

The Indispensable Weekly  
The Voice of the Awakened Negro

# THE Negro World

Reaching the Mass of Negroes  
The Best Advertising Medium

A Newspaper Devoted Solely to the Interests of the Negro Race

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## THE "BUNK" OF ROBERT CECIL, SPOKESMAN OF THE SELF-SATISFIED GROUP

FELLOW MEN OF THE NEGRO RACE, *Greeting:*

Once more it becomes my duty as President-General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association to sound a warning note to the scattered members of my race on world situation as it affects us as a struggling people.

### ROBERT CECIL AND HIS "BUNK"

Lord Robert Cecil, one of the spokesmen of Great Britain, is now in the United States of America endeavoring to stir up American sentiment in favor of joining the League of Nations. In a speech in Richmond a couple of days ago, Cecil said, among other things, that "it was necessary for America to be in the League for assisting in protecting the future peace of the world." Cecil believes, like all other English statesmen, that civilization has reached such a stage when there should be no more wars, in that all humanity is satisfied with existing conditions, as, for instance, that the Indians are satisfied with the rule of England, and the native tribes of Africa are satisfied under the domination of the great European powers, that all weak peoples are satisfied to be robbed, exploited and brutalized by the strong; therefore, there is need for peace and a permanent settlement of things just as they are.

### CAN THERE BE PEACE?

Cecil is crazy like the rest of his countrymen. If they believe that they are going to have peace through the league or no league, by clubbing together to settle world affairs just as they are—the big Caucasian nations holding domination and sway, exercising it without mercy upon the weaker, darker races, then they have a peculiar notion really of human nature and of the spirit of the age in which we really live. If Cecil, if England, if France, Japan, and even America, want a League of Nations, they must also include in it the adjustment of all racial differences. And in this adjustment they must not think that they can do things to satisfy Irishmen, Egyptians, Indians, Jews, Poles and the rest of the white races of Europe without taking into consideration the four hundred million Negroes who are as determined to have liberty, freedom and true democracy as any other race in the world. We want these nations and men to understand that the Negro is no longer the "laughing coon" such as he was a quarter of a century ago; that he is today a serious-minded man, determined that he shall carve a way to his own future happiness and that of his race.

### CONSIDERING ONLY THEMSELVES

The thing that startles and surprises me is that when these statesmen speak they seem to take into consideration only themselves, believing that the world starts and ends with them—yet they appeal for peace, for justice, for equality—not realizing that Negroes have souls, pas-

THE BIG NATIONS HAVE ALL THEY WANT  
—LET US HAVE PEACE?

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER FELLOW  
WHO IS DOWN!

HE IS GOING TO RAISE H— UNTIL HE IS UP

400,000,000 NEGROES MUST BE FREE AND AFRICA REDEEMED—THEN PEACE, PERFECT PEACE

sions, desires and ambitions like the rest of the human family.

### CHANGE LINE OF TALK

If Cecil will take my advice he will change his line of talk and his manner of consideration and let his nation know that there is not going to be any peace until justice is given to all mankind.

### MILLIONS OF NEGROES READY

Four hundred million Negroes are as ready now to die for their freedom as two millions of them were ready to die on the battle plains of France and Flanders for the bestowing of democracy upon the races of mankind. The English, past masters as they are in democracy and trickery, must realize that Negroes have found them out in their game, and that they are not the only ones who can play it successfully.

### THE MISTAKE OF ENGLISHMEN

Englishmen make a terrible mistake if they think that African and West Indian Negroes are going to work to further enrich their empire for them to laud it over them in the colonies as if they were a superior creation.

### THE BETTER SENSE OF AMERICA

America has better sense than to allow herself to be hoodwinked and drawn into the League of Nations, because she knows she can no longer fool fifteen million Negroes in this country. The League of Nations means nothing to oppressed peoples such as Negroes, because it is only engineered for the purpose of strong groups of exploiters and robbers getting together to hold the spoils that they have gathered. England hopes to hold her American colonies by the assistance of America. France hopes to hold her colonies also with the assistance of the other members of the League, but everybody is going to have a hard and hot time because, indeed, there is "going to be a hot time in the old African town" by and by. Black men have blood like all other folks, and they are going to make up their minds to shed it, if need be, for the freedom of their country, Africa.

