

The Indispensable Weekly

The Voice of the Awakened Negro

# THE Negro World

A Newspaper Devoted Solely to the Interests of the Negro Race

Reaching the Mass of Negroes

The Best Advertising Medium

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## FOUR HUNDRED MILLION NEGROES ORGANIZING FOR WORLD POWER

FELLOW MEN OF THE NEGRO RACE, Greeting:

I have decided to write to you today on the other purpose of our organization work, and I hope each and every one of you will realize that the time for race adjustment is now, and can only be brought about by the united co-operation of each and every member of the race.

For hundreds of years we have struggled apart, fighting our individual battles, championing our individual causes, and gaining no result therefrom, except that of defeat. We are now living in a co-operative age when individuals, races and nations co-operate for a common cause. If we look at the affairs of things today we will find that a desperate effort is being made to organize the three hundred and thirty odd millions of Indians into one great racial national group, as also the four million Irish and the twelve million Jews. We will find nations endeavoring to make treaties and alliances with each other for economic as well as political advantages, so that the time is really opportune for the Universal Negro Improvement Association to make a determined effort in organizing the four hundred million Negroes in the world for the common good.

In organization there is strength. The forces that have contributed to world changes were backed up by organized efforts, and not by individual action.

### Selfishness

Caring not in what direction you turn your thought, you will find that organization has been the motive power behind human achievements, so that the Universal Negro Improvement Association feels that it is the duty of every Negro to at this time organize himself into this greatest Negro movement. We have been lagging behind in human progress for several centuries, until the world has become so highly developed as to make it impossible for us to find an economic place, or a political settlement. If we allow the world to continue in its aggressive attitude of racial and national organization without our forming a part of the great change, it will mean that in another century the entire race of four hundred millions will be blotted out, in that the other races are making absolutely no effort to tolerate the Negro in the future as has been done in the past. Human society has been so regulated that we find each and every group of the great human family seeking an existence to the exclusion and disadvantage of the other. Whether we be Germans, English, French, Italians, Spaniards, Russians, or Americans, Indians, Egyptians or Jews, we find that each and every unit is striking out on singular lines as far as the race's interest is concerned. The German no longer thinks of the Frenchman, neither the Frenchman thinks of the Englishman in terms of racial self-preservation, so that it is advisable that four hundred million Negroes start now to think that their interest is natural to them and should be sought after irrespective of any other human claim or tie.

### The Cardinal Laws

We are asking that each and every member of the Universal Negro Improvement Association at this time make up his and her mind to join one hundred additional members in the organization between now and the 1st of August of the present year, and we are also asking that every Negro who reads this message will go out as a worker for this great cause and boost it in the highways and byways, and ask every Negro you come in contact with to be a member of this great organization. The program must be put over, that of emancipating the race everywhere industrially, commercially, socially, religiously, educationally and politically, and above all freeing our Motherland Africa from the grip of the alien tyrant. This work must be done, it must not be put off for another decade or for another century. It must be started now, and, if possible, be accomplished in another few years. All that is necessary is that each and every Negro make up his and her mind to pull together, to stick together, and if needs be to die together. We have had our individual, selfish, divided interests in the past, but the time has come for collective interest. If we must die, then let us not die singly, but let us die as four hundred million people, all standing firm in demand of the great principles that have

### THE FREEDOM OF AFRICA AND EMANCIPATION OF RACE EVERYWHERE DESIRED

### PREPARING FOR GREATEST RACE CONVENTION

### GREAT NEGRO MOVEMENT GROWING BY LEAPS AND BOUNDS

governed humanity ever since God said "Let there be light," the principles of Liberty, of Freedom, of Democracy, of Justice and Equity. We demand these things for four hundred million Negroes of the world, even as they have been extended to other races of mankind. For these principles men have fought, for these principles men have died, and for them four hundred million Negroes are prepared to shed the last drop of their blood.

### A Conglomeration of Intellectuals

We shall look forward to our forthcoming convention with great hope, because to us will come thousands of men from all parts of the world, from the forty-eight States of the American Union, from South and Central America, from the West Indies, Europe, Asia, Australia and from Africa, breathing the spirit of liberty; yes, they shall come with a determination to win liberty or to die.

What are we? We are men created in the image of our God, men with a purpose, men with a will. If we will to do, we shall do, or we shall die in the attempt of doing. Let this creative will of ours be our guide through life, the will to accomplish great things, the will never to go down in defeat, the will never to beg of the other fellow what we can do for ourselves. And what can we not do for ourselves? There is nothing within the reach of man that man cannot do for himself. So long as man does not transgress the powers of God, so long as man does not attempt to interfere with God's divine laws, man in himself becomes that sovereign lord, that creature who shapes his own destiny, who lays out his own course.

All members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association have made up in their minds that they, between 1922-1923, are going to do all in their power in arousing the sleeping consciousness of the world to the fact that Negroes are men, that Negroes have feelings, that Negroes have souls, that Negroes are as much entitled to the benefits of God's creation as any other human being.

### Africa's Freedom

Dear members, it is your duty wheresoever you are at this time to work harder than you ever did before. Let your convention of 1922 be a ringing success, let it go down the ages that in 1922 you rang the changes throughout the world, until the whole universe re-echoed your demands and yielded up your rights. Yes, if it takes the manhood in us to get our rights, then we shall win them; if it takes our intelligence, then we shall win them; if it takes our blood, then we shall surely win them, because we are determined to do or die. It is no use putting off; it must come sooner or later. What must come? The freedom of Africa and the emancipation of the Negro everywhere. Do you think four hundred million Negroes can tolerate for eternity the abuses of the world, being kicked about, being spat upon, being spurned, being treated as dogs? For you to have such a belief, to encourage such an opinion, is to make one think that you are crazy. No other race in all history has withstood persecutions and sufferings for so long as the Negro. We have done it because we are patient, we are charitable, we are sympathetic, we are meek. But, ah! in our meekness, in our patience, in our charity, in our sympathy, there is a method, and do not forget that, even in the humility and inoffensiveness of the worm, there is a method, and the worm may turn one day. Negroes have died here, there and everywhere, for everybody else within the last five hundred years. Negroes have built up the great British Empire, Negroes have built up French Imperialism, Negroes have fought for the stabilization of Italy, they have fought for

