

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER

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United States Post Office

NEW YORK N Y

July 2, 1919

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**RADICALISM AND SEDITION AMONG THE NEGROES AS REFLECTED  
IN THEIR PUBLICATIONS**

A general survey of the field of negro publications will give a very fair idea of the dangerous influences at work upon the negro, and the concerted effort, abetted by certain prominent white publicists, to arouse in the negro a well-defined class-consciousness, sympathetic only with the most malign radical movements. It will be the purpose of this brief summary to show that the negro editors and writers - and some of them are not without a marked ability - are fully alive to the influence they possess over their readers as well as to the fact that in their hands the negro masses may be made to assume a very dangerous power. Some of the ablest of these writers have gone beyond the point where advocacy of moderation and temperate counsel any longer contents them. They preach violence and "direct action." They urge affiliation with the I. W. W. as an organization peculiarly fitted to the negro's needs and his nature. The ablest of them all advocates Bolshevism among the negroes and the establishment in this country of Bolshevik rule. Even upon the subject of lynching, where the negro might reasonably count upon the sympathy of the more discerning, the attitude of these writers has become one of threatening and retaliation. It is not putting it too strongly to state that the cumulative effect of the various negro publications is to foster a sense of resentment and race antagonism, in which effort, ever since the entry of this country into the recent war, there has been increasingly employed the tone of menace and the threat of violent resistance.

To ignore all this as the ante-bellum characteristics of the plantation negro preacher is, I am convinced, to go very far astray of the mark. There is bombast and nonsense to be found in the negro publications of today, but when their editors and star contributors write of lynchings and race discrimination in the army - when they write of their wrongs as they see them, it is in a mood very different from bombast and nonsense. And the negro himself knows it! He means business, and it would be well to take him at his word.

As far back as the first movement of the American troops to France the negro publicists began to avail themselves of the argument that since the negro was fit to wear the uniform he was, therefore, fit for everything else. It was in the New York Jews and the N. J. Informer News of April 4, 1918, that there occurred an editorial stating that the negro, having gone abroad to fight for Democracy, would upon his return know how to use his rifle and bayonet to fight for Democracy (the negro's democracy) at home.

This note, sounded for the first time by The New York News has since the signing of the Armistice and the return of the negro troops been sounded over and over again by the negro publications, and is being echoed by individual negroes far and wide. I have myself heard it in New York, it has been reported to me from Washington and from Charleston. And so late as June 25, 1919, according to The Negro World of June 28, Bishop Hurst of the A. M. E. Church, stated in Cleveland at the tenth anniversary of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People that "the treatment of the negro in the United States, especially in the South, was making the race determined 'to fight and to die if need be' for their rights. The 400,000 colored soldiers, he said, who fought to free the world from German oppression, were ready now to free this country from American oppression of their race."

In this connection, The New York Age for April 26, 1918 had an editorial A Welcome Being Prepared Down in Georgia in which the "human treatment" accorded the negro soldiers in France, with especial reference to sex relations between them and French women, was contrasted with the lack of "human treatment," and again with especial reference to the sex question, they might expect in Georgia.

The Crisis of May 1919 also had an editorial on the returned negro soldier, in which it said: - "For bleeding France.....we fought gladly and to the last drop of blood; for America and her highest ideals, we fought in far off hope; for the dominant Southern oligarchy entrenched in Washington, we fought in bitter resignation. For the America that represents and gloats in lynching, disfranchisement, caste, brutality and devilish insult - for this in the lateful upturning and mixing of things we were forced by vindictive fate to fight also..... We return - we return from fighting. We return fighting."

The New York News of May 8, 1919 in an editorial The Anti-Lynching Conference, advocated openly the resort to "the dynamite bomb, the torch, and the sword," as the most efficacious means of stopping lynchings.

A consideration of this phase of the activities of the negro press should also give regard to a publication especially devoted to the returning soldier - The Veteran - the "official organ of the National Colored Soldiers and Citizens' Council" whose first issue was of April 19, 1919. It is issued semi-monthly, and is intensely racial and ill-advised in the nature of its contents.