### NO LAUGHING QUESTION

It is no use laughing over this question, no use passing it over; it must be tackled and handled now. It is well that

we let Cecil know; it is well we make the British Empire know; it is well we make the great colonizing exploiters of Africa know it. France ought to get sensible in realizing that her African colonists are not always going to be second rate men within the French Empire; Britain ought to know that she can no longer suppress the rising ambition of the black men of her dominion; America must realize that, outnumbered as Negroes are within the country, they have become dissatisfied and will find an outlet for their energies and abilities politically, industrially and otherwise, and there is no more logical a place than Africa, in that whether we be American, West Indian or South or Central American Negroes, we claim the common parentage of the great country of Africa. It is the land of our forefathers, and now that it has become attractive for other races, surely it must concern us even more than ever. We shall see to it by our man power, by our higher abilities and by our very blood that Africa be not exploited for much longer by the alien races and nations. Let us link hands and hearts where-soever we are and make up our minds that we shall see the job through—the redemption of Africa. All that it needs is determination on our part. Do not let the other fellow bluff you by saying it is impossible. It was not impossible for George Washington to free America and make it the greatest republic; it was not impossible for the Russian Revolutionists to have destroyed the influence and power of the Czar and built up a social democracy, the first of its kind in modern civilization. If these things were not impossible for others, surely it is possible for four hundred million Negroes to get together and build up a great African commonwealth which will render protection to the race where-soever we happen to find ourselves in the years to come. We will not all go to Africa; we do not all of us want to go there, but all of us need the power and strength of an African nationality to protect us in our separate and distinct homes. Let us have a great army and a great navy attached to our great nation, and the whole world will respect the black man and no longer look upon him as an inferior being.

### LET US BUILD FOR OURSELVES

Let us build up ourselves commercially, industrially and educationally. Let us give to the world a new civilization; let us build up a culture of our own, and then the whole world will fall down in appreciation and respect before the black man.

### TIME FOR ACTION

This is the hour for action, and I call upon the four hundred million Negroes to act now, or never. The rallying cry must be action, action, action. Let no Robert Cecil or Balfour of England; Briand or Clemenceau of France; Mussolini or Sonnino of Italy; let no Bryan or Wilson of America direct you in any other channel but that of human liberty, that of the emancipation of four hundred million black souls, that of the redemption of our own country, Africa.

### HELP U. N. I. A.

And now is the time for you to help the Organization to put over this big program. The Universal Negro Improvement Association needs now, more than ever, the financial backing of every true patriot of the race, so I ask that you do by this association as the Jews have done by the Zionist movement, as the Sinn Feiners have done by the great Irish movement. Send in your donation to the Secretary-General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, 56 West 135th Street, New York City. Let it be \$1, \$2, \$5, \$19, \$50, \$100; whatsoever you can. Do it now. Now is the time to help spread the propaganda of the association to the four corners of the globe.

With very best wishes, I have the honor to be,  
Your obedient servant,

MARCUS GARVEY,  
President-General,

UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION.  
YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, April 25, 1923.

P. S.—Again I have to beseech all the members, officers, Chapters, Branches and Divisions of the Universal Negro Improvement Association to make every possible effort to keep in financial relationship with the Parent Body. Members should pay in their dues and assessments to their Local Divisions or Chapters, and they in turn should make immediate report to the Parent Body, so as to enable us to continue the good work in the interest of the race. Every member's duty at this time should be to keep behind the association financially. See that your Local Division supports the Parent Body, so that there can be no difficulty in putting over the big program that confronts us for 1923.

M. C.







HOWARD MEDICAL SCHOOL ENDOWMENT

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Announcement was made at the Howard University today of the pledge of ten thousand dollars (\$10,000) by Mr. and Mrs. Aaron E. Malone, who conduct a large manufacturing establishment at St. Louis, Mo., to the endowment fund of the School of Medicine of the Howard University.

ARCHDEACON WILSON OF SIERRA LEONE, WEST AFRICA, VISITS THE HOWARD UNIV.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—One of the most important visitors to the Howard University was Archdeacon Wilson of Sierra Leone, West Africa, who has been studying school conditions in the Phelps-Stokes Fund of New York.

HOWARD UNIV. ENDOWMENT FOR SCHOOL OF MEDICINE PROCEEDING SUCCESSFULLY

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Howard University Medical School Endowment Fund is meeting with very great success. President J. Stanley Durfee has been making a swing around the circle, going as far as Kansas City, and meeting Howard University students in St. Louis, Cincinnati, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and other cities.