the aggrandizement of Germany, they have fought to build up nations and empires everywhere for others. Negroes are prepared now to fight, if needs be, to build up an African Empire of their own. Empires have risen and Empires have fallen. Assyria, Babylon, Carthage, Greece, Rome, Spain have fallen, and others have been resurrected on their ruins. History repeats itself. So do we expect others will fall, and out of the wreck and ruin will rise a mighty African Empire upon which the sun will never set, an Empire founded on the principles of Justice, Equity, Mercy, Love and Truth—human brotherhood. Yes, an Empire that will teach in truth the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

### Concerted Effort

Negroes, let us work toward this end, let us teach savage, insane man of today the true principles of life; yes, because man has become a savage, man has become a brute; when man seeks to rob, to exploit, to even kill his brother so as to take away from him that which God has given to all in common, you will realize without a question, without any doubt, that man has become crazy, man is mad, man is a savage, man is a cannibal at his best, in this twentieth century.

The civilization of today is bankrupt. It is no good, it is but a reign of cannibalism, a reign of savagery. Can it last? If it lasts for another century, then there will be no more world, and four hundred million Negroes cannot allow man to ruin his brother without making an effort to save him.

Members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, let us work together. Men may jeer you, men may criticize you, men may advise you against doing what you have decided to do in your own interest, but remember that man has always been a doubtful creature. Man doubted even the Son of God when He came and lived among us with the hope of redeeming us from our sins. When He preached to us the new life, what did we do? Man persecuted Him, man crucified Him. So we will not expect anything different today; let them persecute you, let them say all manner of things against you. Be assured that your cause is righteous, that your cause is just. Accept the great God as your leader, accept the Lord Jesus Christ as your standard-bearer, and with firm faith in Heaven's great blessing, go forward and conquer for the right. Bleeding Africa needs our help, suffering humanity of our race is crying out to us; it is for us to do our duty.

Every branch of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is hereby asked to make every effort possible to get in good financial standing with the Parent Body, so that our organization can stand for something solid, something worth while. We need the financial help of every division of the association, so that every Executive Officer, every Secretary, President and Treasurer are asked to see that their monthly reports are sent regularly to the Secretary-General's Office at headquarters, to enable us to carry out the big program that now confronts us. Every member of the association is asked to see that their officers send in the regular monthly reports, and it is the duty of each and everyone to do his and her bit for the African Redemption Fund and the Convention Fund now being raised for the carrying out of our program for 1922. Let us all co-operate and do our duty by this greatest of all movements. Send in your help immediately to the Universal Negro Improvement Association, 56 West 135th Street, New York City, U. S. A.

With very best wishes for your success, I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,  
MARCUS GARVEY, *President-General*,  
UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION  
New York, May 1, 1922.

P. S.—My article of last week, entitled "MAN—AS WE KNOW HIM," is reprinted with corrections in another part of this paper. It is because the printers mis-spelled, misplaced and omitted several words in the original copy that was submitted to them from which the article was reduced. The mistakes were so many that I will not here enumerate them but would ask that the article be re-read from the publication of this week.

M. G.  
\* P. S.—Again I have to remind all Divisional Officers to send in their monthly divisional reports so that each Division of the association be registered in good standing for the convention of the present year. Names of all Divisions will be read at the convention, and we want to have every Division in good standing.







# Negro World

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## THE SEIZURE OF HAITI

ALTHOUGH war has never been declared against what was once the Republic of Haiti by the United States Government, that unhappy country has been seized and by the greater part of seven years ruled with an iron hand by the Department of these United States, apparently by and with the consent of the National City Bank of New York.

This seizure of Haiti by the United States constitutes one of the darkest chapters in American history and will forever leave a bar sinister on its military escutcheon. More than that, in the opinion of twenty-four distinguished American lawyers who signed a very able report on "The Seizure of Haiti," presented to the Secretary of State, which appears elsewhere in this issue, "the action of our government has violated our Constitution and reduced our treaty obligations to a scrap of paper."

At a time when Woodrow Wilson was giving expression to lofty ideals, proclaiming self-determination for smaller peoples and "make the world safe for democracy," American marine were mercilessly shooting down comparatively defenseless Haitians whose only offense was to be found in defending their right to self-determination.

For over a century, Haiti, struggling against tremendous odds, beset on all sides by hostile, prejudiced and imperialistic nations, succeeded in maintaining her integrity as a sovereign State with a republican form of government. Her independence was not handed to her on a silver platter; her sons fought and bled and died to obtain it, mingling their blood freely with the very soil of Haiti, making that island sacred and inviolate for her sons, even as the United States is for her sons.

During Haiti's struggle to maintain herself in the family of nations, harassed as she has been by internal conflict engineered by capitalists in the United States and elsewhere, no American citizen has ever been injured in person or property by Haitians, and foreigners were safer there than in many American cities.

She discharged her international obligations in a manner free from adverse criticism and has never given occasion for United States intervention in her affairs. The high-handed manner in which the United States has gained control over her territory savors of the new American imperialism and makes our protestations of democracy a hollow mockery.

Germany at least pleaded military necessity in invading Belgium and made no pretense of democracy. Is there any difference in principle between the action of Germany in Belgium and the United States in Haiti? On six occasions during 1914 and 1915 the United States made efforts to secure control of Haiti without avail. Here we have the big bully taking by force what could not be secured through diplomatic overtures.

During the last Presidential campaign President Harding declared that if he were elected he would not "empower an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury to draft a Constitution for our helpless neighbors in the West Indies and jam it down their throats at the point of bayonets borne by the United States Marines."

