

THE
CRUSADER

DECEMBER, 1921

Why I Left the U. N. I. A.

By Bishop George Alexander McGuire

What I Know About Liberia

By Cyril A. Crichlow

And Other Articles

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Published Monthly by CYRIL V. BRIGGS
 AT 2299 SEVENTH AVENUE
 NEW YORK CITY
 Tel.: Morningside 2056

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ORGAN OF THE AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD

Vol. V. No. 4. December, 1921 Whole No. 40

CONTENTS

PICTURES

	Page
Bishop George Alexander McGuire.....	6
Cartoon	13
Damasqua Baker.....	7
Myrtle Marshall.....	7
Lucile Horton.....	7
Doris Buckley.....	7

ARTICLES

Why I Left the U. N. I. A., by Bishop McGuire	5
Buying for the Home, by Geo. H. James.....	15
Condensed and Tentative Constitution, and African Blood Brotherhood	17
A Christmas in San Blas, by Theo. Burrell. 19	
What I Know About Liberia, by Cyril A. Crichlow	20
More Bolshevik Crimes	23
The Peace of the Syrian Teacher, by Ben E. Burrell	25
Persia Sees Through British "Friendship". 25	
For Labor Unity	29
Los Angeles U. N. I. A. "Blows Up"	31

POEMS

A Christmas Thought	14
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DEPARTMENT

Editorials	8
Books	26
Musical	32

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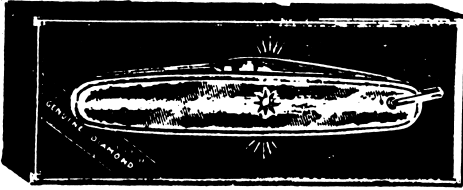
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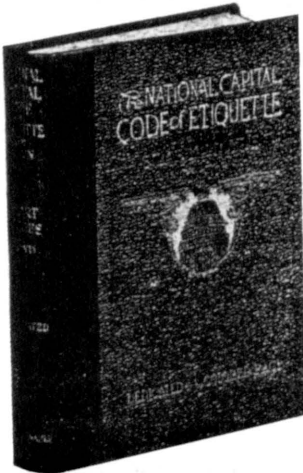
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THE CRUSADER

Vol. V. No. 4

DECEMBER, 1921

Whole No. 40

Why I Left the U. N. I. A.

Former Chaplain-General and Member of Executive Council Tells Why He Severed All Relations with Carvey Organization

By BISHOP MCGUIRE

(1) *Not* because I have any quarrel with the organization *per se*.

(2) *Not* because I repudiate any of its claims and objects.

(3) *Not* because I do not admit the feasibility of said objects.

(4) *Not* because I do not believe in the inspiring slogan of "Africa for the Africans."

BUT

(1) Because I strenuously object to dictation as to my ecclesiastical relations and activities.

(2) Because I refuse to devote slavishly all my waking time to any human cause, however philanthropic.

(3) Because I permit no interference with my personal freedom of correspondence with any individual.

(4) Because I rebel against the arrogant, domineering and dictatorial leadership in the organization.

(5) Because I, with many of my co-religionists, have been relentlessly persecuted by *The Great I Am*; beside whom there must be no other leader, religious or otherwise.

(6) Because I foresee the *inevitable*.

1311

Why I Joined the A. B. B.

Widely Respected and Popular Churchman Tells Why He Entered A. B. B. Section of the Liberation Movement

By BISHOP MCGUIRE

(1) Because it affords me *continued opportunity* to promote the cause of racial unification for a Free Africa and the protection and liberation of all Negro people.

(2) Because I believe in its creed of Racial Equality without qualification or reservation.

(3) Because it seeks to protect Negro Labor from exploitation by Capitalism.

(4) Because it recognizes the work being accomplished by other Negro leaders and organizations for our racial welfare and progress, and seeks *federation* rather than absorption or annihilation.

(5) Because while its general business is transacted in open meetings, its *modus operandi* is operated secretly.

(6) Because it welcomes into service strong and intellectual men of the race without attempting to *dwarf* them before one *Giant Master Mind* (?)

(7) Because it erects no barriers to my religious freedom nor places any limitation upon my personal liberties and movements.

(8) Because I am convinced of its steady and permanent, though not *sensational*, growth.

DR. JEKYLL AND MR. HYDE

(In their latest.)

Correspondence

Dear Bishop McGuire:

Personally I wish your Church well. I do not want to harm you in the least.

"M. G." JEKYLL.

Telegram

Let members understand we have nothing to do with McGuire's Catholic Church which is under white Archbishops in Chicago. The people must not be deceived. All those who want to go to his Church let them do so. All members of the Universal shall always have our protection (?) and consideration. Those who want to follow McGuire will find out their mistake. The Universal has nothing to do with his Church.

"M. G." HYDE.

Notice Extraordinary

(Condensed)

Attention of All Members:

At three successive meetings let it be proclaimed that we have nothing to do with the African Orthodox Church of which Bishop McGuire is head. Report all who canvass for members to "M. G." JEKYLL-HYDE.



Bishop George Alexander McGuire, who is now a Departmental Chief of the African Blood Brotherhood and whose statements why he left the U. N. I. A. and why he joined the A. B. B. appear in this issue.



1312

WHAT TWO RADICALS HAVE TO FACE!

All New England is divided into three classes: Those who believe Sacco and Vanzetti innocent and the victims of persecution because of their radical beliefs; those who honestly believe the Italians committed the crime and should pay the penalty, and some who scorn all Anarchism and believe all propagandists for anarchy and communion in whatever form should be burned at the stake regardless of facts, as the witches of Puritan days were burned.

This last mentioned sentiment is by no means negligible. It is a positive factor in the situation.—From The (N. Y.) Herald.

FOOD DRAFTS FOR RUSSIAN FAMINE VICTIMS

The American Federation Russian Famine Relief Committee announces that it has closed arrangements with Russian Soviet agencies permitting the sending of food to private in-

dividuals in Russia and Ukraine (not including Siberia, Turkestan, and Caucasia). This will be done through the sale of food drafts redeemable in standard food parcels delivered to the designated beneficiaries.

The sale of food drafts began Monday, November 21, at the New York Office of the Federated Committee, which is at Room 303, 110 West 40th Street. Application blanks will be sent upon request.

TROTZKY ON FRANCE

Bourgeois France is playing the part of a cruel executioner to tens of millions of people in Central Europe. She oppresses millions of colonial slaves, black and yellow skinned, and at the same time arms these slaves against the workers of Germany as well as against her own workers. The name of bourgeois France is hated in all parts of the world. There is nothing more disgusting than a blood-thirsty usurer who talks about democracy. There is nothing meaner than an international executioner who is getting ready to create a "free" government for the Russian people.—From an article by Leon Trotsky in the Petrograd Pravda.



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As "The Butterfly." Lucille is another of the talented juveniles.



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EDITORIALS

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

STAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA!

In this number of *THE CRUSADER* we present for the information of our readers a few of many facts concerning Soviet Russia's friendly and fair-minded attitude towards the darker races and her concrete acts of friendship to them.

Of all the great powers Soviet Russia is the only power that deals fairly with weaker nations and peoples. She is the only power that has no skeleton of murderous subjugation and wrongdoing in her national closet—no spectre of a brutally oppressed Ireland or Haiti.

Soviet Russia, too, according to Lord Curzon and other British authorities, is the only great power that extends a helping hand to the oppressed peoples struggling for liberation. Curzon tells us she has given substantial aid to the Nationalist Patriots of India, Egypt and Turkey. If this is true—and Curzon thinks he knows—so much more glorious is Soviet Russia's record. The oppressed peoples of the world have all the more reason to be grateful to this strong and fearless champion of true self-determination and the rights of weaker peoples. But Soviet Russia, who in the past has treated the darker peoples so magnanimously and so boldly championed their rights against the land-hungry imperialist powers—Soviet Russia, the friend of the weak and oppressed, is now herself in need of help. Soviet Russia is in the throes of a terrible famine brought about chiefly by the brutal British blockade of her ports which made it impossible for her to import agricultural machinery, seeds, etc., etc. Soviet Russia needs your help today! Negroes! Workers! Comrades of all oppressed races and classes, **STAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA!** Strengthen Soviet Russia! Hold up the hands of Soviet Russia in order that Soviet Russia may be able to help you in the future as in the past!

Send your contributions to **THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA**, 201 West 13th Street, New York City. Don't delay. Delay may sacrifice the Revolution and the friend of the oppressed!

THE BOYCOTT AND A FREE AFRICA

The following editorial from the Omaha *Daily News* shows that the the Chinese are

alive to the efficacy of the boycott as a weapon to thwart Japanese imperialism:

A Chinese merchant in Chicago sold some Japanese goods last week—and a secret society ordered him to pay the customary \$2,000 fine or get measured for a wooden kimono. He paid the fine. The Chinese boycott against Japanese goods, with severe penalties, is going on in every Chinatown all over the world, and all through China. A few months back, San Francisco Chinese held a public bonfire of all silks and other Japanese wares in their possession. The idea is to cripple Japan's foreign trade until she gets out of Chinese territory. There never has been a peaceful war as powerful and extensive as this boycott. There never has been, in the world's history, a punitive secret society as strongly organized as the one enforcing the boycott, with the possible exception of the Ku-Klux Klan. The Chinese say that their peaceful war against Japan is getting the desired results, that it is only a question of time until Japan will have to pull out of Chinese territory. Whether or no, the Chinese are giving the world the first demonstration of the power of a trade boycott as a substitute for war."

Will Negroes never wake up to the efficacy of the boycott against their imperialist foes? The struggle for a free Africa need not be exclusively one of arms nor confined to the African continent. The Negroes in the United States and other countries can help mightily in the work of African liberation by putting the boycott into effect against England, France, Belgium, Italy and other powers whose capitalist greed lead to the partition of Africa and its present exploitation and oppression. Negroes in the West Indies have shown a better appreciation of the power of the boycott than those of us in the United States. The people of the West Indies have shown their distaste for Southern lynchings, etc., by applying the boycott to white. American commercial agents and their wares in many instances. Why should Negroes, by buying English, French and Belgian goods, help to maintain the oppressive regimes of these imperialist thieves in the continent of Africa?

EXPLANATIONS THAT DO NOT EXPLAIN

Marcus Garvey, heckled by a Philadelphia audience as the result of the appearance in the Philadelphia American of our exposure of the mythical existence of his much advertised "S. S. Phyllis Wheatley,"

ried first to dodge the question by referring to our exposure as "propaganda for the purpose of misguiding and confusing the minds of the people." Of course, his advertisement and sale of passage on a steamship that does not exist was not for the purpose of misguiding and confusing the minds of the people—simply to misguide their hard-earned dollars.

But the people wanted to know more. So Marcus Garvey told them that "The man Briggs, who wrote this, knew well that *whilst there was no "Phyllis Wheatley" in actual registry*, the Black Star Line had bought from the United States Shipping Board a ship by the name of the "Orion," whose name was to be changed to the "Phyllis Wheatley," and that the ship had not yet passed through completely to the Black Star Line because the contract is not finally drawn."

The Black Star Line *had bought a ship, etc.*, yet that ship "had not yet passed through completely to the Black Star Line because the contract is not finally drawn." It is to horse-laugh! Do men buy and sell before the contract is finally drawn? If the Black Star Line had already bought this ship would not the ship be the property of the Black Star Line? As we understand this matter on very authentic information, the Black Star Line does not own the ship for which it was negotiating with the U. S. Shipping Board, for the very simple reason that it was not able to put up the bond for one hundred thousand dollars required by the Board. Of all the bonding companies in New York, not one, it appears, would go bond for the Black Star Line.

Garvey also stated in his Philadelphia "explanations that do not explain" that "the man who wrote this knows perfectly well that the Black Star Line cannot change the name of that ship until it finally passed to them." Yes, Marcus, we know that you cannot change the name of any ship until you really own it. We know, too, that you lied when you followed up with the statement: "And even after a ship is taken over it takes two or three months before you can change that name, and sometimes the government even refuses to allow you to change the name." That, Marcus, is a plain downright lie, and we unequivocally brand it as such! One would think, Marcus, that you would remember the time you announced your ownership of the "S. S. Shadyside" and tried to bluff us by telling us to go and find out if you did not own it. Perhaps you don't remember that, despite

your bluff, we did go and found out that—you did not own it! That should have taught you that you can't get away with your lies in this quarter.

