

both are absent is a useless task. Far better to ask the Negro people of Harlem what they think of the matter and whether they will stomach this last insult from a creature long ago repudiated by every decent Negro in the country? Will Harlem sit supinely by while this creature heaps ridicule and mockery upon the race?

BOLSHEVIST!!!

Bolshevist is an epithet that present-day reactionaries delight to fling around loosely against those who insist on thinking for themselves and on agitating for their rights. We do not know exactly what the reactionaries desire to convey by the term—we do not think they know themselves. However, if as appears by its frequent use against those who are agitating in the people's interests and for justice for the oppressed, the term is intended to cover those "bad agitators," who are not content that the people shall forever be enslaved in the clutches of the cut-throat, child-exploiting, capitalist-imperialist crew, then assuredly we are Bolsheviks. This epithet nor any other holds any terrors for us. If to fight for one's rights is to be Bolsheviks, then we are Bolsheviks and let them make the most of it!

And for the further information of the asses who use the term so loosely we will make the statement that we would not for a moment hesitate to ally ourselves with any group, if by such an alliance we could compass the liberation of our race and the redemption of our Fatherland. A man pressed to earth by another with murderous intent is not under any obligation to choose his weapons. He would be a fool if he did not use any or whatever weapon was within his reach. Self-preservation is the first law of human nature.

NEGRO FIRST!

For the benefit of the serviles and lick-spittles who are shocked because we refuse to profess perfect contentment under oppression or slavishly to designate a *Living Hell* as a "free, grand and glorious country," the editor of THE CRUSADER desires to state that, while he is, theoretically, an "American citizen"—with all the surplus of duties and lack of rights which characterize a Negro "American citizen"—he still is and always has been a NEGRO BEFORE ANYTHING ELSE, and will continue so to be until Negro

"American citizens" are not only American citizens in theory, but in practice as well.

This choice is not voluntary. It is forced upon us and upon every other Negro of spirit—and, we might add, of intelligence—by the open denial to our people of the most ordinary rights of American citizenship—rights that are so ordinary as to be enjoyed even by the unnaturalized white foreigner in the land, but which, most ordinary as they are, and open to the enjoyment of the white alien, are yet denied to us in every section of the country.

But not alone in the United States, but under all other white governments is cause absolutely lacking why the Negro should be anything else but NEGRO FIRST. To us it should not matter where a brother is born. The place of birth is accidental. It is wherever your mother happens to be at the time. What should matter and what *only should matter* is that he is, like you, a Negro. The place of birth is accidental, but the race into which one is born is not an accidental matter. If your parents are Negro, no matter where your mother happens to be at the time of your birth, you are going to be born a Negro. And born a Negro you will be denied equal rights and the merest justice under any of the existing white governments. And therein lies the reason why all Negroes with an ounce of spirit and intelligence are, in their own minds as well as in the minds of the whites, NEGRO FIRST, LAST AND ALL THE TIME!

THE OLD NEGRO GOES: LET HIM GO IN PEACE.

The old Negro and his futile methods must go. After fifty years of him and his methods the Race still suffers from lynching, disfranchisement, jim-crowism, segregation and a hundred other ills. His abject crawling and pleading have availed the Cause nothing. He has sold his life and his people for vapid promises tinged with traitor gold. His race is done. Let him go.

The New Negro now takes the helm. It is now OUR future at stake. Not his. His future is in the grave. And if the New Negro, imbibing the spirit of Liberty, is willing to suffer martyrdom for the Cause, then certainly the very least that the Old Negro can do is to stay in the background for his remaining years of life or to die a natural death without in his death struggles attempting to hamper

those who take new means to effect ends which the Old Leaders throughout fifty years were not able to effect.

Can the Old Leaders deny that there is more wholesome respect for the Negro following the race riots in Washington, Chicago, Knoxville and other places than there was before those riots and when there were only lynchings and burnings of scared Negroes and none of the fear in the white man's heart that comes from the New Negro fighting back? They cannot deny it, so let them go their way. The future is the New Negro's. It should have come to us safeguarded. But the Old Leaders have failed ignobly. Ours now is the task of safeguarding that future and of giving it to our children secured for all time. For us the future and all the great tasks that lie ahead. For the Old Leaders *Requiescat en Pace!*

MARTYRDOM.

It was to be expected that the present fearless agitation for race rights would sooner or later result in martyrs to the Cause. Martyrdom is both the brand of a Great Cause and the unmistakable sign of its approaching triumph. Every great cause has had its martyrs, and many causes that were not great in their own virtue have been made so by the shedding of martyr blood. The history of Christianity is the history in lesser degree of every great cause. No ideal was ever so terribly persecuted as Christianity and no ideal was ever so gloriously and grandly victorious as Christianity. No proponent of an ideal was ever so hounded and cruelly persecuted as was Jesus Christ, who was crucified because "he stirreth up the people." And yet the centuries have seen the ideals of Jesus triumphant over land and sea if yet without a place in the hearts of the capitalist-imperialists, of which class He stated that "it would be harder for a camel to pass through the eyes of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven."

So true is it that martyrdom has ever been the portion of those who have essayed the championship of the down-trodden and oppressed that the radicals of today—colored and white—are quite aware that they court martyrdom by fighting the cause of the oppressed against the oppressor and have all along known that persecution and attempted repression would be the ultimate answer of the oppressors who, in whatever age they lived, have never learned that ideas cannot be

shot out of existence. That the radicals saw this and still dared all may be beyond the ken of publication like *The Amsterdam News*, which in its issue of August 27, speaking of "Messrs. Briggs, Bridges and Domingo," gleefully declared that they "have their faces turned towards the Tombs prison." That may be so. The prisons of this country today hold many of the finest men and women in America. There is no finer man in this country than Debs. And Debs is in jail. The prisons of the British Empire are also overcrowded with the Irish, Indian and African patriots who have dared to question Britain's superimposed rule in their countries. In all ages have the Tombs and Bastiles of the reactionaries been used to crush Independent thought and free speech. And in many instances not only the Tombs and the Bastiles but the gibbet, the guillotine and the CROSS have been utilized in the vain effort to crush opposition to tyrants.

Martyrdom has been, is, and will be unto the Millennium the portion of those who fight organized wrong and oppression. And, if, for fearlessly championing the cause of the Negro Race, "Messrs. Briggs, Bridges and Domingo" are facing the Tombs, certainly the first named has no regrets and we feel sure that the others named will not falter in the fight because of the threat of all for their efforts on behalf of their people. But may we inquire what kind of service the *Amsterdam News*, a paper presumably published in the interests of the Negro Cause, is rendering the Negro Cause that in a time of persecution of those who are fighting for that Cause, its editors, too, along with "Messrs. Briggs, Bridges and Domingo" (and Chandler Owens, A. Philip Randolph, Dr. Du Bois, William Monroe Trotter) are not facing the Tombs?

CARRYING INSULTING ADVERTISEMENTS.

By what inverted reasoning do certain Negro papers preach race pride on one page while carrying on another page race advertisements that insult by their brazen assumption that present-day members of the race that gave civilization to the world would like to change their color and racial characteristics merely because white men, whose ancestors in centuries past wandered over Europe as greasy, hairy savages, are now enjoying a little temporary power and in their over-weening vanity have set