

THE
CRUSADER

JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1922

Marcus Garvey's Arrest

1341

On With the Liberation Movement!

Love and Finance

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The Crusader

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THE NEGRO MUST BE FREE!**BIG MASS MEETING****SUNDAY, JANUARY 22, 1922****AT 4 O'CLOCK****AT BETHEL A. M. E. CHURCH****(REV. THORNTON, Pastor)
66 WEST 132d STREET*****Hear Expounded the***
AIMS AND PROGRAM OF THE A. B. B.**And Learn Why****LYNCHING MUST STOP**when the American Section of the Great Negro Race is properly organized for an effective **LIBERATION MOVEMENT**, and how to force**FREEDOM FOR AFRICA**

by applying militant tactics against their imperialistic foes.

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Energetic Men and Women, Here's Your Opportunity!

ANNOUNCEMENT

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

\$10,000 FUND

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

THE LIBERATOR

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?

SEND US YOUR CONTRIBUTION

Help Us for an Effective Liberation Movement

At Least Subscribe! \$1.50 a Year

**THE AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD
2299 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY**

THE CRUSADER

Vol. VI. No. 1

JANUARY-FEBRUARY

Whole No. 42

Marcus Garvey Arrested

Black Star Line Head Charged With Fraudulent Representations and With Selling of Passage to Africa on Fake Steamship.

HELD IN \$2,500 BAIL

Hearing on Charges Set for January 19—Federal Agents Insist Garvey Has Only Two Boats, Both in Bad Condition.

MUST SAVE NEGRO MORALE, SAYS A. B. B.

Militant Organization Says Shedding of Adventures and Fakes Will Make for More Effective Liberation Struggle—Appeals to All New Negroes to Keep Up Struggle for a Free Africa and a Liberated Race the World Over.

New York, Jan. 13.—The African Blood Brotherhood, through its Publicity Bureau at its International headquarters, 2299 Seventh Avenue, New York City, today released the following news story for publication:

Marcus Garvey, president of the Black Star Line, was arrested here yesterday afternoon, charged with selling passages on a non-existent steamship and of making fraudulent representations to forward sales of Black Star Line stock and to enlist members in the U. N. I. A. of which he is president-general. The postoffice inspectors charge, too, that he used the mails to defraud in disposing of stock in the Black Star Line.

Garvey was arrested at his home in a swell apartment house in West 129th street by post-office inspectors and agents of the Department of Justice, and from there marched up Lenox avenue to the Black Star offices at 56 West 135th street, where several books and documents were seized by the United States agents. His portly figure wrapped in a fur-collared overcoat, and an ornamental cane dangling from his arm, he was taken before Commis-

sioner Hitchcock and released in \$2,500 bail, pending a hearing on January 19.

A number of the officials of the Black Star Line and "Negro World" were subpoenaed by the postoffice inspectors. It is also rumored that there will be a number of other arrests of Black Star officials and of men prominent in the affairs of the U. N. I. A., both in its allied corporations, newspaper, and the U. N. I. A. proper. One charge that will most likely be developed against certain members of the staff of "The Negro World" will be for attempting, through inciting articles, to inflame the ignorant minds of the more fanatic of their followers to the end of bringing about the assassination of prominent men opposed to the Garvey plan of liberating Africa by hot-air oratory and questionable schemes.

There are also rumors in the wind to the effect that Garvey has recently transferred his private bank account from the Royal Bank of Canada to its Jamaican (B. W. I.) branch. In this connection it is an interesting fact that he sent home his sister and her husband on January 7. Garvey is a native of Jamaica, B. W. I.

Rumors have been in the air for a long time concerning his arrest, and he is said to have twice fainted in his office lately.

MARCUS GARVEY RETRACTS LIE ABOUT BRIGGS

Faced with a prison sentence for maliciously putting out the lie that Cyril V. Briggs, Paramount Chief of the A. B. B. and editor of The Crusader, was a "white man passing for Negro," Marcus Garvey, through his attorney, Wilfred Smith, begged for an opportunity to retract his statement. Magistrate Renaud, leaving the matter up to Mr. Briggs, the latter magnanimously allowed the retraction to be made, agreeing to drop the prosecution in that event. The following retraction was made by Mr. Garvey and appeared in the Negro World of December 3, 1921:

"A CORRECTION

"Case of Briggs vs. Garvey

"In three issues this paper published a news release that one 'Cyril Briggs, a white man, was passing for a Negro in New York.' The managing editor, Marcus Garvey, was summoned to court for the publication of said release. Briggs' mother, who attended the hearing, is a colored woman, therefore this paper is now convinced that Mr. Briggs is not a white man in race, but a Negro. We gladly make this retraction.

"THE NEGRO WORLD."

On With the Liberation Struggle

Shedding of Adventures Will Make for More Effective Liberation Movement—A. B. B. Appeals to All New Negroes and to All Earnest Members of U. N. I. A. to Stand by Flag for a Free Africa and Universally Liberated Race.

**Issued by the
Supreme Executive Council**

THE A. B. B. looks upon the latest developments as the expected and logical outcome of Marcus Garvey's financial schemes and dishonest promises. We very well knew what would be the inevitable outcome of Garvey's attempts to prostitute the Liberation movement with all sorts and manners of doubtful and questionable commercial schemes. We did our best to prepare the race for the debacle we clearly foresaw. The A. B. B. was fully aware of the danger to the entire Liberation movement which Garvey's schemes involved. Time and again we protested against the inconceivable stupidity of basing the Liberation movement upon the chances of the success or failure of commercial enterprises. We affirmed, and still affirm, that no commercial enterprise is good enough to base the sacred Liberation movement upon its chances of success or failure—and least of all, any of Garvey's schemes, conceived as they were in total ignorance and managed by methods that have made the race a laughing stock and challenged the attention of the Federal government of the United States.

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By constructive criticism we tried to force reforms in the management of certain of these schemes because we saw that their spectacular nature had appealed to the imagination of some of our people, and to save these people bitter disappointment and financial loss we tried our best to see that reforms were initiated and the business at least managed in such a way as to hold forth even a small possibility of success. All to no avail!

We do not think that the Cause could be served by having the inevitable delayed—rather the contrary. For that reason we welcome the present situation. Negroes will suffer a great loss on account of Marcus Garvey and his schemes, but better a great loss now than a GREATER LOSS later. Moreover, while it is now possible to save the morale of the Liberation movement upon which Garvey, leech-like, inflicted himself, a few years more of Garvey prostitution might have made this impossible.

We hope that those Negroes who have been connected with the Liberation struggle, through the Garvey organization, will not desert the flag.

We hope, also, that this experience will sober up the movement to the hard and fast realities of the seriousness and intensity of this great struggle.

We hope that no one will be able after this to make comedy and tomfoolery of the movement and discredit our Cause.

We hope that in the future no parvenu will be able to fool our people and dub himself

"Provisional President of Africa," "Potentate," "Count of Lagos," or what not and, with all sorts of easy-money making schemes, get rich at the expense of "poor, ignorant Negroes."

To those Negroes that insist on following such fakes we have hardly anything more to say—fanatics do not think. To them the truth may pile up as high as a mountain—they do not perceive it. Such people have been the goats of gamblers and adventurers since the dawn of history.

To those Negroes who have enough stamina to stand the hard realities of the struggle, those Negroes who realize that powerful enemies have to be overcome, and that this involves hard, constant work and not mere demagoguery, tomfoolery, blatant threats, etc.—to those Negroes the A. B. B. offers a medium to unite with; to join either as individuals or as bodies. The A. B. B. stands for unity of all the truly militant forces in the Liberation struggle. It is willing to absorb or to unite with any clean, honest set of Negroes in order to strengthen and intensify the Liberation struggle. Our aims, Program and Constitution will answer all other questions and utterly refute the lies that have been maliciously circulated against the A. B. B. and its leaders. The record of the A. B. B. is CLEAN. There is no need for defence. Truth will ultimately win the day!

Hand Grenades

By C. Valentine

"Fattie" Taft is 64 years old, according to a newspaper headline of September 16. Just about sixty years TOO MUCH.

8,000 Negroes Stand Up and Shout when McCormick Denounces Klan.—Headline. They have been doing that for the past five years. Unfortunately shouting can't destroy their enemies nor protect themselves.

If those Negroes who are reported to have "committed suicide to escape mobs" had chosen to die fighting, or at least to take a few members of the mob with them "just for company," lynchings would by now be mighty unpopular "pleasures." If every Negro who has been lynched by a mob had elected to die fighting instead of engaging in futile pleas to the cruel man-hunters, lynching would long ago have been "stamped out." Negroes might as well recognize that whenever a mob gets after them their time has come to choose whether they will die like squalling hogs or like men, "backs to the wall, dying but fighting back!" It's guns, not laws, that's going to stamp out lynching!



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MISS LILIAN WILLIAMS
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*From
Walter Baker's
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MISS CATHERINE HUCKELBY
In Her Jockey's Sattire a. She Appeared in "Mutt and Jeff," at the Lafayette Theatre, New York



MRS. ETTA MARRICK
A Comely Matron of New York City

EDITORIALS

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

THE INEVITABLE

The inevitable is here! That which THE CRUSADER long ago foresaw as the certain result of unbusinesslike policies and questionable methods has occurred. The bubble has been pricked. The bottom knocked out of the dream and its emptiness revealed. Our efforts to save the situation by seeking through constructive criticism to force badly needed reforms had failed because "they had eyes and saw not, they had ears and heard not." In their blind, fanatical allegiance to the individual above the Cause it was impossible to convince his following that the king could do no wrong.

THE CRUSADER has no wish to remind the earnest, if misled and erring, following of "the world's greatest orator" that we long ago predicted the present shameful situation. It has no desire to flaunt the taunt "I told you so." It only desires to save the Liberation Movement, and for that holy purpose it calls upon them to profit by their mistakes, take stock of themselves and of the realities of the Liberation Struggle and rid themselves, once and for all, of the crooks and parasites who have fastened themselves upon the Liberation Movement with such success that certain sections of that Movement are known by their names and millions of dollars, as they themselves have admitted, have passed through their hands—on the way to misappropriation and private accounts! If these blind followers of blind and dishonest leaders will but be honest with themselves and indulge in frank retrospection and intelligent analysis they will recognize what THE CRUSADER and the A. B. B. recognized long ago: the inevitability of the present shameful situation as a consequent of stupid and dishonest leadership and blind, fanatical "followership." Now it is their duty to honestly admit their error of judgment and to bravely put their shoulders to the wheel to salvage what can be salvaged and unite with other militant forces for a stronger Liberation Struggle.

The Liberation Movement is stronger than any man. It will shake off the unworthy, the crooks and adventurers, the cowards and lickspittles and will arise stronger than ever, steeled by experience and devoid of dreamy tomfoolery. **FORWARD, NEGROES! OUR RACE MUST BE FREED!**

CRUSADER WARNED ITS READERS AGAINST MARCUS GARVEY

For the past five months THE CRUSADER has been warning its readers and the public in general against the manifold financial schemes of Marcus Garvey. Recent events go to prove many of our exposures and predictions. And the end is not yet! Many foolish people ignored our warnings for the flamboyant promises of Garvey. They have no one but themselves and Marcus Garvey to blame for their loss. Like the gullibles who bought up the worthless stock of the H. V. Greene Company, they remained gullible even after the presentation of facts that would have convinced people *who think*.

The Crusader within the comparatively short period of its existence—a little more than three years—has made two notable exposures of questionable financial schemes. In 1920 we exposed the H. V. Greene Company and sent it scuttling. In 1921 we once more entered the list against the financial manipulators and by the exposure of the non-existence of the ghost ship "Phyllis Wheatley" led those who had bought passage on that ship, on the fraudulent representations of Marcus Garvey and his agents, to make complaint to the postoffice authorities and thus force an investigation of the Garvey schemes, with the result that Garvey will at last be forced to give an accounting of his collections and expenditures—an accounting long overdue and one which Garvey could never be induced to give of his own accord.

RED AND BLACK

Now it is Dr. Du Bois at whom the familiar shout of "Bolsheviki" is flung, and a white paper, the Chicago Tribune, which does the trick. Says the Chicago Whip (colored) in commenting upon this shout of Red:

Because Dr. Du Bois points out that the capitalistic creed of France prevents the full enjoyment of the political, military and social privilege by the black citizens of that country, the Chicago Tribune flares up with the editorial objection that the black intelligencia is Bolshevik and Red. The Tribune can see no virtue in an intelligent black man's complaint against the economic system of the world which permits a handful of millionaires to control all of the world's wealth and permits serf-

THE CRUSADER

dom, starvation and widespread poverty to perpetuate itself.

The militant *Whip* further remarks in its stirring editorial answer to the *Chicago Tribune*: "If capitalism forever lives, then heaven is a myth and the millennium will never come," to which THE CRUSADER responds a hearty second.

A FEW NOTES ON TACTICS

Wise leaders seek profitable alliances. Only amateurs try to "go it alone." There is no place for "splendid isolation" under modern conditions. Even the block-headed British imperialists have recognized that fact. But with whom shall we seek alliances? Surely not with the Capitalists who are the beneficiaries of our exploitation, and are, therefore, interested in its perpetuation? Of what value to us would be an "alliance" with our exploiters? An alliance with the oppressors of the Negro Race? An alliance with the class who initiated Negro slavery and later partitioned Africa and brutally subjugated the brave Africans! Certainly none but fools would talk about alliance with their proven enemies! Such talk is but a shield for their cowardice and a lame excuse for not doing the logical thing of SEEKING ALLIANCE WITH THE ENEMIES OF OUR ENEMIES! Too cowardly to come out boldly against our enemies, too fearful of the consequences of aligning with the enemies of our enemies against the common foe, these valiant hot-air shouters who pose as leaders of an oppressed people to try to confuse the masses with all manner of bunk about first hearing our proven enemies before endorsing our proven friends and by raising the fearsome shout of Bolsheviki against those leaders who, more bold than they, are willing to stake their lives and liberties in the cause of Negro liberation by seeking alliances with the enemies of the common foe in the knowledge that only by utilizing every possible weapon against the powerful enemies of the Negro race can the Liberation Movement be made effective.