The radical movement in the negro press has become remarkably accelerated during the past six months. To combat what was considered the too conservative character of such papers as The New York News, The Amsterdam News, and such magazines as The Crisis, sponsored in part by Oswald Garrison Villard, of The Nation, and The Crusader, and there came into being The Negro World, an avowed-

which ly radical sheet, in its issue of May 24, 1919 bore an editorial condemning the conservative character of most of the negro press with the notable exception of the infamous monthly, The Messenger. When it is remembered that the least offensive of the negro publications still is offensive in its attitude of racial antagonism an idea may be had of the character of The Negro World to whom the names of Booker Washington and Moten are synonymous with a craven subservience to the white man.

It is, however, to The Messenger, established <sup>more</sup> recently that one must turn for the fullest flower of negro sedition and flagrant disloyalty. With the names of such white men as H. W. L. Dana, John Haynes Holmes and Roger M. Baldwin upon its list of advocates and moral sponsors, The Messenger is well abreast of any foreign language or English language radical publication. It is ably edited by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, with contributing editors in the persons of W. A. Domingo and William H. Colson, the former recently disclosed by the investigations of the Luck Committee as being actively engaged through the Rand School in spreading Bolshevism among the negroes, the latter a retired officer of the 36th Infantry whose articles on alleged race discrimination in the U. S. Army have attracted the attention of the army authorities.

It was in the May-June issue of The Messenger that an editorial on Bolshevism called openly for the establishment in this country of Bolshevik rule, with especial reference, of course, to the negro. Naively silly though it was, the fact remains in evidence.

This magazine for July 1919 is a noteworthy number, comprising as it does articles on most of the topics upon which the negro press is today exercising itself.

There will be found in this issue an editorial, The Hun in America, which closes with the following paragraph: - "A new Negro is rising who will not compromise, surrender or retreat a single step - a Negro with an iron will and an inflexible determination to put down the HUN in America, law or no law, blood or no blood, lynch-law must go." This editorial is followed by another, Lynching A Domestic Question, in which it is stated: - "The problems of the Negroes should be presented to every nation in the world, and this sham democracy, about which Americans prate, should be exposed for what it is, - a sham, a mockery, a rage on decency and a travesty on common sense."

There are two editorials whose object it is to show "Why Negroes Should Join The I. W. W.", followed by another on "Why Negroes Should Be Interested in Mexico," and the declaration is made that The Messenger is to run a series of articles in the interest of Mexico among the negroes. The issue also contains on the inside of the back cover an advertisement by the "Jack" Johnson's Land Company, Calle Donceles No. 59, Mexico City, D. F., Mexico, urging negroes to invest in Mexico. "You who are lynched, tortured, mobbed, persecuted, and discriminated against in the

boasted 'Land of Liberty', the United States. Own a Home in Mexico where one man is as good as another and it is not your nationality that counts, but simply you!"

And, finally, there is an article by William N. Colson, contributing editor on Propaganda and the American Negro Soldier, which ends with the following words:- "No Intelligent American Negro is willing to lay down his life for the United States as it now exists. Should another war break out and he had the option after a balancing of interests he would no doubt cast his lot with this country again. But ere he does that, let him hesitate like the Irish before he follows the way of blind patriotism as he did in 1917. Let him not so thoughtlessly part with his men and his Liberty Bonds until this country can insure him an opportunity to develop his best capacities. The consensus of opinion among thinking colored people is that the war ended too soon. They believe that the American Negro would have gotten a status had America been chastised more severely. Indeed they feel toward America much like they feel toward Belgium for her misdeeds in the Congo. There has been a recent discussion among political students as to which is of the greatest political concern; the hidden motives or the overt acts of men. The new Negro has the hidden motive. He must propagate the overt act."