Garvey further says, "So when they say 'Garvey's steamship does not exist,' they know well they are only trying to deceive you." Now, we leave it to any fair-minded man or woman to decide who is trying to deceive and confuse: the man who is advertising and *selling* passage on a steamship that—we repeat it!—does not exist, or the man who exposes what in the face of it is an out-and-out fraud? Who is it that is trying to confuse and divide this race of ours? Who is the fakir and who the honest man?

And how about the reputed photographs of the "S. S. Phyllis Wheatley," which Garvey has sent out broadcast, with the words Phyllis Wheatley appearing in large letters on the bow of the ship, and the whole advanced as proof of the success of the Black Star Line?

Frankly, we think Marcus Garvey is strenuously flirting with the laws of the land, and may wake up to an early realization of the seriousness of such flirtation.

1315

NEED OF ANOTHER "ARMS CONFERENCE"

The "Arms Conference" at Washington of the Plunderers should assuredly be followed by a conference of the Plundered and To-Be-Plundered. The Big Thieves have tried to get together on a program that would eliminate friction between themselves while allowing them unhampered exploitation of their oppressed workers in the homelands and of the unfortunate, subjugated populations of the "colonies." The present rulers of the world, the Capitalists, are making a last despairing effort to wipe out the writing on the wall and salvage their rotten, worn-out system.

The oppressed and exploited workers of all races and countries should also get together with a view to preventing the resuscitation of the cursed Capitalist system of pitiless exploitation and oppression, and to work out a program for co-operation and co-ordination of effort that would give the last smashing punch to the dying system and usher in a new era of genuine freedom for the workers of all races.

As the only Workers' Republic in existence and, as such, the representative and inspiration of the workers of the world, the Russian Soviet Government, should issue a

call for such a conference: a Conference of the Plundered and To-Be-Plundered to checkmate the unholy agreements made at the present Conference of the Plunderers at Washington.

*HE BECAME PERSONA NON
GRATA*

About a year ago Bishop McGuire, as a high official of the U. N. I. A., felt it his duty, shortly after becoming a member of the Executive Council, to submit for the consideration of his colleagues eight searching questions. For this conscientious performance of a duty he gave mortal offense to a certain individual who protested that "the Chaplain-General was interfering with the work of other officials and trying to run the organization." These were the questions:

(1) Is the Construction Loan recently launched really to be devoted to the cause specified and published?

(2) What is the accurate total sum (in detail) raised towards this loan, and what disposition has been made of said funds?

(3) Has any part of this loan fund been applied as temporary loans to the Black Star Line, the Negro Factories Corporation, the Negro World or other allied institutions? If so, specify amounts in each case and tell the authority which made these loans and the guarantee or security given for payment.

(4) Have any plans for the construction work in Liberia been seriously considered? Should not every step in any such plan be considered and reconsidered by the Council at special meetings of that honorable body before operation or concrete action be initiated?

(5) Is the method of handling the sale of bonds, now in vogue, a safe one? Is there any protection to the loan fund through the loss or otherwise of bonds delivered to high or minor officials?

(6) Is not our moral responsibility for the allied corporations named above as binding as a legal or technical responsibility would be? Do we, as the Executive Council, intend to exert no real influence in the management of these corporations and institutions, which the entire membership of the U. N. I. A. believe to be under our control and direction?

(7) Has the time not come when the New York Division should conform with the constitution in rendering the monthly reports to

the parent body, and paying the legal assessments thereunto, even as other divisions?

(8) Is it not time that we complete by-laws for the Executive Council, covering details of procedure in order that we may function as becomes our honorable body?

Bishop McGuire's questions were "posers." The public is beginning to read between the lines and to understand why the "duplicity of service" charge was trumped up against a gentleman who while he served his religious denomination brought between thirty and forty thousand dollars into the U. N. I. A. in less than a year. *He became persona non grata.* He asked too many vital questions.

A STEAMSHIP SAILS FOR AFRICA!

THE CRUSADER, always interested in safeguarding the interest of the Negro people, took upon itself to investigate the advertisements of the American-African Tourist Agency of 701 South 19th street, Philadelphia, Pa., which advertisements announced that a steamship would leave New York on the 10th of September for Monrovia, Liberia. THE CRUSADER is glad to announce as the result of its investigation its satisfaction that the American-African Tourist Agency has chartered the ship "Byron" and that that vessel will really sail for Africa on the 10th day of December, 1921. Two classes of passage are offered. First class at \$250, and second class at \$150. Tickets may be obtained in Philadelphia at the address given above and in New York at the offices of the Inter-Colonial Steamship and Trading Corp., 198 Broadway.

*THE AMERICAN NEGRO'S DUTY
TOWARD HAITI AND SANTO
DOMINGO*

Already the press dispatches are hinting at a whitewash of the Congressional investigation of conditions in the Republic of Haiti. This was to be expected. The United States is established in the territories of the Haitian and Dominican republics, and no appeal to her national morality and sense of fair play will get her out. The Big Imperial thieves prate a great deal about national and international morality, fair play and Christian ethics, etc., but in practice none of these things count with them, and woe to the little nation that is not able to defend itself. Woe to the weak and unarmed!

Force is the only thing that the capitalist-

imperialist respect. If you have sufficient organized force to assure that an attempt at subjugation will not be altogether a one-sided fight and a capitalist-grab picnic you have a chance to follow out your "national destiny" uninterrupted. The only power on earth that will free the republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo from the greedy clutches of the capitalist-government of the United States is force. "Force—force to the utmost." Should the brave patriots of Haiti and Santo Domingo decide to lay down their lives for their countries rather than submit to their enslavement by the United States Government through the instrumentality of Cracker Marines and will recognize in taking up arms that they are to engage in a death struggle with the mightiest of the imperialist thieves they will have a chance to reconquer their liberties and drive the crackers into the sea if—IF—the American Negro will forthwith recognize his duty toward the Negro republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo and the extent to which his destinies are bound up with those of the Negro peoples of these two republics and will begin to organize now with the intention of giving his moral support—and more, if necessary! to the patriots of the two Caribbean republics.

Is it too much to hope that the American Negro will recognize the identity of his interests with those of the two Negro republics? Is it too much to expect him to recognize the vast extent to which the destinies of these two republics—slave or free—will affect his own destinies in cracker-ridden America?

RUSSIA AND SELF-DETERMINATION

Soviet Russia is the only Power in the world which puts into execution the principle of "self-determination" in its dealings with weaker peoples. And Soviet Russia does this regardless of the color of the people with whom she is dealing. To put that principle into effect even in the case of weak white peoples would have been quite startling and revolutionary enough, considering that the other Powers do not differentiate in whom they shall oppress, but Soviet Russia does not discriminate in the least degree in her dealings with weaker peoples, but accepts the principle of self-determination as her guiding star in her dealings with ALL peoples. The following translations from *The Manchester Guardian* (England) of portions of the treaties between Russia and Persia, and Russia and

Afghanistan, respectively, should make interesting reading for thoughtful Negroes, who must of necessity be vitally interested in the liberation of Africa:

CLAUSE I.

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federate Soviet Republic, in accordance with its declarations set forth in notes of January 14, 1918, and June 26, 1919, of the principle of the Russian Socialist Federate Soviet Republic's policy with regard to the Persian people, once more solemnly declares Russia's immutable renunciation of the policy of force with regard to Persia pursued by the Imperialist Governments of Russia that have been overthrown by the will of her workmen and peasants. Accordingly, wishing to see the Persian people independent, flourishing, and freely controlling the whole of its own possessions, the Government of the Russian Socialist Federate Soviet Republic declares all tractates, treaties, conventions and agreements concluded by the late Tsarist Government with Persia and tending to the diminution of the rights of the Persian people completely null and void.

CLAUSE II.

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federate Soviet Republic brands (as criminal) the policy of the Governments of Tsarist Russia, which, without the agreement of the peoples of Asia and under the guise of assuring the independence of these peoples, concluded with other States of Europe treaties concerning the East which had as their ultimate object its gradual seizure. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federate Soviet Republic unconditionally rejects that criminal policy as not only violating the sovereignty of the States of Asia but also leading to organized brutal violence of Europe robbers on the living body of the peoples of the East. Wherefore and in accordance with the principles set out in Clauses I. and IV. of the present treaty, the Government of the Russian Socialist Federate Soviet Republic declares its refusal to take part in any measures whatsoever tending to weaken or violate the sovereignty of Persia and declares completely null and void all conventions and agreements concluded by the late Government of Russia with third Powers for the harm of Persia and concerning her.

CLAUSE IV.

Recognizing the right of each people to the free and unhindered settlement of its political fate, each of the High Contracting Parties disclaims and will strictly refrain from interference in the internal affairs of the other party.

So much for the treaty with Persia. Here are three clauses from the treaty with Afghanistan.

CLAUSE VII.

The High Contracting Parties agree upon the freedom of Eastern nations on the principle of independence and in accordance with the general wish of each nation.

CLAUSE VIII.

In confirmation of Clause 7 of the present treaty, the High Contracting Parties agree upon the actual independence and freedom of

Poland and Khiva, whatever may be the form of their government, in accordance with the wish of their peoples.

CLAUSE IX.

In fulfillment of and in accordance with the promise of the Russian Socialist Federate Soviet Republic, expressed by its head, Lenin, to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Sovereign State of Afghanistan, Russia agrees to hand over to Afghanistan the frontier districts which belonged to her in the last century, observing the principle of justice and the free expression of the will of the people. The order of the expression of the free will and the expression of the opinion of the majority of the regular local population shall be regulated in a special treaty between the two States through the Plenipotentiaries of both sides.

Of interest, too, to us, is the interpretation which this so-called British liberal paper gives to these treaties as a blow to British prestige in the Middle East:

Meanwhile full evidence is to hand of the lengths to which the Soviet Government has gone to secure the co-operation in its international affairs of the Middle Eastern peoples. Our special correspondent in Russia is able to send the full text of the treaties which the Soviet Government has concluded with Persia and with Afghanistan. They prove, not for the first time, that in foreign affairs Lenin practices what he preaches. Soviet Russia gives away with both hands the concessions, spheres of influence, buildings, railways, and even territories which Tsarist Russia had acquired, and loses no chance, in the clauses which announce her generosity, of denouncing the former "capitalist" and "imperialist" regime. The propaganda is no doubt directed in part westward. Meanwhile the Afghan and the Persian get solid benefit in cash, land, and freedom, which may well serve to secure for Russia the friendship and the trading facilities which she so badly needs. The condition is made that no third party shall be permitted to receive the benefits which Russia relinquishes. Thus has Moscow quietly shut two doors in our face. On the other hand, for what it is worth, the Soviet Government promises complete independence, "whatever their form of government," to the peoples of Turkestan, and will apparently abandon active Soviet propaganda. It would seem that Moscow is wakening from the dream of engrafting Marxian Communism on to the feudal peoples of the Middle East. But it is making a bold bid for their close friendship.

The *Manchester Guardian* seems to be almost as worried over Russia's bid for the friendship of the peoples of the East as are the out-and-out Capitalist newspapers. But, as the *Sinn Fein* says, the *Manchester Guardian* "has no cause for complaint. The Soviet Government does not go about things in the British fashion. England would secure the co-operation of Persia and Afghanistan at the point of the bayonet. Russia gains their friendship and good-will by recognizing their right to be masters of

their own destiny. The success of the Russian method of procedure is obvious."

WAR IS THE ISSUE

As the day of the conference draws near there is not the slightest doubt as to the purpose of the conclave. The Big Powers are assembling at Washington to settle the Far Eastern problem, as they call it. They are meeting around a table to discuss their "rights" in that part of the world—and if they can agree on that to talk of armament limitation.

But there is not the slightest question that they will not be able to agree. America and Japan, claiming equal rights, will not satisfy one another as to the particular spheres they each will operate in. Then come the "rights" of England, which must line up with either Japan or America. Then the "peculiar" rights of France, which seeks power in the Near East and will consent to arrangements in the Far East only provided she is given more privileges in the Near East. But the granting of such demands endangers England, which, vacillating between one seat and the other, will plot to her own advantage.

