

The SPOKESMAN

FEARLESS AND INDEPENDENT

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THE SPOKESMAN'S PLATFORM:

It pledges itself to condemn and oppose Wrong, wherever found. To commend and defend right, in spite of results. In it the weak will find support. The strong, encouragement. The discouraged, hope. The downtrodden, an incentive to rise and overcome. The wronged, a defense. The old, consolation. The young, inspiration. Mercy, a friend. Justice, a pillar of support. Injustice, an unrelenting foe. It reserves the right to criticize, when in its opinion wise, but will never knock or obstruct anything worthy.

"They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak.

They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

THOMAS W. ANDERSON

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The
SPOKESMAN

EDITORIALS

MARCH,
1925

"I speak the Truth, not so much as I would but as much as I dare."—Montaigne.

"WATCHMAN WHAT OF THE NIGHT?"

MARCUS GARVEY, President General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, has gone to Atlanta, in compliance with the decree of the Appellate Court of New York, to begin his five year sentence for using the United States mail to defraud.

The courts have spoken. And despite our personal opinions as to Mr. Garvey's guilt or innocence, pro or con, we must bow to the verdict. We, however are among that minority, who refuse to go wild over the going away of this man. Even his bitterest foes must have a grain of pity for him in his hour of trial. We pity him, though we have never quite agreed with his methods, in fostering the U. N. I. A., in which we believe and will continue to have faith.

We submit that Mr. Garvey may not have made full and best use of his unusual opportunities. Nor did he use to advantage or even fairly the abilities and assistance of the many able men who had been associated with him from time to time during the past six years. Most of these men were strong and influential, mayhaps, too strong and influential. Perhaps his passing is according to the divine order of things. Who knows? Moses reached the Jordan, and passed. Joshua crossed the stream. Really Cromwell's task ended with the Civil War. The world was not yet ready for Puritanism. Washington knew when to retire. He also knew that too much Washington was dangerous. The Christ passed after contributing His bit to the world's religions. He was a few years too early.

The Day approaches! Mr. Garvey's contribution to his race is indeed noteworthy. Future generations must pass on it, to accurately estimate its real worth. Garvey made thousands think, who had never thought before; thousands who

merely dreamed dreams, now see visions. Young men matured over night, and became anxious of the Morrow; old men became ambitious youths; Hope conquered Despair; Fear surrendered to Fearlessness; life was filled with new purposes and visions; those who formerly prayed for Death, no longer wanted to die, but prayed for long life instead, with the Coming of Garvey. The New Negro is Garvey's own Child, whose mother is the U. N. I. A. Garvey's monument is of the most enduring and imperishable sort of material—the hearts of men. There he will live forever. What Negro could wish a monument more splendid? Now he is gone, maybe to return, and maybe not. What of the Child? It is a vital, living and breathing force, which cannot, and will not be ignored. its principles, though they may have been badly twisted through mismanagement, if properly nourished will become a power.

For one thing, the period of propaganda has passed. The Master propagandist is gone. He was the greatest we have seen in our day. A maker of living phrases, a moulder of burning words, a mover of men's very souls—an Idealist. He did not belong to the world of business. No cold Materialist, no matter-of-fact business man was Garvey. This he could never be made to understand. He forgot that no one man can know and do everything. Thus his many failures in business; thus eternal friction and conflict with those around him; thus the lack of proper system and confusion which characterized his fragile and hazy plans, which resulted in the falling away from him, many able and sound men, who composed his Councils. But the public never saw **this** man. When before them, they saw and knew only Garvey, the eloquent, humble, the persecuted and sincere, and this accounts for the failure of the public to understand these men who left the association from time to time. Garvey in the

office was a different Garvey from the Garvey on the road.

The future of the organization is dependent upon the ability, **bigness, unselfishness,** and originality of those left in charge, among whom are both **big** and **little** men, strong and weak. The big ones, and strong ones have a job on their hands. First they must convert, or overcome those weak and little souls among them. And American business methods must displace that old unbusiness-like procedure which was slowly crushing the life out of the organization, and which will destroy it, unless things are done according to Hoyle. It is dependent upon the ability of those in charge to make friends for the organization. Since even Governments cannot long endure without friends, an organization cannot hope to do so. They cannot continue to isolate themselves and dislike those who did not and do not fall on their faces before the association. In this country the people must be shown. Mere names mean nothing. It depends upon the Unselfishness of its leaders. The organization in the past has accused others of Selfishness in their attitude towards the association. It was merely a case of "pot calling the kettle black." The U. N. I. A. put Negroes to thinking and talking, and yet was first to abuse and oppose the Negro for thinking and talking, when it took the form of criticising and advising the association. This attitude must undergo a change. This is a Free country. One may wear shoes or go bare shod.