The oppressed Negro must seek alliances to the end of successful co-ordination of effort with the oppressed Irish, the oppressed Indian and all other oppressed peoples, and with that friend of the oppressed and enemy of our enemies, SOVIET RUSSIA! This fact is recognized by most Negro leaders, but few of them are brave enough to face the persecution that such a policy would involve. Fearful of the thorny path and bloody cross these cow-

ardly leaders offer something just as good. The something being steamship lines, factories, corporations, better race relationship or some one of a thousand ingenuous and weak-kneed compromises for action. Not brave enough themselves to take up the cross of leadership of an oppressed people they seek to confuse the masses and cover up their pitiable cowardice with a barrage of cheap abuse and false accusations against those who show the necessary courage for leadership in a Liberian Struggle. These they accuse of being Bolsheviki, etc., merely because they seek alliances where alliances can be most effective, viz.: with the enemies of our enemies. Can Negroes seeking liberation refuse to endorse this policy? And, if endorsing, can they afford to remain out of the ranks of A. B. B.?

LEADERS WHO LEAD FOR PAY

Talking of leaders who "admit that they lead for pay," we wonder: Was Marcus 'fessing up? Or does he still refuse to admit it? Twenty-seven thousand five hundred dollars a year is some big pay for Marcus! Big Guff! No official of the A. B. B. gets more than forty dollars a week. Forty dollars a week makes \$2,080 a year. Not in the class of Marcus' huge \$27,500 a year salary, eh? But then the leaders of the A. B. B. are willing to do their share of the sacrificing and are not leaving it to the rank and file to make all the sacrifices. If "give, give 'till it hurts" is a good slogan for the masses it should also be good for the leaders. What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. Marcus does not believe in leaders who "admit that they lead for pay." Yet the fact that Marcus gets \$12,000 a year as Provisional President of Africa, \$10,000 as President-General of the U. N. I. A., and \$5,200 as President of the Black Star Line—that fact is enough admission and sufficient information as to who leads for pay!

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RELIGION IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

In the Liberation Struggle of other peoples religion is a mighty factor, as witness the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, Mohammedanism in Northern Africa and India, etc. In our case, however, the enemy dominates our religious institutions because these are, for the most part, only subsidiary branches of his own. White bourgeois domination of our religious institutions must not be allowed to continue. To

have an effective Liberation Movement it is necessary to destroy the influence of the enemy over our religious institutions. For that purpose every encouragement should be given to the development of independence in religious matters as manifested in the organization of the African Orthodox Church and other independent Negro religious institutions. It is bad enough to have white control of secular education. It is not necessary to tolerate white control of our religious institutions. The sinister influence of white ministers and bishops who use their office and influence to preserve white domination and to defend white prestige, attack Negro leadership and attempt to uphold the superstition of superior and inferior races—this sinister influence must be broken up! As the priests of the slave-regime sought Biblical condonation for that inhuman institution, so today the white ministers of the gospel are seeking to preserve white political and economic control over the Negro, thus demonstrating once again that white priests are more anxious to serve the "best interests" of their own race or nation than the best interests of Christianity.

Labor Lines

By ANDREA RAZAFKERIEFO

Hark to the song the money-hogs sing:
"Keep them idle, unemployed,
Till their morale is destroyed,
Then they'll work for anything."

The worker dared to use his head
And for the crime was called a "Red."

One servant should be made to do
(For one man's pay) the work of two.

The boss said, "show me references
And you can do my chores."
The new employee made reply:
"I will, but where are yours?"

The ideal workingmen are they
Who will accept starvation pay,
Who'll work all hours, day and night
And never seek their wrongs to right.

Is autocracy destroyed?
Ask the millions unemployed.

"Are Bolshevickies really bad?"
Asked little Charlie Capers.
His father chuckled, "Yes, my son,
According to the papers."

"To me, an honest business man,"
Said wise old Hiram Sprout,
"Is just a lucky, clever crook,
Who hasn't been found out."

Just Thinking

By ANDREA RAZAFKERIEFO

DURING the war everyone who owned a flag-pole raised "Old Glory," and everyone who owned an apartment-house raised the rents.

California is so blue over the "yellow peril" that we are expecting her to eventually induce Burbank to change the color of oranges.

Why don't landlords find a way to attach snakes to the valves of radiators? Their hissing sounds would fool the tenants so completely that they could then take the furnace out entirely.

New Yorkers are cleverly being taught the various colors, such as red, black and green. Daily, they can be seen following their subjects in the shuttle at Times Square. We can truthfully say that the Interboro has adopted educational lines.

Since John Barleycorn's death millions of folk have become spiritualists and are actually communicating.

Reno would go out of business if unhappy married people would only move to Rhode Island, where they would find Providence.

Let the Reformers change "Thou shalt not" to "Thou shalt work" and our country will get somewhere.

The Subway Sun claims to be published "now and then." Quite frequently, the trains are run on the same schedule.

George Washington, father of his country, never told a lie, but his child is not so particular.

If the leading nations would leave the "fighting" as well as the "declaring" of wars exclusively to those who make them, that would be enough disarmament for the world.

The trouble with all Peace Conferences has been that they have always talked "pieces" instead of Peace.

Few people realize what a noble and profitable position the elevator man has. He is forever uplifting Humanity and gets a raise on every trip.

No doubt, the storekeeper charges us a deposit on milk bottles to keep us from eating them. If wages continue to come down and rents to go up, his little ruse may fail.

THE QUESTION

The papers say Ireland will be
A free state. But will she be free?
For you know and I know
How free was the CONGO—
Yes, I'm from MISSOURI—show me!

—Razafkeriefo.

Love and Finance

A Humming Good Short Story by an Outstanding Negro Writer of Fiction

By
CARITA OWENS COLLINS

OUTSIDE the rain fell in torrents and occasionally lightning lighted up the surroundings. Twice during the evening, to the accompaniment of heavy thunder, loud crashes told the distraught members of the firm of Yerby and Cross that lightning had blasted some one's home just as a cruel fate had blasted their hopes.

Howard Yerby and Francis Cross sat in a small restaurant in West Philadelphia, where they had agreed to meet to talk over the future of their real estate business. They had talked for hours and no solution to their problem presented itself. The stark, naked facts of ruin, utter ruin, faced them, and now the men sat gazing at the table in silence while the storm worked its havoc outside.

Suddenly Howard listened and then said: "I believe the storm is over."

With this remark in walked Julius Everett, proprietor of the restaurant and a loyal friend of Howard and Francis. These men had spent their boyhood together; had fought their way through High School overcoming high school bullies and hard lessons, and finally attending the same university had been graduated together. Howard and Francis had gone into the real estate business and Julius, with his ever ready wit hiding a serious and loyal nature had, upon the death of his father, received the legacy of a restaurant. Seeing his two friends he joined them, remarking:

"What in the thunder is the matter with you two? Aren't you going to the frat dance?"

The two men looked at each other and Howard said:

"Let's tell him. It hardly makes any difference now. In a few days everybody will know it anyway."

Then Francis began, "You see, Jules, it's like this; we are ruined. There's no way out of it. That apartment house we have about half completed will stand as a monument to stupidity and poor business management of the firm of Yerby and Cross, unless some more fortunate firm has the money to finish it."

Julius inquired, "How can you two be ruined? What about those investments?"

"That's just it," said Howard. "Those damn investments are not worth a cent. Those oil wells do not exist except in the brain of that scoundrel who has our money."

"Whew," whistled Julius, "I've got a couple of hundred in that thing, too. Good bye, two hundred, I'll never see you again!"

This facetious remark did not even bring a smile to the faces of his two friends, although he had forced himself to it in order to dispel some of the gloom that seemed to be settling down on the three men.

"Now, see here fellows," said Julius, "there must be some way out of this. I wish I had some money, but as you know, I've just had this restaurant remodeled and with that bad investment, I am somewhat in a hole myself. There must be some way out of this. Let's think."

"Humph," growled Francis, "I am through thinking. I've been thinking, thinking for two

weeks and we are right where we started."

"Don't do that," laughed Julius in mock alarm, "you'll wear your brain out thinking two weeks at one stretch!"

This remark like the previous one failed to rouse Howard and Francis from their deep depression.

Suddenly Julius emitted a "whow" and banged Howard on the shoulder.

"I have it, old man! What's the matter with selling stock in that apartment house of yours. You two have an established reputation in this community. Even the men who refused to lend you money will be willing to buy shares in an apartment house, especially when they can see that the place is half finished and everybody knows that West Philadelphia is overcrowded now and apartments are really needed. We three will get out and wake this town up. When some of these tightwads learn they can invest in a safe proposition and get 10 per cent. on their investment, the money will roll in. You fellows will get so much cash you can hire me as a special bodyguard!"

During this speech Francis and Howard sat gripping the table with hope slowly dawning in their eyes. Excitedly they began to discuss plans, but on realizing that closing time for the restaurant was approaching, out they went, still talking.

After leaving his friends Julius betook himself to the nearest telephone booth to try to explain to the only and most wonderful girl in the world why he had failed to show up in time to take her to the frat dance. But he could get no response from Katharine Turner's home, and realizing he was too late to attend the affair, moodily started towards Woodland avenue where he resided with his aunt. Mentally he called himself many uncomplimentary names. Here he was at 12:30 a. m. on his way home when the girl of his heart whom he hoped some day to make his wife, had gone to a dance with somebody else. All because he had to meet Howard Yerby and Francis Cross and they had to burden him with their woes. He almost forgot how he had helped to solve in a measure their problems. He forgot everything but that Katherine would probably think him neglectful, discourteous, and here he stopped short in his walk—perhaps she might even withdraw her friendship. He had heard her say that she thought it unpardonable for a man to break an engagement. Julius wondered if she would ever forgive him. Hurrying home, he wrote a letter to Katherine explaining in detail exactly what had happened and asking her forgiveness. After posting the letter he retired to dream of selling thousands and thousands of dollars worth of stock and buying Katharine a wonderful diamond ring, which she graciously accepted.

The next morning Julius was awakened at six o'clock by his aunt who informed him that some one wished to speak to him on the telephone. It was Howard who wanted to arrange for another conference at 7:30, before Julius went to the restaurant. After telling Howard his opinion of a man who would wake another

man up at six o'clock for no reason whatever, and after Howard had invited him to go to a place that has become famous for its heat, they compromised on 8:30 o'clock at the restaurant.

When Julius arrived at the restaurant, Francis and Howard were already there. After a few preliminary instructions to the waiters and cashier, the men entered Julius' private dining room and settled on their plans. It was agreed that Francis and Howard would pay the expenses of printing, etc., that the three of them would endeavor to sell stock and that Julius would receive a commission of 15 per cent. on all stock he sold.

When Howard and Francis had gone, and the hurry and bustle of breakfast was over, Julius began to listen for the telephone and stroll nonchalantly to the door trying to appear indifferent, as he eagerly gazed up and down the street for the postman. Finally one came, but handed him only a few letters containing bills and a Red Cross circular, all of which Julius tossed in disgust on his desk. Then the telephone rang and Julius eagerly forestalling the cashier, answering it only to hear, "How many quarts of ice cream do you want for today?" Without a word, he surrendered the telephone to the cashier and again went to the door.

Why didn't Katharine send him a note or call him up? She lived only a few blocks from his restaurant and twice had happened to stroll by after innocently informing Julius the night before that she had to visit the bakery shop on the same street because the baker was sending stale bread and her father, for whom she kept house, was complaining about it. On that occasion Julius spent fifty-nine minutes out of every hour in the door of the restaurant, and when he saw Katharine on the opposite side of the street, had brazenly courted death from the scurrying automobiles in his effort to get across the street before Katharine had gotten too far.

This morning there was no sign from Katharine, and Julius' spirits sank lower and lower. He thought of calling her on the telephone, but hesitated. He wondered if it would not have been better for him to have made up an event of such startling importance that Katharine would not have hesitated to forgive him—perhaps she might even have commended him for breaking his engagement. He sighed heavily as he reflected that his frankness and veracity had availed him nothing.

At that minute Katharine was washing the breakfast dishes, and one little tear after another fell unheeded in the dishwater! She could hardly believe it yet. Julius had failed to come to take her to one of the events of the Christmas season: the fraternity dance, and he was a member of the fraternity too. If mutual friends had not happened to stop by the house on their way to the dance Katharine would have been obliged to remain at home. She had gone, thinking Julius was detained at the restaurant and would come as soon as possible to the dance too. But not only did he fail to keep his engagement, but he had neither telephoned nor written an apology. Katharine had frequently gone to the door that morning looking for the postman, who, when he came, cheerfully wished her a "Merry Christmas," and left a stack of Christmas cards which Katharine, after one glance, had thrown on the table. She, too, listened anxiously for

the telephone, and as her tears ceased, she became very angry.

Very, very well. If Julius Everett thought she was so fond of him that he could act just as he pleased, she would show him! And she stifled her longing to call up the restaurant to inquire if Julius was ill.

And Julius' letter lay in the postoffice under thousands of Christmas cards and letters, and over-worked postoffice clerks swore, talked and laughed, as the mood seized them, as they worked on the piles of mail that seemed to increase the harder they toiled. Both Julius and Katharine forgot that during the Christmas season mail is often delayed.

