion and whiskey had as great a part in bringing about our enslavement as the white man's guns.

But in order to more intensively exploit our rich motherland and the cheap labor power of an enslaved people it was necessary to bring into our land certain machine industries and certain material improvements, like railroads, etc., and today we may witness, especially in the coast cities of Africa, the steady growth of modern enterprise. With the introduction of industrial equipment the African has learned to wield the white man's machines, his guns, his methods, and with the possession of this knowledge has grown a new hope and determination to achieve his freedom and become the master of his own motherland.

Hope Never More Justified

Indeed, the hope of the Negro people to free themselves from the imperialist enslavers was never more justified than at present. The home governments of the planter capitalists are weakening day by day, and are trembling under the menace of the Proletarian Revolution. The oppressed colonies and small nations are in constant rebellion, as witness the Irish, Turks, Persians, Indians, Arabs, Egyptians, etc.

While the interior of Africa is as yet barely touched by predatory Capitalism the tribes fully realize the danger they would be subjected to should the enslavers penetrate more into the interior. Under the leadership of the more able and developed Negroes in the coast districts, the tremendous power of the Negro race in Africa could be organized. Towards this end we propose that every effort shall be bent to organize the Negroes in the coast districts and bring all Negro organizations in each of the African countries into a world-wide Negro Federation. The various sections of the federation to have their own Executive committees, etc., and to get in touch with the tribes in the interior with a view to common action. The Supreme Executive Committee to get in

touch with all other peoples on the African continents, the Arabs, Egyptians, etc., as well as the revolutionists of Europe and America for the purpose of effecting co-ordination of action.

Must Organize Pan-African Army

Labor organizations should be formed in the industrial sections in order to protect and improve the conditions of the Negro workers.

No opportunity should be lost for propagandizing the native soldiers in the "colonial armies" and for organizing secretly a great Pan-African army in the same way as the Sinn Fein built up the Irish Republican Army under the very nose of England.

Modern arms must be smuggled into Africa. Men sent into Africa in the guise of missionaries, etc., to establish relations with the Senussi, the various tribes of the interior, and to study the topography of the country. The Senussi already have an "army in existence," a fact that is keeping European capitalist-statesmen awake o' nights.

Every effort and every dollar should be spent to effect the organization of a pan-African army, whose very existence would drive respect and terror into the hearts of the white capitalist-planters, and protect our people against their abuses. Remember: MIGHT MAKES RIGHT — ALWAYS DID AND ALWAYS WILL

AMERICA

Whatever interest the Capitalists displayed in the Negro was always motivated by considerations of cheap labor power.

It was early recognized that the Negro people were the most enduring in the world, and when the New World was discovered the rich exploiters organized expeditions to enslave our people and forcibly carry them into New World lands, there to build empires and create wealth where otherwise none would have been possible. This is the history of most of the Negro populations in foreign lands.

The Cause of the Civil War

In the United States, as is well known, the Negroes but a few decades ago were exploited according to the most crude and primitive system of exploitation: chattel slavery. This chattel slavery prevailed in the South, while in the North the modern Capitalist method of exploitation (wage slavery) prevailed. The two systems could not exist side by side and therefore the so-called war of liberation in which Northern Capitalists and their retinue, in a smoke of idealistic camouflage, went to war against feudal Capitalists in the South in order to decide supremacy between the two systems in the Americas. Northern Capitalists won, and chattel slavery in the South was abolished with lurid speeches and glamor about Liberty, Democracy, etc.

But the Negroes were not to have even the comparative liberty which the great Capitalist Czars tolerate under the wage-slavery system. They were scrupulously disarmed, while their former owners with their henchmen remained armed. To repress all Negro aspirations for real freedom and suppress all desires to better their condition, secret murder societies like the Ku Klux Klan were organized by the former owner class who tortured and murdered secretly and in cold blood thousands of defenceless Negroes and many whites wherever the humanitarian instincts prompted them to champion the Negro's cause. And the victorious Capitalist "Liberators" of the North not only did not move a finger to enforce justice but

suppressed the facts of this terrible persecution of the Negro and his few white friends. Through years of terror exercised by these white cracker societies the Negro again became totally subjugated, and Peonage is the lot of many today in the Southern States, while many are lynched or massacred each year. Lately the New Negro has come upon the scene and in response to his rebellious spirit and that of the exploited in general we see the resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan.

Negro Migration

As a result of continued oppression and maltreatment in the South, many thousands of Negroes have managed to escape to the North, and today every big Northern city has a large Negro population.

The comparative freedom of the North is propitious for great organizations and cultural activities, and it is here that the van-guard and general staff of the Negro race must be developed.

A Great Negro Federation

In order to build a strong and effective Movement on the platform of Liberation for the Negro People and protection of their rights 'o "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," etc., all Negro organizations should get together on a Federation basis, thus creating a united, centralized Movement. Such a Movement could be carried on openly in the North, but would have to be built up secretly in the South in order to protect those members living in the South and to safeguard the organization from premature attack. Within this Federation a secret protective organization should be developed—the real Power—to the membership of which should be admitted only the best and most courageous of the race. The Protective organization would have to function under strict military discipline, ready to act at a moment's notice whenever defence and protection are necessary.

Labor and Economic Organizations

Millions of Negroes have come North and are employed as laborers and mechanics, etc., in the various industries and Capitalist enterprises of the North. Being unorganized they are compelled to work at the meanest jobs and under the worst conditions. When depression in industry appears they are the first to suffer. The white workers, through their labor organizations, have not only compelled the capitalists to give them more money and a shorter work day, but also partial employment during slack times. And when better times arrive the white workers, through their organization, are ready to take full advantage of the situation. Negro workers, wherever organized in labor unions, have improved their living conditions, won shorter hours, more money and steadier employment, as witness the sleeping car conductors, the Negro Longshoremen in Philadelphia, etc. And since the strength of a people depends upon the degree of well-living by that people we must by all means strive to substantially improve the standard of living, etc. All worth-while Negro organizations and all New Negroes must therefore interest themselves in the organizing of Negro workers into labor unions for the betterment of their economic condition and to act in close co-operation with the class-conscious white workers for the benefit of both.

Negro Farmer Organization

The same principle applies to the small Negro farmers and farm laborers. They must get

together to resist exploitation as well as to protect themselves against peonage and other injustices. Wherever co-operation with white farmers is possible it is of course desirable.

Co-operative Organizations

There has developed among our people the naive belief that permanent employment, better conditions and our salvation as a race can be accomplished through the medium of Negro factories, steamship lines and similar enterprises. We wish to warn against putting too great dependence along this line as sudden financial collapse of such enterprises may break the whole morale of the Liberation Movement. Until the Negro controls the rich natural resources of some country of his own he cannot hope to compete in industry with the great financial magnates of the capitalist nations on a scale large enough to supply jobs for any number of Negro workers, or substantial dividends for Negro investors. Let those who have invested in such propositions tell you whether they have obtained either jobs or dividends by such investment.

The only effective way to secure better conditions and steady employment in America is to organize the Negro's Labor Power as indicated before into labor organizations. Every big organization develops certain property in the shape of buildings, vacation farms, etc. In prosperous times they may even develop co-operative enterprises such as stores, etc., but such enterprises must be co-operative property of all members of the organization and administered by members elected for the purpose. Under no circumstances should such property be operated under corporation titles written over to a few individuals to be disposed of at their pleasure. But experience has proven that such enterprises can only exist when the oppressed class is well organized. Without adequate organization an industrial crisis like the present would sweep them off their feet. But where backed by adequate organization the co-operative idea can be worked to advantage. Unlike the corporation, which lifts a few men on the shoulders and life-savings of the many, the co-operative is of equal benefit to all.

Alliances

There can be only one sort of alliance with other peoples and that is an alliance to fight our enemies, in which case our allies must have the same purpose as we have. Our allies may be actual or potential, just as our enemies may be actual or potential. The small oppressed nations who are struggling against the capitalist exploiters and oppressors must be considered as actual allies. The class-conscious white workers who have spoken out in favor of African liberation and have shown a willingness to back with action their expressed sentiments must also be considered as actual allies and their friendship further cultivated. The non-class conscious white workers who have not yet realized that all workers regardless of race or color, have a common interest, must be considered as only potential allies at present and everything possible done to awaken their class-consciousness toward the end of obtaining their co-operation in our struggle. The revolutionary element which is undermining the imperialist powers that oppress us must be given every encouragement by Negroes who really seek liberation. This element is led and represented by the Third Internationale which has its sections in all countries. We should immediately establish contact with the Third

Internationale and its millions of followers in all countries of the world. To pledge loyalty to the flags of our murderers and oppressors, to speak about alliances with the servants and representatives of our enemies, to prate about first hearing our proven enemies before endorsing our proven friends is nothing less than cowardice and the blackest treason to the Negro race and our sacred cause of liberation.