It seems that Mr. Harding has already forgotten those campaign statements and has decided since the "constrution" has already been jammed down the throats of the Haitians at the point of bayonets, he'll keep the United States Marines there to force the Haitians to digest it. Secretary Hughes is quoted as saying that the United States has no intention of withdrawing from Haiti at present. No doubt the Secretaries of the Navy and State and the National City Bank of New York and the President and the United States Marines will combine to force the process of digestion on the part of the poor, helpless Haitians with the additional impetus of the bayonets.

Here stands American imperialism naked and unashamed.

## THE GRANT CENTENNIAL

LAST week the country celebrated the centennial of the birth of Ulysses Simpson Grant, the man who was at the beginning of the Civil War engaged with his father in a small tannery and leather business and who in the short space of three or four years won victory after victory until he crushed the Confederacy and saved the Union and won undying renown as a soldier.

Black men may well remember that in the terrible battle of the Wilderness, in the trenches before Petersburg and Richmond, the Negro troops were men who helped to make General Grant's victories decisive.

Ex-Gov. P. B. S. Pinchback liked to speak of the palmy reconstruction days, days in which black men went to Congress and served as State Legislators, superintendents of education, Secretaries of State and Lieutenant-Governors in the sunny South. Then Federal troops remained in the South and protected the Negro in the exercise of his political rights. That was the period between 1868 and 1876 when U. S. Grant was President of the United States.

He gave Frederick Douglass, Ebenezer D. Bassett and other colored men a chance to prove their worth as diplomats. The fortunes of war aided the Negro politically a half a century. The Negro may yet in this country again bask in the sun-

THE NEGRO WORLD, SATURDAY, MAY 6, 1922

## PARADOXES

ARGUMENT against the Deer Anti-Lynching Bill, Representative William C. Lankford of Georgia is ludicrously rhetorical. It is a fetish of lettered white men to speak of the Negro's "wordiness." Especially is this true of pseudo-intellectuals like Isaac F. Marcovson, who, on his visit to the Congo, found a native with big Oxford English words in his mouth. Even Jack London in his South American tales humorously conjures up black cannibals who could recite whole pages from a Louisa May's grammar. But let us come back to Representative Lankford and his glittering rhetoric. We quote from the Congressional Record:

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, when God created the heavens and the earth and the fullness thereof and thought of suns, planets, stars and satellites, and they rolled from His finger tips and took their places in the broad expanse of space, and said, 'Let there be light,' and there was light, and the earth with the beginning, saw all that has ever come to pass and all the future and knew of the future progress of humanity before the birth of the race. He was well pleased, and yet His supreme creative work had not yet been done. He took the dust of the earth and molded it into His own image, into the form of a man and breathed into its nostrils His own creative, everlasting, immortal breath, and the image came forth a human being, a living soul, all dominating, all conquering, everlasting, eternal, immortal; a part of God Himself; a Caucasian, a white man, and God gave that first white man dominion over all things, and told him to reach to the bottom of the sea and up to the highest skies and understand and know the mysteries of all time and space, and that first man, a white man, went forth to solve, understand, conquer, and know the universe in which he had been placed. And that first white man from that day to this has been the all-powerful, all-controlling, all-dominating man of the world. He has conquered the depths of the sea; he has flown like a bird through the very gates of the skies; he has whispered around the world in the twilight of a night, he has weighed the moon, the earth, and the stars; he is solving and knowing and bringing under his subjection and dominion all the mysteries of life, of space, and of all the universe of God, and as time goes by he is learning to think, understand, and know the thoughts of the Almighty God of the skies."

This is nothing to smile about. It is a serious matter. But, after all, Mr. Rogers is right. America's accumulated nonsense is marooned in Washington.

## GARVEY AND THE CHICAGO WHIP

OF the many Negro papers that come to us, The Chicago Whip is undoubtedly one of the best edited. It bristles with news. Its editorials are burdened with opinion. At times, however, it is at the mercy of a Hearst-like sensationalism. It is playing the role of muck-racker and acid-tester.

In its current issue Marcus Garvey and the U. N. I. A. come "Under the Lash of the Whip." This is a department devoted to constructive criticism of men and measures in the hope of correcting errors and evils. The Whip, it is evident, is ignorant of the facts in the case. It is peeved and annoyed because certain people have referred to Marcus Garvey as the "Moses of the Race." It does not like this. Why, it argues, Garvey has "none of the qualities of leadership that Moses had." Again, "next thing some will proclaim that Garvey is the second Messiah," etc., etc.

It is the policy of the U. N. I. A. to welcome criticism, that is, criticism based on facts and statistics. But when a paper like The Chicago Whip challenges its integrity it is time to step in and "get it told." Ever since Mr. Garvey's arrest there has been a storm of comment favorable and unfavorable. Editors, ignorant of the charges, are speculating as to the outcome. Some of them go so far as to prophesy Mr. Garvey's downfall. Before that only the ultra intrepid dared say anything about it. It was one of the untouchable realities of life. People envied it because they could not exploit it. Moreover, it had revolutionized the entire theory of Negro progress. It brought fire to the hearts of men, and the joy of others. It was a mighty, world-grinding thing. Then the work of traitors began to bear fruit. The result is too well known to warrant repetition. Wolves and vultures are feeding on its carcass.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By DUKE MOHAMED ALI

I insisted last week that America was losing a golden opportunity by her non-intervention in the affairs of Europe. Now Mr. Lloyd George's pronouncement at Genoa on the 26th of April, three days after publication was given to my statements in these pages, bears out my contention:

"I wish America were here," he exclaimed. "Some people think we want the United States for some selfish purpose. This is not true. We want America because she exercises a peculiar authority. Her very aloofness gives her the right to speak."

"America could exercise an influence no other country could command. She could come here free and disinterested, and with the prestige which comes from her independent position she would come with the voice of peace."