INTERSTATE DENTAL ASSN. REPRESENTATIVE LECTURES TO HOWARD STUDENTS

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The students of the senior and junior classes of the School of Dentistry of the Howard University were recently favored by a lecture by Dr. Charles A. Dunston of Raleigh, N. C., a former president of the Interstate Dental Association.

NORTH HARLEM COMMUNITY LECTURE FORUM

The lecture room of the Branch Library, 121 West 123rd Street, was filled to its capacity last Thursday evening, April 19, 1923, to hear the distinguished Rev. J. L. S. Holman, pastor of the Church of the Holy Trinity, who delivered the first in a series of two illustrated lectures in the North Harlem Community Forum.

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LOCAL NEGRO GIVEN HONOR BY MEDICS

Dr. W. S. Quinlan, head of the department of pathology of Mohrny Medical College, has recently received notification that the council of the American Association of Pathologists and Bacteriologists with headquarters at Cleveland, has elected him to membership in the association.

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SECCION EN ESPAÑOL por La Asociación Universal para el Adelanto de la Raza Negra

SECCION EN ESPAÑOL. por La Asociación Universal para el Adelanto de la Raza Negra. 54-56 Oeste, Calle 135, Ciudad de Nueva York, N. Y.

Las Riquezas del Continente Africano Aumentan la Ambición de los Capitalistas y Aventureros Europeos. Imprecindible Necesidad de la Unión de la Raza Para la Protección de la Patria—Millonarios Negros una Posibilidad en Africa Toda Vez Hayamos Adquirido Su Redención.

Se opera gradualmente un aumento sobre la restricción de nuestros derechos en el continente africano por las razas aventureras de Europa. Los grandes gobiernos coloniales se han establecido por todo el Africa con su política ambiciosa y actualmente notamos que estas hacen una llamada general a sus distantes nacionalidades para que sus súbditos fijen su residencia en el continente, con el propósito de explotar sus productos naturales.

WANTED

WANTED. Lady or gentleman to travel and represent the... WANTED. Lady or gentleman to travel and represent the...

PROGRESO EN LA REPUBLICA HAITIANA. El brigadier general John Russell, alto comisionado norteamericano en Haití, da cuenta del progreso en varios sentidos en esta república y el cual se atribuye al alto grado al espíritu de cooperación demostrado por el pueblo haitiano.

DESCUBRIMIENTO DE LA EXISTENCIA DE OTRA RAZA. Hedges, explorador inglés, acaba de anunciar al mundo científico que ha descubierto una raza hasta ahora desconocida y que vive en el interior de las montañas de la Sierra Nevada.

Ciudadanos Americanos a la Fuera

Ciudadanos Americanos a la Fuera. El senador Royal S. Copeland, recientemente elegido por Nueva York, donde por varios años ha prestado relevantes servicios como comisionado de higiene pública, ha declarado un criterio asombrosamente absurdo en materia de naturalización de extranjeros.

La Tragedia de Carnarvon. La muerte de Lord Carnarvon es la culminación trágica de una notable aventura. Que esta hombre que ganó el mayor título aristocrático de una generación, hubiese de morir antes de que se hubieran revelado los frutos completos de su victoria es una tragedia humana.

Preparase una Nueva Revolución en Egipto. Egipto amenaza con una nueva revolución, según noticias procedentes del Cairo. La declaración británica de que se declararía la ley marcial en Egipto, que se recurriera a la violencia.

ANUNCIOS

ANUNCIOS. REQUISITOS NECESARIOS PARA SER MIEMBRO DE LA ASOCIACION UNIVERSAL PARA EL ADELANTO DE LA RAZA NEGRA.

EMBLEMAS DE LA U. N. I. A. Emblemas de la U. N. I. A. Emblemas de la U. N. I. A. Emblemas de la U. N. I. A.

RHEUMATISM

RHEUMATISM. Why suffer with Rheumatism, Gout, Sciatica, Neuralgic Pain and Stiffness of Joints, when you can be relieved by using SCAPPIA ANTIFL.

NOTICE

NOTICE. To All Divisions and Members of the Universal African Black Cross Nurses. All Black Cross Nurses units must secure competent instructors to teach in first aid, community health work and home hygiene and care of the sick. Instructors shall begin with instruction in first aid, procuring ambulance charts for demonstration work, and bandaging, splinting and compresses.

BUY A COPY NEGRO YEAR BOOK. LATEST EDITION, 1921-22. ALL MATERS RELATING TO THE NEGRO. Most Extensively Used.