In this necessarily brief, though I hope not altogether inadequate survey of the field of negro publications and of those tendencies of which they are the significant exponents, the salient facts are that, permeating even the negro masses, there has been aroused a dangerous sense of racial antagonism which is being thoroughly exploited by their leaders of the press, at least. The attitude is not one of wholesome endeavor to alleviate and correct the wrongs under which the negro labors. Rather is it one of increasing defiance and organized alignment with the most destructive forces of our political life today. The publications referred to in this paper, as well as such others as The Crusader, The Crusible, and others not mentioned, are not the out-put of "childish" minds, however ill-reasoned and absurd they may often be. The purpose of this summary has entirely failed of its mark if it has not made clear the fact that the negro is rapidly being made strongly race conscious and class conscious, and that to him his way of salvation is felt to lie not in conformity to the law but in defiance and antagonism of it, while of popular opinion he is encouraged to become increasingly more insolently scornful. It is not, in my opinion, an attitude that the government can safely ignore.

*Robert Edgar Bowen.*

Since writing the above, there comes to my desk, July 3, for the first time, the publication hitherto unheard of, a magazine **THE CHALLENGE**, published by negroes at 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City. Its name is highly descriptive, for on every page the challenge is undisguised. Moreover, the editorials are in the vein of the impassioned rhapsody of the negro, and what that appeal to the negro spirit is anyone knowing the negro need not be reminded. As an intellectual balance to this there are full extracts on the negro subject quoted from *The Nation*, *Pearson's Magazine*, *The New Republic* and *Literary Digest*.

I quote the leading editorial and An Oath, retaining the heavy type passages of the original. An Open Letter to the United States Senate ends with this paragraph:- "You had better stop lynching in this country. Stop all forms of lawlessness practiced on Black men by white. Make the American Constitution protect everybody alike. We are not appealing. We never will appeal again. We are demanding that in the name of **FOURTEEN MILLION OF LOYAL BLACK MEN AND WOMEN LYNCHING MUST GO.**"

**Leading Editorial: "WE ARE SLAVES, BASE, IGNOBLE SLAVES"**

"The Negro who believes himself free is both a liar and a jack-ass. Not since the ignominious fall of ancient Rome 'that from her seven hills of beauty ruled the world' Rome with her beaten and bullied plebians, her selfish and exploiting patricians, has any group of loyal people in a democratic community been as vilely and unceasingly maligned, ostracized, lynched, murdered morally and physically as the Negro of America. Still we must not condemn our sacred Government. Do it, if you dare, and woe be-tide you. A sleek, black liveried judge, part of every imperial system awaits to give you an eternity with *Cene Debs*, *St. John Tucker* and the rest who were not afraid to stand on the **HILLS OF GOLGOTHA IN THE SHADOW OF THE CROSS** in the powerful cause of truth and righteousness. But we are not free. By every Saint that handles power in heaven and on earth, in temple or on hillside we are slaves, base, ignoble slaves with one right - the right to die at the hands of murderers, midnight assassins. From this day, nevertheless, with the fires of resentment burning in every corner of our tortured souls we swear **HOLY ALLEGIANCE TO HIGH HEAVEN** that we will be free. We renounce with scorn the old law of turning the left cheek once the right be smitten, of love thy enemy as thyself. Love *Heke Smith*, *Vardaman*, *Reed*, *Blease*, *Williams*, *Thomas Dixon*? Love every white devil that lies on innocents and does not even pause at stabbing an unborn Black baby in its mother's breast? **NEVER, NEVER, NEVER.**

**LOVE FOR LOVE.  
HATE FOR HATE.  
RESPECT FOR RESPECT.  
SMITE FOR SMITE.**

"These are not new doctrines, not overnight ethics of an overnight creed. In every page of man's wild flight from holes and caves, grass eating and mud drinking, to his fine mansions,

fine victuals and wine drinking, these have been the preachments. They are the preachments today. They will always be so as long as men have the instinct to know **RIGHT** from **WRONG**, **DEATH** from **LIFE**, **SLAVERY** from **LIBERTY**."