"But America is not here, so Europe must do her best to solve the problems in her own way."

It is obvious that American statesmen are neither performing their duties to the people of the United States nor to humanity at large by the aloofness to which I referred last week and to which the British Prime Minister subscribes. It is all very well for American statesmen to plead the obsolete Monroe Doctrine, but directly America intervened in the European struggle she became directly involved in the settlement of Europe, and, as the British Premier says, she has the prestige which comes "from her independent position." I sincerely hope that American statesmen will take note.

Further: Mr. Lloyd George gave it as his opinion that the

disorganization of Europe would affect the entire world, including the United States. He was amazed at people who ignored the potent fact facing Europe today. Unless the Genoa conference succeeded in arranging a pact of peace he was confident that in his own life, certainly in the life of the younger men present, Europe would again welter in blood.

Again I have to draw the attention of my readers to my statement in the last issue of The Negro World, viz.: "The—Germany and Russia—have been driven into an alliance which is likely to be the beginning of another conflagration if the 'Big Four' do not adjust their perspective." It is obvious that the "Big Four" have adjusted their perspective, for, to quote Mr. Lloyd George again, he at least has arrived at the realities and is beginning to abandon his false political values and his blusters.

He compared Europe to seething, racial lava, which, like the earth's crust, was seeking a proper level. This adjustment was full of peril. He emphasized that Europe must take cognizance of hungry Russia, which would be equipped by an angry Germany.

"The world must recognize the fact," he said, "that Russia and Germany combined contain over two-thirds of the people of Europe. Their voice will be heard, and the Russo-German treaty is the first warning of it."

Not only is this the correct view, and, as I said last week, there could be no other view. Meanwhile, the French are arriving at an agreement with England over the Russo-German pact and M. Barthou remains on duty at the Gas Works.

The gem of Mr. Lloyd George's statement is, however, contained in the subjoined paragraphs:

"We triumphed in the war," he said, "but our triumph will not last forever. If our victory develops into oppression, vengeance will follow, just as Germany's action which started the world war was followed by vengeance."

"We must be just and equitable and show strength; we must realize that Europe is not on good terms and that storms are arising which we must deal with. We had hoped that the end of the great war meant the end of brute force, but unless Europe's problems are solved there is no assurance that force has given way to right."

I maintain that the victory of the Allies has resulted and developed into oppression in India, in Egypt, in Morocco, and the triumph "will not," may cannot, "last forever." With Gandhi in prison and Zogolou Pasha banished, although we are led to believe that Egypt is "free," together with the covert assistance which the Allies—particularly England—have given to Greece against the Turkish Nationalists, all constitute a form of "oppression" in the twilight of a night. There are storms and problems arising from the end of the great war, but also in Asia and Africa, and problems indeed, not only in Europe, but also in Asia and Africa, and the end of the great war has not ended brute force, it only appears to have intensified it. Force has not given way nor has right prevailed as far as the darker peoples are concerned.

It is because of brute force, the absence of right and the unreliability of European diplomatic pronouncements that the darker races of the world are coming together. There is yet time to stem the oncoming tide if these very diplomats are wise. When England was in difficulties we heard a great deal about self-determination for the peoples outside the British Empire, particularly in the foreign elements outside the British Empire, in point of intelligence far behind that prevailing in Asia and Africa. The European officials who have gone forth to carry the torch of paralysis to these far distant lands have arrived at their posts with preconceived notions as to the intellectual inferiority of these peoples. Consequently all attempts made by the peoples of the soil in the direction of self-determination or liberal government have resulted in that very brute force which Mr. Lloyd George professed to repudiate. Statesmen and administrators overlook the fact that the people of the South Asia and Africa were self-governing before the advent of the Europeans. These rulers and murderers of Europe claim they have a mandate to "civilize" the so-called backward darker races of the world, but we have never been able to ascertain who conferred this mandate upon our self-constituted guardians. It is for this reason that Japan, divested of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, has thrown down the gauntlet to the white races through Umehiro Suzuki, the Japanese member of Parliament. I am not sure that Japan will realize her dream of consolidating the colored peoples of the world. For reasons previously stated, it will be necessary for her to reform her methods in Korea and Manchuria before the colored peoples of the earth will have that confidence in her professions which will be the chief essential to success.

It is quite easy, however, to indulge in destructive criticism. Few critics have anything in the nature of a constructive policy to offer. Knowing this, I would suggest to Mr. Lloyd George that he shall proceed without delay to set the darker portion of his house in order if he be to last. In the first place he should be aware that the darker races are neither better nor worse than any other group of the human family, and that the self-determination which he so loudly proclaims for the peoples of India, Africa and the West Indies without further delay. British East Africa and the late German colonies in that section of Africa should be given to the natives of the country, the Indian settlers and those discontented African elements now resident in the South American republics and the West Indies. Negro soldiers who fought to save the British Empire from destruction should be encouraged and every facility given them to settle in this section of Africa which was conquered by black troops. A high commissioner should be appointed and the judiciary should consist of Africans, Indians and English judges. In West Africa, the Cameroons and Togoland could be treated in a similar manner, the Indians being eliminated in this case because they hold no vested interests in the country. In Sierra Leone, the Gambia, the Gold Coast colony and Nigeria a modified constitution should be introduced which would not conflict with existing native institutions and where the franchise could be exercised on a property as well as an educational qualification. This would include the uneducated but rich farmers in the scheme as well as the professional classes. It must not be too hastily assumed that these uneducated elements are lacking in the arts of government. I have already said that these tribes are themselves before the coming of the Europeans, and even at this date their customary and tribal laws, which are in active operation, are more suited to their needs and are in many respects far superior to anything Europe has to offer. This is my suggestion in brief which I submit for the British Prime Minister's consideration and adoption, for it is quite certain that the present condition of affairs in these colonies cannot be allowed to drift, or Mr. Lloyd George and his Cabinet will very shortly find that they have floated over the precipice to an inglorious disintegration. Sooner or later this readjustment must come, and it is better that the inevitable be faced while there is yet time. It is much better to go while the going is good than to be compelled to go. Lack of space precluded my dealing with this subject exhaustively, but I shall avail myself of an early opportunity to return to the subject.