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# HON. MARCUS GARVEY AGAIN BESIEGES CAPITAL WITH MATCHLESS ORATORY

(Continued from page 5)

France, for Italy, for the Carnegie and Rockefeller trusts, then Africa is also attractive for the 400,000,000 black people of the world. (Applause.)

And what does it require to redeem a race and free a country? If it takes man power, if it takes scientific intelligence, if it takes education of any kind, or if it takes blood, then the 400,000,000 Negroes of the world have it.

It took the combined man power of the allies to put down the mad determination of the Kaiser to impose German will upon the world and upon humanity. And among those who supported his mad ambition were two million Negroes who have not yet forgotten how to drive men across the firing line. (Laughter.) Surely those of us who faced German shot and shell at the Marne, at Verdun, have not forgotten the order of our Commander-in-Chief. Surely the cry that caused us to leave America in such mad haste, nearly 400,000, when white fellow citizens of this country refused to fight, when Debs and his great party said, "We do not believe in war and therefore, even though we are American citizens, and even though the nation is in danger, we will not go to war."

When many of them cried out and said, "We are German-Americans and we can not fight," when so many white men refused to answer to the call and dodged behind all kinds of excuses, 400,000 black men were ready without a question. (Applause.) It was because we were told it was a war of democracy; it was a war for the liberation of the weaker peoples of the world. We heard the cry of Woodrow Wilson, not because we liked him so, but because the things he said were of such a nature that they appealed to us as men. Wherever the cause of humanity stands in need of assistance, there you will find the Negro ever ready to go to the assistance.

He has done it from the time of Christ up to now. When the whole world turned its back upon the Christ, the man who was said to be the Son of God, when the world cried out, "Crucify Him," when the world spurned Him and spit upon Him, it was a black man, Simon, the Cyrenian, who took up the cross. Why? Because the cause of humanity appealed to him. When the black man in the suffering Jew, struggling under the heavy cross, he was willing to go to His assistance, and he bore that cross up to the heights of Calvary. In the same spirit of Simon, the Cyrenian, 1,900 years ago, in that same spirit, we answered the call of Woodrow Wilson, a larger humanity, and it was for that that we willingly rushed into the war from America, from the West Indies, over 100,000; it was for that that we rushed into the war from Africa, 2,000,000 of us; over 2,000,000 of us met in France, in Flanders and in Mesopotamia. We fought unflinchingly. When the white men faltered and fell back on their battle lines, at the Marne and at Verdun, when they ran away from the charge of the German hordes, the black belt fighters stood before the cannons, and before the charge, and again they said, "There will be a hot time in the old town tonight." (Applause.)

And they made it so hot that after a few months of their appearance in France and on the various battle fronts they succeeded in driving the German hordes across the Rhine, and driving the Kaiser out of Germany and out of Potsdam into Holland. We have not forgotten the prowess of war. If we have been liberal minded enough to give our life's blood in France, in Mesopotamia and elsewhere, fighting for the white man, whom we have always assisted, surely we have not forgotten to fight for ourselves, and when the time comes, when the time comes when the world will again give an opportunity for Africa's freedom, surely 400,000,000 black men will march out on the battle plains of Africa, under the colors of the red, the black and the green. (Applause.)

We shall march out, yes, as black American citizens, as black British subjects, as black French citizens, as black Italians or as black Spaniards, but we shall march out

### With a Greater Loyalty.

the loyalty of race. We shall march out in answer to the cry of our fathers, who cry out to us for the redemption of our own country, our motherland, Africa. (Applause.) We shall march out, not forgetting the blessings of America. We shall march out with a history of peace before and behind us, and surely that history shall be our breastplate, for how can man fight better than knowing that the cause for which he fights is righteous? How can man fight more gloriously than by knowing that behind him is a history of slavery, a history of bloody carnage and massacre inflicted upon a race because of its inability to protect itself and fight? Shall we not fight for the glorious opportunity of protecting and forever more Establishing the Race, as a mighty race and nation, never more to be disrespected by men. (Applause.) Glorious shall be the battle when the time comes to fight for our people and our race.