However, the most criminal part of the whole conspiracy is the fact that a war was just finished in which "self-determination" was made a fighting slogan. Yet three years later, the same powers that mouthed such grandiloquent phrases, are again plotting to destroy the so-called rights to "self-determination" of two states. Siberia, which is closely attached to Soviet Russia, and China must go the way of all weak countries. They have become the prey of the vicious, powerful capitalist governments which now, in a mad orgy of greed for power, by trick and intrigue, and finally by force of arms will wrest all semblance of power from those semi-dependencies and fight among themselves for dominion.

The naval preparations of America, Japan and England are reaching the top notch. In four years they will nearly be on a par. *Will one wait for the other? Or will they fly at one another's throat now?*

It is clear that WAR is coming—not peace. Each country's diplomats at the conference will endeavor to force their antagonists into a corner, so that responsibility for the war will rest on the "enemy," as they will call him.

It is time for the workers to realize these facts. It is time for them to prepare to face them. For when finally war is here, it is they, the workers, who must do the fighting.

The Moses
that was to
have been.
The Judas
that is.



A CHRISTMAS THOUGHT

By **BEN E. BURRELL**

WHILE the world hopes for peace, mankind doth war;
 Man's bludgeon falls as brutal, and as bold
 Upon his brother as in days of old;
 And Hate's own gate stands ready and ajar,
 Thro' that broad gate the strong moves to and fro,
 The brutes who rape the worker and the poor,
 Who kiss the bible, but who shut the door
 Into the faces of the weak below.

And in the church the robed hypocrites chant
 Their propaganda webbed with Capital
 "These be your rulers, ye their bondsmen all,"
 The shepherds spill their old unmeaning cant.
 And these lip-servants of the Syrian Seer
 Have failed to ease the world of her distress;
 Theirs is the Pharisee's lip-righteousness,
 And who a cross of gold alone can bear.

And while the bells their Christmas glories ring,
 The earth remains an empty treeless plain,
 Where Love's vast cloudbanks scattereth no rain,
 Where Truth's ripe corn the valleys will not bring,
 The governments are instruments of war;
 Their ministers are instruments of hate;
 The trend of evil they cannot abate;
 Good they see but distant and afar.

There shall come peace when this great toiling mass
 Seeking for Truth shall find the goal in sight,
 And by removing obstacles, the Right
 Shall purge the earth of racial strife and class;
 And from the shambles shall that Love emerge
 Bearing a Christ born to the world anew,
 Scattering His peace like pearl-drops in the dew,
 Or holding it aloft upon the verge.

Buying for the Home

*Timely Advice to Negro Housekeepers—
Watch Your Purchases—Weigh Them Over
at Home, Etc.*

By
GEORGE H. JAMES

IN these times, the first consideration in the household should be to cut down expenses in every way possible, and reduce the cost of our weekly outlay to a minimum.

I have come to the conclusion that among the races of the world, the colored women have the odds on all other races for cleanliness, domestic science, honesty and obedience, but I am satisfied that they will admit that they are behind in economy. A good many of them try to economize, but there are many things that they do not give a thought such as would be considered meanness by some, but constitute what the Jew and other races call keen household economy.

Buy a scale and weigh everything that you purchase by weight over again. I was told by a salesman for a large packing house that a certain dealer near 143d street and Lenox avenue had a cord attached to the bottom springs of his scale with a hole through the counter which he operates with his foot. In this case you are probably satisfied with the weight of your purchase, according to his scale, but if you weigh it at home you will surely be convinced that he is not on the level, and upon discovering this fault do not think it is good sense to say: "I'll leave it to God, if he robs me he cannot rob God."

Do not be ashamed to collect your deposits on milk or other empty bottles. Pennies and nickels count.

How many of you, after buying a number of articles from your grocer and they are brought home, check them over and see that you have got all that is coming to you? Sometimes an article or two might be left on the counter which you might recover if you discover the shortage and return before said article or articles be put back in stock.

Somehow or other, our housekeepers in New York seem to be adopting the principle that has been deplored and is gradually being shaken in the South. The Southern housekeeper feels happy when a colored store is opened in her neighborhood, and stick by it through thick and thin, because they are sick and tired of their white storekeepers addressing them as "Mary, Susie or Lucy," while a good many of our would-be ladies do not think their butcher or grocer treat them right if they did not familiarize themselves with their names and call them thus.

Uphold your dignity! Your butcher, grocer, tailor and all whom you deal with are your servants, and they know it. Why make them boss you and your money?

Patronize your own, give them a chance to become as efficient as the white man in business; do not conclude as easily as we have done in the past, "The Negro will not treat you right." We only think we are being treated right by the white man. The reason why we notice the colored business man's mistreatment so quickly and easily is because they are so few, and we are not willing to try another

when once mistreated, but openly condemn all others. Yet we will try ninety-nine out of the hundred white retailers.

I am sure that you do not understand why colored business enterprises are doomed to failure in Harlem, it is not always the lack of courtesy, system or mismanagement! In ninety-five cases out of a hundred it is lack of patronage in a community of 99 per cent. Negroes (I think I should open a grocery store down on Hester street and see how long I can do business enough to keep open). Must it be that our daughters will have got to work as hard as we have, or marry out of the race to escape our hard lot? Are we going to encourage race enterprises or discriminate against them the rest of our lives? Treating this matter with a little discretion, we have in our vicinity enough colored people to support a Negro grocery store in every block, but we find instead of patronizing the few that we have got, we knock them with the conclusion that they are either "tar-heels," "monkey-chasers," "sore-backs," etc., and therefore not worthy of Negro support in an exclusive Negro residential community. "Is there not something wrong somewhere?" Last Sunday a prominent Harlem physician said to me: "When will Negroes realize and look forward to the serious things of life?" Friends the problem of racial dignity, achievement, advancement, power and happiness is confronting us. Are we going to sleep, dance, sit and play to the detriment of our sons and daughters and their children? There are three things of material importance and absolutely necessary to solve the foregoing problem: the realization of racial manhood, racial loyalty and racial sticktoitiveness. Stick to your own regardless of his place of birth; (He could not help that.) Patronize him, it is not selfish to do so, all other races do it.

Keep the wealth in Harlem. Do not allow it all to be taken over on Riverside Drive. We need it.

GARVEY IS CONFUSED

It was hoped that Marcus Garvey with his Universal Negro Improvement Association and general economic program would do something to benefit the black people of America. We are sorry to observe that he is making a bad mess of things and is confusing a very simple problem. Marcus Garvey now comes out endorsing Harding's speech and advocates that the races be separate and that social equality is not to be desired. Millions of black people in America must live in America for some centuries to come, Garvey notwithstanding; and while in America the black people are in need of every privilege that is granted to the other people of the world. Garvey would do well to cut out the Uncle Tom tactics and maintain his original policy of uniting the black people of the world.—The Chicago Whip

CONDENSED AND TENTATIVE CONSTITUTION

Article I—Name and Motto

SECTION 1. This organization shall be known as the African Blood Brotherhood.

Sec. 2. Its motto shall be "One for All, All for One."

Article II—Aims and Objects

Section 1. To cement into one great universal Brotherhood all persons possessing in any degree the glorious heritage of African Blood.

Sec. 2. To work for a Free Africa and the immediate protection and ultimate liberation of Negroes everywhere.

Sec. 3. To secure absolute race equality—political, economic and social; and to see that there is an equal application of the laws wherever Negroes have to live and work.

Sec. 4. To seek to develop commercial enterprises among Negroes in various parts of the world.

Sec. 5. To gain for Negro Labor the full reward of its toil, and to prevent Capitalist exploitation and oppression of the workers of the race.

Sec. 6. To disseminate a knowledge of Negro history in order to foster race pride and stimulate race effort.

Sec. 7. To establish a true rapprochement and fellowship within the darker races.

Sec. 8. To assist in a well-balanced racial development by encouraging those religious and educational institutions particularly adapted to our needs and headed by men and women of the race.

Sec. 9. To strive for a federation of all Negro organizations of whatever character in order to present a united front for self-defense, and to co-ordinate our efforts for liberation.

Article III—Membership

Section 1. All persons of African descent from the age of five years and upward are eligible to the general membership.

Sec. 2. The general membership shall consist of those who have received the first degree, which is conferred upon entry.

Sec. 3. There shall be six other degrees which shall contain the secret work of the organization and shall be given to members as they qualify.

Sec. 4. The work of the First Degree and all general business shall be performed in open meetings, and the work of the other degrees in secret session.

Article IV—Dues and Assessments

Section 1. The entrance fee shall be \$1.

Sec. 2. The monthly dues shall be 25 cents.

Sec. 3. Those members who so desire may enter the Sick and Death Benefit Department of the Brotherhood by paying an additional 25 cents monthly.

Sec. 4. There shall be an assessment of \$1 per annum for the maintenance of the central administration and the promotion of its aims.

Sec. 5. There shall be a fee of 75 cents for each degree after the first.

Article V—The Supreme Executive Council

Section 1. The central government of the African Blood Brotherhood shall be vested in a Supreme Executive Council consisting of a

Paramount Chief and eight Departmental Chiefs. The Paramount Chief shall be elected by the regular International Congress of the organization to hold office for a term of four years. It shall be his duty to appoint the Departmental Chiefs who shall be regarded as his Cabinet and be responsible to him for the work of their departments.

Sec. 2. In event of vacancy in the office of Paramount Chief, the remaining members of the Supreme Executive Council shall elect one of their number to fill such vacancy until the next regular international congress.

Article VI—Departments of the S. E. C.

Section 1. The aims and objects of the Brotherhood shall be conducted through and by eight departments, namely: Department of Records, Department of Finance, Department of Publicity, Department of Religion and Education, Department of Physical Culture and Vital Statistics, Department of Labor and Commerce, Department of Equity and Justice, Department of Federation and Co-relation.

Sec. 2. At the head of each of these departments shall be a Departmental Chief. Each of these as well as the Paramount Chief shall present to each International Congress a report of their respective departments, provided that permission shall be given the Supreme Executive Council to withhold any information of a tactical nature which in its judgment should not be disclosed.

Article VII—Local Units

Section 1. Each local unit of the African Blood Brotherhood shall be designated as a Post, and shall be named after some distinguished man or woman of African blood. Such name shall be chosen by a majority vote of the members of the prospective post and submitted to the Supreme Executive Council for approval and registration.

Sec. 2. Any ten persons of African blood in a community of good morals, intelligence and awakened race-consciousness may apply to the Supreme Executive Council and receive therefrom a charter to establish a Post in said community.

Sec. 3. The Supreme Executive Council reserves the right, should circumstances require, to issue more than one charter in any community.

Sec. 4. The fee for a Post charter shall be \$20, which sum shall be forwarded at the time of application with the proposed name of the Post.

Article VIII—Officers of Local Units

Section 1. The officers of the Post shall be as follows: Post Commander, Post Lieutenant-Commander, Post General Secretary, Post Financial Secretary, Post Treasurer, Post Publicity Officer, Post Chaplain, Post Physical Director, Post Director of Economics, Post Justice. The Post Commander and the Post Financial Secretary shall receive their appointments annually from the Paramount Chief. All other Post officers shall be elected annually by vote of the financial members of the Post. Females are eligible for any elective office, save that of Lieutenant-Commander.

Sec. 2. In posts of over one hundred mem-

THE AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD

bership assistants may be elected to any of the Post officers already mentioned.

Article IX—Duties of Post Officers

Section 1. The Post Commander shall be the presiding and administrative officer of the Post and of all its branches and organizations.

Sec. 2. The Lieutenant-Commander shall assist the Post Commander in such duties as the Post Commander may assign him, and in case of absence, illness or vacancy from any cause, shall assume all the duties of the Post Commander until such vacancy be filled in the prescribed manner.

Sec. 3. The duties of the Post General Secretary shall be to keep minutes of all transactions and conduct the necessary correspondence.

Sec. 4. The duties of the Post Financial Secretary shall be to keep the membership roll, receive members' dues and assessments and all other finances of the post; making a report at the close of each meeting and delivering all funds so received to the treasurer. He shall make monthly statements to the Departmental Chief of Records of the Supreme Executive Council on the forms supplied for that purpose. He shall be bonded in a suitable amount.

Sec. 5. The duties of the Post Treasurer shall be to receive from the Post Financial Secretary all moneys belonging to the Post, and its subsidiary societies, keeping proper accounts thereof and depositing the same in such bank as the Post may direct. He shall give bonds satisfactory to the Post for the faithful performance of his duties.