Days passed and the campaign of selling stock was on. Julius remained away from the restaurant for hours at the time. On three days he had called up Katharine's home and received no response, because Katharine was out shopping each time he called. Repenting her first resolution, Katharine had called Julius several times, and on each occasion the cashier had said, "He's out." After receiving this response five times in two days, Katharine decided that Julius did not wish to speak with her and had instructed his cashier to tell her he was out. And the cashier being very much interested in the girl who was clerk in the grocery store across the street, never remembered to tell Julius that a lady had called him up. Thus matters went on with two young people thinking very hard and bitter thoughts and nursing wounded hearts.

In the meantime Katharine received an invitation to visit an aunt in York, Pa. The day she left the city Julius' letter was delivered. Her father, knowing that her visit would last only a short time, failed to forward any mail to her.

Now Francis and Howard began to find shares in their apartment house were not going as well as they had anticipated. People complained of being "broke" because of the ancient and honored custom of Christmas giving; others claimed to have put all their available cash in Liberty Bonds. The men were receiving many excuses and very little money. Again, the three men met in Julius' restaurant to talk over their proposition, and again Julius' active and alert mind saved the day.

"There's no use wasting time talking," said Julius. "We've got to advertise this thing. We've got to tell these Philadelphians that they have only just so many days to get in on this honest-to-goodness, simon-pure, millionaires-made-in-a-night scheme. If only we could get some prominent citizen to buy a thousand dollars' worth of stock; or, if he didn't buy, he might let us say he did. Do you fellows know of anybody who would lend us their name if we gave them some shares? It wouldn't hurt his precious name and it would help us out of this confounded hole!"

But Francis and Howard gloomily agreed that they didn't know anybody worth while who would lend their name. They thought well, however, of advertising.

Then Katharine, who was never far from Julius' thoughts, obtruded herself again, and it was an easy step from Katharine to her father, Mr. Turner, an insurance broker, and a man who had the respect of rich and poor alike in his community. He had bought more Liberty Bonds than any one else in his neighborhood; had subscribed heavily to the Red Cross and

was an active member of all the important clubs and societies in West Philadelphia.

Julius said, "Suppose I see Mr. Turner and call you up later?"

His motive in selecting Mr. Turner was a two-fold one: he could make this visit an excuse for seeing Katharine and also secure Mr. Turner's aid.

Instead of going to Mr. Turner's office Julius waited until he knew Mr. Turner would be at home, and then called at the house. Mr. Turner himself answered the bell and cordially invited Julius in. On entering the house Julius noticed an unfamiliar appearance about the hall, and then he noticed something wrong in the sitting room. There seemed to be nothing missing, but things were somewhat upset and there was dust everywhere.

When Julius inquired for Katharine Mr. Turner replied:

"Katharine went to visit her aunt in York, Pa. I let her go just for a few days and now her aunt has written me asking that I allow her to remain a week longer. Little scamp, I miss her very much, and when she gets back and wants to go away again I am going too."

Julius heard this with a sinking heart. Then Katharine was angry with him. More than that she no longer desired his friendship or else she would have informed him of her intention to go away. If she didn't have time for that she could have written to him from York. Rousing himself from these gloomy reflections Julius blurted out his errand to Mr. Turner. Julius was honest and frank, and he told Mr. Turner the truth concerning the firm of Yerby & Cross; how they had adopted his suggestion to offer shares in the apartment house; how the shares were selling slowly, and finally wound up with the suggestion that if Mr. Turner would permit them to state that he was taking an interest in the proposition it would inspire the people with confidence and the shares would sell more easily.

"You see," naively explained Julius, "every one will immediately jump to the conclusion that your taking an interest can only mean that you have bought stock, and they will all want to be in on the deal too."

For a minute, Julius thought it an hour, there was silence in the room. Only the faint tick-tock of the clock disturbed the silence. Mr. Turner gazed in the fire and thought. Strangely enough his thoughts reverted to the time when he had met, courted and won Katharine's mother, only to have her five short years. He knew that Julius loved Katharine. He had carefully and quietly observed him and, although loath to lose his daughter, had in his heart quietly consigned her to Julius' care. He also knew that as soon as Julius' business was in a more prosperous condition Julius would ask Katharine to marry him; and he suspected that Katharine might make him wait a while and then capitulate in the end. Of all these things he thought, and lastly of the matter presented to him by Julius.

"Julius," said Mr. Turner, "I think your proposition a good one and you may write me up for a thousand dollars. You'll have to take some Liberty Bonds, however, for I haven't the cash just now."

Overcome with emotion, Julius gripped Mr. Turner's hand and walked out. As he picked up his hat from the hall table, there facing him was a letter in his handwriting addressed to

Katharine. He picked it up and turned to Mr. Turner:

"Katharine didn't get this letter! That's why she didn't call me up or write to me. Mr. Turner, may I have her address in York? May I use your telephone for a long distance call?"

Without waiting for permission Julius walked over to the telephone, and following him Mr. Turner gave him Katharine's address in York.

While waiting for the long distance operator, who seemed unusually slow to Julius, in a most incoherent manner, he explained to Mr. Turner the cause of the misunderstanding. Piecing together his disjointed expressions, Mr. Turner was able to understand only that Julius and Katharine had had a misunderstanding and that if the telephone wires from Philadelphia to York could be trusted, this misunderstanding would be cleared up immediately.

As the telephone bell rang, he said:

"All right, Julius. I am going into the sitting room for a smoke. Come in there when you are through."

When the operator announced in the York home of Katharine's aunt that Philadelphia was calling Katharine wondered first if her father were ill, and second, if he was angry because she remained away from home. When she heard Julius demand, "Is that you, sweetheart?" joyous amazement kept her silent. In sentences liberally interspersed with endearments, Julius made his explanation and ended with a demand that Katharine promise to marry him as soon as he had finished selling shares for Yerby & Cross. He finally assured her he was telephoning from her residence in Philadelphia, and was going to inform her father that she had promised to marry him. Now Katharine had made no such promise, but she did not remind Julius of that fact. Julius consumed minute after minute talking to Katharine until she reminded him that a wife was an expensive luxury and that he would have such a big telephone bill for that call he couldn't get married until next year.

Before leaving Mr. Turner, Julius secured his consent to his marriage and he was carried home in rosy clouds that wrapt him up and away from the crowds and swept him in ineffable content to his home. In reality, Julius rode in an over-crowded street car, hanging to a strap.

As he entered the door the familiar ringing of the telephone called him back to earth and he remembered his promise to communicate with his friends.

When he heard Francis' voice on the 'phone he told him of Mr. Turner's offer, ending with:

"Congratulate me. I am going to get married!"

"The devil you are," said Francis. "You are going to come right down to this office and help us fix up that advertisement and a news article for the morning's paper."

"All right," said Julius, who was in such an ecstatic mood he was willing to submit to any inconvenience.

The morning papers announced that Mr. John P. Turner had bought shares amounting to \$1,000 in the apartment house now being erected by Yerby & Cross. People living in West Philadelphia read this item over their breakfast tables, and decided that if Mr. Turner was an investor they, too, ought to buy shares. The president of the Second Commercial Bank, who had refused credit to Yerby & Cross, wanted to invest \$1,000 in shares. The head of

the local ice manufacturing company subscribed \$500. The Mill Steam Laundry, Inc., took \$500 worth of shares. And so it went on. Calls came in over the wire; men dropped in the office during their lunch hour—and the afternoon papers announced the names of the subscribers, omitting the amounts. This continued for several days until every person in that community who had any available cash had become a stockholder.

In the midst of the excitement of recording sales and figuring out what his commission would amount to, Julius received a telegram

from Katharine informing him that she would arrive in Philadelphia on the noon train from York. Eleven-thirty found Julius expectantly waiting in Broad Street Station. When Katharine appeared he held out his arms, she walked straight into them. Blase travelers and weary porters looked and their eyes brightened at the sight of such open and undisguised happiness.

In Katharine's ear Julius was whispering, "Do you want a diamond ring, sweetheart?"

Poor, ignorant, unsophisticated Julius! Who ever met a girl who didn't want a diamond ring?

Plain Truths From Africa

Editor of "The Black Man" (Cape Town) Says if "Provisional President" Comes to Africa It Won't Be White Men He Will Fight But the Aborigines Who Will Stand by Own Kings, Princes and Paramount Chiefs Against Commoner Garvey—Another African Endorses A. B. B. as Serious and Effective Movement—Letters Typical of Many More Received from Africans.

Cape Town, South Africa.

Dear Sir:—By this week's mail I had the pleasure of reading your interesting articles in The Crusader posted to me from New York. Believe me, brother, some of us have no idea at all of your wonderful progress in the States. It is only now of late that your people at this end of the world are beginning to learn from newspapers what the Negroes are doing in the great struggle for a place in the sun.

I am editing a small sheet of paper, a copy of which I believe will reach you together with this letter from South Africa. From the shape of the paper you will be able to judge more accurately of the arduous struggle your people are faced with in the attainment of that noble and lofty purpose of life—to resist the alien forces in their attempt to make Africa, your dear home, a white man's country. The eyes of all European powers are turned towards Africa, Africa the historical black continent, whilst some of you Negroes are indulging in the foolish splendor of Imperialism—knighting men and women in the desert without an empire. Marcus Garvey I consider started well, but when success favored him he there and then lost control of his selfish motives. Who is the Negro in America with creditable sense that can take upon himself what even the Princes and Paramount Chiefs of this land are not disposed to do until an African Empire or state has been constitutionally established by mutual co-operation and understanding of all tribes at home and abroad?

Any Negro leader or leaderess that works for the redemption of Africa to win the support of the aboriginals' Princes and Chiefs, and the four hundred million black races, must come back home as simple as when he was taken away a slave. Egypt, Abyssinia and the young State of Liberia (including all small self-governing native administrations) are the starting point and base upon which the intellectuals of the Negro race in America and everywhere can save Africa and its people.

Any Negro leader who will style himself President of Africa, a lord, or a sire of unknown empire, coming home with such foolish titles will not dupe but the aboriginals, because there

is no King, Prince or Chief that will surrender his crown or natural rights of government to a commoner like Garvey, only because he happened to be an orator. Tell Garvey, at all events, that he must honor the people of Africa by recognizing the fact that unless he (Marcus Garvey) prostrate himself before the hereditary rulers of the land there will be place for him in Africa as president.

Mr. Briggs, I have said quite enough on this matter. My purpose for addressing you is to ask you to help me through the columns of your paper by appealing to the Negro community for financial assistance in connection with "The Black Man."

The paper, as you will notice, is poorly financed, in fact, let me be candid with you, Mr. Briggs, I started without capital, relying entirely upon the support of the reading native public.

Mr. Briggs, I hope you will do your best in this connection for the interest, not myself, but of your poorly exploited masses. It is a matter of necessity to have an organ in this province, otherwise the vast toiling masses will have no outlet whatsoever by voicing their grievances against the tyranny of the wealth grabbers.

Sometime back I have attempted to visit America on the very same mission, but owing to lack of funds providing such a dream impossible, I had to give up hope and put down the bucket where I am.

I have no plant, nor do I think of having one at present unless true patriots of our race come to my assistance. Mr. Briggs, as a publisher, you can imagine what difficulties are on my path. I dare not publish anything against the white people for fear that the white printing plant will refuse to get out my issue.

I have every confidence that you will prove your loyalty to the cause of your race at home and abroad. I am, sir, with the very best compliments of the season.

(Signed) L. M. BENNETT NEWANA,
Editor "The Black Man,"

107 Loop Street,
Cape Town, South Africa.

NATIVE AFRICAN ENDORSES A. B. B.

Dec. 20, 1921.

Mr. Cyril V. Briggs,

Dear Sir:—I have just purchased the current number of *The Crusader* in which you so clearly outline the great aims and objects of the A. B. B. Permit me to congratulate you on the splendid way in which you have contributed to combine advanced social ideals with workable plans for racial betterment. This is the kind of organization which can do effective work in such brutally exploited regions as South Africa, my native home, where the alarmed white man now rules the carefully disarmed aborigine with a ruthless, iron hand.

I have followed the controversy between *The Crusader* and Mr. Garvey with keen interest, with the result that I have now definitely decided to cast my lot with the A. B. B. Herewith enclosed please find one (\$1.00) dollar initial membership fee. Subscription for *Liberator* and *Crusader* to follow at earliest convenience, the present condition of my personal exchequer forbidding any further immediate indulgence of my inclinations.

Just a word in behalf of a fellow-countryman

now touring America with the object of raising funds to promote a Brotherhood of the Bantus in South Africa. Although his project is necessarily on somewhat conservative lines I am inclined to cherish the hope that you will not deny him your aid when you shall have the opportunity to hear from him in greater detail as to prevailing conditions in our homeland. Mr. Solomon T. Plaatje is a native African of the Bechuana tribe who is not only an expert on the situation in South Africa but also a valient warrior who has from his youth battled for the rights of his compatriots. Believing his cause to be entirely deserving, I venture to hope that you will, on fuller acquaintance, when he visits your city after New Year, give him such aid as may be in your power.

An afterthought of minor importance—why not call your Post Commanders *Indunas* and the Post itself an *Impi* in regular African style? An *Induna* is a councillor and leading warrior, an *Impi* is the Zulu name for regiment. With best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

ALEX. VAN ROOYEN,

R. F. D. Route 1, Box 47a.,
Washington, D. C.

The Workers Party, Marcus Garvey and the Negro

What the New Party Stands For—Sure, the A. B. B. Sent Delegates. Only Garvey Is Fool Enough to Believe Negro Should Prefer to Fight Alone When He Could Have Allies.