It is the Negroes resident in America—whether native or foreign born—who are destined to assume the leadership of our people in a powerful world movement for Negro liberation. The American Negro by virtue of being a part of the population of a great empire has acquired certain knowledge in the waging of modern warfare, the operation of industries, etc. This country is the base for easy contact with the whole world, and the United States is destined, until the Negro race is liberated, to become the center of the Negro World Movement. It is in this country, especially, that the Negro must be strong. It is from here that most of the leaders and pioneers who will carry the message across the world will go forth. But our strength cannot be organized by vain indulgence in mock-heroics, empty phrases, unearned decorations and titles, and other tomfoolery. It can only be done by

the use of proper tactics, by determination and sacrifice upon the part of our leaders and by intelligent preparatory organization and education.

To be kidded along with the idea that because a few hundreds of us assemble once in a while in a convention that therefore we are free to legislate for ourselves; to fall for the bunk that before having made any serious effort to free our country, before having crossed swords on the field of battle with the oppressors, we can have a government of our own, with presidents, potentates, royalties and other queer mixtures; to speak about wasting our energies and money in propositions like Bureaus of Passports and Identifications, diplomatic representatives, etc., is to indulge in pure moonshine and supply free amusement for our enemies. Surely, intelligent, grown-up individuals will not stand for such childish nonsense if at all they are serious about fighting for Negro liberation! We must come down to earth, to actual practical facts and realities and build our strength upon solid foundations—and not upon titled and decorated tomfoolery.

The Caribbean section of the program dealing with West Indies, South and Central America will be published in the November Crusader.

"Ben Gitlow Is Gone"

1252

*Workers' Nominee for Mayor of New York
Exiled from Political Scene.*

By
MRS. KATHERINE GITLOW.

ROBBED of the few privileges they managed to be favored with at Sing Sing, Ben Gitlow and Isaac Ferguson have been removed to Auburn prison.

Friday morning, September 2, Anna Rubin and I went to Sing Sing, at Ossining, N. Y., to see Ben Gitlow. It was a very hot day. The cars were crowded and the valise which I carried, filled with eatables, made my lot much harder. We were glad when we arrived at our destination. As usual, we gave our names to the clerks and were admitted, through two iron doors, into the visiting room. There we were met at the door with these words: "Ben is gone." At that moment I could hardly grasp their meaning. A prisoner at the door said kindly: "He's gone, Mrs. Gitlow, with thirty-six others, this morning to Auburn." I retained my composure. I wanted to find out whether any others of the political prisoners had been transferred and learned that Isaac Ferguson accompanied Ben Gitlow to Auburn.

Returning by train to New York City, the thought came to mind that it is the same "Iron Hell" which is suppressing the West Virginia coal miners and fights for the open shop which now has put its grip upon the workers' nominee for Mayor of New York City, Ben Gitlow. They have taken him away—far away, so that he shall hear nothing and know nothing of the workers' campaign. They have removed him so that his advice and ideas may not be transmitted to the workers of New York City. They sent Isaac Ferguson with him as an excuse to cover their motives, but we, the conscious workers, understand very

well the workings of the outgrown capitalist system. They became scared, the cowards, and ordered the workers' choice for mayor sent away so that their minds may be at peace.

I pictured to myself these two men, determined to go on with what they believe to be right. I see them, side by side, shackled with iron chains to other prisoners, so-called criminals, some degenerates, the product of this capitalist system; guards with loaded guns at their sides. The heat is terrific; they are crowded into a train; the journey is very long. I can see Ben, with his jaws set, determination in his eyes, fully aware of the reasons for the trip. I can see Ferguson, smiling ironically, thinking: "You cannot stop the march of the workers. It will go on until victory is assured."

The conductor yelled "125th street!" I awoke from my thoughts. Anna and I parted in silence. I remembered my membership on the Relief Committee of the National Defense Committee, my duty being to see that class war prisoners are provided with comforts and necessities. In fulfillment of that duty I sent two telegrams of cheer to Gitlow and Ferguson and telegraphed them money.

Workers of America must help the National Defense Committee so that the true fighters for the working class may be provided an adequate defense and with prison comforts. Send your donations to Edgar Owens, secretary, National Defense Committee, 7 Bank street, New York City. New York City sympathizers are asked to send their contributions to Mr. Geo. M. Duncif, treasurer, 208 East Twelfth street, New York City.

While Negroes Idly Dream

With a satisfied smile on his face Colonel Simmons gave out the following terse interview after he had read the report printed elsewhere regarding the progress of the work in his absence:

"I am not at all surprised at the report, but I am of course gratified. I have never for one moment doubted that if God gave me strength and "men" with which to lay before America the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan that it would sweep the nation as nothing of its kind has ever done.

"The Ku Klux Klan has not yet started to work. The enemies of the organization have been howling and back-biting and snapping at everything they could see or hear, and lying slanders have been spread broadcast about the organization and its leaders and its proposed work and present activity.

"For the edification of those who do not know allow me to say that the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan has not yet started to work, and may not do so for at least one year. We are merely organizing at the present time and we do not intend to start any definite activity until we have sufficiently organized to make sure of success.

"To those who love fireworks—rhetorical and otherwise—allow me to suggest that they wait quietly until the Ku Klux Klan passes through its organizing period and actually starts work. The attacks on us that have so far been launched will appear insignificant when the atmosphere becomes surcharged with the shrieks of the enemies of law and order, constitutional principles, and real Americanism, as these forces feel the tightening grip of the Klan around them, and they come to the realization that they are whipped. It will be then, and not till then, that the real anathemas will be hurled at the organization and its leaders, but it will have as little weight and do us as little harm as all the lies that have been spread broadcast up to the present time.

"And those who have deliberately maligned and slandered us are going to awake some day to a very unpleasant situation. We are keeping records and making plans. The day of our activity has not yet arrived."—Emperor Simmons' threat in the Searchlight, the Klan's recognized organ, printed July 2, 1921, and photograph of paper's title.—Reprinted in the New York World, Sept. 13, 1921.

NO DOUBT BUT YE ARE THE PEOPLE

(With sincere apologies to Kipling)

No doubt but ye are the People—your throne is above Common Sense,

Whoso speaks in your presence must say acceptable bunk;

Rowing the head in worship, bending the knee in fear—

Bringing the bunk well smoothen—such as a Fool should hear!

Ye stop your ears to the warnings—ye will neither look nor heed—

Ye set your ease above all else, and your lusts above the need.

Because of your witless learning and your fear of Sacrifice,

Ye grudge yourself to the service and steep your souls with Bunk.

After Tulsa ye returned to your trinkets, ye contented your souls

With the knickerbockered fools at the plate and the muddled oafs at the goals;

Given to strong delusion, wholly believing a lie, Ye saw that the Race lay fenceless, and ye let the years go by

Waiting some easy wonder; hoping some saving sign—

Idle—openly idle—in the lee of the forespent Line;

Idle—except for your boasting—and what is your boasting worth

If ye grudge a mite of service to the greatest Cause on earth?

Prepare! ye fools, prepare! Organize for self-defense

So ye shall bide sure-guarded when the restless lightnings wake

In the womb of the blotting hate-cloud, and the pallid races quake;

So, at the haggard trumpets, instant your soul shall leap

Forthright, accoutred, accepting—alert from the wells of sleep;

So at the THREAT ye shall summon—so at the NEED ye shall send

MEN, not mobs or serviles, trained and taught to the end;

Cleansed of servile panic, slow to dread or despise,

Humble because of knowledge, mighty by sacrifice . . .

But ye say, "It will mar our comfort." Ye say "it will offend the whites";

Do ye wait for the leaden rain ere ye learn how a gun is laid?

For the low, red glare to southward when the roasted victims burn?

(Light ye shall have on that lesson, but little time to learn.)

Will ye possess some dance-casino, and lustily even the odds,

With waltz, with schottische, with one step and with shimmy?

Arid, aloof, incurious, unthinking, unthanking, gelt,

Will ye loose your dancing-schools to flout them, till their dance-defeated columns melt?

Will ye pray them, or preach them, or print them, or ballot them back from your homes?

Will your preachers issue a mandate to bid them burn no more?

Will ye rise and dethrone your leaders (because ye were idle both).

Stupidity by Ignorance chastened? (Indolence purged by Sloth)

No doubt but ye are the People; who shall make you prepare?

Also your gods are many, no doubt but your gods shall aid;

Idols of greasy altars built for the body's ease, Proud little brazen Baals and talking fetishes;

Teraphs of sept and party and wise wood-pave-ment gods—

THESE shall come down to the battle and
snatch you from under the rods?
From the gusty, flickering gun-roll with view-
less salvoes rent,
And the pitted hail of the bullets that tell not
whence they were sent,
When ye are ringed as with iron, when ye are
scourged as with whips,
When the meat is yet in your belly, and the
boast is yet on your lips . . .
On your own heads, in your own hands, the sin
and the saving lies.