Sec. 6. The duties of the Post Publicity Officer shall be to publish and circulate in the Post such literature as may be furnished him by the Departmental Chief of Publicity of the Supreme Executive Council. He shall be the local agent of The Crusader and The Liberator, copies of which shall be supplied him through the Post Financial Secretary. He shall also disseminate through the local press, pulpit and platform information concerning the Brotherhood.

Sec. 7. The Post Chaplain shall be a person of recognized moral and religious character and good education. He shall deliver lectures on the aims and purposes of the Brotherhood, securing such assistance as he may deem fit from suitable persons. He shall conduct the religious exercises at Post meetings and shall train the Young Crusaders in the course of instruction to be supplied him by the Departmental Chief of Religion and Education of the Supreme Executive Council.

Sec. 8. The Post Physical Director shall be preferably a person of some military training and experience, whose duty it shall be to give instruction in the course of physical training and the code of discipline supplied by the Departmental Chief of Physical Culture and Vital Statistics of the Supreme Executive Council. He shall be the local organizer and director of all uniformed bodies and shall give special attention to athletics, both for physical and social purposes.

Sec. 9. The duties of the Post Director of Economics shall be to distribute suitable literature to be supplied him by the Departmental Chief of Labor and Commerce of the Supreme

Executive Council, and to investigate local conditions of labor and report the same to his Departmental Chief. He shall also exercise leadership in all conflicts between labor and capital arising in his community, and in the development of working class commercial enterprises. He shall organize the workers of the race for their protection against capitalist exploitation and oppression and shall seek to establish a spirit of co-operation between the workers of all races the better to effect protection, higher wages and shorter hours.

Sec. 10. The Post Justice shall be the magistrate of the Post. He shall appoint for his term of office a board of seven persons to be known as the Board of Justice, of which he shall be the presiding officer. All disputes arising between members and all charges of violation of the laws of the Brotherhood or of gross moral laxity shall be heard by this board, which shall report its finding to the general meeting of the Post for their approval or disapproval. He shall appoint a clerk of his Court. All charges must come to the Board of Justice through the Post Secretary. The Post Justice shall report to the Departmental Chief of Equity and Justice all local cases of discrimination and oppression against the race in his community; and faithfully obey such instructions as he may receive and discharge such duties as may be required of him by his Departmental Chief.

Article X—Post Executive Councils

Section 1. The Post Executive Council shall consist of all Post Officers, with the Post Commander as presiding officer. It shall be the duty of the Post Executive Council to put into operation all orders received from the Supreme Executive Council and to faithfully guard all information transmitted from said source. It shall prepare the agenda of business for the public meetings and promote the growth of the Brotherhood in its locality. It shall be held responsible by the Supreme Executive Council for the general welfare of the post, except the purely business matters which shall be transacted in the general meetings of the Post. It shall meet at least twice monthly between meetings of the Post.

Article XI—Territorial Councils and Chiefs

The Supreme Executive Council may set apart any contiguous number of Posts into a territory over which it shall appoint a Territorial Chief whose duties shall be those designated from time to time by instructions from the Paramount Chief. The Territorial Chief shall be regarded as the representative in said Territory of the Supreme Executive Council which shall provide his salary. He shall promote the establishment of new posts in his territory and visit all existing Posts regularly and examine and make report of the condition of each to the Paramount Chief to whom he shall send monthly statements concerning his activities. He shall be the presiding officer of the Territorial Officers Council. He shall not on his own account undertake any action or issue any orders to the Posts in his Territory, but must in all cases consult in person or by writing with the Paramount Chief.

Sec. 2. There shall be a Territorial Officers Council consisting of all Post officers in the Territory and presided over by the Territorial Chief, and which shall meet at least once a year within three months of the adjournment of the International Congress for the purpose of discussing uniformity of methods, harmony of action and healthy rivalry of achievement among the several Posts in the Territory. Banners and other prizes may be awarded by said Territorial Officers Council to the different Posts for meritorious service.

Article XII—By-Laws

Section 1. All Posts shall make by-laws not conflicting with the constitution of the African Blood Brotherhood for their local government, and which shall become operative only after receiving the approval and consent of the Supreme Executive Council.

Article XIII—International Congress

Section 1. The International Congress of the African Blood Brotherhood shall, until otherwise ordered, assemble annually on July 16, the anniversary of the death of our illustrious blood brother, Toussaint L'Ouverture, and shall continue in session not over fourteen days.

Sec. 2. The agenda for the International Congress shall be prepared by the Supreme Executive Council and circulated among the Deputies on the opening day.

Sec. 3. All business sessions shall be conducted behind closed doors, but arrangements shall be made for a number of public meetings.

Sec. 4. Special Emergency sessions of the International Congress may be called by the Paramount Chief and the Supreme Executive Council.

Sec. 5. The Paramount Chief shall be the president of the International Congress and shall be empowered to call to his assistance any member of the Supreme Executive Council.

Sec. 6. The Departmental Chief of Records shall be the Secretary of the International Congress and shall appoint two or more assistant secretaries from among the elected deputies. He may also employ clerks from the office of the Supreme Executive Council if necessary.

Article XIV—Deputies

Section 1. The deputies to the International Congress shall be the Paramount Chief, the Departmental Chiefs, the Territorial Chiefs and one elected Deputy from every Post of under 200 members. For every additional 200 members reported financial to the Supreme Executive Council Posts shall be entitled to another elected Deputy.

Article XV—Junior Membership

Section 1. The Junior Membership consisting of boys and girls from 5 to 14 years of age shall be known as the Young Crusaders. They shall be under the direction of the Post Physical Directors, the Post Chaplain and a Matron to be appointed by the Post Commander. They shall elect their own officers and hold meetings under the direction of the staff herein named.

Sec. 2. The Post Financial Secretary shall personally, or through an assistant, collect all dues from, and mark all cards of, the Young Crusaders.

Article XVI—Journals and Magazines

Section 1. The official weekly organ of the

Brotherhood shall be "The Liberator," and all members of the various Posts shall be required by the Post Publicity Officer to become a subscriber of the same.

Sec. 2. The Crusader Magazine shall be endorsed as the monthly periodical of the Brotherhood.

Sec. 3. As soon as possible a Juvenile publication shall be issued by the Supreme Executive Council to be known as the Young Crusader.

Article XVII—Transfer of Members

Section 1. Any Post through the Post Financial Secretary may transfer for reason of removal or otherwise any member who desires membership in another Post, but in all such cases immediate information of the fact of transfer or reception shall be sent to the Departmental Chief of Records by the two Post Financial Secretaries concerned.

Article XVIII—Benefits and Grants

Section 1. Any member of the African Blood Brotherhood may become a member of the Sick and Death Benefit Department of the organization by paying 25 cents monthly in addition to his regular Post dues of 25 cents. Of this amount 15 cents shall be forwarded monthly by the Post Financial Secretary to the Departmental Chief of Finance through the Departmental Chief of Records, and it shall entitle the subscribing member to a Death Grant of \$75, provided he has been a member of this Department and has paid up all fees, dues and assessments, both in this Department and in the Post, for six calendar months. The Supreme Executive Council shall be responsible for the payment of the Death Grant.

Sec. 2. The remaining 10 cents shall be retained by the Post for its Sick Fund; and the Post shall have power to decide all grants in the case of sickness of members.

Sec. 3. No member in arrears over two months in any payment of dues, fees or assessments shall be entitled to Sick or Death Grant.

Sec. 4. The Post Finance Secretary shall be compelled by the Post Commander to send all financial statements to the Supreme Executive Council during the first week of each successive month.

Article XIX—Fees, Dues and Grants of Junior Membership

Section 1. Young Crusaders shall pay an entrance fee of 50 cents. Their monthly dues shall be 15 cents; of which the Post Financial Secretary shall forward 5 cents each month to the Supreme Executive Council.

Sec. 2. Young Crusaders shall not pay the annual assessment of \$1, until when at the age of 15 they are transferred to the Post membership.

Sec. 3. Young Crusaders who desire may enter the Sick and Death Department, and shall pay the same dues and receive therefrom the same benefits as others.

Article XX—Revenues

Section 1. The revenues and income of the African Blood Brotherhood shall be derived from fees for charters, entrance and degrees, monthly dues, annual and special assessments, collections, donations, lectures and entertainments.

Sec. 2. The fees for charter, entrance of new members and degrees shall be forwarded in

their entirety to the Supreme Executive Council. Of the 25 cents Post monthly dues, 5 cents or one-fifth shall be sent to the Supreme Executive Council, and the remaining 20 cents shall be retained for the Post General Fund. The annual assessment of \$1 per member must be collected and forwarded to the Supreme Executive Council between the months of January and June of each year.

Sec. 3. Each Post shall forward to the Supreme Executive Council one-fifth of all collections and donations, one-fifth of the net proceeds of all lectures and entertainments and one-fifth of the net profits of any business enterprise; but all business enterprises must first receive the sanction of the Supreme Executive Council.

Sec. 4. Special Post Funds for buildings or other objects receiving the sanction of the Supreme Executive Council may be created. Such Special Fund shall be reported monthly to the Supreme Executive Council, but shall not be subject to the one-fifth provision.

Article XXI—Salaries

Section 1. The salaries of the Paramount Chief and Departmental Chiefs shall be fixed by the International Congress of the African Blood Brotherhood and shall be payable from the Central General Fund of the Supreme Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The salaries of the Territorial Chiefs shall be fixed by the Supreme Executive Council and shall be based upon the extent of territory assigned each Territorial Chief and the results of his work. Such salaries shall be paid from the General Central Fund of the Supreme Executive Council.

Sec. 3. Post officers who devote all of their

time, or a considerable portion thereof, to Post duties shall receive such compensation from the Post Central Fund as the general membership in meeting shall decide. All such compensations shall be submitted to the Supreme Executive Council for approval and record.

Article XXII—Fiscal Year

Section 1. The fiscal year of the African Blood Brotherhood shall begin on July 1 of one year and end June 30 of the succeeding calendar year.

FINAL NOTE

Constitutional Congress

The First International Congress of the African Blood Brotherhood will be convened in New York City on July 16, 1922, and shall be known as the Constitutional Congress. It shall revise, amend, amplify and ratify this Tentative and Condensed Constitution herewith submitted for the government of the African Blood Brotherhood pending such Congress.

Submitted by the Committee on Constitution,
(Signed) CYRIL V. BRIGGS,

Paramount Chief.

DR. GEORGE A. McGUIRE,
Chief of the Department of Religion and Education.

THEO. BURRELL,
Chief of the Department of Finance.

WILLIAM H. JONES,
Chief of the Department of Physical Culture and Vital Statistics.

BEN E. BURRELL,
Chief of the Department of Equity and Justice.

1325

A Christmas in San Blas

Away From the Disgusting Hypocrisy of Caucasian "Civilization" Christmas Is Really an Enjoyable Event

By

THEO. BURRELL

CHRISTMAS! By jove, here it is again! A time to gather 'round the firesides and hear the tales of other lips! Christmas is such an enchanting season outside the confines of our maddening cities. Never will I forget a Christmas that I spent with a tribe of Aztec Indians in the jungles and forrests of Central America.

It was a few days before Christmas, I was feeling rather tired of caucasian civilization and hypocrisy that was flouted among our splendid Spanish cities. I was sick of the cheap rattrap English literature and was undesirous of further contamination, so knowing that a "skiff" would lift its sails before the winds that night for the dreamy land of the Aztecs, I made arrangements to accompany the Indian captain with whom I had been acquainted. We sailed that night before a brisk wind. The moon shone in splendor over us and bathed the mirky Carib in a bath of silver silence, and the moonbeams pierced the silence of the treacherous deep that now and then made lurid pictures when the giant porpoises lashed against its harrowing sheens as though their phosphorescence may forever wipe the implanted rays of sombre light from the balmy ocean's

lurking void! Here and there as though upon the shores of isles enchanted or near the harbor of the Golden West I saw the flaring "fires of the sea." No spectral dream, no phantom shore, but truly in the lanes of old sea-pirates that once infested the mighty deep to fill the coffers of now archaic England's treasury, and in the stillness of the ocean and the purity of her brine they shed the blood of comrades, brother Africans and men of every clime for the lucre of their hoards, "and even now," the captain tells me, "see the fires of the deep; hear the voices of the void!" Morning came, and in the east, above the saintly hills, a silver screen enrap in gold ushered in another day; and before the sun had flung her red hot bolts of shining tropic fulgence we reached a river's bar.