By CYRIL V. BRIGGS

1357

UNDER the heading of "THE RACE PROBLEM," the program of newly organized "Workers Party of America" has the following commendable plank on the Negro:

"The Negro Workers in America are exploited and oppressed more ruthlessly than any other group. The history of the Southern Negro is the history of a brutal terror of persecution, rape and murder. The formal abolition of slavery made it possible for the northern capitalists to penetrate the south and to bring cheap Negro labor north. This was, however, detrimental to the interests of southern capitalists, and they have sought by every means to maintain the enslavement of the Negro. It is in order to subjugate him and break his spirit that secret murder societies such as the Ku Klux Klan have been established.

"Because of the anti-Negro policies of organized labor the Negro has despaired of aid from that source, and has either been driven into the camp of labor's enemies, or been compelled to develop purely racial organizations which seek purely racial aims. The Workers Party will support the Negroes in their struggle for liberation, and will help them in their fight for economic, political and social equality. It will point out to them that the interests of the Negro workers are identical with those of the white. It will seek to end the policy of discrimination followed by organized labor. Its task will be to destroy altogether the barrier of race prejudice that has been used to keep apart the black and white workers, and weld them into a solid union of revolutionary forces for the overthrow of their common enemy."

The fact that the A. B. B. saw fit to send fraternal delegates to the convention at which the new party was organized appears to have seriously affected the nervous system of Marcus Garvey, who, believing that at last he had "something on the A. B. B.," sent out a heated college yell of a news release, claiming that the A. B. B. was "unearthed and shown up in its true light"—as "colored radicals" and Bolsheviks.

In pursuance of its policies of encouraging and utilizing all divisions within the white race and of uniting against our oppressors all elements of the discontented of their own and other races, the African Blood Brotherhood sent fraternal delegates to said convention. Sure, we sent delegates! And what of it?

It is not worth while to have the support of a party which embodies the very essence of the Negro Liberation Struggle in its program and which has eleven daily newspapers in the various foreign languages spoken in this country, twenty-eight weeklies and a chain of monthlies? A party with a membership of over 50,000 in the United States, among them the pick of the white workers, and having powerful international connections? A party that possesses several million dollars worth of property in printing plants, buildings, etc., etc., and having fraternal organizations in affiliation which count a membership of over 200,000? Is the support of such an organization to be sneezed at? Or, should we rather seek, per Garvey's idiotic plan, the support of kings and governments that have been for centuries engaged in the domination, rape and slaughter of the Negro race? Which is the more intelligent plan? A fruitful alliance with those

whose interests are identical with ours or a barren alliance with those whose interests lie in our exploitation and oppression and are, therefore, diametrically opposed to our interests? Surely, only prostitutes who were out to milk the Negro financially and who, therefore, have no thought of doing real effective liberation work could make the servile suggestion that the Negro subordinate his interests to the interests of his proven enemies. Only a Garvey could sink so low as to lick the boots of the traditional enemies and enslavers of the Negro race by sending telegrams to the crowned heads of Europe, and otherwise fawning upon them, for recognition of his "leadership."

Marcus Garvey, upon learning that the A. B. B. sent fraternal delegates to the convention of the Workers Party of America, did his best to capitalize the anti-radical sentiment of the white press and set the "best" white people about our ears. How well he succeeded can be learned by the fact that the papers, with one exception, ignored his "red" release against the A. B. B., and that exception, The New York Evening Globe, gave him a sort of publicity he did not court. Said the Globe in its issue of December 29, 1921:

BLACKS TURN RED

**Universal Negro Improvement Association
Prints Bolshevik College Cheer Scoring
Blood Brotherhood.**

The Universal Negro Improvement Association, which runs a steamship line with a crap-shooting captain, who keeps the line tied to the dock and which plans some day to make Africa all black under the rule of a black emperor, the same to be the Honorable Marcus Garvey, D. S. O. E., president general of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, well, this same association issued a pronouncement today attacking the African Blood Brotherhood as "Negro radicals."

The African Blood Brotherhood, says the pronouncement, sent delegates to the Communist convention at Labor Temple Sunday, thus "being unearthed and shown up in its true light." The statement bears this at its head:

Bolsheviki, Bolsheviki, Bolsheviki. Bang!
We belong to the international gang.
Are we Bolsheviki? We should smile.
We're for revolution all the while

And that, comments the college cheer-leader obviously employed by the Universal Negro Improvement Association as press agent, was the keynote of the Communist convention and of the "colored radicals" attending. (New York Globe, Dec. 29, 1921.)

THE REASON

The conference is quite ill at ease
In regards to their friends, the Chinese.
There's no country finer
To exploit than China—
The Japs must not get all the cheese.

—Rassferiefo.

ALLIANCES

(Excerpt from A. B. B. Program)

There can be only one sort of alliance with other peoples and that is an alliance to fight our enemies, in which case our allies must have the same purpose as we have. Our allies may be actual or potential, just as our enemies may be actual or potential. The small oppressed nations who are struggling against the capitalist exploiters and oppressors must be considered as actual allies. The class-conscious white workers who have spoken out in favor of African liberation and have shown a willingness to back with action their expressed sentiments must also be considered as actual allies and their friendship further cultivated. The non-class conscious white workers who have not yet realized that all workers, regardless of race or color, have a common interest, must be considered as only potential allies at present and everything possible done to awaken their class-consciousness toward the end of obtaining their co-operation in our struggle. The revolutionary element which is undermining the imperialist powers that oppress us must be given every encouragement by Negroes who really seek liberation. This element is led and represented by the Third Internationale which has its sections in all countries. We should immediately establish contact with the Third Internationale and its millions of followers in all countries of the world. To pledge loyalty to the flags of our murderers and oppressors, to speak about alliances with the servants and representatives of our enemies, to prate about first hearing our proven enemies before endorsing our proven friends is nothing less than cowardice and the blackest treason to the Negro race and our sacred cause of liberation.

(Complete copies of the A. B. B. Program may be obtained by remitting fifteen cents in stamps to headquarters.)

DISARMAMENT

O, Gentlemen! why not disarm
The hordes who daily do us harm,
Who ply their trade, relentlessly
On suffering Humanity?

Disarm the bed-bug,
Disarm the flea,
Disarm the mosquito,
The cootie and bee.
Disarm the barbers of their tongues
And back-yard songsters of their lungs.

But while there's money to be got
By sending folks off to be shot;
Just keep your side-arms at your hips
And hold on to those battleships.
For, my last pair of socks, I'll bet
That we are booked for more wars yet.

—Andrea Razafkeriefo.

London, Sept. 9—Serious rioting by the unemployed in many parts of the country, the worst being in Sunderland and Dundee, indicates the gravity of the unemployment problem here.

When the Day Breaks

Brilliant Young Negro Poet Sees Dawn of Day of Liberation, as Effective Movement Gets Under Way.

By BEN E. BURRELL

THROUGH the still watches of the night, the cry of Ethiopia goes forth into the cars of the Unknown, a cry of hope, the cry of an embattled people, whose citadel of defense is holding out waiting for re-enforcements that they can see only through the eye of faith.

It is for the children of Ethiopia born from her within the regions of the Occident to form that army of re-enforcements that the Motherland awaits. We cannot be deaf to Ethiopia's appeal, and the army we need is the army of intelligence.

We cannot forget the horrors of the Middle Passage, the rending of home and the ties of kinship, the tears of mothers robbed of their off-spring and the breaking up of ancient civilizations. We cannot forget the horrors of the slave markets of the South, the poisoning of the race with the white man's diseases, his propaganda and his hates. It is the eternal spirit of the race alone that protected it against destruction.

Why the cry for the liberation of Africa? Because in the word Africa there is something that appeals, something that endears. Something that conquers over and beyond the clash of armies, or the glitter of spears. Any man who ever set foot on the soil of Africa feels an urge to return, and they often return to die upon her bosom. We cannot afford to still the inward urge of Africa, we that are her children. To her we must turn for inspiration, for spiritual upliftment, for the poetic sweetness of romance. It is Africa that gave the world the best in science, religion and art, and can Africa be so decayed and dead today as to forbid a resurrection? No!

Let us again speak of her history as one above that of any other race. Let us again read her precepts, and accept them for moral guidance. Let us read the riddle of the Sphinx. In silence has Ethiopia wrought, in silence shall Ethiopia be resurrected!

Her kings have been kings, her kings shall be kings. For, when the kings of all other human races kept themselves apart from their people and became symbols of oppression, it was the Ethiopian king who lived among his people, defended them against all enemies and preserved their laws. They chose no palace of marble as their hall of Justice; but sitting under the spreading leaves of any tree held palaver, and decided public issues on the moral code of Right and Wrong. They were the immortal expression of all that is high and noble in kingdom. And when the histories of Hausa and Songhay shall be re-written, they will cause the kingly glory of Arthur, and the knightly spirit of Roland of the Roncevalles to pale into utter insignificance.

Two thousand years ago, Rome was proud to acknowledge the equality of the darker tribes of Northern Africa, when they gave to the proud Masinissa the curule chair sent by the Senate and people of Rome as an expression of kingship and admiration. And our

modern world cannot forget Menelik, the savior of Abyssinia. Nor can we of African blood forget the passes of Adowa.

Ethiopia has been asleep. It is for us to give to her the kiss of life, the awakening kiss. No swash-buckling hero can do it, nor can it be done by any fool walking up and down in shining armor. For, this is an age of knowledge. Let us give of our best to Ethiopia, the keys of Science, all-embracing Science, engineering in every branch, chemistry in all that the name implies, and Ethiopia will awake.

There is no time for the efforts of missionaries, with Book in hand. It awaits the new missionary, with the new purpose. The cry has gone out over every hill and valley, from sea to sea. It is for us to eternally dedicate ourselves to this new spirit to lead the way, by every possible phase of action, pen and voice, platform and press. As the New Year dawns let the dream of a free Africa predominate; let it become a holy watch-word: "THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA!"

Then from the dawn it seemed there came,
but faint

As from beyond the limit of the world,
Like the last echo born of a great cry,
Sounds, as if some fair city were one voice
Around a king returning from his wars.

1359

"SHUFFLE ALONG"

(A rhymed review)

Dusky maidens, snappy and cuteiful,
All in costumes, gorgeously beautiful;
Dances, abundantly flavored with novelty,
Heart-gripping, side-ripping, clean, wholesome
comedy.

Voices, melodious, characteristic
In Negro-sweetness, soulful and mystic.
Songs that will capture you, haunt and enrapture you,

Scenes that will please your eyes,
Each one a real surprise.

MILLER and LYLE, SISSLE and BLAKE
What a wonderful quartette these clever boys
make!

They didn't go wrong when they created—

"SHUFFLE ALONG."

—*Andrea Rasafkeriefo.*

IF AND IS

If snow was only sugar
And rain was only wine;
We'd pray for stormy weather
And hate the sun to shine.

But snow is snow—not sugar;
And rain is rain—not wine;
And that's why stormy weather
Makes us complain and whine.

—*Rasafkeriefo.*

What I Know About Liberia

Former U. N. I. A. Resident Secretary to Liberia Says Liberians Object to Being Exposed to Intrigues and Machinations of Garvey—Fear Disastrous Reaction Among European Powers.

By

CYRIL A. CRICHLAW

(Continued from last issue)

III

AS hitherto indicated, there is a very live and growing fear in the minds of Liberian Government officials as well as the public generally that the Universal Negro Improvement Association has a program, however distinguished and disguised, which threatens their political hegemony and integrity and means the subversion of their political institutions and national life. This menace is conceived from two general standpoints—one internal and the other external:

(1) What the association itself may do to Liberia if permitted a more or less free hand in the domestic affairs of the Republic; and

(2) That, as the President himself has stated, the "territory" of Liberia may "be made a center of aggression or conspiracy against other sovereign states."

Even "The Potentate" Suspicious

Gabriel Johnson, as he has told me frankly on more than one occasion, is himself highly suspicious of these ends, and as a loyal but shrewd Liberian, as we have seen, took immediate steps to incorporate the association in Liberia in his own and other Liberians' names, thus shutting off in the premises any possible attempt at exotic (foreign) interference with the policies or politics of the Republic.

Thus the association may conduct any legitimate business enterprises within the State, but it may do so only through Liberian citizens; and no "acts or things" may be done that are "repugnant to the constitution or laws of the Republic."

President King's Polite Warning

As a further offset, we have the President's pronouncement, already quoted, in the June, 1921, issue of the "Crisis," to the effect that Liberia "has never considered the surrender of its sovereignty to any nation or organization"; as well as the warning in an official communication from the Secretary of State that as a sine qua non "to the effect that 'the government would afford the association every facility legally possible in effectuating in Liberia its industrial, agricultural and business projects,'" 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" would be welcome.

A further precaution that would reduce the possibility of pernicious activity on the part of the association as against Liberia herself and "other sovereign states" to the vanishing point, is to be seen in the recent attempt of the government to enact a law increasing the period in which foreigners may become naturalized citizens. At the present time, this period

is indefinite: naturalization can be completed in less than a week, and I know of an instance in which it was completed in two days. It is now proposed by act of Legislature to increase the time to five years or more; but as the association, the vaporings of the "Negro World" to the contrary notwithstanding, is doing next to nothing in the furtherance of its Liberian construction and African redemption program, the plans of the government are resting in abeyance pending developments.

IV

Object to Being Centre of Intrigues

One very definite message I have brought from reputable Liberians to American Negroes, and that is their objection to being exposed as a Negro Republic already in being to the intrigues and machinations of Marcus Garvey, self-styled Provisional President of Africa.

They do not see why, since his program is confessedly against the white governments in Africa, he does not go into their territories and restore to the race the authority which he asserts they have falsely and unjustly usurped?

Why, they ask, should he want to usurp the governmental functions and prerogatives of his fellow Negroes in Liberia?

Why does he leave the white governments alone and seek to take over theirs?