CIVILIZATION

With all your Christian churches
And all your lofty creeds,
With all your modern progress
The heart of man still bleeds.

With all your law and order
Which you proclaim a cure,
You've doubled greed and hatred,
The world is more impure.

With all your boasted culture
Your armies you have led
To scientific slaughter
And left ten millions dead.

With all your talk of Justice
And grand Democracy,
The weak are still exploited
And robbed of liberty.

If hypocrites amongst you
These statements would deny,
Let them come forth and answer,
And I will ask them why

Are Africa and Ireland
Beneath the tyrant's feet,
Deprived of rights and freedom,
That, which all men hold sweet?

Why are unhappy Egypt
And India kept down;
Enslaved, forced to contribute
Toward an alien crown?

And what of valiant Haiti,
Whose liberty has fled;
Because of Southern Crackers—
What of her murdered dead?

What of your leading nations,
Their mob-rule and unrest;
Their crimes, which are increasing,
Which has the Bible blessed?

Tear down your Jim-crow churches,
Burn up your lying creeds;
And find a true religion
Which you'll express in—deeds!
ANDREA RAZAFKERIEFO.

THEY DID NOT KNOW

They did not know that I was there
And witnessed all they did and said;
Nor did they hear me laugh aloud
At some who mourned me, now, when dead.

I saw the friends and relatives
Who had neglected me in life
Come to my funeral to weep
And offer comfort to my wife.

Somebody sang my favorite hymn,
And to the organ's doleful strains
I saw a long procession come
For one last view of my remains.

The Browns, the Jacksons, Smiths and Hills—
Folks who had slandered me for years—
Around my casket sadly passed,
Their mournful faces bathed in tears.

It seemed most every person there
Brought flowers. It was nice of them,
But ah! who knows? I might have lived
Had I but had the price of them!
ANDREA RAZAFKERIEFO.

JOURNEY'S END

Down de "Big Road" all alone,
I'se jes' toddlin' 'long;
Do' go vely fas' des days,
Laigs done gone all wrong.
Has to stop an' res' my load
Evhy li'l' ways,
But chile, hit'll all be ovah soon—
Jes' a fu' mo' days.

Down de "Big Road" all alone,
Dey's someone callin' me;
I cain heah hit night an' day,
Bye-um-bye I'll see.
Fu' w'en I reach de journey's en'
An' down my load I lays,
We'll be happy, happy, happy—
Jes' a fu' mo' days.
J. ARTHUR JOHNSON.

The Gang Spirit

I'm a Ku Klux Kleagle,
And I feel quite regal
In my uniform so white;
And I treat 'em rough,
With a lot of guff
And I stay out late at night.

In my muslin nightie
I give folks a fright-ie
You can nightly hear my yelp;
I'm just spoiling for a fight,
But be sure you get this right:—
I have to have allotuv help!
H. M. LOTT, in the Globe.

BOOKS RECEIVED

WITH THE RED HAND IN FRANCE. By
Monroe Mason and Arthur Furr. Cornhill
Publishing Company, Publishers. Price, \$2.

THE ISOLATION PLAN. With Annexes on
the Covenant. By William H. Blymber.
Cornhill Publishing Company, Boston, Pub-
lishers. Price, \$2.

THE SCIENTIFIC SIDE OF THE NEGRO
PROBLEM. By Harold E. Simmelkjaer.
George R. Jordan, New York, Publisher.

THE CIVILIZATION OF THE ANCIENT
EGYPTIANS. By A. Bothwell Gosse.
"Through the Eye" Series. Price, \$1. Bren-
tano's.

A CALL

By
BEN BURRELL

O brethren, is the battle-cry in vain
 Flung far and wide to you of Afric's blood,
 To raise the Ethiopian flag again,
 And build today where older structures stood?
 O brethren, shall we falter in the way?
 Shall Ethiopia crumble in the dust?
 Or shall we seek the flaming path today,
 And seared and scarred defend our holy trust?

O comrades of our dark, mysterious race,
 Throw back the tidal flood of human hate!
 Advance, and look the future in the face,
 Carving a pathway to a glorious fate.
 Wherever duty calls be there to do
 Whate'er our fathers did in days of old;
 Was there yet knighthood bolder or more true?
 And are there deeds more worthy to be told?

O dark-hued children of the dawn and eve,
 Ye whom of old the gods desired to bless,
 And gave thee joy where other men would grieve,
 Oceans of love, gardens of happiness;
 And from the earth, the path the tropic sun
 Moved thro' unending, ever year on year.
 They gave thee, so the ancient legend run,
 With spring eternal, and their god-like care.

That thou shouldst be more noble than the rest
 Of mortals, thou shouldst ever nobler grow;
 Thrust out all evil, forward, and be blest
 With Knowledge, whence all good things move and flow;
 With Truth that is eternal, and controls
 Wisdom the parent force of Liberty,
 Whose torchlight flames from all the noble souls
 Who know to die that others might be free.

Typewriter First Used by Negroes

Another Great "Invention" of Today Traced to Africa's Mysterious Shores—An Historical Survey.

By
THEO. BURRELL.

SOME time ago I was asked to make an historical survey of the typewriting machine, now commonly called the "typewriter." The request came as a surprise to me from the fact that I had never before given it a thought, and to my knowledge there was hardly any literature on so vast a commercial commodity. My researches, however, have taken me to the libraries and patent offices of many lands and for the benefit of Crusader readers I now find myself in a position to relate some of the facts I have discovered. The present use of the typewriter by Negro students and their commercial houses have been so enormous that it has attracted the attention of the manufacturing houses.

As far back as the records will permit, I find that the typewriter was first used by North African Negroes! Wealthy black men of that period, so far off, possessed tedious and crude machines (taken in comparison with what they are today) made of seasoned hard ebony well known to the Old Continent. So far as I was able to learn the framework was in keeping with the present models. Signatures were engraved on seals as well as other necessary inscriptions were engraved and embossed on wooden blocks. These, when needed, were placed into the mechanical woodwork, which, smeared with suitable coloring matter of which they were adepts, was transferred to paper. Here, then, is the beginning of one of the greatest commercial inventions.

In far away China I also caught glimpses of a rather crude but serviceable engine used to make impressions of characters on paper. Nothing tangible came into record until during the seventeenth century when a Mr. Henry Hill, engineer of the New River Company of England, obtained patent for a machine which he said he "had brought to perfection at great pains and expense," an object, in my opinion, very little, if any, in advance of those of the early North Africans, the purpose of which was to impress letters on paper as in writing. There were no drawings submitted by him while applying for letters of patent, and I further believe that his hazardous duties as an engineer did not permit very much time to indulge in an elaboration of the work. There is also evidence that many minds in France were occupied on the means of mechanical writing, and there are certain fragmentary records which clearly indicate strenuous efforts had been made in this direction. Such a thing as an embossing machine was invented in France in 1784, and a Mr. Burt took out the first American patent in 1829, of which there is no record. He called his invention a "typographer." There occurred, however, a great one in Washington in the year 1836, and all records and descriptions of the machine were destroyed. Back in France, in Marseilles, M. X. Progin invented what he termed a "typographic machine or pen." The most successful of typewriting machines today have not departed very much from his principle. Progin's machine stimulated other inventions and in

1843 Charles Thurber patented an invention of which the Remington Company of Ilion, New York, holds the model and original instructions. These all seemed so tedious to operate that the few who used them became tired of mechanical writing, until 1844 the Rev. W. Taylor, F. R. S., of York, England, exhibited a typewriting machine made by one of his parishioners named Littledale. The principal object of this machine was to emboss the required letters for the use of the blind, and there is some evidence that a slip of carbon paper was also interposed between type and paper so that an impression was made in color for the use of the sighted. No drawings exist of this invention. In 1845, Prentice, editor of the "Louisville Journal," wrote to a friend informing him of the invention of Dr. Leavitt of Kentucky. He wrote in part:

"A friend of mine, a very ingenious man, has just invented a typewriter. I thought you would like to see a specimen of the work."