\* \* \* \* \*

### **AN OATH**

**"BY ETERNAL HEAVEN --**

**I swear never to love any flag simply for its color, nor any country for its name.**

**The flag of my affections must rest over me as a banner of protection, not as a cable around.**

**The country of my patriotism must be above color distinctions, must be one of laws, not of men; of law and not lawlessness, of LIBERTY and not BONDAGE, of privilege to all, not special privilege to some.**

**Emiser is not the only word synonymous with IMPERIALISM, TYRANNY, MURDER, and RAPE.**

**PRESIDENT AND KING are not the only words synonymous with DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM, PROGRESS.**

**I shall love not names, but deeds. I shall pay homage to any and all men who strive to rid the world of the pestilential diseases of WAR, PREJUDICE, OPPRESSION, LYNCHING.**

**I am a Patriot.**

**I am not merely of a Race and a Country, but of the World.**

**I am BROTHERHOOD."**

\* \* \* \* \*

7/11/700

August 18, 1918.

J. A. Baker, Esq.,

Action Division Superintendent,

City Hall Station,

New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing herewith a photostatic copy of a communication received in this Department concerning certain racial (Negro) publications which have a circulation abroad.

Will you kindly make necessary inquiry into the publications referred to, two of which I know are published in your city, namely "The Crusader" and "The Negro World".

Very truly yours,

Assistant Director and Chief,

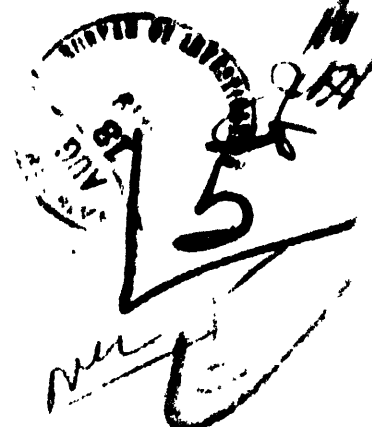
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**Post Office Department  
OFFICE OF THE SOLICITOR  
Washington**

Aug. 1, 1919.



*Negro Substitution.*

**Mr. Frank Burke,  
Assistant Director and Chief,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.**

**Dear Sir:**

**There is inclosed for your information copies of communications received from Consular G. E. Chamberlin and Acting Colonial Secretary Geo. Hall-Greene of Georgetown, Demerara, which were received from the Department of State.**

**Very truly yours,**

**W. H. Lamar**  
Solicitor.

**Inc.**

OG 359561



C O P Y

AMERICAN CONSULATE.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Georgetown, Guiana, May 9, 1919.

SUBJECT: Requesting information for the British Guiana Government concerning certain publications issued in the United States.

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to advise that recently certain publications have been received in this colony from the United States, evidently issued by Negro publishers, which appear to adopt a policy of antagonism to the white race, and which are causing the British Guiana Government some anxiety. The Government would like to prevent their receipt and distribution, but owing to the fact that the black population is several times that of the white and includes some prominent persons such as officials, lawyers, doctors and ministers, they are uncertain as to the advisability of taking the necessary steps here to prevent their circulation.

The Inspector General of Police called at the consulate in connection with the matter and enquired as to whether any action had been taken in the United States to investigate the nature of these publications, stating that they were becoming alarmed as to what might result from an unrestricted circulation in the colony of these papers on account of the nature of some of their articles. Being unable to advise him as to the situation in connection with these papers in the United States, I informed him that I would be glad to present the matter confidentially to the Department of State and request such information as it might be able to supply, provided his Government considered it advisable.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a communication received from the Colonial Secretary in which he states that His Excellency would be much obliged if confidential enquiries could be made in the United States concerning these papers, and enclosing

four copies of publications for my information. Unfortunately these papers cannot be transmitted as it was requested that they be returned after perusal.

The papers enclosed were as follows:

"The Crusader" of April, 1919, Vol. 1, No. 8, published monthly by Cyril V. Briggs, at 2299 Seventh Avenue, New York, N.Y.

"The Negro World" of February 8, 1919, Vol. 1, No. 26, Marcus Cravey, Managing Editor, published at 36-38 West 135th Street, New York, N.Y.

"The Monitor" of March 15, 1919, Vol. IV, No. 37, published by the Rev. John Albert Williams at Omaha, Nebraska. A weekly publication.