'Twas the sandy delta of the river that washed the gold and dross from fertile lands of peaceful Indians, and with buoyant smiles upon our faces we sailed along the banks and braes of crystal stream and verdant country. The journey ended right in God's own country, for here was loveliness itself! Beauty planted 'mongst the hill tops that, had artist seen it, would have graced with priceless pictures

palaces of madmen kings, his lords and princes. There among the fertile hillsides, meadows green and swarthy meads, went the smoke of thousand villages till the whole vast woodland seemed enrapt with the mist of other days.

The chief came, strong, brawny, healthy fellow, handsome as the dawn of sunlight, smiling wholesome as true men do, welcomed me as brother man, told me that my race could always find protection in that hospitable realm of his." I slept that night outside the village, lonely, in a thatched hut, well protected from the ravings of the storm and heard the winds whistling the carrol of the coming of the Child which we adore, the chirping crickets and the panthers all enjoying Nature's spread among the lawns. Morning came, the kind captain called me, "Come, see us prepare the flesh of swine, and deer, and cow for the feast of tribal time." So they killed the hogs, the deer and mountain cow and made merry, for tomorrow was the feast of all the year. All that night we sat out doors around the fire kindled by the chief, to show his humble place among the tribe he rules and with many words we passed the whole night telling tales we each had known, while the brightly shining stars looked on from their canopy above, and the moon shone as ne'er before on the fireplace where we had met. A crooning voice came from the hillsides, the chief rose, and saluting the splendor of the east, where at that moment there was seen a star as bright as morning wont to fall from the void of heaven's mighty distance. "It's Christmas, and before we celebrate bring hither she that spoils our taste of pride. She that brings the cup of sadness she must pay the toll of years. Never, never can a feathered mongrel live amongst us!" So they brought him forth a maiden beautiful as morning, fair, child of matchless beauty, she smiled on me, then sighed. Mermaid! Ah! I wondered, maybe living here, not until I was assured she had wronged their "holy cause," she was befriended by an American who left her spoiled with his vile deed, and now she must pay the tribal penalty. The

chief cried, "burn her alive!" So they took her yonder in a thatched hut, consecrated by the chief, then when the doors were safely fetlocked, firebrands took up their stations and made a pile of her, whom just a moment bowed before me, full of life and saintly figure, and as the flames leaped forth the scented air was marred by her obnoxious smell. The great chief rising asked the blessing on her soul of the Great Father who lived yonder where the pines are tall and stately, and as morning's sun shone o'er us, I could see the change as though wrought by some miraculous transformation. The day had come from a vale of tears. Wet, the meads and grass and clover, sparkling drops fell from the trees and the aroma of the flowers made the vale God's garden fair. The bees sipped pollen from the logwood, the humming birds and butterfly all transformed the rich green valley in a vale of iris splendor. The crisp breezes drove the perfumes of the morning clean and clear upon the air and the marshalled pealing notes of birds' voices filled the pleasantries of jungle, thatched huts, glens, and rock hewn caves and I would rather hear them now than the choral notes of surpliced choirs near the confines of the dead. The haunting wonderland said "it's Christmas!" and the chief repaired beneath the branches of a huge oak, then lifting his hand high up to heaven supplicated for his sins, his people's, and all men, be they black or be they white, and as his words died out I seemed to hear a dirge; the oboes, cedars and acacias, the woodlands and the dales, the pomegranate and mistletoe, the orchids and the ferns, the open vases of the caverns, the crags and hollows of the trees, the murmuring brooks and silver springs, the babbling bubbles gurgling notes, the verdant meadows and the pasture lands took up, where he had left off and carried on until, as my soul sped onward with it, beyond the smoking mountain tops to crowded cities saddened plights, it ceased. A silence, tense as though I next should be the death mark when the chief's own word broke forth in mellow dictum and said, "My friend, the gods have willed it—it's Christmas! Let us eat."

1326

What I Know About Liberia

Former U. N. I. A. Resident Secretary to Liberia Writes Interesting Series for Benefit of Those Who Desire Facts.

By

CYRIL A. CRICLOW
I

SINCE my return on September 12 from Liberia I have been volleyed with numerous questions by dozens of persons sincerely anxious to learn the truth about conditions in that country. Frequent inquiries have also been made relative to the activities of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, which I represented there as Resident Secretary, and the chances for the materialization of its "African redemption" program. Whatever information I may impart on the subject will be inside information, and I shall presume on my brief stay in Monrovia from March 18 to August 6 to place the knowledge I possess before the public.

Now I may as well say here at the beginning that no one has to believe anything I have to

say. What I know, I know, and no man can take that knowledge away from me. Any one, therefore, with a doubting mind is welcome to go and find out for himself—as I did. No knowledge is superior to self-knowledge; experience is the best teacher.

The time is not yet ripe to tell the whole truth about Liberia; but it is sufficient to sum up my impressions of the country by saying that, for the majority of those wishing and planning to go there, it is a fine place to stay away from. I do not wish to have myself misunderstood that in so saying I am attempting to do an injustice to a country needing and deserving the sympathy and support along wisely-directed lines of every red-blooded Negro the world over, for I speak in the same

sense that the President of the Republic did when, in the June, 1921, issue of the "Crisis," he said:

"Some wrong impressions seem to exist about the present conditions in Liberia. I take this opportunity of making the situation clear to our many American friends. Liberia has been an independent country since 1847; and, naturally, it has never considered the surrender of its sovereignty to any nation or organization. On the other hand, Liberia has always regarded itself as the natural refuge and center for persons of Negro descent the world over. As a country whose greatest development is just beginning, WE ARE NOT, OF COURSE, IN CONDITION TO RECEIVE LARGE, MISCELLANEOUS NUMBERS OF IMMIGRANTS. Our present need is especially for strong young men trained as artisans, engineers and merchants who can bring with them some capital for investment. To such immigrants and their families, we offer a vast and rich country waiting for the application of hard work and brains and money. It goes without saying that in this development, Liberia respects the integrity of the territory of her neighbors in the same way that they must respect hers. Under no circumstances will she allow her territory to be made a center of aggression or conspiracy against other sovereign States. SHE PROPOSES TO DEVELOP LIBERIA FOR LIBERIANS and to live at peace with the rest of the world."

The President of Liberia is thoroughly, indeed acutely, aware from his contact in America with large groups of colored residents that vast numbers of them are imbued, through the propaganda of certain organizations, with the desire—and actually preparing many of them—to go over to Liberia and take over the government of that country and eventually of all Africa, the methods being "aggression or conspiracy against other sovereign states" and, in the last analysis, against Liberia herself. If anybody is simple-minded enough to believe that Liberians are fools and will suffer this, my most charitable opinion of such a person would be that he does not yet know that his head can serve any other useful purpose than simply being a knot to keep his body from unraveling.

The proposition is too elemental for discussion. The people of Liberia through their government "propose," in the language of their President, "to develop Liberia for Liberians and to live at peace with the rest of the world." Liberia being a responsible government in the society of nations and not an irresponsible organization is steadfastly committed to this position. The government and the people are one on this point. Any individual or organization with a different proposition will have to go to war with Liberia to put it over. This is an important fact to remember always.

If, therefore, after describing what a fine country Liberia is, having "always regarded itself as the natural refuge and center for persons of Negro descent the world over," and being "a country whose greatest development is just beginning," the President states, "we are not, of course, in condition to receive large, miscellaneous numbers of immigrants," I hardly see how any one can find fault with my judg-

ment that Liberia is a fine place to stay away from. There are many considerations that prove why this should be so, and I shall touch upon some of these before I am done.

I happen to know that the irresponsible agitation being carried on in various parts of the country with Liberia brought into it, willy-nilly, as the focal center, is doing her more harm than good. It is blocking her efforts along many lines to better her condition. It is putting her in a false position and bringing her under unjustifiable scrutiny and unwarranted suspicion not in accordance with the facts in the situation.

As an example, we have the aspect of false appearances produced in the circumstance that Gabriel Johnson, Mayor of Monrovia, is the Potentate of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Liberians know well that that circumstance has absolutely nothing whatever to do with their government and its policies. On the other hand, the agitator uses it as proof that there is some semi-official relationship between the propaganda he represents and the government of Liberia.

In point of fact, there is nothing of the kind. Gabriel Johnson is merely looking out for himself as a private individual. What his motives may be I dare not presume to question. Certain it is, however, that he is devoting his time almost exclusively to the job of being Mayor, for which he draws a salary, and to superintending the despatch and incoming of his river boat, the "Rachel Agnes," which plies between Monrovia and White Plains, 20 miles distant on the St. Paul River, and earns huge profits for him. If persons in America want to wish a big salary upon him, and he can get it, Gabriel Johnson is no fool. But take it from one who knows, he is not doing anything to hurt his country, and what is more, will not. He is a Liberian first and after that anything else you please.

It remains to be said on this topic that while discouraging the idea of "large, miscellaneous numbers of immigrants," Liberia nevertheless will welcome such as "can bring with them some capital"—not only "for investment" in "a vast and rich country waiting for the application of hard work and brains and money," but also "for investment" in sustenance during the waiting period. And it must be distinctly understood that Liberia will welcome, to quote the language from an official letter signed by the Secretary of State, only "immigrants entering the Republic with the intention of becoming citizens, and who at the same time will owe political allegiance and obedience to no sovereignty or institution other than the Republic."

Those who must go to Liberia must go in the right spirit. Otherwise, I must advise, for the benefit of those large numbers who are contemplating and preparing to go there, that it is a fine country to stay away from. Better, by far, to endure the ills you know than to fly to those you know not of.

II.

OWING to specific questions frequently addressed to me concerning Gabriel Johnson and G. O. Marke, Potentate and Supreme Deputy, respectively, of the U. N. I. A., and their activities, it affords me the great

est pleasure to enlighten the general public through these columns.

Gabriel Johnson is Mayor of Montrovia, president of the Montserrado Transport Company which operates a river boat, the "Rachel Agnes," between Monrovia and White Plains, and a Brigadier General of the Liberian Army besides.

As Mayor of Monrovia he absolutely draws a salary for his services, which, I believe, is \$50 a month.

As president of the Montserrado Transport Company he is deriving large increments from the earnings of the "Rachel Agnes," whose incoming and outgoing he personally supervises daily.

As Brigadier General in the Liberian Army his commission is purely honorary and carries with it no compensation whatever.

Gabriel Johnson did everything within his power to keep me from reaching New York in time for the August convention, because he did not want the facts concerning his activities disclosed; and in this he was aided and abetted by the black-water fever, dysentery and enteritis, which laid me low at the time I should have sailed, so that his efforts were successful.

Of course, I did not get to New York until twelve days after the convention was over. Nevertheless, I learned some things that went on during the convention, also some statements that were made on behalf of Gabriel Johnson in the above matters; and I take pleasure now in informing the public that any one who got up in that convention and said that he had personally investigated the question and found out that Gabriel Johnson was only engaged in honorary enterprises, stated what he knew to be false and did so with the deliberate conscious purpose of deceiving and misleading the delegates.

A few days before I left New York, on February 3, for Monrovia, the President General of the U. N. I. A. instructed me in the following words: "You mustn't let the Potentate engage in any other line of business outside of what his position as Potentate calls for"; and when I protested that I had no power or authority to prevent him, if indeed he was engaged in any other line of business, and added: "Well, but he is Mayor of Monrovia," he replied: "Oh, well, I mean outside of that; his term will expire in January, I believe; after that he is to give all his time to the business of the association. You can, however, report to me confidentially if he is engaged in any private enterprises of his own."

I DID:

In my confidential report to the President General dated June 24, 1921, consisting of thirty closely typewritten pages, which I know he has in hand, I stated on page 27:

"His Highness has been very inactive in the association's affairs since his return to the States, so much so that it is the wonder among many elements of the Liberian public that he was elected Potentate for and voted so large a salary as \$12,000 a year. For the whole time since our arrival at Monrovia on March 18, he has made only one trip on behalf of the association, and that was the trip we made on Sunday, April 3, to Louisiana, where we did not address over 50 persons. His time is largely devoted to his private interests - his

boat and other personal affairs.