Here, then, is evidence that the machine invented was capable of doing work. Yet nothing else remains of such an early effort. During the years 1847 to 1856, Mr. Alfred E. Beach, editor of the "Scientific American," invented a number of machines. They did not, however, advance any on the previous inventions. Fairbank's Calico Printer, a machine which printed various patterns on fabric was invented in 1848. Pierre Foucauld, a blind pupil of the Institut des Aveugles of Paris, invented a machine for the use of those who shared his terrible affliction. This was exhibited in Paris in the year 1849 and was awarded a gold medal. In the next year, the Board of Encouragement of Paris also conferred a medal upon him. A number of Faucauld's machines were sold for about \$100 each. The machine, however, soon disappeared from the market because of its bulkiness. In 1850, Eddy of Baltimore, Md., obtained a patent for a printing machine, which was in reality a typewriter. At this period two other machines appeared and as suddenly disappeared from the market. The inventors were Messrs. Hughes and Marchesi. In 1852 John Jones of Clyde, New York, had issued to him a patent for a machine which seemed in all respects to anticipate the course of later inventions. During the very year the greatest scientific researcher of that day, Sir Charles Whatstone, lectured before the Society of Arts in London, invented a working typewriter, a model of which can be found in the famous South Kensington collections. This machine has a keyboard identical with that of the piano.

In 1857 a Dr. William Frances, of New York City, invented the first typewriter used with an ink ribbon. In 1861 Thomas Hall, of New York City, invented the first portable typewriter. The first practical writing machine, however, was invented in 1870 by G. W. N. Yost, which passed all tests, and is now embodied in the modern Remington typewriter.

Such is the evolution of the typewriter, king of commercial enterprises, first made and used by Negroid hands!

Garvey Shows His Hand

Dominating Convention, He Expels A. B. B. Delegation He Invited Because They Demanded More Progress and Less Tomfoolery

Publication Authorized by
Supreme Council, A. B. B.

THE African Blood Brotherhood believes that Negroes, to wage an effective struggle for liberation, must be united. To successfully oppose the evil machinations of our myriad enemies, to successfully wage our fight for liberation there must be unity.

For this reason the A. B. B., accepted the invitation which Mr. Garvey through the press issued to all "Colored Churches, Lodges, Organizations, Clubs and Fraternities" for the Second International Negro Congress at Liberty Hall, New York, which we were led to believe was to be a genuine all-Negro Congress: "an international Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World" through their various organizations, and accordingly we sent a delegation to represent us at the Congress.

We carried to the Congress ideas and a cordial spirit of co-operation. We were friendly. But we demanded that the Congress function in the interests of the Negro race who were hoping for so much from it, and not for the gratification of selfish personal ambitions. We suggested that it get down to work and formulate a program for the Negro race in its Fight for Liberation; that it devise means to organize our people to the end of stopping the mob-murder of our men, women and children and to protect them against sinister secret societies of cracker whites and fight the ever-expanding Peonage System; that it devise means to raise and protect the standard of living of the Negro people; that it take steps to bring about a federation of all Negro organizations, thus molding all Negro factions into one mighty and formidable factor, governed and directed by a central body made up of representatives from all member organizations.

And when twenty-five days had gone by and the Congress had done nothing along these very essential lines, the A. B. B. had printed and distributed among the delegates a program formulated by us to meet both the general needs of the Negro race and the specific needs of the geographical sections into which it is divided. We offered this program for the consideration of the delegates and to show that we had not asked the Congress anything that was impossible when we asked that it formulate a program to meet the growing needs of the Negro people. And two hours after the appearance of the bulletin carrying our program the African Blood Brotherhood was denounced by Mr. Garvey and its delegation expelled from the Congress!

Why did Mr. Garvey prevent the A. B. B. delegation from presenting its program?

Is Mr. Garvey really in earnest when he talks about the liberation of Africa? Would he really like to engage in the struggle for liberation? Or is he too busy resurrecting mediaval systems and titles and making of the glorious U. N. I. A. movement a tinsel show and a laughing stock to give time to real efforts in the liberation struggle? What does Mr. Garvey mean by pledging Negro loyalty to the United States Government and

giving that government a blanket endorsement for all its future wars, whether those wars be against friendly Soviet Russia, racial Japan, China, or Haiti; and whether the U. S. Government take steps to protect Negroes in their constitutional rights or refuse, as in the past, to take such steps? What does he mean by advising Negroes to "be loyal to all flags under which they live?" How can Negroes liberate Africa if they remain loyal to Great Britain, France, Belgium and other European plunderers? Has Mr. Garvey a "yellow streak" that he has not denounced the continued presence and savage acts of United States Marines in Haiti? And lynchings and race riots in the United States? Why has not Mr. Garvey given support to the idea proposed by the A. B. B. of organizing Negroes for self-defense and protection? Why has he ignored the invitation of the A. B. B. to a conference looking to closer co-operation between the two organizations? Why has he tried to make the Congress believe that it was to legislate for a government in existence, rather than to formulate a program for the liberation of an enslaved and oppressed people? Why has he proposed a useless and expensive Bureau of Passports and Identifications? Why has he opposed a motion to give permission to U. N. I. A. divisions to buy (or lease) and operate farms wherever feasible for the purpose of supplying employment and keeping down the cost of living? Why has he ignored the Mohammedan and Ethiopian Movements in Africa—the two greatest factors working for liberation in that continent? Why has he persistently refused to come out against the proven enemies of the Negro race? Why has he failed to endorse the proven friends of the Negro? Why has he ignored the suggestion of the A. B. B. for a federation of all Negro organizations in order to present a united front to the enemy? Is Mr. Garvey in earnest? Or is he just tinsel-mad?

The A. B. B. stands ready as ever to co-operate with all organizations working for Negro liberation. The major aim of the U. N. I. A. and the A. B. B. is the liberation of Africa. True, the A. B. B. goes further in declaring as its major aim: "Immediate protection and ultimate liberation for Negroes everywhere." And we put the first principle in practice at Tulsa where, according to the Associated Press, the A. B. B. "directed the race riot." The A. B. B. also has the advantage over the U. N. I. A. in having a definite program, both general and specific, for the guidance of its members and the race as a whole, and a carefully considered set of tactics for use in the actual struggle. In the main, however, the major aim of both organizations is identical. And for this reason there should be co-operation and fraternity between the two organizations. The A. B. B. has clearly demonstrated its desire to co-operate. We refuse to engage in intra-racial strife that would weaken the race. We are too busy fighting the enemies of the Negro to fight any Negro save a matter of principles. We offer co-operation. We seek

co-operation. We ask sober consideration for our plan of a federation to include all Negro organizations. In the meantime we invite every RED-BLOODED NEGRO, EVERY NEGRO PROUD OF HIS RACE AND WILLING TO DEFEND ITS HONOR, to join the African Blood Brotherhood, the great PROTECTIVE, FRATERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE RACE. You do not have to

give up your other organizations. But you should be a part of this great movement for "IMMEDIATE PROTECTION AND ULTIMATE LIBERATION OF NEGROES EVERYWHERE."

(Signed) THE AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD.

International Office: 2299 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

Ku Kluxism Exposed

Significant Points in Exposure of Sinister, Secret Cracker Organization

From the
New York World's Expose

THE KLAN FORCES US TO PROTECT OURSELVES. ENLIST WITH THE A. B. B.

THE original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., modestly begun five years ago, has become a vast enterprise, doing a thriving business in the systematic sale of race hatred, religious bigotry and '100 per cent' anti-Americanism."

"Efforts are being made to spread the poison of Ku Kluxism in the army and navy.

"Also to reach the hundreds who flew during the war and the thousands then awakened to active interest in aviation, the promoters of the Klan last spring formed in Atlanta an adjunct order headed by 'Emperor' Simmons and known as 'The Invisible Planet, Knights of the Air'

"The Klan organizers go out instructed to make their first drive to secure city, town and village authorities as members, and to centre their efforts also on judges of local and circuit courts and the police forces. In the weekly news letter sent out from Atlanta by Imperial Kleagle Clarke for circulation among Klansmen, the success achieved along these lines is boasted as the reason why in so many places the Klan has ventured to work openly without fear of interference and as an incentive for pushing forward the work of setting up an invisible Klan-controlled super-government throughout the country."

"Ku Klux Klan Used Army and Navy Club (New York City) Address to Peddle Memberships in Campaign by Mail."

"U. S. Officials in the Ku Klux Klan"—"Many United States Government representatives in the various States, it has been ascertained are affiliating with the Ku Klux Klan. Postmasters and special agents of other branches of the Federal service have joined Klans"

"Members of Congress show considerable caution in discussing the Ku Klux Klan, and some, for various reasons, will not talk about it at all."

"Republican Floor Leader Mondell of the House is one of those who turned down an invitation to express his views."

"Representatives Hayes (Rep.) and Hawes (Dem.) of Missouri and Mapes (Rep.) of Michigan pleaded ignorance of the Klan or its purpose."

"35,000 Memberships Sold in New York City."

"One of the most important statements in the World story of this morning is the reference to the refusal by the World of the Ku Klux Klan advertisement, placed through an advertising agency, whose head is an impor-

tant member of the present administration. It only goes to show how deeply rooted are the fangs of the viper and the power of money to reach those holding the most sacred trusts."— (From a letter to the World.)