## BOOK NOTES

By ERIC D. WALROND

HARLEM SHADOWS, by Claude McKay (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York).

After availing these poems (as I did), one is able to appreciate why Claude McKay is styled by lovers of the beautiful in poetry. Every poem is a gem—not a mediocre one is in the entire batch. Yes, we risk saying that, despite our limited knowledge of the fundamentals of poetry, as George Santayana says, Claude McKay "taught in again into the landscape the thing which the intellect has allowed to fade from it."

Like white moths trembling on the wings of the breeze, the poems of Claude McKay are falling down a shining stair.

We have been hearing quite a deal recently about the virtues of the women in the Claude McKay poems. Essentially an artist, it is not always easy to feel the pulse of the master poet. It is not conceding to say that the Negro, educated though he is, is the devil of the true artistic outlook. Experience is what counts in an artist's life. Lafcadio Hearn used to advise his Japanese students not to bother with the study of the art in the large arena of life and there art alone. Super-artists, he said, Claude McKay has done the work of a poet. This, I understand, is poetry—entirely so—to the aid and comfort of the poet. One may be with the mob and yet not be of it!

I will not quote in the fullest form, you will not find a flicker of defeat. My heart tremble and to my man. I must give utterance to my spirit. I will not let my tongue speak words of despair. I will not let my tongue speak words of despair. I will not let my tongue speak words of despair. I will not let my tongue speak words of despair.

There, in so many lines, is the poet-artist philosophy. It would be well to be the victim of oppression, willing to give up his position to anyone deserving of it, but, in spite of all the grumbling and knocking, no one was in sight for the job; and it is therefore his intention to hold on to it until an able successor is found. We must build a country of our own.

For centuries despised, oppressed, Enslaved and lynched, denied a human place in the great life of the Christian world, the Negro race has no home on earth. For this reason, the Negro race has no home on earth. For this reason, the Negro race has no home on earth. For this reason, the Negro race has no home on earth. For this reason, the Negro race has no home on earth.

BLACK AND WHITE LABOR IN NIGERIA

DOCK CALDIFF, South Wales, Great Britain.

Editor, The Negro World:

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## HUGE MASS MEETING OPENS DRIVE FOR WILMINGTON LIBERTY HALL

Councilman Hopkins Scores Stupid Aloofness of "High Toned" Members of Race—Commissioner Haynes Delivers the Address of His Life

By ALBERTA WILLIAMS

Wilmington (Del.) Division opened its drive for a Liberty Hall with a big mass meeting in the Eighth Street Baptist Church on Sunday evening, April 23. Miss Norma Wynn, our enthusiastic Lady President, labored hard to make the meeting a success, and through her efforts we had the able assistance of the lady ushers of the church and a splendid array of prominent speakers.

At 8:30 p. m. the choir, under direction of Rev. J. W. Ware, led the professional with the hymn, "Hail, Holy, Holy." The opening ode was sung with much enthusiasm, followed by prayer by the chaplain. A brief sketch of the work of the U. N. I. A. was given by the chaplain. A brief sketch of the work of the U. N. I. A. was given by the chaplain. A brief sketch of the work of the U. N. I. A. was given by the chaplain.

Net A. W. I. Movement

Our honorable Commissioner, Mr. E. A. Haynes, was the principal speaker of the evening. His subject was "The Aims and Objects of the U. N. I. A." The Commissioner's address, which lasted an hour, was remarkable in every degree. Supporting his arguments with historical facts and newspaper reports, he held the big audience spellbound with his charming eloquence. The speaker scored heavily when, after reading the Constitution, he belittled to his hearers: "Now, did I read any law to you from this Constitution that says or gives you the impression that all Negroes must go back to Africa? Did I read to you the Constitution of a West Indian or a Universal Association? That this Association seeks to take you all back to Africa, that it is a West Indian movement, are the only two ideas which you can advance for not being identified with it. Such excuses are those of selfish, narrow-minded, malicious, good-for-nothing Negroes who have no love, no sympathy for themselves. Here is a race suffering, you, dying out because of the corruption within its folds; suffering, dying out because of the indifferent attitude of its members towards the higher development of its manhood. We are now at a point where we cannot afford to lose time quarreling with each other. How long shall we wait if we are to be the victims of oppression within this race and without? This problem is one of race and not color. The Universal seeks to save the race from the destruction that awaits it if we remain ignorant to our own rights as a people. We are striving out with our own organized sense. There is no use talking of setbacks for this is a white man's country. We must build a country of our own."

This organization is the educator of the Negro race. This association stands for all Negroes. Negroes will have to come into this organization for protection. In speaking of greatness of men he said: "Marcus Garvey was greater than Lloyd George or the late Theodore Roosevelt."

Stupid Aloofness

The Hon. Dr. John O. Hopkins, Councilman, was the next speaker. He told of his experiences as a spokesman for the people and regretfully stated that many times when he would like to demand justice for them he was handicapped by the aloofness, the cowardice of members of his own race. Dr. Hopkins said that while some people believed him as not being a race man, every day of his life was spent in trying to do something for the people. He said that he would be pleased, willing to give up his position to anyone deserving of it, but, in spite of all the grumbling and knocking, no one was in sight for the job; and it is therefore his intention to hold on to it until an able successor is found. We must build a country of our own.

For centuries despised, oppressed, Enslaved and lynched, denied a human place in the great life of the Christian world, the Negro race has no home on earth. For this reason, the Negro race has no home on earth. For this reason, the Negro race has no home on earth. For this reason, the Negro race has no home on earth. For this reason, the Negro race has no home on earth.