Why does he attempt to take advantage of a Negro republic already recognized and functioning as a stable government?

Appeal to American Negroes

Liberians want to know why Americans who helped to found their republic through the instrumentality of the American Colonization Society are standing by supinely, voicelessly, apparently countenancing this wilful, flagrant aggression and conspiracy against their territory?

I am simply the bearer of a message: American Negroes will have to give their answer to Liberia direct through the press and otherwise.

V

Africans Protest Arrogance of Garvey

Africans generally—Liberians particularly—are up in arms over the astounding arrogance and crass pretensions of any man setting himself up as Provisional President of Africa. As an idea, it may be all right, they say; but as a plan, it is ludicrous, a joke, a grave mistake, a misconception of values, contemptuous and impractical. Africans, they say, have given no one man any authority to speak or act for them, nor indeed could they to one knowing so little about them, their customs, their manner of life, their native habitat, as Marcus Garvey.

Thus there is a widespread feeling among intelligent Africans that the pernicious manner—not so much the matter, but that, too, to some extent—of the propaganda of the Universal

Negro Improvement Association has been, in some cases, a detriment; in others, a positive hindrance; and, in various directions, has affected their interests and aspirations adversely. Western Negroes, they feel, should know that Africans must be permitted to work out their own salvation, and that they can best be helped in their efforts if Western Negroes for the most part will "stay put" just where they are and gain all the recognition and respect and rights they can from the white races. What must be their thoughts now that they have no doubt learned that Marcus Garvey has capitulated to the enemy of our peace and progress, and does not any longer believe in racial equality without qualification or reservation?

Want New World Negroes, But not as Masters

They reason that as it is unthinkable that Africans can come to America en masse and usurp the prerogatives of American Negroes, so it is equally unthinkable that Americans or West Indians can come to Africa in large, miscellaneous numbers and usurp the prerogatives of the native inhabitants.

West Indians, they suggest, should not forget that at best they have made a very unsavory record in Africa, being in the past the tools of the British capitalistic and military interests to despoil them of their rights, their liberties, their lands and their lives. They are glad, however, that there has been an awakening on the part of West Indians which is now manifest in their newly found sense of responsibility towards Africa; but in the very nature of things, West Indians—and for that matter Americans—cannot now expect to force matters: they are bound to meet serious opposition if they do.

The African is unhurried by nature. If you approach him in the biggest sort of hurry with a proposition demanding instant decision, his invariable reply is: "Ah go look in me head," or "Ah go sleep on it." Which means that he is going to take his own good time thinking and reflecting about that matter and that he must see the end from the beginning before he can satisfy you with an answer.

To be sure, West Indians can do better where they are (that is to say, in the West Indies) towards advancing the common cause of racial freedom and equality; and, by the same token, if American Negroes will do likewise in America, what power or powers on earth could long delay Africa from moving forward to her glorious destiny, being guided thereto by the genius of her own civilization and the universal, co-ordinated strivings and good will of Negroes the world over?

VI

*"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen
And waste its sweetness on the desert air;
Fools many and mutts on Black Star Line serene
The dark unfathomed cave of ocean soon will
bear."*

—With apologies to Gray.

In the current issues of the "Negro World" is appearing the advertisement: "Applications Wanted Immediately for Foreign Service in the Universal Negro Improvement Association: TWO EDUCATED NEGRO MEN WANTED TO REPRESENT THE NEGRO RACE IN PARIS AND LONDON AS HIGH COMMISSIONERS, etc., etc." Since we have no

way of judging of the future except by the past, I shall publish in this section three self-explanatory letters written by me from Monrovia which will serve to establish the policies and show the practices of the U. N. I. A. with respect to its foreign service agents and representatives, which is, to wit: "Out of sight, out of mind." I may add that, if further substantiation than what these letters may indicate is necessary, it will be abundantly forthcoming in a later instalment.

Fools Many and Mutts Galore

I want to show from irrefutable experience and knowledge that fools many and mutts galore are still encumbering the earth's surface and that a goodly share of them belong to the Negro race. However, I realize, no matter what is established and shown, now or later, that the suckers will still suck and be delighted at the job; but I take consolation in the fact that "God's in his heaven, all's right with the world." May the good Lord help the successful applicants to the above-indicated advertisement if, after they arrive in Paris and London, they even get a single official letter from headquarters saying "Howdy-do?"; let alone any salary.

A Letter to Smith

"COMMISSARIAT
UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT
ASSOCIATION

1361

"Monrovia, May 31, 1921.

"Hon. Wilford H. Smith,
Counsel General, U. N. I. A.,
56 West 135th St.,
New York, N. Y., U. S. A.

"My dear General:

"I wish to thank you for your kind favor dated April 1, which came to hand recently. With reference to the case, I trust that by this Mr. Garvey has returned and the suit begun. The matter is too important, from my point of view, to be dropped. Since the communication to which you referred that I forwarded from Cadiz, I have sent from here supporting affidavit signed by five of the party, which I trust has been duly received and placed in your hands.

Articles on Liberia Suppressed

"Concerning your request to write you full particulars about the country and the habits and customs of the people from time to time, I wish to advise that I have sent for publication in the 'Negro World,' through the President General's office, several contributions covering those subjects. I deeply regret that none of the articles that I have forwarded from Cadiz has so far appeared in the 'Negro World,' in view of the fact that the latest issue to hand is April 23. However, as the President General gave me to understand that my presence at the convention will be requisite, and as therefore I am planning on leaving here sometime toward the end of the next month, or very early in July, I shall beg leave of you to hold what information I should like to convey to you until my return—if you please!

"We are greatly disturbed on this end as to the attitude of the association and the Council towards us since departure from New York.

No official word has come to our hands from that time to this—nothing to hearten or inspire us. As a result, things are surely going to pieces here; there is no money, and work has ceased altogether. There are the wildest rumors in circulation here among the citizens of the Republic that we can't stop, to the effect that Mr. Garvey cannot return to the United States, and such like. The men have received pay only up to the 15th of April, and cannot meet their obligations for board and lodging, which is bringing discredit upon the association. They landed here practically broke and without the most of their official and personal property; they have received news to the effect that money was wired to Cadiz for their benefit following the report of their severe losses; such money was never received at any time. They have been informed that a big collection was taken up at Liberty Hall for their benefit in which practically everybody contributed, and yet not one cent of same has been transmitted to them.

U. N. I. A. Broke Faith

"The upshot of it all is, that the association is not keeping faith with us, and in the face of jeers and scoffs and ridicule, with failure to meet their just obligations, they are—or rather the association is—becoming the laughing-stock of the community. I thought I would let you know these facts so you would be guided in any action looking towards relief that you might feel prompted to take in the premises. I guess you are aware, under the distressing circumstances that have developed, that the association has broken its contracts entered into and between itself and the men; so you will not be surprised to learn that any or all of them have decided to withdraw, enter into other fields of endeavor more promising, or else return to the States and spread the disheartening news. We have sent several cables from here recently; nobody has the courtesy to answer any of them. We are non-plussed, and the feeling is that we have been abandoned and deserted. The only relief that the Council can afford at this time is to pay them in full, and in addition, being animated by a conscientious regard for the proprieties, give each and all of the men a substantial amount of money whereby each and all can recuperate themselves and make a decent and respectable showing before the community. Anything less than this will not begin to touch the situation; and the association will be but playing with its honor, which will be a very dangerous thing to the success of its operations in Liberia.

"Much more could I add at this juncture, but I shall not say more now. I have the greatest faith in you and trust you will insist on the fullest justice being done in the premises. Thank you for what you have written me concerning Mrs. Crichlow and the cable she received from me upon my arrival here.

"With best wishes, I remain,

"Very respectfully and sincerely,

"(Signed) C. A. CRICHLow."

"P. S.—Your letter and one from Dr. McGuire, I regard of course as being of a personal nature. So that, officially, my statement above is true. We haven't received a word or even a scratch from the association at New York.

"(Signed) C. A. C."

A Letter to Garcia

"COMMISSARIAT UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

Monrovia, June 5, 1921.

"Hon. Elie Garcia,
56 West 135th St.,
New York, N. Y., U. S. A.

"My dear Garcia:

"I am writing you this personal note through Dr. McGuire, taking advantage of the fact that I am able to get a letter through to him on an American steamer leaving here direct for New York, expected to arrive there in 16 days.

"First, I want to say things are going pretty bad here. I shall not, however, enter into details as I am expecting to arrive in New York sometime next month. In fact, when you get this I will very probably be on my way.

Says Liberians Open Everybody's Letters

"We have not been able to send you definite advices heretofore due to the fact, as you must have realized or heard when you yourself were here, that the Postal authorities here open the mails of foreigners in order to find out whether they are saying anything about Liberia—that is, against it. And, of course, the cables are too open, even in code, that is, the A B C Code, to transmit any news of importance. The only solution for this difficulty of course would be a private code. The cables pass through Sierra Leone, so the English keep track of everything we send and receive pretty well; so likewise, the sending company being French, they too are keeping track of everything we send and receive. One gentleman from Sierra Leone was here recently and told us they were 'hep' to everything we are saying and getting. So that means we are in a helluva fix.

"We are getting the most disquieting news here in regard to the association, that it is going down, that it cannot make ends meet, that Mr. Garvey is shut out of the United States, and such other rumors. We have no means of counteracting the same. In fact, sorry to state, since we have left New York up to the time of this writing we have not received a single line from headquarters—nothing official; so we don't know whether our own organization is with us or not. When we hear reports, we are unable to affirm or deny.

U. N. I. A. Discredited in Liberia

"The men are not receiving their pay; consequently they cannot meet their just obligations. The upshot is that the association is discrediting itself. What, say the people, if the association cannot even pay its one or two men, how in the world can they ever put through their grandiose program. Which not being able to answer in the only practical and satisfactory way, results in ridicule and jeers. It were far better for the men to go away, to leave Liberia, than to stay here and unwittingly, through no fault of theirs, do anything that could bring discredit upon the association. In fact, the men have a feeling that they have been abandoned and deserted; which if not so, certainly looks that way. They are disgruntled and grumbling—that they cannot help, being human; and so far as their contracts are concerned, they realize that the association has

violated the same, and they are talking of getting back to the States the best way they can.

"What has added to the precariousness of the situation, is that the men have received letters from friends and relatives stating that a large collection was taken up at Liberty Hall for their benefit, upon the announcement of the news of the damages and losses suffered from the storm, and also from some that Stewart said he had cabled this amount of money to us at Cadiz. This, of course, is not true; and landing here as they did, penniless and naked, so to speak, such reports leave nothing but a bad taste in the mouth. And in addition, not getting any support as to salary since arriving here, matters are getting worse and more and more complicated.

"Another thing, there is no money to carry on the work. The men are idle, doing nothing. Jemmott has had to lay off his men; Henry is getting ready to lay off the men on the farm; everything is quiet for lack of funds.

Big Salaries Repelled Liberian Masses

"The citizens here are not altogether satisfied with the Potentate and are grumbling about the big salary he is getting. They say he is doing nothing for it. The truth is, he is devoting more time to his own private interests than he is to the association's. Mr. Marke is gone into the newspaper business; he is editing the 'Liberian Patriot'; he is the real editor of the paper, anybody else's name appearing on same to the contrary, notwithstanding. Everybody, especially the big men, are more interested in everything else except the interests of the association. The Potentate wants to take advantage of the convention to attend to his own personal business; what in the devil do you want to send him traveling expenses for?

"I am writing you this confidentially, for Mr. Garvey told me to make confidential reports that he assured me would not be treated otherwise than in confidence. Not knowing whether he is in New York or not, as his representative there, I am writing you just what I would write him. I wish I could have written plainer before, but you understand it would not have been safe to do so. You have been to Liberia and I know you understand these Liberians well.

"I am getting back to New York the best way I can; if you don't send money for me, I am coming anyway. I think you should learn first-hand what we have learned here.

Call Association "Damn Liars"

"The 'Independent' article and the controversy with Bishop Smith in the 'New York Age,' have all reached out here. The people say the association are all damn liars if they say fifteen men were sent out here on the Black Star Line. They know only six men are here. I am telling you what they are saying, and they are saying the truth. For God's sake, if such things are going on, how are we going to stop it unless you people keep us posted.

"I have not much more to add at this writing. Will see you soon. Trust you are well. Best regards to everybody.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) C. A. CRICHLAW.

Those Technical Experts

On February 3, 1921, G. O. Marke, Supreme Deputy; Mr. J. F. Laurence, druggist, three other men and myself sailed for Liberia via Spain. We have frequently been referred to in the "Negro World" as "six technical experts." For myself, I wish to deny the soft impeachment. Mr. Laurence is, of course, a real technical expert in his line. Mr. Marke was trained in the English schools and the University of Edinburgh, is quite a literary man, but I would not think of calling him a technical expert. The other three men are simply a surveyor, a farmer and a carpenter, and for propaganda purposes can properly be dubbed "technical experts."

A Plea for Those Still Over There

The intention here is to call the attention of the friends of these men, not including Mr. Marke who is already at home, to the fact that they are practically stranded in Liberia; that their contract term of service for one year will have ended on February 3, 1922, and that they will want to come home as they are thoroughly dissatisfied with their treatment.

Their contracts state that "the Council has settled upon your appointment for one calendar year, dating from the day of your embarkation. You are given the option of a renewal of the contract if circumstances in connection with your work warrant same," and "your passage will be provided for to and fro."

Anticipating that these men, as in my own case, may have difficulty in securing their passage money, I appeal to their friends to take the necessary steps in the premises to see that they are not completely abandoned, and that one of them at least who has a wife and child (the others are single) be brought back to his family whom he is anxious to see once again.

"S. O. S!"