"Mrs. Tyler placed the Klan on record as being against all Sinn Fein propoganda in the United States.

"The Klan is also against all labor agitators, although Mrs. Tyler said they were not opposed to organized labor. They have no political affiliations, but Mrs. Tyler admitted that when a political question affected the principles of the Klan the organization would automatically vote as a political unit. They are also opposed to Socialists and radicals of all sort and bar them from the organization."

" Klansman who is describing in a press telegram the meeting near Philadelphia on the night of August 25, when 149 candidates were 'naturalized.'"

"Klan Predicts Enemies of 'Law and Order' Will Shriek When Ku Klux Tightens Grip and Opposition Realize They Are Whipped."

"The Imperial Chaplain is one Rev. Caleb A. Ridley, otherwise identified as pastor of the Central Baptist Church of Atlanta and chairman of the Dixie Defense Committee, which has been active in Atlanta and other communities where leading white and Negro citizens have been attempting to approach the South's race question on the 'Atlanta Plan' basis of inter-racial councils."

"Samples of Propaganda—

"Negroes Must Serve on Chain Gangs Now" is the head of a box on page 1, August 6 (The Searchlight). "Negro Mob Clubbed by New York Police" is an article on page 1, on July 23, and on the same page "Social Equality Put Under Ban," is a set of resolutions denouncing the Rev. M. Ashby Jones, a pastor and son of a chaplain in Lee's army, for permitting a Negro to attend an inter-racial committee gathering at his home and for calling that Negro "mister" in the presence of a "body of fair womanhood of Atlanta,"—said resolutions being boldly adopted by "Patriotic Societies of Atlanta," no address given. "White Woman Marries a Negro" heads a story from Omaha on page 2 of the same issue, and "Separate Cars for Negroes" takes up a whole column on page 3. "Look out, Patriots!" shrills another headline on that page. "Enemy Would Place History in Public Schools—Backed by Negroes and Catholics." On page 6 is another set of

resolutions condemning President Harding for appointing a Negro, Henry Lincoln Johnson, as Register of Deeds, and indorsing the opposition made by Senator Watson of Georgia to the appointment.

"To cite further examples from the teeming supply would be tedious and unnecessary. Mixed in with the items tending to reveal the Negro population of the country in an unfavor-

able light are similar attacks on the Jews and foreigners whom Imperial Chaplain Ridley also officially lumped in as he rambled."

"Voll, Union Chief, Warns Labor Against Vicious Ku Klux Klan."

"Irish Cheer Klux Expose."

"Klux Admits and Takes Glory in Lashing, Tarring and Feathering Texas Suspects; Affixes Official Seal to Detailed Story."

News at a Glance

BRIGGS SAYS GARVEY LIES

New York, Sept. 12.—Cyril V. Briggs, editor of The Crusader Magazine and executive head of the African Blood Brotherhood, a protective Negro organization having for its motto the legend "immediate protection and ultimate liberation of Negroes everywhere," issued the following statement yesterday in answer to Marcus Garvey's claim at Liberty Hall, New York, on the night of September 4, that Mr. Briggs and his associates were "operating under the auspices of the Communist Party":

"When Marcus Garvey attempts to meet with lies and cheap abuse the logical arguments and reasonable questions put to him by the African Blood Brotherhood out of a sincere desire on the part of that organization to clarify certain issues which are not the personal property of Marcus Garvey but are, despite his impudent presumption, the common problems and property of all persons of Negro blood and Negro pride, he is merely running true to form. It is with mud-slinging that he has attempted to meet all arguments from others in the past. When he made the statement that 'Briggs and his associates who are operating under the auspices of the Communist Party want us to be iconoclasts' Marcus Garvey was lying—and knew he was lying!—in more ways than one. Myself and associates are neither operating under the auspices of the Communist Party nor do we want Mr. Garvey or anybody else to be iconoclast to destroy everything we come into contact with; smash up governments and destroy capital. We merely advocate the proposition that 'since it is under the capitalist-imperialist system that Negroes suffer, we must boldly seek the destruction of that system, and to that end seek co-operation with such other forces—Socialism, Bolshevism, etc.—that are engaged in war to the death with Capitalism.' Mr. Garvey, in his genius for confusing issues, has confused 'capital': accumulated wealth; with 'Capitalism': the control of the machinery of production by the few.

"As to destroying governments we are not seeking the destruction of governments as such. We do not advocate, for example, the destruction of the Liberian Government. We do, however, advocate the encouragement of all forces inimical to the imperial governments of the countries which have partitioned and subjugated the African continent. We look upon the weakening or destruction of those governments as one of the surest means whereby the liberation of Africa can be achieved. We emphatically object to the premise that Negroes owe any loyalty to such governments. Mr. Garvey, on the other hand, evidently thinks that Negroes can be loyal to the governments of the European plunderers and yet liberate Africa from the control of those same governments."

Colored Woman Doctor Decorated

Newport, R. I., Sept. 15.—The Reconnaissance Francaise, a bronze medal, has been awarded by the French Government to Dr. Harriet A. Rice, colored, for her services in French military hospitals during the war. The medal reached her today through the French Embassy at Washington. She is a graduate of Wellesley College and of the Woman's Medical College in New York City.

FRENCH PEOPLE REMEMBER OUR BOYS

Vermillion, Sept. 22.—According to the director of the International Exchange here at Vermillion, South Dakota, there are many French people, particularly young ladies, who are seeking correspondence with interesting young men of America. They wish especially to remind the boys that France has not forgotten them for their brave deeds of valor, and the friendship that has been endeared by the memories of their sojourn. Many of the young ladies who have asked for correspondents are students and they wish to exchange ideas with American students on various subjects, such as art, literature, music; and on topics pertaining to other subjects mutually interesting. The young ladies, some of them, make it emphatic that they wish to correspond with the brave colored boys as well as with the white boys; for they say that they do not wish even one American to think that he has been forgotten.

1259

GREEKS ADMIT DRIVE FAILURE

London, Sept. 17.—Venizelists here take a gloomy view of the present state of Constantine's military operations, saying that the King has taken desperate chances for a spectacular success and has now definitely failed. They place the Greek losses, most of which they think were avoidable, at 30,000 men.

An early collapse both at the front and in home politics is predicted.

GREEKS NOW WANT "LEAGUE" TO MEDIATE.

Geneva, Sept. 15.—Suggestions tending to bring about mediation between Turkey and Greece have been made in League circles by persons connected with the Greek delegation.

The news from Asia Minor and North Africa is distinctly encouraging. In Asia Minor the Greek offensive against the Turks has proved a sad failure, and the Greeks have given up their "drive" against Angora, the capital of the Turkish Nationalists. In North Africa the Moors are continuing to smash the Spanish positions, and before Spain can concentrate sufficient forces to recoup her loss of prestige the rains will begin and any advance of the

Spaniards will be impossible until after the rains are over. In the meantime, the brave Moorish patriots will be able to consolidate their victories and prepare for the bitter struggle that will begin when the rains are over—unless something happens to the tottering Spanish throne in the interim. Should the Spanish radicals gain control at home it is certain that they will tolerate no war of conquest on the Moors.

Fully thirty per cent. of the embattled miners of Mingo county, W. Va., were Negroes.

FRANCE FOR SALE

News Dispatch.—In reminding the Harding administration of the value of the support of France in the settlement of the Pacific differences as against Japan, and perhaps as against Great Britain, M. Viviani will be able to point out that the League of Nations is now going very well, and that if France is to abandon advantages she is receiving under the league she ought to receive something in substitution. This, obviously, would bring up the question of France's indebtedness to the United States.

MANASSAS INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL SUMMER SESSION A SUCCESS

The Eleventh Summer Session of the Manassas Industrial School was a genuine success. No similar session in the history of the institution has attracted such a large number of teachers. The Teacher Training Course, which was conducted under the Department of Public Instruction, Commonwealth of Virginia, attracted more than 200 teachers from many counties in the State. Through the magnanimity of the educational authorities, a special opportunity was offered to members of the colored race to pursue courses leading toward Second, First and Elementary Professional Certificates.

The flourishing summer school must be largely attributed to the sterling leadership of Mr. Edward D. Howe, director. Principal Howe, through intense publicity, was able to inspire 197 teachers to study through the hot weather and to take their examinations. Every cottage, dormitory and room was filled up with seekers of knowledge. Each county in northern Virginia was well represented and also various other counties of the State.

The regular term begins September 27. Mr. Prince L. Edwoods, of New York City, has been elected vice-principal for the coming year.

A. B. B. Activities

There has been a rush to the protective folds of the A. B. B. as the Negro learned through the New York World expose the immense strength of the Ku Klux Klan, not only in the South but in the North as well, and of its members in high national and state offices, in the militia, the police force, the navy and army of the country. Applications have poured in so fast that the clerical staff of the organization has been swamped with work for the past three weeks.