"The Christian Recorder" the Official Organ of the African Methodist Church of March 20, 1919, Vol. LXVI, No. 53, published weekly at 631 Pine Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

I have read these papers carefully and am unable to find anything objectionable in "The Monitor" and "The Christian Recorder", but the "Crusader" and "The Negro World" both have articles that would appear antagonistic to the white race, and it is these two papers that the Inspector General of Police considered dangerous if circulated freely among the Negro population of the colony. It appears that the publishers forward these publications in packages addressed to local persons who act as agents or distributors.

I shall be glad if the Department can supply the confidential information requested by His Excellency, the Officer Administering the Government.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,  
(Signed) G. E. Chamberlin  
Consul.

Enclosure:

Letter from the Colonial Secretary, May 3, 1919.

C O P Y

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE,

Georgetown, Demerara,

8rd May, 1910.

Sir:

With reference to the interview which the Inspector General of Police had with you upon the subject, I am directed by the Officer Administering the Government to transmit herewith copies of the following publications issued in the United States:

"The Crusader"  
"The Monitor"  
"The Recorder"  
"The Negro World"

It would seem desirable that some enquiry should be instigated with a view of determining whether or not any action should be taken to restrict the circulation of any of these publications which appear to adopt a policy of antagonism to the white race, and His Excellency would be much obliged if you will cause confidential inquiries to be made in the United States concerning these papers.

I will be glad if you will return the papers after perusal.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

your obedient servant,

OSD RAIL-OR-TIME,  
Acting Colonial Secretary.

C. E. Chamberlin, Esquire,

Consul of the United States of America.

Georgetown.

Dear Sir:

We wish to call your attention to the fact that the Crown Prince of Abyssinia, Africa, is visiting this country the latter part of this month, and through the representative of Abyssinia and this grand lodge, M.K.P. G. Master G.C.P. of J. F. ., U. S. A., he has made known his desire to meet as many of his race as possible during his stay here. As this is the first Crown Prince of our race, a direct descendant of King Solomon to visit this country, we feel we should make every effort to make his visit memorable.

Our plans are to write to all colored churches throughout the country and to all Fraternal organizations and through them we are trying to raise as much money as possible from our people to defray the expenses of receptions, etc.

The Prince is expected here on the 30th of this month and will go to Washington on official business for his government, our plans are to have the first reception at Carnegie Hall, New York City, and to hold receptions in as many cities as possible. Many of our race do not know that they are connected with Royalty, through direct blood lines of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and to our race having the honor of the oldest Royal Family in the world, that have reigned continuously since 3000 B.C.

Mr. George Gavriel, the Abyssinian interpreter, who speaks thirteen different languages and whose father was an officer in the court of the Kings of Kings under the illustrious King Menelik of Africa, is at the head of this committee.

We feel that this is a matter which should be of great interest to our race. We hope that we can interest you and that you will take this matter up with your congregation. All subscriptions will be published. The Abyssinian flag, representing the Tribe of Judah and the Ethiopian flag, representing the Ethiopian race, oldest race in the world, will be floated on the arrival of the Prince.

Hoping that we will hear from you at your earliest convenience and address all letters, etc. to Secretaries, We are,

Respectfully yours,

Rev. H. H. Thomas, Secretary,

Chas. B. Robinson, Asst.

108 Lincoln Pl., Long Branch, N.J.

Sec'y.

68 White St., Red Bank, N.J. also sec'y Bates Lodge 220 I.B.P.O.E.W.

#### Committee

Mr. George Gavriel, Pres

James Cannon

Rev. Wendell Missionary

William Anderson

Louis P. Mitchell

George Jones

Dr. J. W. Parker

P.L. Jones

Wm. Williams

M. Adams

E. H. Brown

Capt. Jas. A. Thomas

Member Hannibal No. 4 K. of P.

Golden Pledge Lodge 7887, G.U.O.O.F.

Chivalric Co. No. 1, U.A.M. of P.

Home office- 744 Chelsea Avenue, Long Branch, N.J.