BLACK AND WHITE LABOR IN NIGERIA

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Editor, The Negro World:

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of the world, searching for honest, loyal, faithful leaders and workers in a great cause—the cause of a free and redeemed Africa. The recent election of a Negro to the presidency of Brazil should inspire you to try yourself for the presidency of the great African Republic to be. If you truly desire to serve your race, your place is in this Association that is now engaging the serious attention of the governments of the world."

The Commissioner referred to the work the Association has already accomplished and of the greater work it will do at the forthcoming August Convention. He made a ringing appeal for members and financial support, and remarked that if the aims and objects of the U. N. I. A. to and appeal to some Negroes, that these Negroes are not a soul.

At the close of the address the Rev. H. C. Jones, pastor of the church, congratulated the honorable Commissioner for his address and said that while he had done much for the race, he was inspired by what he had heard to do much more in the future. He invited the Commissioner to come again and immediately gave in his membership application in the presence of his friends and members.

Signal services were rendered by the choir, the Black Cross Nurses and the Cadets under Captain Patton. Credit for the success of the meeting goes to our Lady President and the lady ushers of the church, whose hospitality was beyond praise.

Rev. J. W. Ware was the first speaker. He is a clear, forceful and convincing manner he spoke on the backwardness of the race and emphasized the fact that it is a West Indian movement, are the only two ideas which you can advance for not being identified with it. Such excuses are those of selfish, narrow-minded, malicious, good-for-nothing Negroes who have no love, no sympathy for themselves. Here is a race suffering, you, dying out because of the corruption within its folds; suffering, dying out because of the indifferent attitude of its members towards the higher development of its manhood. We are now at a point where we cannot afford to lose time quarreling with each other. How long shall we wait if we are to be the victims of oppression within this race and without? This problem is one of race and not color. The Universal seeks to save the race from the destruction that awaits it if we remain ignorant to our own rights as a people. We are striving out with our own organized sense. There is no use talking of setbacks for this is a white man's country. We must build a country of our own."

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# MAN—AS WE KNOW HIM

## HAVE WE TEN REAL MEN IN THE NEGRO RACE?

IT IS NOT EVERYBODY WHO MOVES AROUND THAT IS A REAL MAN

MEN OF CHARACTER, MEN OF COURAGE, MEN OF CONFIDENCE, MEN WHO KNOW THEMSELVES WANTED

FELLOW MEN OF THE NEGRO RACE, Greeting:

I have chosen to write to you today on the subject "Man," because I believe it necessary to bring home to the four hundred million members of our race the truer consciousness of self which cannot be truly appreciated except by a thorough knowledge of the individual whom God has created in his own image. When I say *Man* I do not mean the animal who moves along dressed up in the latest style of fashion, but I mean the individual whose character, whose consciousness of self is of such as to make him truly a Lord of Creation.

In the 1,500,000,000 human souls in the world I hardly believe that we can find 5,000 *real men*; that is to say, the individuals who know themselves, feel the truer consciousness of self, knowing their possibilities and their limitations.

It is not everybody who moves around that is a *real man*. *Man* is the individual who is able to shape his own character, master his own life, and shape his own destiny. When God breathed into the nostrils of *Man* the breath of life, made him a living soul and bestowed upon him the authority of Lord of Creation, He never intended that that individual should descend to the level of a peon, a serf, or a slave; but that he would be always *man* in the fullest possession of his senses and with the truest knowledge of himself. But how changed has *man* been since the creation! We find him today divided into different classes: the helpless, imbecile class; the dependent, sycophantic class; the slave class, the servant class and the master class. These different classes God never created. He created *Man*, but this individual has retrograded so as to make it impossible for us to find him. It is so difficult to find a *real man*. As far as our race goes I hardly believe that we can find one hundred *real men* who are able to measure up to the higher purpose of the creation. It is because of this lack of *real man*hood in us as a race that we have stagnated for several centuries and now find ourselves at the foot of the great human ladder.

### The Supremacy of Man

The cry of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is for *real men*—men of character, men of courage, men of confidence, men of faith, men who believe that all creation is but the domain of man and that above man there is no authority but God. When the Creator created His masterpiece, *Man*, and placed him in the world as lord of His creation it was meant that *man* should establish sovereignty over the world—that he should subdue all things and use them to his own satisfaction and shape them to his own will. God never intended that *man* should expect Him to do for him that which he should do for himself. After the creation, and after *man* was given possession of the world, the Creator relinquished all authority to His lord except that which was spiritual. All that authority that meant the regulation of human affairs, human society and human happiness was arrogated to man by the Creator, and *man* therefore became master of his own destiny, architect of his own fate. In process of time we find that only a certain type of *man* has been able to make good in God's creation. We find them building nations, governments and empires, as also great monuments of commerce, industry and education. These men, realizing the power given to them, exerted every bit of it to their own good and to their posterity's. While, on the other hand, four hundred millions of us who claim the common Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man have fallen back so completely as to make us today the serfs and slaves of those who fully know themselves, and have taken control of the world as given to us all by the Creator.

What the Universal Negro Improvement Association desires to do is to impress upon the four hundred million members of our race that our failings in the past, as well as the present and the future, will be through our failure to know ourselves and to realize the true functions of *man* on this mundane sphere.

### Fleeting Opportunities

For *man* to know himself is for him to feel that for him there is no human master. For him nature is his servant, and whatsoever he wills in nature that shall be his reward. If he wills to be a pigmy, a serf or a slave, that shall be his. If he wills to be a *real man*, in possession of the things common to *man*, then he shall be his own sovereign. When *man* fails to grasp his authority, then he sinks to the level of the lower animals, and whatever the *real man* bids him do, even as if it were of the lower animals, that much shall he do. That is to say, there are some of us men (I mean as far as the human form is concerned) who are, in our relationship to others, not better than the lower animals, because to us if the *real man* says go, we go; if he says come, we come. By this command we perform the functions of life, even as by a similar command the mule, the horse, the cow, the dog perform the will of their masters.