A weekly news service of A. B. B. activities, Supreme Council's rulings, orders of the day, etc., has been organized to keep all posts in good standing fully informed of the work of the organization.

A monthly service will be issued to members who constitute isolated units in territories not yet well-organized. These members are asked to communicate with the executive head should they fail to receive this monthly news-letter.

A feature of the African Blood Brotherhood, little stressed heretofore, is that the organization easily has the grandest lineage of any of the fraternal orders now in existence, dating as it does from Ancient Egypt and continuing uninterrupted through various parts of Africa and today existing in Central Africa in the splendid ceremony of Blood Brotherhood for centuries practiced in that part of Africa. An article on this phase of the A. B. B. will be carried in the November Crusader.

All organizers and post commanders bear credentials and commissions on the letter head of the organization and stamped with the A. B. B. seal. Beware of frauds!

Correspondence

SALVATION OF THE NEGRO

No. 1021 Harris Street,
Vicksburg, Miss.

Sept. 12, 1921.

Mr. Editor of The Crusader:

The gentleman and a man of race pride and of very deep and broad thoughts:

After reading the indictments in your valuable magazine for September, I now answer your question.

The salvation for the American Negro is to organize a Territory Corporation.

There may be one more, that is the great act of God in our behalf.

The corporation should be led by the best men as promoters. These promoters should agree on the price for a share and request the twelve millions of Negroes to take out shares.

The Public Corporation funds should be deposited until organized to do business, on interest, under an agreement that all money should be returned if not organized and used for said purpose. We must colonize somewhere.

Yours truly,

(Signed) NATIONAL STAR.

WHY DISTURB THE KIDS?

(A word for the faithful followers of Don Quixote de Africa and his daring pranks.)

Dear Mr. Editor:

This is to rebuke you for your heartlessness—your cruelty in trying to deprive those intellectual babes and sucklings (who so earnestly swallowed all the lies and nonsense of Marcus Garvey) of their iridescent dreams of African dukedoms and other ranks and dignities, right down to knighthoods (I had almost written nighthoods).

You forget that

"Where ignorance is bliss,

'Tis folly to be wise."

Then why not let the infants enjoy their happy thoughts, their ribbons, buttons and other decorations? Children must be entertained with nursery tales, and given dolls and other toys to amuse and distract them. Then why disturb the kids. You heartless man.

Yours truly,

AN OLD MOTHER.

"Too Late Now!"

Negro Politicians, Kicked Out of Republican Party, Call National Meeting—Predictions of Crusader and "The Whip" Come True

With Reprint of
Editorial Predictions

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 17.—The rising tide of resentment against the Republican party is gradually nearing its crest, according to observations made by politicians throughout the country.

As a result, a national meeting has been called to meet in Washington simultaneously with the reassembling of Congress. It is intended to ask the Republican party plainly just where the race stands, and getting an unfavorable reply, to take steps for future action.

Started in Virginia

The movement to demand recognition was started in Virginia, where the "lily-white" organization refused to recognize regularly elected delegates, and forcibly ejected them from the convention. Joseph R. Pollard is directing the fight in that State, and John Mitchell, banker and editor of Richmond, has come forward as candidate for governor. A full State ticket has been put in the field.

New Party in Louisville

Dissatisfied with treatment accorded voters in Louisville, a new party has been formed, known as the Lincoln Independent party. A full city and county ticket has been put into the field. Editor Warley is at the head of the movement, and predicts that the new party will poll 100,000 votes in that city.

The unrest has reached as far down as Georgia, where a full State ticket has been put into the field from the governor down.

The action of the insurgents is due to the fact that the Republican party has generally ignored pre-election promises throughout the country, and has thrown them, bag and baggage, completely out of the party.

The New Administration

(Note: This editorial appeared in the March Crusader which appeared on the stands shortly after President Harding was inaugurated. We leave it to our readers to judge whether or not it was a good forecast of the present "new-old" treachery of the Republican party. The Crusader was one of the few Negro publications to oppose the Republican party in the last Presidential election. The Crusader advised Negroes to vote the ticket of either the Socialist party or the Farmer-Labor party—any ticket but that of one of the old parties. Negroes, however, fatuously credulous as ever. They swallowed "bait, hook and sinker" all the lies of the politicians. And now, for their reward, they are being KICKED OUT of party which they had not manhood enough to leave of their own accord.)

The new administration is bound to prove a disappointment to those credulous souls who, oblivious to the fact that the Republican party has held power before and has left the Race Problem where it found it upon its induction into power, are expecting a solution to the race problem because of the return to power of the Republicans.

The new President may be ever so anxious to ensure to the Negro the rights and opportunities of American citizenship, and yet still

prove a disappointment, if, as is quite certain, his party should refuse to sanction his efforts along these lines. The Republican party, it must be remembered, was voted into power on a platform that contained no definite promise whatever to the Negro. It has therefore no platform promises to keep with the Negro. And how little interest it has in having ensured to the Negro his rights of American citizenship is easily seen by its acts of commission and omission against the Negro in past periods of power. To go no further back into the long history of Republican back-sliding and double-dealing than what occurred within the last year: it was a Republican Congress that defeated the resolution making illegal jim-crowism in interstate travel; it was a Republican Congress that defeated Representative Tinkham's resolution to cut down Southern representation in Congress until the South should admit the Negro to the franchise.

No matter how favorably disposed President Harding may be toward the Negro, he will be under the handicap born of the party system, American race prejudice, and also—and not least—that arising from the story that he has Negro blood in his veins. This story—false or true—will act as a great deterrent to any noble impulses he may have to do the Negro race a good turn. President Harding knows full well that his election was only accomplished because the mass of the voters happened not to have been convinced by the story that he had Negro blood in his veins. For him, by any act markedly in favor of the Negro, to convince prejudiced white America, would be to sign his own death warrant so far as his public career, his social ties and his business affairs are concerned.

President Harding's cabinet contains not one man markedly friendly to the Negro, and several known to be unfriendly. Hays and Daugherty are friends in the political sense. Both, however, are in positions where they can greatly help the Negro, if so inclined. Hays as Postmaster-General can remove the handicaps with which prejudice has beset the colored post office clerks throughout the country, carried to such lengths that at the College Station, New York, for example, there is not a colored window clerk, in spite of the fact that the business of this station is over ninety per cent. colored. Daugherty as Attorney-General can do wonders in the way of extending protection to the Negro through the strict enforcement of the law of the land. For this purpose no additional laws are needed. The Constitution of the United States guarantees the right of every American to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The various State constitutions also do as much, and in some instances go further along specific lines.

But already there are signs along the Potomac of a great double-cross deal being prepared by the Old Guard Republicans for the simple, credulous Negro, with the acquiescence, at least, of the new administration which, for this reason, will bear watching.

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1262

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VENTILATED IN THE COMMUNITY
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ENDANGERED

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PROGRAM ARRANGED BY ROMEO L. DOUGHERTY

Beware the Ides of March

(Reprint from Chicago Whip, issue of March 12, 1921)

Note: This editorial appeared in the Chicago Whip shortly after President Harding was inaugurated. In the light of President Harding's present attitude, and the apparent inclination on the part of the Republican party to throw the black man out of its ranks, this editorial was a remarkable forecast.

Just as the strange admonition rang dramatically into Caesar's ears, so does it ring into ours—"Beware of the Ides of March!" Just as many and even more reasons for heeding it exist. The month of March brings into the affairs of all Americans new methods, new policies and new administrative officers. New problems and new hopes confront this new regime. Beware of false prophets, beware of political Judases, beware of unfounded hopes and "the friends" who have already received favors.

It is not conducive to clear thinking and intelligent action to pin our faith absolutely in the new President. The beautiful ideal of Americanism is one thing and its practical performance is another. The golden rule and the brotherhood of man are certainly fundamental conceptions of what our government SHOULD be. May be, these golden principles are the essence of what our government is GOING to be. Yet, what our government IS NOW, should be the consideration from which to build, expectations and the mustard seed of faith with which to remove the mountains of loadings, disfranchisement and embarrassing economic privation.

The new President is not going to change the form of government. He is not going to adopt measures drastically or diametrically different from those of the Republican predecessors. The "high finance" supporters of this party put Mr. Harding in office. We might add parenthetically—with our assistance. His political record reflects his general inclination. He is a machine man of politics. Mr. Harding has never been a reformer or a revolutionist. The government will look the same, feel the same, and probable act the same as far as his tenure of office concerns it. For all beneficial purpose to us, he will more than likely leave the government as he finds it. The Ides of March open a term of office for Mr. Harding for at least four years, but let us place no faith in any single individual. It is our task—a task for a race of MEN to put ourselves on an equal footing with other people. Be not deceived by the Ides of March.