OG 359561

NEGRO AGITATION

Universal Negro Improvement Association

A great mass meeting was held by Marcus Garvey in Pittsburgh on the evening of September 26th, at Rodman Street Baptist Church. The purpose of this meeting was to explain to the people of Pittsburgh the "aims and objects of the great organization known as the Universal Negro Improvement Association." Among other things Mr. Garvey said:

"Now that peace has been restored to the world you will find great countries like Japan, Germany, France, England, America and Canada preparing for a commercial rivalry never planned nor experienced before. Each nation will be endeavoring to outdo the other.. and for that there will absolutely be no mercy shown to the weaker peoples and nationalities of the world whose products and raw materials will be wanted to swell the financial returns of these great contending nations for supremacy."

"When we look at Africa, we find that country to be a mart of robbers and exploiters. The great mineral and agricultural lands of our fathers are to be exploited by all the nations of the world, and we, of the Universal Negro Improvement Ass'n., having studied the situation most carefully, have decided to do our best to prevent the further merciless exploitation of the African, American and West Indian Negroes..."

"As a people we cannot continue to tamely submit to the indignities heaped upon us by other races that call themselves superior. When we scrutinize the attitude of the American, English, French and German white man, we find that all four have the same opinion of the Negro. They all believe that the Negro should be a subject race; that he is not to have self-government; that he is not capable of taking a place in the great government of the world... In France there is a camouflage to let Negroes believe that democratic France means so much to the Negro, but beneath the surface there is that deep-seated prejudice in France that will one day burst out even with more detriment to the Negro than there has been in the Southern States of the United States..."

"Hence, we of the Universal Negro Improvement Association have come to realize that all white men are white men. Therefore, the line should be drawn all

Negroes should be negroes, whether we are French, British, American or German born. The Negro has suffered four hundred million wrongs. Hence, he ought to organize four hundred million strong. And we have come to you good people of Pittsburgh tonight to ask you to link yourselves up with the millions who are now flocking to the leadership of this Association..."

At the close of Mr. Garvey's address, it is reported, a large number of persons joined the Association and formed the nucleus of the Pittsburgh Division of the Universal Improvement Association.

The following letter from Marcus Garvey, dated Chicago, October 1st, and addressed to Fellowmen of the Negro Race, was published in the "Negro World" issue of October 11th, under the caption "Black Men All Over the World Should Prepare to Protect Themselves"-- "Negroes should match fire with hell fire":

"Another riot has visited the country and Omaha, Nebraska, has placed her name upon the map of mob violence, so it can be seen that the mob spirit is spreading all over, going from South to East, to mid-West and then to the West.

"Mobs of white men all over the world will continue to lynch and burn Negroes so long as we remain divided among ourselves. The very moment all the Negroes of this and other countries start to stand together, that very time will see the white men standing in fear of the Negro race even as he stands in fear of the yellow race of Japan to-day.

"The Negro must now organize all over the world 400,000,000 strong, to administer to our oppressors their Waterloo.

"There have been many riots in the United States and England recently, and immediately following the war of Democracy, there will be many more as coming from the white man. Therefore, the best thing the Negro of all countries can do is to prepare to match fire with hell fire. No African is going to allow the Caucasian to trample eternally upon his rights. We have allowed it for 500 years and we have now struck.

"Fellowmen of the World, I here beg of you to prepare, for a great day is coming-- the day of the war of the races, when Asia will lead out to defeat Europe and Europe and the white man will again call upon the Negro to save him as we have often done.

"The new Negro has fought the last battle for the white man, and he is now getting ready to fight for the redemption of Africa. With mob laws and lynching been fresh in our memories, we shall turn a deaf ear to the white man when Asia administers to him his final 'licking' and place and keep him where he belongs..."

"Let every Negro all over the world prepare for the emancipation. The Fatherland, Africa, has been kept by God Almighty for the Negro to redeem, and we, young men and women of the race, have pledged ourselves to plant the flag of freedom and of Empire.

"Our forces of industry, commerce, science, art, literature and war must be marshalled when Asia or Europe strikes the blow of a second world war. Black men shall die then... but in the end there shall be a crowning victory for the soldiers of Ethiopia on the African battlefields.