The Negro has for the last five hundred years been in the position of being commanded, even as the lower animals are commanded. Our race has been without a purpose of its own, for all this length of time, and because of that we have developed but few *real men* who are able to understand the strenuousness in which we live. I am sorry to admit it, but it is true. I hardly believe that we have *real men* in this race of ours. I repeat,

*men of character, men of purpose, men of confidence, men of faith, men who really know themselves.* I have come across so many weaklings who profess to be leaders, and in the test I have found them but the slaves of a nobler class. They perform the will of their masters without question. To me a *man* has no master but God. *Man* in his authority is a sovereign lord. As for the individual *man*, so of the individual race: the individual race has no master but God; all men are to them equal; there is no superior. This feeling makes *man* so courageous, so bold as to make it impossible for his brother to intrude upon his rights. How few of us can understand what it takes to make a *man*; the *man* who will never say die; the *man* who will never give up; the *man* who will never depend upon others to do for him what he ought to do for himself; the *man* who will not blame God, who will not blame Nature, who will not blame fate for his condition, but the *man* who will go out and make conditions to suit himself. Oh, how disgusting life becomes when on every hand you hear people who bear your image, who bear your resemblance, telling you that they cannot make it, that fate is against them, and that they cannot get a chance! Ah! it is painful to contemplate, when the *real man* knows that God gave him all the chances necessary when He gave creation, when He gave life. What more can we expect? Everything we see in nature has been given to us by God for our own pleasure, for our own use, for our own happiness, and yet *man* says he cannot make it. How cowardly, how incompetent, how thoughtless, how weak!

And what is the difference between *man*—the one that towers as a giant above the other who, like a pigmy, wallows in the gutter? Because the *giant man*, after discovering himself, utilizes every ounce of his vitality and every particle of his entire being to reach out to the higher things that are within the reach of *man*. That is to say, he hangs his hopes, he pins his confidence as high as human limitations, that limitation that has been set only by God Himself; in the exercise of his will, that inner set character goes out to achieve, to conquer, to subdue all those things that are possible to *man*. The other fellow—characterless because of himself, inconfident because of himself, hopeless because of himself—determines that it cannot be done, therefore will not try. No will, no mental force, no spiritual power, even though he was created with all these things, will he exert. If four hundred million Negroes can only get to know themselves, to know that in them is a sovereign power, is an authority that is absolute, then in the next twenty-four hours we would have a new race, we would have a new nation, we would have a great empire resurrected not from the will of others to see us rise, but from our own determination to rise, irrespective of what the world thinks. Men and women of the Negro race, can you not get such a determination within you? Can you not realize that God Almighty created you to be *real men* and not pigmies, not serfs, not underlings? Can you not realize God never created a superior man but you? Can you not realize you are the reflection of your own Creator and that you were created in His image, and that when you accept of a superior being you admit that there is a superior God to the one who creates? If you bear the image of your Creator, then God is made manifest in you, and if you accept a superior being, you accept an insult to the God that is within you. God is only pleased with *man* when he measures up to the higher spirituality that is in him, which is no other than God Himself. When *man* reduces himself to become the slave and lackey of his fellow, he drags down the Spiritual Omnipotence of God in him, and God says "there shall be no other gods but Me."

### Fundamental Social Laws!

If we could but understand ourselves the more as others seem to do, we would in a short time find ourselves living in a new world, surrounded with new conditions and enjoying new pleasures.

Let those of us who have the ambition for leadership first study to know how much confidence we have in ourselves, because there can be no leadership where there is no confidence. Around me I see many petty men who think they know, who think that they are great, when in truth they have not yet discovered themselves. I have seen them smart under the stare of the white men; I have seen them tremble under the verbal attack of the enemy. I have seen them almost willing to hide themselves in retreat because of the physical charge of the oppressor, and yet these fellows call themselves leaders. Whither leadest thou? To me it is but to perdition, to another age of darkness, of slavery, of racial destruction. We, I say, want men of courage, men of character, men of conviction, who are not afraid to stand up at any time, even in the face of death, even confronting the lion in his den, there willing to suffer anything for the rights that are dear to this race of ours.

### A Cabinet of Brains!

I hope the forthcoming convention will give us such *men*—men whom we can safely send out to the four corners of the world and have them defend this race of ours; men whom we can count upon as being able to withstand the test of the leaders of the other races of the world.

Among the *men* in the world that I admire are such noble characters as David Lloyd George and Arthur J. Balfour of England; Clemenceau, Briand and Poincaré of France; Ishi and Kato of Japan; Lenin and Trotsky of Russia; Gandhi of India; Griffith, Collins and De Valera of Ireland; Hughes, Harding and Wilson of America. In vain do I look for such characters in the Negro race.

Let us now look forward to our Third International Convention with the hope of finding *real men* who are able to measure up to the expectations of the day. With the very best wishes for your success, I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,  
MARCUS GARVEY, President-General,  
Universal Negro Improvement Association.  
New York, April 25, 1922.

## FIELD SECRETARY FAIRCLOUGH VISITS FAIRMONT, WEST VIRGINIA DIVISION

Corking Address Delivered by Mr. Williams on "The Fight Is On"—Spirit of Conquest Permeating Black Dixie

By WM. WILKES

The Fairmont division of the U. N. I. A. received a real treat the past week when Dr. B. B. Fairclough, the field representative, paid his first visit here last week. Arriving here on Tuesday evening, April 4, to set this division in order, he made plans for three meetings, beginning on Sunday, April 9, and continuing on the 10th and 11th.

At 7:30 p. m. Sunday the house was packed, and at 8:15 the meeting was called to order by President R. B. Moore. The singing of the opening song, "From Greenland's Icy Mountains," was followed with prayer by President Rev. Moore in the absence of Chaplain-General Rev. W. H. White. A beautiful and interesting song service was rendered by the Black Cross Nurses, directed by General Secretary William Wilkes. The address of welcome was delivered by President R. B. Moore, followed by a song, "Since Jesus Came Into My Heart."