"I understand that he has a number of little pet schemes that he intends to combine with the association's program in order to make some money for himself. He has an old, leaky building on Broad street, that had funds come as requested, he would have repaired and sold or leased to the association for the drug store. I did not approve this. He also had some arrangements whereby settlers would be turned over to certain persons who would board and lodge them, paying His Highness a consideration. I also did not approve this.

"The plans for the distribution of the settlers, it is felt, will not be for the best interests of the association; but will be in line with the purposes of the one-party political system to maintain its existence and power unimpaired. That is to say, instead of being concentrated in settlements together, the settlers will be parcelled out among the older settlements in such a way as to allow the Liberians to be in the ascendancy politically and dominate in the political elections. It is important that Your Excellency know these facts, in order that you may understand to what extent it is proposed to waive aside the political program of the association."

It is no secret that Marcus Garvey intends to dominate Liberia politically, if he can, through his emigrants, which is one reason why he attaches so much importance to his pet scheme—the Black Star Line; and it is no secret either that it is very doubtful if the Liberian Government would allow him personally to land anywhere on Liberian soil for very sufficient and obvious reasons. Also, it is no secret that Gabriel Johnson is a Liberian first of all, not forgetting President King's words that Liberians "propose to develop Liberia for Liberians and to live at peace with the rest of the world."

Let the dupes who are going to redeem Africa through emigration to Liberia have a care!

Continuing my report to the President General, I said:

"As attention has hitherto been called, the arrival of settlers in force is not greatly desired by Liberians; Americans especially are not particularly wanted unless they have money. Their money is loved but they themselves are not overly loved. Americans arriving here with money are usually 'planted in the sands': they are parted from their money by such smooth practices that there is nothing left for them to do but lay down and die, because the economic situation is so deplorable that in order to eke out an existence they would be forced to live on less than a shilling a day, in the event they did not have any other independent means of making a living."

In a supplementary reported dated July 4, page 11, I said:

"I call Your Excellency's attention to the following Act of Incorporation:

"An Act Incorporating the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League of Liberia.

"It is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia in Legislature assembled:

"Section 1. That Gabriel M. Johnson, president; Charles' A. V. Wehner, vice-president; Hilary R. W. Johnson, general secretary; Arthur Barclay, treasurer; Anna E. W. Howard, lady president; Gertrude L. Johnson, lady vice-president; Irene A. Gant, lady secretary; Georgia E. L. Dennis, assistant treasurer, together with such other persons who are or who shall hereafter become members of the said association are herein and hereby constituted and declared a body corporate and politic under the name and style of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities' League of Liberia, with the right to establish branches in any city or town within the Republic.

"Sec. 2. The objects of the association being to promote the friendly, social and industrial well-being of its members, it shall have further right to hold, real, personal or mixed property to the value of one million dollars (\$1,000,000); to have and to use a seal; to carry on commercial and industrial enterprises; to build and operate factories; establish steamship communications; to build and carry on educational pursuits; sue and be sued; plead and be impleaded in any court of this Republic having competent jurisdiction; to establish by-laws for the government of the association; and to do all and such other acts or things as are done by similar bodies corporate and politic: provided, however, such by-laws, acts or things are not repugnant to the constitution or laws of this Republic or in violation of any such rights granted to any other corporation prior to the granting of this charter.

"Any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Approved January 13, 1921."

As it does not take a Philadelphia lawyer to discern the fly in this ointment, I pointed out to the President General that:

"Of course, such incorporation with respect to the ownership of any real property in Liberia is unavoidable, under the laws

of the country, because of the fact that under the constitution none except Liberians may own real property; nevertheless, when examined critically, Your Excellency will see how easily ownership of any wealth that may accrue to the parent body in the form of real estate holdings can easily be taken out of its hands by the local officers of the Monrovia Division. In the case of disputes the parent body will have or own no assets whatever in Liberia and the Liberians will have and own everything."

All of which but proves that Liberians "propose to develop Liberia for Liberians," and that "Butter Pear" Johnson, as he is sometimes nicknamed, is a wide-awake, A-No. 1 Liberian. That's all.

* * * * *

As to the Supreme Deputy, G. O. Marke, is simply Gabriel Johnson's "man-Friday." When I left Liberia, for the lack of salary that he was always looking for but never got—and we were all in the same boat, for that matter—he was running a little news sheet called the "Liberian Patriot" to which he was giving practically all his time as editor-in-chief. The financial backer of the paper is a close relative of the Potentate, and I reported to the President General that "it is thought that an effort will be made later on to unload it on the association," adding that "the runner for the association is used on the association's time and at the association's expense to distribute and sell the paper locally."

I am this very minute in receipt of a letter from Liberia dated September 27 which states as follows: "G. O. is still here and teaching sometimes at the Liberian College. Of course, Mr. Richards is away in England for an operation." The meaning is that while Senator Richards is away, G. O. Marke is substituting for him as a teacher in the Liberian College.

All that I have stated so far are facts and I stand by them unqualifiedly, let whosoever will or may rant.

(To be continued.)

1329

More Bolshevist Crimes

Unpardonable Sin the Way Soviet Russia Gives Freedom to the Darker Races and Returns Czarist Thefts

From
The (N. Y.) Nation

SPECULATION as to whether the Soviet Government will or will not survive is one of the most delightful of indoor pastimes—particularly for our American editorial writers. We ourselves have our serious doubts as to its permanency quite aside from any economic issues; for we cannot but question the survival of any government which admittedly holds itself in power by duress, by force, and by suppression. Yet even in that it strangely resembles some other European governments, and, as with everything else that has occurred in Russia, there has been the most abominable exaggeration about the number of imprisonments and executions. We are quite clear in our own minds, too, that any government in

Russia satisfactory to the men who control the present world organization would be far more bloodthirsty and violent than has been the Soviet Government—witness Horthy in Hungary, witness what has been going on in Rumania, witness the pogroms in Poland. But for some reasons if it ever comes we shall receive with profoundest regret the news of the fall or retirement of the two ablest rulers in the world today—Lenin and Trotzky—and the chief of those reasons is the policy pursued by them in foreign affairs. Some of the facts in regard thereto we are setting forth here for the benefit of such editorial writers as are not so blind they will not see. It is a record to be proud of, for it has been marked by ideality,

by extraordinary generosity, frequently by a genuine living up to the doctrine of dealing with others as one would be dealt by. Yet it has been deliberately and completely overshadowed by the myriads of lies about Russia such as that of the nationalization of women.

First and foremost comes the treatment of China. In March, 1920, the Moscow Government sent a communication to the Chinese Government expressing that deep sense of outrage which every honest human being must feel at the crimes committed against China by the great capitalistic Powers, and offering to annul all its treaties with China, and to renounce all the special privileges for Russia and Russians wrung from the Chinese by the Government of the Czars. It urged China to resume negotiations for the restoration to her of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and for the cancellation of the protocol of 1901, and it announced that the Soviet Government would give up all the extra-territorial rights enjoyed by Russians and Russian missionaries in China. More than that, Lenin offered to cancel the rest of the Boxer indemnity, and all the mining rights held in China by Russians. That was not all. As a special act of reparation Lenin offered to present to China without charge the great Russian tea factories at Hankow. It is true that there was a string attached to all of this. What was it? It was that the Chinese people should have complete freedom to determine their own system of government. How base, how shocking!

At the time the London Times correspondent in China reported that that country would gladly accept this offer so unparalleled in the relations of great nations. But something happened. More than a year has passed, and China has not yet been able to signify its assent. The Peking Government on September 17 gave out a statement in which it said that "China must follow the example of the Allies regarding trade representation with Russia," and in December, 1920, inspired dispatches declared that the Chinese Government "does not desire to proceed further toward formal recognition of the Moscow Government than Great Britain, and that its decisions will be influenced largely by those of the British Government." On May 7 last the Peking Foreign Office declared that "no formal negotiations have been opened with the Soviet Government. China's attitude at present is neutral. As long as our frontiers are not violated we will remain spectators." In other words, under Allied pressure, China has not dared to act.

When it comes to Persia, the facts are clear.

There the wicked soviet leaders put an end to the Czar's policy of dividing Persia with Great Britain and have driven England out. And there, too, they renounced every one of the extra-territorial privileges which made against the complete freedom of Persia, with the result that on July 26 last Lord Curzon officially admitted that the Persian Government had decided that it preferred salvation from Moscow rather than from London. Before advancing soviet forces the British troops fled so hastily that they blew up bridges which the British had themselves constructed; the whole British military and civilian structure in Persia has collapsed, and with it the hope of Persian oil. Previously, on February 26 last, Russia signed a treaty (published in The Nation on May 11) immutably renouncing all of the Russian Imperial Government's policy of force, and affirming the scandalous purpose of the present Russian Government "to see the Persian people independent, flourishing, and freely controlling the whole of its possessions." Worse than that, Lenin turned over all Russian properties in Persia, such as railways, quays, goods, stores, steamers, barges, chaussees, telegraph and telephone lines, the port of Enzeli, with stores, stations, powerhouses, etc., free of cost. Had any one else drafted it the world would have said that no more admirable or high-minded or just treaty could have been written. And the same high praise may be conferred upon the treaty between Russia and Afghanistan returning to that country the Afghanistan frontier districts stolen by Russia—a treaty based upon "the principle of justice and the free expression of the will of the people." As an evidence of good-will the Soviets are giving yearly a free subsidy to Afghanistan of one million rubles in gold or silver. They are building for it a telegraph line, free of charge, from Kushka via Herat and Kandahar to Kabul, and are supplying technical and other specialists to the Afghan Government—of course for some devilish schemes of their own.

Rack our brains as we may, we cannot recall an instance in the history of the noble Allied Powers, now so outraged at the Soviet Government, in which they have negotiated any similar treaty with any other Power on earth, big or little, without exacting blood money and territorial or economic concessions for any favors they might have conferred. We can think only of our own return of the Boxer indemnity as an exception to the rule of uniform imperialist aggression. Yet, were we to delve further into the diplomatic history of these Bolshevik outlaws we might unearth other treaties almost as strange.

1330

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The Peace of the Syrian Teacher

*Christ, if He Came Back to Earth Today,
Would Oppose Modern Robber Barons and
Christian Pharisees, as of Old He Opposed the
Robber Barons and Hypocrites of Judea*

By
BEN E. BURRELL

NINETEEN hundred years ago there came a teacher to the Jews. Born in poverty, and grown in the wretchedness of Nazareth, he began at an early age to seek the causes and to find a remedy for the pitiable economic conditions of his own people. To reach these poor and ignorant people he chose the role of the itinerant minister, and weaving the most beautiful of metaphors into the beautiful Aromatic language of the common people, his words found fruitful soil and grew, where the priesthood, supported by feudalism, found only an arid waste. The keynote of his doctrine was the same as that of Buddha, and Confucius, and Lao-Tze, the inward peace, which alone consecrates and renders beautiful all that is noble in mankind. God, the Creative Source, is a Father to all Humanity; he taught, and outward forms and ceremonies were unnecessary to reach him. Moreover the hypocritical forms and ceremonies of the Judaic faith were to him only a priestly means to hypnotize and render inactive the mentality of the masses.

Militaristic Roman and feudalistic Jew had joined hands together for the exploitation of the people. Groaning under this yoke the peo-

ple sought the peaceful teacher and clung to his seamless robe for assistance.

"Come unto me all ye that are weary and we will find rest for your souls." They came. Through the freedom of the spiritual self the freedom of the material self was to be attained.

Even this was too much for the robber barons of that day and the friend of the people, the man and teacher of peace was slain.

Now, after nineteen centuries, the capitalist class has accepted nominally the faith, made it over to suit their own convenience, and are using it as a means for colonial expansion abroad, and at home for the oppression of the weak.

But the peace of the Teacher remains untaught. These exploiting groups have overworked their fake invention. Where the Teacher left off some newer Atavism must come and lead the human race one step further. And over the skies of the ruddy East some faint gleam seems to come, as unknown as it is unknowable, a light that will lead and serve as a link to all peoples, purging and purifying the earth; opening the reservoirs of will within the masses that they may cast off their capitalist burden, and the earth shall be as pure as where, "Beyond these voices there is peace."