Not many moons ago, America was highly incensed by the terrible indictment that could be drawn against a white man, that is, to "call him a Negro." Any unprecedented favors to black people or even a firmer dispensation of justice to them will cause the old breath of scandal to be blown all over the land of the free and the home of the brave. An astute politician will dodge this inconvenience. They say our President is a good politician.

That "Lily-white Republicanism" is to play an important part in silencing the black man's voice in political questions is manifested by the appointment of a leader of the Lily-whites from Virginia to an important committee. If the Republican party now going into control of affairs is already proclaiming itself a white man's party the witch will do well to shriek

into the ears of all black Americans her ancient admonition of "Beware of the Ides of March!"

During this period of unemployment, the eyes of starving America are raised, with all hope to the new President, just as bleeding, brutal Belgium raised hers to Woodrow Wilson. But let us not be deceived. For fifteen millions of white Europeans are waiting to come over and get such jobs as we have. We were the last to be employed and the first to be discharged. Organized capital is going to protect its own interests. Its interests are now wrapped up in the Republican party, which controls exportation and importation, and not with the black people. Our economic expectations should be tempered with common sense. Beware of the Ides of March!

As the new administration begins to unfold its policies, the "scales will fall from our eyes." The futility of our vote in the last election should be considered. As our "leaders," who tipped their eloquence with running fire in the campaign speeches for the Grand Old Party, now are to be seen in Washington begging, pleading, crying for jobs for themselves. We should calmly reflect on these leaders who have exploited our votes for their own personal unworthy gain. We should realize that unless something is done for the whole race that we are the goat.

At this time we should be preparing to end this political exploitation. We should close our ears and our political ranks from all such evils and influence. Let us expect nothing and receive no disappointments. Let us face the issues intelligently, and forget all about Abraham Lincoln's party, and plan to support only those who give real performances and no illusory promises. Beware of the Ides of March!

FACTS, FUN AND FANCIES

? ? When ? ?

It's news to the editor of The Crusader that when he travels in the South he "passes for white." Since Marcus Garvey knows that much, will he please give us the additional information of when the editor of The Crusader has traveled in the South and what part of the South? The editor of The Crusader remembers going as far as Buckroe Beach, Virginia, once, with his wife, where for two weeks they lived at the colored hotel at Buckroe Beach and visited friends at Hampton and elsewhere. Of course, several times, as on the street cars and on the boat back to New York we refused to be jimmied and fought it out to a standstill. Does that, in Mr. Garvey's twisted mind, appear like "passing for white?"

Some Escrow!

Putting money in "escrow" is an absolutely safe affair for everybody but Mr. Garvey. Recently Mr. Garvey put \$12,500 "in escrow," and now it's disappeared. Mr. Garvey knew so little of how to go about putting money "in escrow" that the firm with whom it was placed has divided his \$12,500 with a steamship company whereas under proper arrangements, not a cent of the money should have been touched until the steamship for which Mr. Garvey had been negotiating and which was at the time in Asiatic waters had been delivered to Mr. Garvey's concern in New York harbor. Some Escrow!

More Wobbling Leadership

Garvey and Ferris, Admitting Fear of Jail Governs Their Actions, Too Cowardly Ever to Publish Over His Own Signature the Uncompromising Statements of Briggs Which They Themselves Dared Not Make.

THE following letter was mailed "registered" to Ferris and Garvey on the afternoon of September 9. Since that date two issues of the Negro World have appeared, but the letter has not been published. Readers can draw their own conclusion:

AN OPEN LETTER TO MARCUS GARVEY AND HIS MAN "FRIDAY"

September 19, 1921.

Sir William H. Ferris, M. A., K. C. O. N.,
Literary Editor, Negro World,
56 West 135th Street,
New York, N. Y.

Sir: In the Negro World for September 3 you attempt to explain away the cowardly, compromising and pussy-footing tactics of Marcus Garvey (to which the editor of The Crusader called attention in one of the bulletins issued by the African Blood Brotherhood during the recent convention) by daring the editor of The Crusader to "in the September issue of his journal state that in the event of war between the United States and Japan, the American Negroes should join arms with Japan and that the American Negroes should form a Japanese and anti-American society." You add that should he make this statement he "would then discover how long the American Government would tolerate disloyalty."

The following statement, made by the editor of The Crusader, not in the September issue, because that number was already on the stands as you probably were aware at the time you wrote your challenge, but in the December, 1920, issue of that magazine, will, I believe, prove to your readers that the editor of The Crusader does not expect of Mr. Garvey a higher spirit of service and sacrifice than he himself is willing to display. The statement follows: (I hope you will not prove too cowardly to print on MY responsibility and above my signature what "the editor of The Crusader" long ago dared to say, and dares hereby to reaffirm.)

"With such possibility (war between the United States and Japan or between the United States and Mexico) confronting us the time is here for plain speaking regardless of consequences. No race-loyal Negro can neglect to define the Negro's duty in eventuality of war between white United States and colored Japan or Mexico. And no manly Negro will mince his words in the definition. The editor of The Crusader here and now defines that duty as **NOT TO FIGHT AGAINST JAPAN OR MEXICO, BUT RATHER TO FILL THE PRISONS AND DUNGEONS OF THE WHITE MAN (OR TO FACE HIS FIRING SQUADS) THAN TO SHOULDER ARMS AGAINST OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DARKER RACES.** The Negro who fights against either Japan or Mexico is fighting for the white man against himself, for the white race against the darker races and for the perpetuation of white domination of the colored races, with its vicious practices of lynching,

jim-crowism, segregation and other forms of oppression in opposition to the principle advocated by Japan of Race Equality, and these are things that, we are convinced, no loyal Negro will do."

The editor of The Crusader reiterates that "the Negro has had enough of pussyfoot leaders. Men who are not prepared to suffer imprisonment, deportation or exclusion for their opinions have no right to advance themselves as leaders of an oppressed people." The editor of The Crusader is more concerned in the fight for "immediate protection and ultimate liberation of Negroes everywhere" than in side-stepping issues to escape imprisonment, deportation or other punishment for alleged disloyalty. The editor of The Crusader considers that the Negro owes no loyalty to a government that is disloyal (by acquiescence in his oppression, etc.) to the Negro. Loyalty begins on the part of the government toward the citizen, not on the part of the citizen toward the government. Until a government proves loyal to the Negro the editor of The Crusader sees no reason for preaching loyalty of the Negro to that government, and the vision of prison cells, etc., has no power to make him emulate Marcus Garvey and Major Moton in preaching such servile loyalty.

If the editor of The Crusader prefers to carry on his fight for the present in the United States rather than go "to Jamaica and attempt to raise an army to throw off the English yoke" it is because he is convinced that it is in this country that the Negro must first be made strong in order to enable us to make an effective fight against our oppressors. The struggle, as the editor of The Crusader sees it, is for **IMMEDIATE PROTECTION AND ULTIMATE LIBERATION FOR NEGROES EVERYWHERE.** Raising an army in Jamaica to throw off the British yoke from an island that cannot stand by itself and can as easily be blockaded into submission as reconquered by the sword would be as futile as nursing a bankrupt steamship company or talking about using its battered tubs to transport a few scores of legionnaires dressed in Jamaican "dog-catchers" uniforms to Africa in face of the British fleet, though admittedly not quite as ridiculous as the newer proposition of using the "Mysteries of Africa" to free that continent from an occupation by aliens which the "Mysteries of Africa" were not able to prevent.

I further submit, sir, that if Mr. Garvey had not the courage to preach exclusive loyalty to the Negro race (that is, of viewing every question from the point of its possible benefit or injury to the Negro race) he certainly was not faced with the necessity (unless it be indeed true that he sold his race to prevent his exclusion from this country?) of preaching Negro loyalty to oppressive white governments. If he dared not tell the American Negro that in event of war between the United States and Japan he should preferably fill the prisons of the United States than fight against the arms of Nippon, he also had no racial necessity (and

personal necessities should not be allowed to count above racial necessities!) to give the United States a blanket endorsement for all its future wars whatsoever those wars be against—whether against Negro Haiti, yellow Japan or some other member of the colored world; whether in self-defense or for the purpose of crushing legitimate Japanese ambitions and maintaining white supremacy. What servile fear, what despicable cowardice prompted Marcus Garvey to make that pledge of loyalty in the name (but, thank God, without the mandate!) of a people so sorely oppressed with the acquiescence (mostly silent, but often openly) of that said government to whom he pledged their unqualified loyalty?