Mr. Williams was then introduced to the audience and spoke briefly. A song, "The Fight Is On," was sung by the choir, after which the speaker of the evening, Dr. B. B. Fairclough, was introduced by the president and was greeted by thunderous applause. The speaker announced his subject as "True Negro Leadership," and held his audience spellbound for one hour. He spoke many a true word on the Negro leadership—of leaders leading the race astray, of the kind of a man a leader

should be and what he should do. His analysis was received with great applause. Dr. Fairclough told of the anarchy of the race leaders selling out the Negro to the white man and of what should become of such leaders. His speech throughout was punctuated with great applause, and concluded after he had delivered the finest address ever heard in Fairmont.

The collection was then taken, it totaling \$114.16. After a few remarks by the president, the meeting was dismissed with a song by the choir and a prayer by Rev. McNeil of the A. M. E. Church.

The meeting for the second night of Dr. Fairclough's speaking was called to order at 8:15 by the president, Rev. R. B. Moore, with the singing of the opening song, "From Greenland's Icy Mountains," and prayer by Rev. R. B. Moore, followed with a song by the choir. The president then made a few short remarks and introduced to the audience Prof. W. E. Gordon. Professor Gordon made fine remarks on the Hon. Marcus Garvey. After his conclusion several songs were rendered by the choir, and President Moore presented to the audience Dr. Fairclough, who was greeted with great applause.

After a few introductory remarks Dr. Fairclough gave as his subject, "What Benefit Will the Negro Derive from Social Equality?" And he was greeted with great applause throughout his speech. After hearing such

good remarks we were blessed with one new member in the person of Prof. W. E. Gordon. Remarks were then made by Rev. McNeil, after which a collection was taken up, totaling \$114.16. After a few remarks by President Moore, the meeting was closed with a song by the choir, and prayer by Rev. McNeil.

The meeting of April 11, the third and last night of Dr. B. B. Fairclough's speaking here was called to order at 8:15 by President Moore, singing opening song, "From Greenland's Icy Mountains," prayer by the chaplain, Rev. W. H. White, and a song by the choir. Rev. White made timely remarks on the U. N. I. A. and concluded his address in short.

A song was then rendered by the choir and in turn the president presented to the audience Dr. Fairclough. After a few remarks Dr. Fairclough gave out his subject as "The Fight Is On." And he dwelt strongly on the

Negro and the sleeping nation. Dr. Fairclough spoke of some of the Negroes as depending on the other man to fight his battles, "and if the Negroes want anything and get anything they will have to get it themselves." The speaker was greeted with great applause and was applauded throughout his address.

After Dr. Fairclough's conclusion a collection was then taken up which totaled \$92.1. The newly elected president, R. B. Moore, was then installed in his office by Dr. Fairclough. Prayer was offered by Elder Furgerson. After the installation of the president Elder Furgerson was introduced to the audience and he made a few good remarks concerning the work of the Hon. Marcus Garvey. After hearing all of those good things we were blessed with one new member in the person of Mrs. Ellen Armstrong, the total number of new members during Dr. Fairclough's speaking here being two.

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UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

## NOTICE AND WARNING

We have complaints from several of our clients of Greedy Real Estate Sharks in Harlem with "Flat For Rent Signs," who are gouging the public and relieving poor people of their hard earned money, by accepting deposit from them on Flats and Apartments. These "Flat Hounds" are giving their victims bogus receipts and fake checks.

If you have been "stung" get in touch with us at once and help us to drive them out of business.

BOULINS NATIONAL DETECTIVE AGENCY

Licensed and Bonded, New York State

206 Broadway

UPTOWN AND NIGHT PHONE: 2804 MORNINGSIDE

DOWNTOWN PHONE: 8349 CORTLANDT

## BIG ATTRACTIONS

GREATEST NEGRO ORATOR AND STATESMAN TO SPEAK

HEAR

HON. MARCUS GARVEY

President-General

of the Universal Negro Improvement Association

AT

LIBERTY HALL

120 WEST 138th STREET

Every Night for Eight Nights

FROM SUNDAY, APRIL 30

TO SUNDAY, MAY 7

8 O'CLOCK EVERY NIGHT

Before He Leaves for His Nation-wide Tour

New Subject Every Night!

## THE STAR HAIR GROWER

A Wonderful Hair Dressing and Grower. 1,000 AGENTS WANTED.



Good Money Made. We want agents in every city and village to sell THE STAR HAIR GROWER. This is a wonderful preparation. Can be used with or without straightening irons and by any person. One 25 cent box proves its value. Any person that will use a 25c box will be convinced. No matter what has failed to grow your hair, just give THE STAR HAIR GROWER a trial and be convinced. Send 25c for full size box. If you wish to become an agent for this wonderful preparation, send \$1.00 and we will send you a full supply that you can begin work with at once; also agent's terms. Send all money by money order to THE STAR HAIR GROWER MFR., P. O. Box 812, Greensboro, N. C.

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## NOTICE THE UNIVERSAL STEAM LAUNDRY

42 West 142nd Street NEW YORK CITY

After undergoing strenuous repairs has been reopened. We are now in a much better position to serve you. Therefore we call upon our former customers and well-wishers to leave orders, to call for your wet wash or finished Laundry at 42 West 142nd Street or at the booth in Liberty Hall, and we will assure you

PROMPT SERVICE IN RETURN

So do not forget to let us do your washing because all our work is done by experienced hands

REMEMBER THIS IS YOUR LAUNDRY

Therefore it can only remain open through your individual support. Thanking for your past patronage and hoping you will continue to do your bit towards the

UNIVERSAL STEAM LAUNDRY

OUR MOTTO—"EFFICIENCY AND SERVICE"

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND INDUSTRY

PHONE HARLEM 1271