1331

Persia Sees Through British "Friendship"

*Willingly Confesses Preference for Soviet
Russia to Hypocrisy of Nation Which Still
Earns the Title of "Perfidious Albion"*

From
"The Star of Persia"

THE following editorial from the "Star of Persia," reprinted in the London "Times" of August 20, is typical of the comment which the Teheran press gave to Lord Curzon's speech in the House of Lords on July 26, in which the British Foreign Minister attempted to explain Great Britain's forced withdrawal from Persia as a result of the Persian Government's refusal to ratify the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919. Parts of Lord Curzon's speech were printed in the International Relations Sections of "The Nation" (N. Y.) for September 7.

Lord Curzon described himself as a friend of Persia. When he was in opposition to Sir Edward Grey who signed the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 he was friendly only in words. When he himself took charge of English policy he maintained an unpopular Government in Teheran and covered Persia, north, south, east and west, with British and Indian troops and invented the South Persian Rifles. He compared Mr. Armitage-Smith (the recent British Treasurer-General of Persia) to Colonel Shuster (the American Treasurer-General who went to Teheran in 1911) who was a servant of the Persian Parliament, honored and trusted

by all Persians, and expelled by a brutal ultimatum in 1911 which was the joint work of England and Czarist Russia. Lord Curzon himself admits that the Anglo-Persian Agreement is invalid without ratification by the Persian Parliament. Why, then, did he send Mr. Armitage-Smith without this ratification, and send him back when he returned to England, and why does he still urge him on Persia?

Lord Curzon suggests that Persia is the catspaw of a Moscow alien. . . . Are not the British and Indians aliens, or is it only Russians? Lord Curzon thinks we are the tool of an alien because the Cossack division is now officered by Persians, whereas, if it had British officers, he would call it a Persian force. We are not such fools that we do not know our friends and cannot tell the difference between a treaty signed with Russia, from which, Lord Curzon threatens us, we shall ultimately suffer, and the English treaty, which was an instrument of English colonial policy and would have destroyed our independence forthwith.

England by the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, the ultimatum of 1911, and the Agreement of 1919, the formation of the South Per-

ian Rifles, the dispatch of Mr. Armitage-Smith; the covering of Persia with Indian troops, the obstruction of reforms and foreign loans, and by the action of the British authorities in Persia made the Persian nation understand that the English Government is not interested in promoting Persia's greatness and strength, but wants to make Persia a second Egypt for the development of its colonial policy. The English Government wants Persia to have an organized army, but under British officers, like the South Persian Rifles, and subject to the commands of the Government of India. It wants Persia to have sound finances, but, like Egypt, under English Government supervision and with English advisers as administrators. It wants Persia to have railways, but will not permit a concession to any foreign company except the English, or to any international association. It wants Persia's mines developed, but like the Ahwaz oil, this must only be by English companies so that it may keep control over the Persian Government's expenditure. It welcomes a revision of Persia's customs tariff, provided this favors British trade.

These are the views of the English Government, whose Secretary of State says that no Western Power has worked so disinterestedly to revive the life and greatness of any Oriental country. The Persian nation, with great thanks, declines this disinterestedness, these efforts for such a revival, and such a life. It desires to maintain friendly relations with the Durbar of London, and not be the dangerous tool of Britain's enemies, but it will not pledge all its economic resources to Britain. It desires that the doors of its riches shall be open to all nations, and wishes to interest the commerce of all in its economic development.



BOOKS

THE SCIENTIFIC SIDE OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM. By Harold Eustace Simmelkjaer. Published by George R. Jordan, 219 East 88th Street, New York.

This little booklet starts out with a valiant attempt to live up to the promise of its title. A brilliant survey is given of certain sociological and economic phases of the problem, together with a short but interesting glance backwards into the history of Negro slavery in America and the factors leading up to the destruction of the chattel slavery system and the general substitution of wage slavery to suit the hypocritical conscience of the modern world.

On the whole, however, Mr. Simmelkjaer's booklet fails to live up to its scientific promises. Later evidence of slipshod thinking spoils such splendid examples of careful and scientific analysis as are contained in the first part of the booklet, such as Mr. Simmelkjaer's answer to the "Education Solution" on which he comments:

"Education has been suggested as a means of solving the race problem. But what is the type of the education given? The voters in the South are mostly of the wealthy class and they control and dictate the policies of the men for whom they vote. The authorities respond by separation and segregation in the public schools to impress upon the future workers the difference because of color. It is cheaper to teach an impressionistic child than to break a strike of resolute men."

It is true that Mr. Simmelkjaer does not carry his analysis into the main phase of the "Education Solution." He does not tell us what he thinks of the proposition of solving a problem based largely upon the cussedness of the present system, the exploitation of Negroes and whites by white capitalists and the ignor-

1332

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ant prejudices stimulated by the capitalists among the white masses to keep the workers of the two races apart—he does not tell us what he thinks of the proposition of solving such a problem by education of the weaker race. But that sentence of his: "It is cheaper to teach an impressionistic child than to break a strike of resolute men" is a masterpiece of brief and correct analysis of one of the tricks of the capitalist class in using the capitalist-controlled schools to spread their propaganda of race hatred among the workers.

Another masterly analysis is given in the following comment on page 14 of Mr. Simmelkjaer's work:

"The system of industrial education founded by Booker T. Washington has spread wonderfully through the South. Why? Through exclusion from the unions the Negro has become the "free" laborer of the section. If unorganized labor is to be used it must be made sufficiently efficient to take the place of the higher paid organized workers. Industrial education will turn out better workmen at an earlier age, thus giving them a longer life as an economic factor. Industrial education, while good for the individual, will bear close and continuous scrutiny."

Such occasional flashes of genuine scientific analysis in the earlier part of the work make all the more regrettable the author's evident misconception of "the Socialistic form of government" and his flippant dismissal of the great movement now well under way for "a free Africa and the liberation of Negroes everywhere." On page 17, he says "Socialists forget that if the party is successful the government will include the very men who now compose the ruling or capitalist class." As Soviet Russia is the best example of the successful application of Socialist principles so the elimination of the Bourgeoisie in the government of Soviet Russia is the best answer to Mr. Simmelkjaer's peculiar theory that a successful Socialist party must include the very men who now compose the ruling or capitalist class. Mr. Simmelkjaer's theory is interesting. Russia's experience, however, is more convincing.

In the Liberation Movement, Mr. Simmelkjaer can only see the "Back to Africa" phase. He apparently has never heard expounded and has not thought out for himself the proposition (based upon the experience of other races) that the creation of a free, strong, stable Negro state would favorably affect the status of the Negro Race the world over, even as (but in far greater proportion) the developed power of Japan has affected the status of all colored races in general and the Japanese in particular. He says "Back to Africa movements when an empire can be founded, etc., with which to fight the white nations of the earth for Negro rights have been inaugurated. The consent of the white nations to the growth of this movement has never been deeply considered. It may bring on war." In the first place the movement for a free Africa or free Negro states in Africa is not necessarily a "Back to Africa" Movement. (Even Marcus Garvey has latterly tried to make that clear.) Negroes in America can help the Africans throw off their yoke and establish free African governments (which would automatically react to elevate the status of ALL NEGROES) without moving a foot out of the United States. The Africans do not

need man-power so much as they need moral and financial support. They need to know that the American section of the Negro Race will be in a powerful position to help them through propaganda and money, and by seeing that this government gave no active support to their enemies. In the second place, why should a people organizing and preparing to free itself seek the consent to their movement of the very oppressors against whom the movement is aimed? And, of course, it may bring on war! "Peace is the dream of wise men, but war is the experience of mankind." That master races and master classes do not unshackle their slaves of their own accord is abundantly demonstrated by history. And as pleas, arguments and Christian ethics have no effect on the oppressor, it is evident that the oppressed must find other means of convincing of the unhealthiness of oppression. And when all other arguments fail—well, force has been found to be mighty convincing.

Of course, as Mr. Simmelkjaer points out, the Negro is pretty badly off at present in regard to the possession of force. "Wealth, numbers, commercial resources and possession of the proper weapons are necessary to the winning of wars. To even the most superficial observer the Negro's lack of the above precludes all possibilities of the success of any movement based upon the use of force." Y-e-s. Y-e-s. But how did the white nations come into possession of force? Were they born already possessed of it? Or are not England, France, the United States, et al., examples of slow growth and the painful organization of force? Did not the United States grow from thirteen petty and oppressed colonies on the Atlantic seaboard, and with less than 5,000,000 population, into the great world power that she now is? And what were the beginnings of the present mighty British Empire? And was it not but a short time ago that the Italian nation was divided, disrupted, impotent and oppressed? And Germany that shook the world in 1914? How old was the German Empire when it moved within an inch of world domination? And the crushed, impotent Germany of the present day—how long will Germany play second fiddle? It is because "wealth, numbers and resources" are "necessary to the winning of wars" that the leaders of the Liberation Movement look to the African continent with its vast reservoir of man-power and resources (much of the latter still in native hands), rather than to the United States or the West Indies as the scene of the final stage of the Liberation Struggle. In the meantime, the present stage is one of a number of necessary preliminary stages, involving the work of mobilizing Negro thought, organizing Negro man-power and wealth, etc., for the struggle.

But Mr. Simmelkjaer has a remedy himself! After flippantly dismissing as futile the Socialist and Liberation (and the two march side by side!) remedies he advances as his remedy THE CHURCH followed by a mighty IF: "IF the enormous resources and influences of the churches of all creeds are made responsive and responsible to the will of the majority, the poorer classes" (when they have always been responsible and by the very nature of things will continue responsible under Capitalism to the class that can give the largest contributions and support)—"IF the errors of doctrine are

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The African Blood Brotherhood announces the launching of a Drive for a

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to enable us the better to serve the Negro race, defend its honor and protect it from selfish, opportunist and craven leaders by the publication in the near future of a weekly newspaper to be known as

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As We Have Done by You—Do You by Us!

Remember TULSA! Remember the Bright, Untarnished Record of the A. B. B.! What other organization can match that Brave Record?

\$5,100 Raised to date through our regular membership. Will you help us raise the balance of the necessary \$10,000?

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left out and the principles reduced to a fundamental and scientific working basis"—"IF energies are bent toward the proper conduct and earthly salvation of man rather than toward a finding out of the things we are not destined to know"—"IF the defense of acts of the dim past are eliminated, etc."—"IF in this government of the people, for the people (sic!) and by the people (sic!) the church wills with all its power and influence that law and order shall prevail, that that law and order shall be the embodiment of an honest chance, a fair deal, a square return to labor based upon a fair share of the goods produced, the elimination of poverty and economic injustice, and the installing of natural justice as the means by which all men are to be judged, then, not only the Negro but all problems will be permanently solved." Yes, "IF wishes were horses all beggars could ride." However, it would have been better if Mr. Simmelkjaer had ended his last IF as follows: That then not only all problems involving white and white, but the Negro problem as well, will be permanently solved. Then we would be on common ground in the agreement to wait until the church solved the lesser intra-racial problems—the class war, etc.—before expecting it to solve the far more aggravated inter-racial problems.

Mr. Simmelkjaer seems to think that the Church is extra-human and free from petty human prejudices and passions, whereas its history proves the contrary. When atheists were fighting against the institution of chattel slavery who was it that sought to condone and excuse its existence by Divine sanction which it claimed to have found in the Bible? And is not the Church as much under the domination of the Paramount God of this world, Mammon, as are the schools and the press? What has the Church done to help the white workers in their struggle against murderous Capitalist exploitation, with the exception of the recent and truly astounding action of the Inter-Church Council in the Steel industries, an exception which only makes stand out more pitilessly the rule that the Church has always been on the side of the master class.

In spite of the fact that Christianity—and

the religions before it, from which it is copied—has failed to make any material changes in human conduct during the last 1,900 years, and that in all recorded human history the defensive use of force has been the only effective way to meet the aggressive use of force, Mr. Simmelkjaer would have us pin our faith upon the "regenerative influences" of the Church and leave the use of force as a method of persuasion and a means of righting wrongs to white men. He declares that "force and physical persuasion are not lasting and have no merit." Indeed? Well, in 1776 England was kicked out of this country—physically persuaded, so to speak—and the effect seems to be as permanent as could be desired. And within the last two decades an Asiatic power, Japan, licked one of the biggest white powers, and that fact seems to have quite some merit in the eyes of the statesmen, politicians, and yes, churchmen, of the world. Japanese prestige rose as a consequence and is still up. Whether it be lasting or not the Japanese are now reckoned one of the "great, free peoples" of the world.