The New leaders must be Liberalists. They must be original. Their own plans and methods, as the result of experience and knowledge of needs the association, must have the right of way. Again, they should urge every member in this country, who is not a citizen of these United States to set about becoming one at once. In this country Votes count, not empty names, or **voteless numbers.**

Strong **men** are needed, not a strong **man.** And again what attitude is the new leaders going to assume towards that host of men who left the organization, not because they were against it, but because like true Americans, they opposed tyranny, in every form, whether on the part of a king, group, or

president? The true story of their leaving is well known to those in charge, also their ability and efficiency. Frankly they are not to be lightly ignored. They stand ready doubtless to assist the organization, together with its host of members everywhere, who should rally to the cause, now as never before.

For the first two years West Indians loyally carried the association forward, now the greater majority of the membership consist of native Americans. Let this fact not be forgotten, nor let it not be overlooked that the latest venture was financed with American dollars. So men are needed now, who will sympathise with American ideals, as far as practicable in this new effort, and men who understand and will adopt American business methods, and who will work in harmony with the great American Government.

Finally, those in charge should clean out the old house, from bottom to top. Favoritism should go. Friendship, and social affairs will not mix with business. Oil and water will not mix. The ape and the asp should not attempt to mate. What Mr. Garvey did, is not going to count now, but by what those left behind do, will the future of the organization be determined.

It is going to take men of rugged courage to carry on. No pussyfooting will get by the man on guard now. A new program should be formulated, because there is no program: Deep in their heart those in charge know this, but have they the **courage to face the people with naked truth,** and merit their overlasting, confidence, or will they continue to hide behind the veil, of make-believe until it is torn from their hands? It requires the sort of courage that does not give a damn, for anything but Right to be men now.

Are those in charge big enough to measure up to the high standard now set for, and expected of them. MANY believe Not. Time will tell.

TRUTH

CAN there be anything higher and better than Truth? No one knows what it is to believe who has not learned to believe in Truth, for the sake of Truth, and not for the

sake of Truth only.

What is wanted is the power of sifting evidence, and a simple love of Truth. Whatever value we may attach to our own most cherished convictions, there is something more cherished than all of them, and that is a perfect trust in Truth, if once we have seen it.

True reverence does not consist in declaring a subject, because it is dear to us, to be unfit for free, and honest inquiry; far from it! True reverence is shown in treating every subject, however sacred, however dear to us, with perfect confidence, without fear and without favor; with tenderness and love, by all means, but, before all, with unflinching and uncompromising loyalty to Truth.

Nothing should we like better than to meet a man who differs from us; such a one will give us something, and for that we should be most grateful. Nor should we be so hopeless as many people, who imagine that two people who differ can never arrive at a mutual understanding.

Why do people differ, considering that they all begin with the same love of truth, and are all influenced by the same environment? Well, they often differ because one is ignorant of facts which the other knows and has specially studied. But in most cases people differ because they use their words loosely, and because they mix up different subjects instead of treating them one by one.

It may be quite right to guard against dangers, whether real or imaginary, so long as it is possible. But when it is no longer possible, the right thing is to face an enemy bravely. Very often the enemy will turn out a friend in disguise. We cannot be far wrong, if we are only quite honest, but if we are once not quite honest, over a few things, we shall soon become dishonest over many things.

Even in teaching religion this is true. We must look neither right nor left, but look at facts, to find out what they mean.

Frankly, facts have a very small place in our religious teachings of to-day. Sentiment, emotions, and so on occupy the principal place, the chieftest places, and Truth, naked, undulterated Truth has almost become

a stranger. There is no heresy more dangerous to true religion than this denial of Truth to the people. Some modern Theologians, and popular preachers seem to grudge to all religions but all their own the credit of having a pure, and true, nay any concept of Truth or God at all, quite forgetful of the fact that a Truth does not cease to be a Truth because it is universally accepted. Some men, even dodge making known in many instances the Truth of their own religion. Yet, they wonder why the race becomes more and more inclined to eschew the modern Teacher and Minister.

Most minister, are afraid to preach the Truth. Most teachers are afraid to teach the Truth. And this is Truth.

To be of no church is dangerous. Religion, of which the rewards are distant, and which is animated only by faith and hope, will glide by degrees out of the mind unless it be invigorated and reimpresed by external ordinances, by stated calls to worship, and the salutary influence of example.

—Johnson. 1709—1784.

The poorest man in his cottage bid defiance to all the force of the Crown. It may be frail; its roof may shake; the wind may blow through it; the storms may enter, the rain may enter,—but the King of England cannot enter; all his force dares not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement.

—Pitt. 1708—1778.

When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle

—Burke. 1729—1797.

Freedom has a thousand charms to show,
That slaves, howe'er contented, never know.

—Cowper. 1731—1800.

Conscience has no more to do with gallantry than it has with politics.

—Sheridan. 1751—1816.

He has grown aged in the world of woe,
In deeds, not years, piercing the depths of life,
So that no wonder waits him.

—Byron. 1788—1824.

From every place before the skies
The grateful song, the fervent prayer,—
The incense of the heart—may rise
To heaven, find acceptance there.

—Pierpont. 1785—1866.

Then black despair,
The shadow of a starless night, was thrown
Over the world in which I moved alone.

—Shelly. 1792—1822.