"And now let me remind all of you, fellowmen, to do your duty to the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation... This corporation is endeavoring to float a line of steamships to handle the Negro trade of the world, to run a line of steamships, between America, Canada, South and Central America, the West Indies and Africa, to link the Negro peoples of the world in trade and commerce...."

The greatest meeting in the history of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, according to the "Negro World" was held in Liberty Hall, on the evening of October 8th, after Marcus Garvey's return from his western tour. The cause of the agitation that drew 6,000 Negroes to Liberty Hall was that the "Chicago Defender" had cited in a headline that the Black Star Line had been sunk. The people didn't know whether a boat had been sunk in the Atlantic Ocean or in Lake Michigan... and they came to find out. But the vast majority came out to show Marcus Garvey that they were with him heart and soul and that they appreciated his efforts to lift the Negro race to a higher standard."

Prof. W.H. Ferris, literary editor of the "Negro World" introduced the Hon. Marcus Garvey as the hero of the hour, the man of destiny of the Negro race. Mr. Garvey said in part:

"We never discovered how weak the "Chicago Defender" was in its own town until that Sunday afternoon meeting. It is the most unpopular paper in Chicago...

"They say that everything is fair in love and war. I like to give a man a fair chance to fight. I do not like to strike a man in the back."

"Some of the most prominent men came upon the platform and took up the fight against the "Chicago Defender" where I left off. The five hundred members in Chicago elected the editor of "The Whip" to whip the "Chicago Defender" We had bankers and publishers on the platform and men of all classes in the audience.

"I told them in Chicago that I admired their spirit, the spirit of self-defense. We do not have time to waste with riots in New York. You have Negroes from all parts of the country and all parts of the world in New York. You have here the Mexican negro, the Central American Negro and the South American Negro. These are the ones who

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of America, formed for the purpose of enhancing Negro improvement generally and bringing the race to a vivid understanding of what our aspirations must lead us to. ~~We have enthusiastically sustained every phase of Negro~~ life, and we all coincide with the New York organization that in the "Back of Africa" movement only will the solution for the race problem be found..."

"We, too, have been mobilizing the sentiments of our people to return to our Fatherland, where a great African Empire will be founded. We hail with delight the activities of the company of the Black Star Line, which we assure you will be a giant success. And we can vouch that Negroes far and near, and from the remotest ends of the earth, will send across all available funds in order that the Black Star Line may, in the very near future, begin to plough the seas."

Agent Fowler, Nashville, Tenn. Oct. 25, 1919. Oct. 25/19

In Re: Confidential investigation of books, magazines, newspapers and other literature now being circulated among the colored race.

At Nashville, Tenn.

With reference to report of Agent Fowler for Oct. 16th.

According to my request J. O. Haxley, (colored), formerly Registrar of the Treasury of the United States, came to my office and reported the following facts to me relative to subject, set forth in report of Agent Fowler. He states that Dr. Ray, owner and editor of the "National Baptist Union Review" (a colored newspaper), was out of the city at the time the publication was issued which contained the following paragraph:

"STOP GOING WITH HAT IN HAND ASKING FOR WHAT YOU WANT, BUT GO WITH GUN IN HAND AND DEMAND WHAT YOU WANT, RACE RIGHTS."

The said paragraph having been placed at the head of a column of the newspaper and inverted. Haxley claims that he was not only out of the city, but did not know that this article had been put in his newspaper until brought to his attention by J. O. Haxley. He states further that he is of the opinion that one of his type setters, who happens to be the son of an enemy of his, is probably responsible for the publication of this article, as well as the manner in which it was set up in the paper, but he assures us that there will be no repetition of such matter and in the future he will give personal supervision to every issue of his paper before it is sent out to the public. Haxley states that Ray was considerably worried over the matter and appreciated the manner in which the Department had treated him and will be only too glad to co-operate with this Department in the future and try and keep down, as far as possible, any race friction.

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U.S. Atty., Nashville.