VII

Now, It Can't All Be Told—Yet

I stated at the outset that the time is not yet ripe to tell the whole truth about Liberia. In keeping with this statement I shall attempt in this chapter only a brief and partial outline chiefly covering those conditions that bear especially upon the activities of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the question of a large influx of immigrants into the country.

To do this best, I am going to quote at some length from a letter that was entrusted to me for delivery to Mr. O. M. Thompson, vice-president and business manager of the Black Star Line. The writer furnished me with a copy of same for discretionary uses and I therefore admit of no abuse of confidence in quoting from it.

A Suppressed Letter

A very remarkable circumstance in connection with this letter is that Mr. Thompson will very probably be reading it here for the first time for the following reason. It was not possible for me to get immediately in touch with him upon my arrival owing to my illness with the African fever which soon brought about my confinement to a hospital bed. Being compelled to see Mr. Marcus Garvey to render certain reports, the letter was handed to him on the night of September 12, the very day I

arrived, for delivery to Mr. Thompson; which, however, on reliable information, said Marcus Garvey failed to do. Anybody is welcome to draw his own conclusions, after reading the letter, for his failure to do so.

With certain elisions, the letter follows:

LETTER TO THOMPSON

"Mr. O. M. Thompson,
56 West 135th St.,
New York City, U. S. A.

"Dear Friend Thompson:

"Knowing your intense interest and connection with U. N. I. A. affairs and its vital connection with the Republic of Liberia, I am taking advantage of this opportunity and confidence in our friend Crichlow whom I have entrusted with this to write you at length confidentially touching upon the conditions obtaining here.

"Strange as it may seem, one dares not send through the regular mail letters of comment or criticism which in the minds of the Liberian born would be other than complimentary. I have not really conclusively verified this charge, but it is currently and persistently stated by old residents that letters of foreigners—Negroes from elsewhere are classed in manner as whites just the same—especially of newcomers, are subjected to a sort of censorship. That is, letters mailed and awaiting the mail steamer are opened and perused by some postal clerk at leisure, any adverse criticism would be revealed, and the author of the same would be spotted as a 'marked mau.' One such instance has been cited to me.

"So, taking it for what it is worth, one is bound to be careful, nevertheless, and not risk exposure by criticising. Hence, the true condition of affairs existing here is usually obscured, for none but the good side is played up to those abroad. You see my reasons for making above observations, don't you?

Substantiating Crichlow's Report

"It has long been my desire to write you as I am now doing; but until now I had no opportunity to send the same. So at the outset I must say that by substantiating in greater part what may be Crichlow's final report, it is rather a co-incidence. However, it is a happy one; for I am glad that by so doing I am able to render him some service in the defense of his conduct and the conscientious discharge of his trust.

"I have already told you that by reason of my previous experiences, aversion to exaggeration, propaganda and superficial bias, I would not say anything re conditions here until I had allowed impressions to soak in.

"Before going further, I want to say that I am well aware of the principles and objects of the U. N. I. A., to which I have given and you are still giving conscientious service. I must frankly say that the difficulties met already and still to be reckoned with are largely due to three principal causes, viz.:

"(1) Open and glaring propaganda—too blatant a disclosure of our ultimate aims.

"(2) Launching of too many large schemes and plans in rapid succession—the U. N. I. A., A. C. L., Black Star Line, Convention Plans, Negro Factories Corporation, Liberia Loan, and other minor appeals for money.

"(3) The burden of a ponderous official salary

list. Whether these salaries be paid in full or not, I have noticed that the moral effect has been adverse to the continued support of old members, and the proper bearing of some officials.

"Criticism No. 1 is commonly expressed here. IT IS THE CHIEF CAUSE OF OFFICIAL OPPOSITION.

Those Huge Salaries!

"Re No. 3, they also argue that it cannot be seen why the Potentate should draw such a large salary—larger than that of the President of the Republic.

"It is quite apparent in the face of these things that there must be some vital change in policy and plans in order that we may achieve the success wished for; and so I hope that these criticisms will be taken in confidence and referred to fit parties only.

"Touching the work of the U. N. I. A., I regret to observe the state of painful inactivity into which the pioneers are apparently forced. Their growing reserve and quiet discontent—not spoken, but can be seen nevertheless—the apathy and waning interest of the Liberians, are plainly evidenced. Indeed, there has been set up a current of opposition which is gaining rather than diminishing.

"It is a glaring error to neglect the needs and just dues of those whom you have appointed and sent out to carry on your plans.

Abandonment Policy Not New

"Don't imagine that any information has been furnished me beyond what my present status warrants; but one with past and even present connections such as I have, must surely know. I vividly recall my own experiences upon the voyages of the 'Yarmouth' and sojourn in Panama. But for my ready sales of stock to liquidate debts, we would have met disaster on more than one occasion.

"Here there is neither enthusiasm nor the money to raise by the sale of stocks; hence, you see how badly is the position of your workers here when urgent requests they would send go unheeded. Lack of support breeds indifference, discontent and final disruption.

"Notwithstanding all you might hear to the contrary, such as the abundance of fish, fruits and vegetables, the existence of large tracts of fertile land, mineral deposits and the little need of and ease in procuring shelter, living conditions are indeed irksome and for a very long while must be so to the Negroes of the Western Hemisphere into whose system for at least four generations has been bred an attachment more or less to Western ideas and ideals.

A Conflict of Ideas

"One sad discovery I find—and I mean as far as the ability to adjust oneself to present conditions is concerned—and that is, Africa is more Oriental than Occidental. Immediately on one's coming here, there is set up in the mind a conflict of ideas: What we should or should not adopt is always a source of great concern. Inasmuch as the newcomer to Europe is gripped by the influence of Europe, to America by the influence of America, to Asia by the Asiatic influence, so too in Africa he slowly and surely is gripped by the influence of Africa.

"The food of the African aborigines is invariably rice, cassava, palm-oil—and fish when

obtainable. Meats are obtained only as the result of a hunt or discovery in the bush. Owing to its precarious supply, every form of meat is then readily relished. So, besides what we would consider fit—that is, beef, mutton, pork, venison and poultry—such things as snakes, monkeys, leopards, dogs, rats, snails, worms and insects are eaten.

"The clothes of the African vary from the graceful flowing robes of the Mohammedan to a mere rag around the loins and on down to absolute nothing.

"Their shelter is either beautifully plastered round mud huts or mere palm thatches.

African Customs

"The special customs of the African are in the main based on strict observance of the laws of the chiefs who see to the carrying out of all rites, ceremonies, plays, agreements, etc., etc.; and the inescapable 'palaver' or councils where cases are heard and penalties imposed. Peonage is both an inflicted penalty and a self-imposed method of buying wives or paying debts. Polygamy is an institution and cannibalism really obtains in remote places. . . . I merely enumerate these in order to point out where the conflict of ideas must and do obtain. Hence, our inability to fall in in toto with such tastes as above must be contrary to what is distinctly African; and what we should introduce must be Western or European.

"The Liberian as an off-shoot of the Westernized American in this conflict of ideas strives to maintain himself in a class separate and distinct; but he either draws entirely from his brother native in sympathy or, given time, reverts to his ways. By this you will readily see why so much is reported to obtain in Liberia. All is true. Everything African and everything European and Western is to be found; and according to our estimate of fitness is the feeling as to how irksome conditions are.

Liberians Jealous of Control

"You will not be surprised when you imagine a mere handful of party Westernized Negroes as compared with the millions of aboriginal in-

habitants seeking to establish a government with all the virtues and defects of European and African ideals to contend with. Power is largely vested in political bodies; hence, this minority of affairs, yet wishing for and inviting aid from abroad. Therein lies a snag to the plans of the U. N. I. A.

"You are welcome," they say, "but your numbers, your influence and combined power should not be sufficient to supplant our political preferments; i. e., the presidency, the secretaryships of state and other departments, consulships abroad, customs service, etc. You must adopt our ways, be scattered amongst us, not combined, be not over-zealous about the welfare of the aborigines—US FIRST! And do not place us at odds with the white governments from whom we expect favors."

"The traps and pitfalls laid for the foreigner are numerous. The slightest error in contravention of the law on the part of the foreigner meets with the infliction of a heavy fine. Bishop Clair, of the M. E. Church, has been the latest victim; he was fined for landing without the examination of his effects, although coming from another part of the country and not from abroad. Revenue is needed, you know, and rich foreigners are considered a prey. (Smiles.)

U. N. I. A. Program Not Popular

"The whole future of this Republic and operations therein hinge upon the result of the present loan negotiations. But as I see now, the chances of the U. N. I. A. succeeding in its program are becoming more and more remote—let us hope that something will intervene to off-set this adverse tide.

"The Potentate as you already know is an ultra-conservative. He has allied himself with the U. N. I. A., it is true, and so honored; but, remember, he is a Liberian official first, and in very close touch with his associates in office, many of whom are his near relatives, and—I hate to be so critical—would foster the work of the U. N. I. A. only so far as it will lend itself to the will of this coterie of Liberians.

(To be continued.)

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A Simple Statement in Three Parts

Including Some Most Illuminative Documents as to Garvey's Intrigues Against Liberia, and Liberian Opposition to Garveyism

By CYRIL A. CRICHLAW

*"Truth crushed to earth will rise again,
The eternal years of God's are hers:
But Error wounded writhes with pain
And dies amid her worshippers."*

**"BE HONEST
BE TRUTHFUL . . ."**

(Signed) Marcus Garvey.
—Ad. in "Negro World."

PART I

"No One Will Want to Employ Him Except Marcus Garvey"

Universal Building
56 West 135th St.,

New York, U. S. A., September 19, 1921.

Mr. C. A. Crichtlow,
New York.

Dear Mr. Crichtlow:

Your letter of even date has reached my

hands. As I told you, I have not gone through the matter of your account because the record of your transactions in Liberia has not yet reached me in a complete form for me to dispose of your claim. You stated to me that you were not paid since June; if that is so, and if your employment was continuous from that time, I can hardly see how we could be indebted to you in the sum of \$1,337.99 (one thousand three hundred and thirty-seven dollars and ninety-nine cents) to cover that period, in that your salary would not warrant such an amount.

I am sorry that you are sick and cannot come out to the office to take up the work I mentioned to you. Until the matter is sufficiently straightened, I could not pay you any large amount without first finding out the accuracy of your account. I am really sorry to learn of

your ill-health and the conditions surrounding it. You will find herein enclosed, however, \$100 (one hundred dollars) which I promised you on your account. I wish you a speedy recovery, and hope you will be able to take up the position suggested until matters are satisfactorily straightened.

With very best wishes,

Yours truly,

(Signed) MARCUS GARVEY,
President General.

PART II.

The Truth About Liberia Corroborated

It will be recalled that in April, 1920, Mr. Elie Garcia, now auditor general of the U. N. I. A., was sent as a special commissioner to negotiate matters of pertinent interest to the organization and bring back a true and faithful report of all that he saw and heard. Upon his return, he made a report in two parts to the President General, the second part of which he marked "Personal," adding: "For the sake of truth, it is necessary to me to make some statements very unfavorable to the Liberians; but I am one of those who believe that the wounds have to be unwrapped in order to be cured. I also believe that it is necessary for the U. N. I. A. to know the people with whom they are to deal."

Mr. Garcia stated a little clearer and a little stronger what he knew about Liberia than the clumsier effort I made in the December Crusader to tell "what I know about Liberia," and began his report thusly:

"Liberia, although a very rich country in natural resources, is the poorest place on the face of the earth and the people are actually facing starvation.

"This condition is due to many facts. First, the strong repulsion of the Liberians to any kind of work. There is no cultivated land in the Republic and rice which is the national food is imported from England and other places and sold at a fabulous price, although it can be produced in numerous quantities there. Class distinction: this question is also a great hindrance to the development of Liberia. There are at this present time two classes of people, the Americo-Liberians, also called 'Sons of the Soil,' and the natives. The first class, although the educated one, constitutes the most despicable element in Liberia.

"Because of their very education, they are conceited and believe that the only honorable way for them to make a living is by having a 'government job.' The men of this class hav-

ing been most of them educated in England or other European places, are used to a life which the salaries paid by the government do not suffice to maintain. Therefore, dishonesty is prevalent. To any man who can write and read, there is but one goal, a government office, where he can graft.

"For the same reason, they are absolutely hostile to 'immigration' of American or West Indian Negroes; that is, if said Negroes show any tendency to take part in the political life of the Republic. This fact is of great importance.

"To conclude, the Liberians are opposed to any element which may be instrumental in bringing to an end their political tyranny, their habits of graft and . . ."

Under the heading "Immigration by Negroes," Mr. Garcia pointed out: "Starving Liberia has no conditions at the present for any large number of persons. Immigration and establishment of Negro concerns and corporations, if successfully carried out, will bring the necessary developments to induce immigration in large numbers.

"While in Monrovia, eight carpenters and masons came from Freetown to do some work for Elder, Dempster Co. Lodging could not be found for the men, neither somebody to board them."

Under the heading "Finances, Debts and Roads," Mr. Garcia stated: "There is not a mile of road in all Liberia and in Monrovia, which is the capital, not a street worthy of the name. Bush grows in front and around the Executive Mansion.

"Yet, with all this backwardness to his account, the average Liberian is as proud as a peacock and boasts of being a citizen of a free country. I was a silent witness to a discussion between a West Indian Negro recently arrived in Monrovia and a prominent Liberian. The West Indian was trying to show him—without malice—the tremendous work which had to be done before Liberia can be made an up-to-date place. The Liberian got vexed and in his rebuke said that he 'never sang in the cornfield,' alluding to the slave ancestors of the West Indian. The latter answered him that it would be impossible for him to do so as there was no cornfield to be seen in hungry Liberia. He was dismounted by the answer and departed.