The British Empire was established by the use of force—and, at that, force wrongfully used. Of course, it won't be permanent, but then in this mundane sphere of our's what is permanent? Neither races (as we know them) nor empires. But when you are UP it's great, and when you are down—it's hell! Two things Mr. Simmelkjaer should recognize. The first is that as explained above nothing on this earth is permanent—not even the Church. Races cannot stay in the vanguard forever. The second is that Negroes would just as well have the RESPECT of the white man as his LOVE. Negroes are not looking for the Millennium—yet! And organized force is a mighty creator of RESPECT.

All in all, however, the book is a valuable addition to the growing literature on the Race question. Those parts that are good are so good that they more than make up for the little slipshod thinking that is so evident towards the end of the book. C. V. B.

1335

For Labor Unity

Joint Call for a Convention of All Independent Unions and Labor Groups of all Races in North America.

Brothers and Fellow Workers:

During the struggle of class conscious elements in the organized labor movement against the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L., hundreds of local unions have been expelled or have withdrawn from their general organizations, and hundreds of independent unions have been formed outside of the A. F. of L., separate and apart from the other units of labor.

This element (exclusive of the Railroad Brotherhoods) numbering over 1,000,000 in the United States and Canada remain without any medium for concerted action in the struggle of the workers for better conditions of labor

NO COLOR LINE HERE!

and more control of the industries for the working class.

The inadequacy of small units to successfully cope with the powerful combinations of the industrial capitalists have led to the destruction of a number of such unions and have weakened nearly all of them.

The necessity of all militant independent unions of America uniting in one general federation, in order to present a solid front in time of need for organization, education, defense and offensive purposes is recognized by the undersigned organizations, and we appeal to all other units of labor to join with us in

STAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA!

Help her weather the present acute famine conditions brought about by the murderous British naval blockade.

STAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA and enable her once again to champion the cause of the weak and oppressed of all races and countries!

STAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA—Soviet Russia, who in the past has stood by all the oppressed peoples of the world!

STAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA and thereby stand by your own cause and make it possible for her to give further aid to the

LIBERATION STRUGGLE

OF THE DARKER PEOPLES. ASK THE PERSIANS WHO GAVE THEM FREEDOM!

Ask the Afghans, ask the Egyptians, the Indians, the Chinese how Soviet Russia has helped them and let them tell you what they think of Soviet Russia.

HELP SOVIET RUSSIA TO HELP YOU

the oppressed and exploited workers and wronged and subjugated races of the world.

HELP SAVE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

that means so much to the cause of all oppressed peoples! Send your contribution—as much as you can give and **RIGHT AWAY** to

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

201 West 13th Street

New York, N. Y., U. S. A.

(This advertisement donated to the cause of Russian Famine Relief by the Crusader, and written by the Editor)

"CAST THY BREAD UPON THE WATERS!"

1336

A NEW POWER!

The Precursor of a New Day for New Negroes!

A GIGANTIC NEGRO FEDERATION

to include all progressive organizations and all Negroes who are really in earnest. Already endorsed by over

173 NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS

and Churches in the United States, the West Indies, Central America, South America and Africa. These 173 organizations represent an approximate membership of

OVER FIVE MILLION!

But we want more! We want ALL Negro organizations and all New Negroes in this great Federation. We are postponing FINAL ORGANIZATION to give every Negro organization a chance to get in on the ground floor and take a part in the formulating of program, tactics, etc. Full details will be given and a conference called with all representatives of the Federated Organizations.

For information write me at once

YOURS FOR A FREE AFRICA AND AN EFFECTIVE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

THEO. BURRELL

Provisional International Secretary

Crusader Office, 2299 Seventh Ave., New York, N. Y.

the movement to unify and solidify the various units of the independent labor movements into one central council.

In order to bring about this unity the undersigned Labor Unions of Greater New York and Vicinity have called a convention to meet in New York January 7, 8 and 9, at Hotel Workers Hall, 133 West 51st street, at which all unions will participate on an equal basis.

Realizing that the treachery of the reactionary leaders and the division of the militant elements have kept the great majority of the workers of North America divided and unorganized, we consider it the duty of the class conscious members of the Militant Independent Unions to furnish a new leadership to the American working masses.

All unions desiring to participate in this convention should communicate with Patrick J. McClellan, 83 East Fourth street, secretary, United Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity.

Fraternally submitted,

Bakery and Confectionery Workers No. 164,
Amal. Food Workers.

International Carpenters of A., Local No. 1.

International Carpenters of A., No. 15.
International Carpenters of A., Local No. 16.
Amalgamated Electric Workers.
Feather Bow Workers Union.
United Glove Workers Union.
Amalgamated Metal Workers of America,
Lodges Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 21, 32 and 33.
Plumbers Fitters and Helpers Union of N. Y.
Public Service Workers Organization.
United Shoe Workers Local Nos. 61, 72, 96,
113 and 126.
Construction Workers Industrial Union of
U. L. C.
United Harbor and Marine Workers.
Lunchroom Workers of the Amalgamated
Food Workers.
Hotel Workers Branch of the Amalgamated
Food Workers.
Dental Mechanics Union of N. Y.
United Labor Council of Greater New York
and Vicinity.
United Labor Council of America.

Los Angeles U. N. I. A. "Blows Up"

Six Hundred Members Cheer Noah D. Thompson in His Fight Against the "Great I Am" in New York

From

The California Eagle

337

Los Angeles, Nov. 21.

MINISTER of Legion E. L. Gaines, direct from Marcus Garvey, backed up by authority of his Chief, came forth on Thursday night and on a lot, with a tent thereon, with one fell swoop of his official axe decapitated the heads of the officers of Branch No. 156.

The Other Side.

While less than 100 persons met on the lot with Captain Gaines as executive, fully 600 members of the U. N. I. A. sat in comfort at the regular meeting place of the body at the Tabernacle Church and fully cognizant of what their status was the rafters fairly shook as various speakers resented the interference of the Parent Body in purely local affairs.

Thompson Goes Big

Noah D. Thompson, whose true report caused

the President-General to wreck one of the largest and most representative branches in the country, is bigger than ever in the estimation of four-fifths of the members who believe in him fully and nothing will shake them from that confidence except convincing proof. Six hundred people stood up for him. A committee was appointed on Ways and Means to report at their next meeting on Tuesday night; a course of procedure and the indication from the enthusiasm gathered at the meeting that this body of men and women will go forth in one of the greatest forward movements ever inaugurated on the Pacific Coast.

Revocation of the Charter and a Minister of Legions coming to town consorting with the one-fifth part instead of the big majority had not terrors, it only steels the people to go forward for greater and bigger things.

"ANSWER, 'PROFESSOR' GARVEY, ANSWER"

(What John E. Bruce thought of Marcus Garvey in 1918. When in "The New Negro," writing under the pseudonym of "Argus" he propounded the following questions to "The Moses That Was to Have Been, the Judas that is.")

To the Editor of The New Negro:

Dear Sir: Please grant me space to ask the editor of the Negro World the following questions:

(1) Are you a citizen of New York or of the U. S.?

(2) Have you any visible means of support?

(3) Is your present organization a branch of the Jamaica Industrial School Scheme which you launched on your first arrival in America?

(4) How much money did you collect from all sources for this work? How much did you collect in Jamaica?

(5) What did you do with it?

(6) Have you at any time made a report in writing of all moneys received by you for the various schemes you have set on foot here, if not, why not?

(7) What became of the 1,500 pounds sterling (about \$7,500) you are said to have begged in Jamaica to establish an Industrial School along the lines of Tuskegee?

(8) Have you abandoned that scheme, or is

is now part of your African Communities, etc., propaganda?

(9) What Africans of light and leading in Africa are co-operating with you to establish a great Negro commercial center?

(10) How is your organization going to bring this about?

(11) What authority have you to represent the Africans?

(12) Have any of the native kings or chiefs authorized you to speak for them or their peoples?

(13) Have you any written endorsements from leading Africans in Africa supporting your present scheme?

(14) Are you aware that you are playing with fire and may get your fingers burned? And that if you were a citizen of this country instead of an unknown wandering alien with a grudge against toil, your brilliant philippics and criticisms of native Americans of African descent might be more effective, if you were more responsible than you now seem to be?

(15) Who are you anyhow and what is your game?

ARGUS.

MUSICAL DEPARTMENT

By CHAS. A. HENRY

AT recent recitals in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, and in Boston:

Wm. S. Lawrence, pianist accompanist, has played Prelude in C Minor, Rachmaninoff, Seguidilla, Albeniz, Scherzo (Opus. 3), Chopin. At present he has said farewell to Boston, Mass. For how long we do not know. We might express ourselves by saying simply—A fine fellow.

Louia V. Jones, violinist, has bidden Boston, Mass., and America farewell for two or three years, while he continues his studies in Southern France. One of the finest violinists Boston has known in recent years has the ambition to further his art by going to Europe. He is a young chap now, and if it be true that the young acquire quickly and permanently, why, in three years, when he returns, he will, without doubt, be one of the best of musicians. At recent recitals he has played as follows:

"Risnig Sun" (Mss.).....R. Nathaniel Dett
"African Dance in D Minor,"

S. Coleridge Taylor

"Hindou Chant".....Rimsky-Korsakow

"Uncle Romus".....Cecil Burleigh

"Tambourin Chinois".....Kreisler

Symphonic Espagnole.....Lalo

"Allegro Non Troppo"

"Andante"

"Rondo"

"Melodie".....Gluck-Kreisler

"Air on G String".....Bach

"Prelude and Allegro".....Pugnani-Kreisler

Speech

Speech.—"Nay, all speech, even the commonest speech, has something of song in it. Observe, too, how all passionate language does of itself become musical. All deep things are song. It seems somehow the very central essence of us. Song, as if all the rest were but wrappages and hulls! See deep enough and you see musically. The heart of Nature being everywhere music, if you can only reach it."

Studies serve for delight, for ornament and for ability. In studying you will find that modern music dates no farther back than 1400, while ancient music which preceded it, in its greatest ingenuity, was singularly crude and monotonous. The great change between the two systems, the last of which came to perfection, as far as men can judge, in the eighteenth century, was effected towards the close of the sixteenth century by the construction of the definitions major and minor, leading to the perfect cadence.

About the time—1800—modern music was being discussed.

Now in 1921, we are again talking of a modern music. (Still more modern.) What of the modern music of the future? Dr. Richard Strauss has this to say of American Jazz: "It is worth-while music and interesting because of its new rhythmic forms." A musician of fifty-seven years finding an added interest in jazz. This is indeed encouraging, because, while the American people, especially the Negro, turns to jazz. It seems that the day is not far distant when something worth while must come out of this strange music. It is, without a doubt, true, that there is that something in it which calls for attention.

The Victorian Concert Orchestra (thirty-five musicians), Clarence C. White, conductor, gave its first monthly concert Sunday afternoon, October 23:

- I. "Finlandia".....Sibelius
- II. Symphony No. 1.....Beethoven
- III. (a) Barcarolle.....Tschaikowsky
- (b) Minuetto.....Coleridge Taylor
- (c) "Negro Chant".....Clarence C. White

1338

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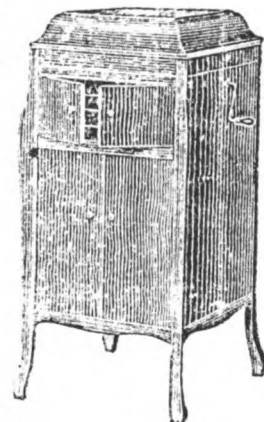
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A CALL TO THE NEGROES OF THE WORLD

TO JOIN IN THE

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Under the Fearless, Wise and Tactical Generalship of the

AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD

for a

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AND A LIBERATED, INDEPENDENT, HAPPY and PROSPEROUS NEGRO RACE
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

AN ORGANIZATION WITH A BACKBONE

and an intelligent group of leaders, who have already given concrete proof of their
capacity and ability.

READ THE A. B. B. CONSTITUTION

printed in this magazine and then decide with yourself whether you can afford to stay
out of this most effective movement for a free Africa and the immediate, practical and
ultimate liberation of Negroes everywhere? Decide whether you would not be doing
more for the liberation of your race as a Pro-Negro rather than as a Pro-Sombody
or other!

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Don't hesitate on a matter that so vitally affects you both as an individual and
as a member of an oppressed people. **GET BUSY FOR REAL, EFFECTIVE WORK
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