In your editorial you also say:

"To be a loyal citizen in the sense that one does not attempt to undermine the government by acts of violence or to send arms and ammunition to restless colonies does not mean that one can do nothing at home or abroad to right wrong, redress grievances and alleviate conditions. The Anti-Slavery Movement, the Temperance Crusade and the Woman's Suffrage Movement in America shows what the pulpit, platform, press and pen can do to right wrongs. One can be loyal to the government under which he lives and still plead the cause of bleeding Africa, still go there as missionaries and educators, still enter into trade relations with her, still develop her commercially and leave the rest to Father Time. Africa will be redeemed, not so much by outside interference as by the development of the African himself. The process of evolution will work in the case of the African as it has in the case of men of other races and nations and climes."

Quite a radical departure, indeed, from the revolutionary preachments and forcible liberation doctrines by which the fearless and earnest membership of the U. N. I. A. was attracted to the leadership of Marcus Garvey! What becomes of the promise to drive England out of Africa, France out of Africa, etc., etc.? The liberation of Africa and the righting of the wrongs done the Negro race are then to be left to the "pulpit, the platform, press and pen!" No effort is to be made to "send arms to restless colonies!" Our kindred in Africa are to be left to the tender mercies of the Boers, Belgians and other European murderers and plunderers in Africa. We are henceforth merely "to PLEAD the cause of bleeding Africa" and leave the rest to Father Time! Was there ever more cowardly surrender of "sacred principles?" Yet in another article from your pen in the same issue of the Negro World you declare, in a review of Mr. Barnes' book:

"Mr. Barnes in his conclusion, however, strikes a rather pessimistic note regarding the redemption of Africa—a thing which he considers not an impossibility, but hardly a probability in the present disorganized and indifferent state of Negroes, a condition which Mr. Barnes offers no way out favorable to Africa, when he advises Negroes in foreign countries to conform to the laws of the countries they are in, and has no time with Africa, which is owned by European nations."

It is to laugh. In one article you defend Mr. Garvey's cowardly advice to Negroes to be loyal to the white governments having or claiming jurisdiction over them. You uphold Mr. Barnes' views and say that the liberation of Africa must be left in the hands of Father Time and to evolution (in opposition to revolution)

and in another article in the same issue you deplore Mr. Barnes' views. But you are consistently funny! You say the delegates to the convention assembled to formulate their own plans and programs, even using the plural form for program, and yet you admit that not even A PROGRAM was formulated at the convention! You have often flayed the Old Negro and his futile conventions and yet you accept those conventions as a standard by which to judge a convention presumably held by New Negroes! As proof that the convention has done something you refer to the establishment of a Civil Service Department and a Department of Industry and Labor. I could add that it also established a Bureau of Passports and Identifications and still logically maintain that yet it had done nothing but sidestepped the practical and constructive and flirted with the impractical and futile.

What are these futile playthings (futile so long as you have sovereignty over not a single square inch of territory) as against constructive measures which, in the true interests of the Negro race, should have been adopted, such as formulation of a program for the guidance of the Negro Race in the Liberation Struggle; creation of a federation of Negro organizations in order to present a united and formidable front to the enemy, with centralized authority in the hands of a Supreme Executive Committee composed of representatives from the member-organizations; permission to U. N. I. A. divisions to buy (or lease) and operate farms wherever feasible for the purpose of supplying employment to members and keeping down the cost of living for the race in general; devising of means to protect the lives and properties of Negroes in the United States; devising of means for raising and protecting the standard of living of the Negro people, etc., etc.

In conclusion, let me say that while your arguments have been far from convincing, they are still somewhat better than the cheap abuse with which Mr. Garvey has attempted to meet logical arguments and reasonable questions arising from a sincere desire on the part of the A. B. B. to clarify certain issues which are not the personal property of Mr. Garvey but are, despite his impudent presumption, the common problems of all persons of Negro blood and Negro pride. I am, sir,

Yours truly,

CYRIL V. BRIGGS,
Editor of The Crusader and
Executive Head the A. B. B.

P. S.—Will you not whisper into Mr. Garvey's ear that documentary evidence—such as newspaper files, etc.—as to who began the "Africa for the Africans" propaganda is still in existence and it is therefore unwise for him to attempt to pose as the originator of that philosophy? C. V. B.

P. P. S.—Refusal, prompted by cowardice or other reason, to publish this letter will hurt yourselves only, since the A. B. B. has means of reaching the public—a fact of which you should be fully cognizant by this time. C. V. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Dunham, Ky., August 17, 1921.

Editor, The Crusader.

Dear Sir: I am writing you a few lines in regards to your magazine, The Crusader. I think your magazine is one of the best that I have ever read relating to our race, and you

are not afraid to speak the facts.

I hope you will keep up your good work in the future. Please tell me when my subscription expires.

THOMAS MADISON.

New Orleans, La., August 10, 1921.
Editor, The Crusader.

Dear Sir: Questions do arise in one's mind of certain things, that we are forced to withstand, in a certain sense of the word.

Is there sincerity in the Southern white man's opinion or higher, or rather, more, education for the Negro?

Everyone knows that higher education does bring out that individualistic initiativeness that lies dormant in the ordinary, liberally educated Negro. But when and after that which has been permitted to creep out makes its appearance and begins to act in the personality and "Ego," that Negro is stamped as the "smart Negro," radical (?).

There is that type of pussyfooting Negro who has, and who always will stoop to the poor whites, blundering and stumbling along under the dictators' wish, for a pitiful, miserly friendliness, for which friendliness he later pays dearly.

That higher education—intelligence—censored, that is what is wanted. You can be educated, but remember your place. Even a school official may feel you are too big for yourself when you attempt to show him that he has made a mistake; and there are a few new things the institution should adopt—athletics, for instance—but the pussyfoot says we don't need it. The wisest of the wise may be shown some things. But that might come from there being two classes—Idealist and Pragmatist. Does the Negro fall under the latter? "One can't live on earth and board in heaven," as a Negro speaker has said. We must begin to think in terms of Black; be proud of the blood that runs through our veins.

There is an old professor who many times told members of his class: "I am saying these things to you all, because I know you understand them, but I could not afford to say them from a public platform, because the people could not and would not, understand them." (?). Mr. Editor, friends and readers of The Crusader, members of my race, that man is himself an Idealpragmatist in the truest sense. He meant: "Don't do as I do—but do as I tell you." He would close a school rather than loan a few dollars to an unfortunate student (he said so) who had run short of funds. He would close the school rather than entertain a few students with "initiatives." He will promote higher education from the platform, but not from the schoolroom or his office. He is the type of white man who thinks there is a Negro problem; the type of white man who is afraid of the African Blood Brotherhood, and who would not entertain respectfully a representative of the Hon. Marcus Garvey (and who requested the representative not be invited to come back on a visit). That man (white) is the type of man who attempts to put into practice dictatorialness, who relies on his Jim—George—nigger to tell him of the meetings (fraternal and otherwise) of Negroes who want better things, better treatment; better and more conscientious professors.

To that type of man and his sympathizers do we direct our most sanelly thought sentence *di vis pacem, para bellum*.

Be sincere, and fear not. If he was sincere

would he and his like thinking brethren blame the A. B. B. for being the fomentors and directors of the Tulsa Riot—*tempus omnia revelat*.

The Negro is making his way *per angusta ad angusta*.

Respectfully,

B. G. A. I.

Per angusta ad angusta.

Something New!

Giving "power of attorney" to a firm which has its offices in the same city as your own is something absolutely new in business. It was developed by Marcus Garvey's concern, The Black Star Line. Of course, it's thoroughly unbusiness-like, judged by regulation standards, but then Marcus is nothing if not original in his methods of offering opportunities to white men to line their pockets at the Negro's expense.

Marcus says we are Bolsheviks. If by that he means that we are determined to free Africa and liberate the Negro peoples of the world by all and every means, why, then, we are Bolsheviks! Bolsheviks or anything else for the Liberation of Africa!

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CYRIL V. BRIGGS, Executive Head

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..... CUT HERE

"ONE FOR ALL, ALL FOR ONE"

APPLICATION BLANK

I, the undersigned, Negro and proud of it, being fully cognizant of the value of organization and convinced of the necessity for a Negro organization created for IMMEDIATE PROTECTION AND ULTIMATE LIBERATION OF NEGROES EVERYWHERE, and recognizing in the historic AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD the protective organization par excellence as demonstrated at Tulsa, etc., and the most effective Negro organization working for the liberation of the Negro Peoples of the world as evidenced by the successes that have already repaid the energetic application of its intelligent leadership do hereby make application for membership in the said AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD and do hereby pledge myself, if accepted for membership, to energetically advance the interests of the AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD and the sacred Cause of Negro Protection and Liberation for which it fights, and to faithfully carry out the mandates of the SUPREME COUNCIL of the organization and give due respect and obedience to all my officers and courageously oppose lynching, jim-crowism, mob-violence and all forms of oppression. In witness of my earnestness in making application and my willingness to abide by the laws of the organization, I do hereby affix my true signature.

..... Signature of Applicant

..... ADDRESS



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