"I cannot help thinking that the answer was well-deserved and very appropriate."

Referring to Gabriel Johnson under the heading "Foreign Relations and Foreign Influences," Mr. Garcia said: "Meanwhile, I was

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given a tip that the gentleman sent to the States as delegate to the convention was secretly empowered . . . to see what help could be gotten from the U. N. I. A. My cipher cablegram was to put you wise in the case. However, the American memorandum, though insulting as it is, proves that the United States are well informed of the unreliability of the Liberians in handling money. I make this statement to impress you, Mr. President, with the fact, that whatever finance is to be given by the U. N. I. A., . . . we must keep an eye wide open on the use made with the help so given and even manage to have a voice in the disbursements; otherwise, it will be only fattening the purses of a few individuals."

PART III.

The Issue Joined

Marcus Garvey seems to be obsessed with the feeling that because I voluntarily resigned my services as resident secretary of the U. N. I. A. at Monrovia, that therefore nobody knowing of my transactions in Liberia will want to employ me in any capacity whatever. The wish, of course, is father to the thought. While covertly and underhandedly insinuating that idea, without mentioning any name, yet he himself thought well enough of me on September 19, four days after I handed in my report and resignation on September 15, to want to do the very thing he avers that others will not want to do. That's strange! Nay, 'tis funny!

Because I refused to carry out the private bidding of Mr. Garvey to continue in service and, against all the facts of my experience and conscience, tell the dear membership in America and the West Indies that all is well in Africa, he must now seek to discredit me so that if and when I do tell the truth, it will not be believed. Nevertheless, I take consolation in the fact that—

"Truth crushed to earth will rise again,
The eternal years of God's are hers:
But Error wounded writhes with pain
And dies amid her worshippers."

I therefore take this means of telling the membership please do not believe anything I have to say. In fact, I now seriously invite and urge them to hasten their plans and preparations to go to Liberia without delay—immediately if not sooner! After they get there, they will at least not be able to point the finger of rebuke at me and say: "Watchman, thy blood be on thy head!"

In one thing at least is my conscience clear and that is: That I served Mr. Garvey and his interests loyally in Liberia. I nearly suffered extinction as a result of doing it. But I am proud of the fact that I was loyal to him and beyond him to the membership in America and the West Indies. That Marcus Garvey has not chosen or seen fit to be loyal to me is of no moment whatever. For mine I say: Principles before personalities every time!

Also for mine I say, as Mr. Garcia so wisely stated. "I am one of those who believe that the wounds have to be unwrapped in order to be cured. I also believe that it is necessary for the U. N. I. A. to know the people with whom they are to deal." Successful institutions as well as individuals do not blink the facts: They learn them in order to meet them. Then

why should the U. N. I. A. membership not learn all the facts with reference to Liberia whither its high command and leadership would take them?

Even yet and always, I personally desire the U. N. I. A. as a principle and Marcus Garvey as a leader to succeed. Any one, however, knowing Mr. Garvey and his methods—his self-sufficiency and obtuseness—will not fail to realize that since intelligent and honest criticism and objections cannot come from within the organization, it must come from without. Decent criticism is not going to hurt the U. N. I. A. Free speech and expression will not hurt it. It needs these in order to live. If it cannot stand fair, impartial and constructive criticism, it deserves to go under, and must and will. Marcus Garvey is not infallible; he is not sacrosanct. The U. N. I. A. is bigger than Garvey. What is needed is less Garveyism and more U. N. I. A.-ism.

I take this opportunity to say that I am not a Socialist, in either the good or the bad sense. Neither am I a Bolshevik, either in the good sense or in the bad sense. I am neither in the employment nor on the payroll of the Bolsheviks or the Socialists. I am a Negro first, last and all the time. Moreover, I reserve to my own self the right to make my own enemies. Briggs, McGuire, Gordon—all of them estimable gentlemen according to their lights—cannot make me hate the U. N. I. A., and thanks be, they haven't tried. I have never heard them tell anybody that the U. N. I. A. was wicked. And last, but not least, not even Marcus Garvey can make me hate himself personally or the U. N. I. A. I honestly and sincerely love them both.

I still love the cause. I love the U. N. I. A. as a principle. I don't have to be in the U. N. I. A. as an organization, as an active member, in order to love and support the U. N. I. A. as a principle. My thesis is that it isn't best to place the interests of the race in the keeping of a single organization or man. Long experience has proven that it isn't best to entrust the interests of the nation to the keeping of a single political party. As in national matters, so in racial affairs: the same principle applies. The reasons are perfectly obvious and need no setting forth here.

Some people are for Marcus Garvey, right or wrong. I am not. I am for Marcus Garvey when he is right and when he is wrong, "I'm dead agin him." I am for the principle of the thing.

For the benefit of the unthinking, I wish to add: I am still loyal to my oath. I took an oath to God and to a principle. The undiscerning cannot comprehend this simple distinction. Unfortunately, many of them took a personal oath to Marcus Garvey. I didn't.

The U. N. I. A. as a principle can advance through other agencies and instrumentalities than itself as an organization and Marcus Garvey as a personality. I want Marcus Garvey to succeed: but Marcus Garvey is not indispensable in God's economy, and He can raise up stones, let alone other human instruments, to carry through the work of salvation and redemption. How many people fail to comprehend this important—almost elementary—truth!

It betides, however, that the simpler a thing is, the harder it is for a lot of people to see into

it. Thus the simplest is usually the most difficult—not because it is not, in fact, simple, but because of the difficulty the Good Lord has of simplifying some minds and reducing them to

lowest terms. The trouble, as one of Shakespeare's characters has said, is not with our stars but ourselves. May God save us from our follies and help us to help ourselves.

Books

HOW NATIVES ARE TREATED IN GERMAN AND FRENCH COLONIES—THE GERMAN FOREIGN OFFICE. Published by Dietrich Reimer, Berlin, 1919, 117 Pages. Reviewed by Arthur E. King.

This book is a condemnation of French Colonial methods published for white consumption by the exterminators of the Herreros. It contains a plethora of derogatory allusions to the Negro Race and tries to prove that the degree of exploitation, rapine and murder of the native races of Africa by the Germans was much smaller than the French; that good anglosaxons such as Sir Harry Johnston, John H. Harris and Colonel Roosevelt, and Frenchmen such as Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, the economist, have praised German Colonial methods.

Yet we find these Germans, in speaking of flogging of the natives, saying that "Every person familiar with conditions throughout Africa is well aware that this is the only effective safety-valve for preventing the outbreak of wild floggings and the wild fines or deductions from wages on the part of the employers of native labor."

They also quote Rohrbach, a German Publicist, as saying: "No false philanthropy, no racial theory is capable of proving to reasonable human beings, that the preservation of some cattle-raising Kaffir or his husbandman cousin along the Kivu or Lake Victoria, unless in conjunction with some measure of independence, primitiveness and economic freedom, is more important for the future of humanity than the spread of the great European nations, and above all, the white race. . . . Only through his learning to create values in the service of the higher race, that is to say, in the service of their progress and of his own, does the native attain to a moral right to his existence."

Much of the material in this book appears to have been collected before the war, and we are unable to judge whether any improvement has taken place in French Colonial administration. The case, however, against France is mostly taken from French sources and will take a lot of explaining. Those who believe that the three Negro Deputies in the Chambre, the catering that France does to Negroes because of her diminishing population, and the number of smaller but well advertised incidents in her favor mean justice for Negroes should read this book.

They will note that 74 per cent. of revenue in Dahomey is obtained from duty on liquor, that the French fiscal system prohibits much trading with other countries, and that French Congo is but a replica of Belgian Congo under Leopold.

Many quotations could be given to disillusion the apologists of France. Read this of conditions in Madagascar: "Scowling chain-gang prisoners work upon the roads. Around their

necks they bear the heavy-neck-yoke, a thick, four-cornered block of wood about 50cm. broad, or a double ladder, which prevents the wearer from ever lying down at full length, and the weight of which rubs the neck and shoulders sore. The rivetting of iron collars around the necks of convicts is also customary in Madagascar."

Hear a Mohammedan of North Africa on the result of French education: "Whether this be due to the false methods, or to the depravity of the French school mistresses, several of whom have been caught in the very act of sexually corrupting their native girl pupils, the fact remains that the French instruction which is given to our young girls is above all calculated to debauch them by reason of the pernicious habits which they acquire in these schools."

Listen to a Frenchman describing conditions in the French Congo: "The dead, we no longer count them. The villages, horrible charnel-houses, disappear in this yawning gulf. A thousand diseases follow in our footsteps. . . . And this martyrdom continues.

. . . . We white men must shut our eyes not to see the hideous dead, the dying who curse us, and the wounded who implore, the weeping women and the starving children. We must stop our ears not to hear the lamentations, the cries, the maledictions which rise from every foot of land, from every tuft of grass."

But why go on? The cumulative effect of reading this book is to intensify hatred of the white race, whether German, French or English, especially if you have glanced through Monckton's "Taming New Guinea," which was recently published.

We are weak, we are dumb; our opponents are both strong and intelligent. We need power more than democracy, information rather than high sounding titles, and, above everything else, intelligence. ARTHUR KING.
2313 Seventh Ave., New York City.

RACE FIRST

"Race first" was Sammy Johnson's cry,
There was no person 'neath the sky
As proud of being black as he—
At least, he said so constantly.
Of course, right here, I'm forced to tell
That Johnson had something to sell;
A book to serve the Negro's needs,
A history of his great deeds.

And like "hot cakes" the book did go,
Till he became quite rich, you know.
Today he owns a flat or two,
That's what his talk "Race First" did do.
But he has new opinions now,
Says he, "I was a stupid cow,
"Race First" was too irrational—
Today I'm international."

—Andra Razafkeriefo.

To Stir Up Race Hatred

BITTER HOSTILITY

* * *
 Alive among his workers
 * * *
 Is a mighty good thing
 * * *
 For the BOSSES."
 * * *
 I said: "But this paper
 * * *
 Might stir up HATE
 * * *
 Even to the point
 * * *
 Of LYNCHING!"
 * * *
 "Oh, yes," he said,
 * * *
 "You know the Chicago riots!
 * * *
 We are collecting evidence
 * * *
 That the PACKERS
 * * *
 Had men employed
 * * *
 Among the Negroes
 * * *
 To tell the nasty things
 * * *
 White workers said about them,
 * * *
 And among the white workers
 * * *
 To stir THEM UP
 * * *
 Against the Negroes.
 * * *
 It's getting to be
 * * *
 COMMON PRACTICE
 * * *
 Of many big employers
 * * *
 And lots of the UNIONS
 * * *
 Play right into their hands
 * * *
 By keeping the Negroes OUT
 * * *
 Of their organizations,
 * * *
 And by talking rough stuff
 * * *
 About the colored folks,

So that the boss
 * * *
 Doesn't need to invent tales,
 * * *
 But only to add a few frills,
 * * *
 And spread them around!"
 * * *
 And I thought: "WHEN
 * * *
 Will the workers be as clever
 * * *
 At STICKING TOGETHER
 * * *
 As the boss is
 * * *
 At DIVIDING THEM?"

WOMAN'S NEED

By Eva R. Nicholas

A woman stood at the golden gate,
 Beside the milky way;
 "I crave a boon from the mighty Gods
 And they will not say me nay!"
 The Goddess of Wisdom, with golden key
 Opened to her the gate,
 And led her to the August Court
 Where the great Gods sit in state.

"Since Prometheus stole the sacred fire
 No mortal ventures here;
 But the Gods have ever loved the brave,
 Speak woman, and do not fear!"
 "I crave a boon for my sex," she said,
 (They marked her steadfast face)
 A wonderful gift that we may use
 To better the human race."

"But we gave you love," the Gods replied;
 The woman hid her face—
 "We rear'd on the earth a monster foul,
 And we set him in love's place."
 "Give her the sword that the Ego kills!"
 "Nay! Since the world began,
 Woman makes sacrifice of self;
 Give that weapon to a man!"

Then a God showed to the woman brave
 A casket, ivory-white
 The God of the "Understanding Heart,"
 And his face shone like the light.
 He placed the box in her trembling hand
 "This is the gift ye need!"
 Then down she came on a shooting star
 Still clasping her priceless need.

And all the women from every clime
 Came flocking to her side.
 She opened the box midst silence deep,
 The god-given gift was—PRIDE!
 The pride that would ne'er to even stoop,
 That kinship claims with good,
 The pride that is but the golden crown
 Of a perfect womanhood.

(Copyright March 15, 1915)

Documents

"To the American Rebels—From the Red Trades Union International"

Reprinted from
The Toiler

SHORTLY after the civil war of 1861-65, when the chattel slave owning agricultural ruling class was superceded in power by the industrial capitalist class in the United States, the labor union movement began its existence on a mass scale. The movement in its infancy developed two types of unions. One type was that of the craft unions, each confined to a skilled trade. The other type was that of a general union admitting workers of all trades, both skilled and unskilled—the forerunner of the modern industrial union.

The first large general union, the Knights of Labor, founded in 1869, grew harmoniously side by side with the craft unions until 1886. Then the efforts of the Knights of Labor to extend their organization in some of the skilled crafts resulted in the beginning of bitter competition with the craft union. From that time until today the American Labor Movement has been divided into two hostile camps.

In 1886 the principal craft unions formed a close alliance under the name of "American Federation of Labor" (a centralization of the former loose federation formed 1881) with a membership of about 300,000 in opposition to the Knights of Labor. Although the Knights of Labor was at that time more than twice as large as the American Federation of Labor, it rapidly declined and disappeared, leaving a small industrial union movement in its wake. The craft unions, then growing in size became more and more conservative while the indus-

trial unions merged and founded the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.) which has since been the predominant industrial union of declared revolutionary purpose. The One Big Union and various other labor organizations of small membership with progress of revolutionary industrial unionism have sprung up during the life of the I. W. W. A fraction separating from the I. W. W. taking the "Workers' International Industrial Union" has a program attempting to accomplish revolution with the ballot and otherwise in conformity to capitalist law.

The natural increase in members of organized workers during the ripening of American capitalism has been absorbed, not by the revolutionary industrial unions, but by the reactionary American Federation of Labor, and the railroad brotherhoods, which, together as the right wing of the American Labor Movement, include more than 85 per cent. of the organized workers. The industrial unions of declared revolutionary intent are of small membership, all of them together having in their ranks less than 2 per cent. of the organized workers.

In short the masses of the organized workers are in the unions controlled by the reactionary bureaucracy.

The American Federation of Labor and the railroad brotherhoods are composed chiefly of a multitude of craft subdivisions declaring themselves to be devoted to narrow craft interests. With the spirit of "Labor Aristocracy"

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‘ ‘ T H E O D O R A ’ ’

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some of the higher skilled trades put severe restrictions upon apprenticeship, fix very high initiation fees and require American citizenship of foreign-born workers. Some races are excluded from membership. Wage contracts are made to expire at different dates so that if the workers go on strike at the expiration of the contract, either workers of another plant or of another craft in the same industry are induced to continue working in observance of their unexpired contract. The leaders make every effort to hold the workers back from the class struggle. Many union officials privately or even publicly engage in breaking strikes. It is the habit of the labor bureaucracy openly to guarantee the capitalist class and government complete security against any radical developments in the labor movement. During the world war and the subsequent industrial crisis, this went so far that the government used police and military power to compel the workers to obey what are called their "lawful" union officials in the railroad and coal mining industries. At the same time, the leaders of the I. W. W. and thousands of the members were imprisoned, some of the leaders being condemned to prison terms as high as twenty years.

But the labor bureaucracy has not completely succeeded in emasculating the trade unions under its rule, especially not, in the case of the large mass unions. The International Association of Machinists (metal workers) 275,000 strong, more or less, mildly advocate a change to the industrial union form. At the close of the world war, large and spontaneous "outlaw" strikes of railroad workers and coal miners were directed against union officials as well as employers.

The physical nature of the coal mining industry has necessitated the mine workers organization taking the industrial union form, even under the worst type of reactionary bureaucracy. The United Mine Workers have engaged in strikes of terrific violence throughout their history. In West Virginia the mine workers of this union have since 1912 been engaged in international warfare against their employers and the State, having had thousands of workers under arms at one time. Yet this union forms a solid block of half a million men—one-eighth part of the American Federation of Labor, and is ten times the size of the largest of the revolutionary industrial unions outside of the American Federation of Labor. In several districts it is, and has been for two years, in a state of rebellion against its corrupt leaders. In many instances the spontaneous rebellions against the union bureaucracy have died out through the inability to find capable new leaders and executives. In other instances able and honest leaders have developed out of the coal pits and have led a few sections of the United Mine Workers into advanced positions.

The revolutionary labor unionists are not by any means all in the small revolutionary industrial unions. On the contrary, many thousands of revolutionary and semi-revolutionary workers have developed consciousness inside of the reactionary trade unions. Also a great many workers, after getting a revolutionary training in the I. W. W. have drifted back into the trade unions and have obtained an influence over the backward membership.

In notable instances large or small sections of the conservative wing of the American Labor Movement have grown restless and have overridden the will of the bureaucrats. In 1914 the majority faction of the United Garment Workers in rebellion against the bureaucracy was refused recognition by the American Federation and thereupon founded the large independent union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, with a semi-revolutionary program. It now has 175,000 members, being the largest of all the independent unions. In several other cases sections of unions have been expelled and have formed small unions with programs and ideology, more or less, like those of the I. W. W.

It may be laid down as a basic policy of the reactionary labor bureaucracy to expel from the general mass of organized workers any portion of that that becomes infected with revolutionary thought.

At the same time it has become the custom of revolutionary workers to accept their expulsion almost as a matter of course, or even voluntarily to secede from the reactionary unions to found new unions with a revolutionary program, and to call upon their fellow workers of the industry to join them. This works in strange accord with the wish of the reactionaries to get the revolutionary workers out of the mass unions. Of course the fellow workers who join them are only the revolutionary inclined. The masses are left behind, more hopelessly than ever in the hands of the reactionary bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor and the railroad brotherhoods, while the rebels find themselves in small unions with little economic power, segregated for easy capitalist suppression.

The policy of the Red International of Labor Unions is to keep the revolutionary workers inside the mass organizations of backward unions, such as are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the railroad brotherhoods. Dual unionism must be done away with. The R. I. L. U. adheres to the principle that wherever possible there should exist but one union in such field.

Adherence to this policy means that attempts of the labor bureaucracy to expel revolutionary individuals or sections will be resisted with every possible means. The custom of revolutionaries seceding from the mass unions to form smaller unions on the ground of the reactionary character of the mass union must be brought to an end. The policy of the R. I. L. U. is that of consolidation not division. The slogan shall be "No splits in the labor movement."

The Executive Council of the Red International of Labor Unions advances the following application of its policy to the American Labor Movement:

I.

The Executive Council of the Red International of Labor Unions will appoint and maintain in the United States of America a special representative who shall be a practical revolutionary unionist. This representative shall have the special task of directing the application to the labor union work of such methods as have in practice been shown to be effective in bringing trade unions into revolutionary structures and control, for example, organized minority committees, committees of

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

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1372

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

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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.

action, shop stewards movements, educational leagues, publication of journals specializing in labor union questions and publication of pamphlets, leaflets, etc., pertaining to labor union questions as such. The activities of the special representative shall be confined entirely to labor union work. He must understand that his work is not general Communist propaganda, but the special work of inaugurating and directing the developments of the American section of the Red International of Labor Unions. His activities must in no way conflict with or encroach upon the general work, and propaganda of an existing revolutionary working class political party, but on the contrary all of his activities must be in full co-operation with the work of any genuine revolutionary force and the directing body of that force.

II.

The Red International of Labor Unions will call most naturally upon the existing revolutionary industrial unions to co-operate in a concerted and thoroughly modernized plan to revolutionize the four or five million organized workers in the reactionary unions of the United States, to reach whom all methods heretofore used have failed. Workers of the revolutionary industrial union experience are expected to respond immediately to the call to join the work of (1) changing the structure of the reactionary mass unions into the industrial union form, and (2) ejecting from control of those unions the reactionary leaders. The R. I. L. U. constructed as it is out of the combined experience of the revolutionary unionism of all countries, is the instrument for bringing the tactics of each country into adjustment with the scientific knowledge of revolution, in the experience of all, especially with the knowledge gained in the after-war and revolutionary period. All affiliating revolutionary industrial unions will carefully re-examine and adjust their tactics to the scientific knowledge gained in the experience of the last three years, using for the purpose their connection with all other revolutionary unions of the world through the Red International of Labor Unions.

III.

In industries dominated by their trade unions, and where the revolutionary industrial unions are either non-existent or a minor factor, the revolutionary industrial unionists shall be induced to abandon their dual unionism and to concentrate their activities in the trade unions. Such industrials are, principally, coal mining, building trades, printing trades, metal trades, clothing trades, railroads, general transport; theatrical trades, meat slaughtering industry, and electrical supply trades. In all of these industries the trade unions are strong, containing in each instance the overwhelming majority of the workers that are organized. The revolutionary industrial unions either have no organization there at all or are negligible in strength and influence. Nor is there prospect of the situation being changed by the tactics heretofore used. For the revolutionary industrial unions to continue their program of maintaining a dual organization in these industries and to insist upon the support of all revolutionists on that basis would be to block the performance of real work. The revolutionary indus-

trial unions must be induced definitely to stop maintaining or attempting to form arbitrary dual unions in such industries. What few members they now have in such industries shall enter the old unions and organize themselves therein as minority groups. The direction and control of the revolutionary trade union work in those branches of industry shall devolve upon the Red International of Labor Unions.

IV.

In certain industries the trade unions are weak and the revolutionary industrial unions have developed some degree of constructive organization. These industries are principally: Metal mining, the textile industry, lumber, boot and shoe manufacturing, baking and candy making, automobile manufacturing, hotels and restaurants and agriculture. Where one of the revolutionary industrial unions has attained in such industry a membership superior to, or approximately equal to the membership of the reactionary trade unions, the Red International of Labor Unions will vigorously support such revolutionary industrial union with a view to its absorbing the entire industry. Where several revolutionary industrial unions have a foothold the aggregate of their membership being greater than, or approximately equal to that of the reactionary trade unions, the policy will be as follows: The representative of the R. I. L. U. will call conferences of the revolutionary industrial union factions involved, so that a united course of action may be decided upon. Failing agreement, the R. I. L. U. will support the union showing the greatest hold upon the industry.

V.

The representative of the R. I. L. U. under instructions given him by the Executive of the R. I. L. U. will formulate programs for individuals and factions that may be expelled from unions by the reactionary bureaucracy finding solutions wherever possible entirely free from the old mistakes of dual unionism.

VI.

Within all trade and industrial unions the American representative of the R. I. L. U. will widely organize and promote and intensively cultivate the revolutionary groups, and will help to crystalize around such groups larger blocks of sympathetic workers growing in understanding. The American representative will supply the revolutionary groups with literature, information, instruction as to methods, and also with the means of communication between the unions, so as to co-ordinate the entire left-wing of the American Labor Movement on a national scale without removing it from the old mass trade unions.

VII.

The trade union minorities working under the direction of the R. I. L. U. will vigorously support all of the present tendencies toward breaking down of craft aloofness and getting closer to the industrial form. The movement of the International Association of Machinists for introducing industrial union forms into American Federation of Labor as well as the movement for closer federation and subsequent amalgamation of the various crafts of the railroad brotherhoods, will be supported, without

giving support to the reactionary leaders who have been drawn into a half-hearted identification with these movements. The object shall be not to destroy the craft unions, but to accelerate in a vigorous manner the natural process of federation and amalgamation by which they evolve into a practical industrial union form.

VIII.

The work of the revolutionary groups within the trade unions shall not be directed to smashing these unions, nor of splitting them, but of keeping the masses nearly as possible intact as to membership, while throwing off from each union its bureaucratic superstructure. The subject-matter of the agitation of the revolutionary groups in the reactionary unions shall be the questions of every day struggle, with revolutionary principles applied to their solution in a practical manner—never in an impractical or abstract manner. The revolutionists must be more practical than their opponents, more efficient and hardworking in handling the daily routine of the union. At the same time they must work as rapidly as possible to bring their unions into line with the more advanced unions for the proletarian revolution.

IX.

The revolutionists must continue their revolutionary propaganda at any cost. But wherever humanly possible they must avoid paying the cost of being expelled as individuals or groups from the unions. They must remember that their doing any propaganda at all is dependent upon their remaining in contact with the masses in the unions. In cases of expulsion of fragments from unions, these fragments must be led to refuse to recognize their expulsion, and to make a continuous fight as part of the union, to contend for their claim to be themselves the original union. In cases of expulsion of entire unions from the American Federation of Labor such expulsion will be resisted as long as possible, for the purpose of exposing the motives of the bureaucracy. The same rule shall apply to the railroad brotherhoods and the independent unions generally.

X.

The revolutionary groups in the unions of all types in the United States must work consistently to bring their unions to accept the program of the Red International and to affiliate with it. However, local unions and other units of an "international" union must not be encouraged actually to affiliate with the R. I. L. U. until such time as they can bring the "International" union as a whole to affiliate. Until such time their intercourse with the R. I. L. U. and their representation in the world congresses shall be as minorities of their "International" union.

XI.

The American Labor Movement is not at the present moment confronted with any efforts of the controlling union bureaucracy to reaffiliate with the Amsterdam International of yellow Socialists, the American labor officials having repudiated even the reformists bombast of the Hendersons, Jauhaux, Oudegeests and Thomases. But when in the future the Amer-

ican labor bureaucracy shall attempt to divert the revolutionary current by reaffiliating with the Amsterdam International, the revolutionary unionists of America must be prepared to resist such affiliations with all their power. Meantime a wide educational campaign of enlightenment on the differences between the Amsterdam pseudo-international and the real international—the Red International of Labor Unions—must be made to nullify the present efforts of some labor union reformists to bring about Amsterdam reaffiliations.

XII:

Revolutionary unions affiliating with the R. I. L. U. will conduct a propaganda against parliamentary reform, against the expectation of "lawful" revolution—against the kind of political action engaged in by the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party in the United States. But such revolutionary unions will take an altogether different attitude where a workers' political party uses an electoral campaign or a legislative seat for agitation in favor of the overthrow of the capitalist State and the establishment of the workers republic. The affiliating revolutionary unions will permit no opposition to such political action through the union channels, but will follow a course as follows: While the affiliating revolutionary unions remain a small and feeble minority, the subject of the overthrow of the capitalist State and the establishment of the workers' rule shall be explained in their press and on their platform in a manner to give the workers a favorable impression of these revolutionary tactics; in other words, they shall go as far in their advocacy of these revolutionary measures as is possible while maintaining their own existence. As they gain economic strength sufficient to protect their existence they must frankly and vigorously advocate those proven revolutionary methods as the only means leading to permanent betterment of the working class.

1374

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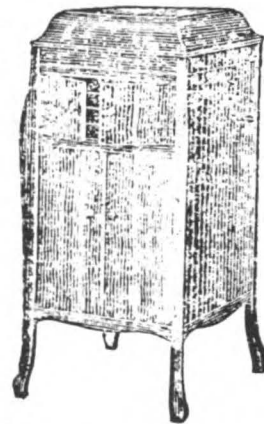
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