Now, when I talk about this, some of us do not seem to understand. Some when I say fight I mean fight. Some Negroes believe that God is good and that He is going to come down here to fight our battles. But they will

wait a long, long time. If ex-President Wilson had waited for the Lord to come down and lead the allied armies the Kaiser would have been drinking pea soup in Paris long, long ago, or in Buckingham Palace. Von Hindenburg would have been Governor-General of the United States, as a province of the great German empire. But President Wilson had better sense. He did not wait for the Lord to come down to lead the American forces, but he called upon that skilled soldier, John Pershing, to lead the armies that won the war. It was not the prayers to the Lord that won the war, but the men, the ammunition and the provisions that we supplied to the American forces and to the allies.

And you and I expect to become, one of these days, a free and independent people, you must expect to get that independence in like manner. The Lord will help the fighters when they strike the blow for their own freedom. (Applause.) The Lord is always on the side of the man of courage, the man of character, and the man of decision. Once upon a time someone asked Napoleon on whose side was the Lord. He said "that the Lord was on the side of the strongest battalions." That is the side that the Lord is on, and if you want the Lord to be with you you had better put up a good fight. (Applause.)

You remember when He of Himself went to battle with the great Lucifer, that he did not get any quarter, nor did he give any. He fought a grand battle, a battle to the finish, and when he got the upper hand of Lucifer, who was endeavoring to put up such a stiff fight, He did not put him in any part of Paradise, but dumped him out of the heavens, into the deepest part of hell. That's the kind of Lord He is. When he goes to war He is going to fight it through. And if Negroes expect to get anywhere they have to make up their minds to fight in that way. And that is why the U. N. I. A. is so much discussed now in the newspapers, the magazines and elsewhere. The newspapers have been giving more attention to the U. N. I. A. in five years than has been given to any other Negro organization in 500 years. And they are doing so because they realize that we are not only reading from the prayer book any more, as we know any part, from Genesis to Revelation, but we are reading the "text-books of political science. They realize that we are not only going to church on Sundays, as we should do and must do, because we cannot neglect the spiritual side of our lives; they realize that we not only go to prayer meetings on Sunday nights, but to political conventions, talking about the doings of the Republican, the Democratic, the Socialist and other parties, and above all, talking about the doings of the pro-Negro party of 400,000,000 people. (Applause.)

Yes, the Negro party that says "if government is for the great white man and the rising yellow man, that same government is also for the black man." I have nothing but compliments for the white man. He has made good. If I were a white man I would have been proud of myself, and probably I would not have been much better than the average white man. I do not promise that I would have been better than the Ben Tilmans and the Vardamans, because it is up to all men to save themselves. I am not so crazy as to believe that any white man, be he the Pope of Rome, the Archbishop of Canterbury or President Harding, will consider me, a black man, before he considers himself. He would be a fool if he did that. I do not care how much religion they teach, how much they tell me about the love of the Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, I know they could not love me one bit more than they love themselves. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and therefore if I were a white man I would seek to protect myself and my race, and if I were a yellow man I would do the same. It is natural; so if you have sense you would seek to protect yourselves and your race first. (Applause.)

That does not mean that you must be discourteous and unkind to the other fellow. Black men can love white men and white men can love black men. The same with the yellow man, if all of us will only understand that all of us have equal rights in the world. When the white man will understand that God made him to enjoy himself here, and when he will further understand that God made other folks also to enjoy themselves here, and when he gets to understand that there must be an equitable division of everything that God has put here for everybody who is down here and that no one person is entitled to grab up everything; when he comes to realize that we cannot all have a good time here so long as somebody is trying to get away with the other fellow's share, and so long as he believes he is entitled to everything down here then he certainly will have a bad time.

Whoever believes that he is going to take up all of the room and push me in the snow that person is simply crazy. Anyone who believes that I have going to eat up everything that I have here and keep me hungry all the time has another thought coming. He will keep me hungry so long as I am ignorant of my rights; he will keep me ignorant so long as I am ignorant of my rights, but he must remember that you can fool part of the people part of the time but you cannot fool all

the people all the time. And they have fooled our forefathers for 300 years, with their eyes open or closed. But Marcus Garvey even with his eyes closed can see them, and what is true of Marcus Garvey is true of every Negro who has been reborn in the U. N. I. A.

We are not seeking to have any trouble with anybody. We are only asking for a fair division.

### Half for You and Half for Me

We are saying to the great white brother, take your portion, take your division. If you want what is yours we are not going to disturb you; if you want America, even though you took it from the Indians, who had not enough sense to keep it, we are not going to trouble you; but, brother, when it comes to Africa, somebody's block is going to be knocked off.

Keep your oil fields in California, in Texas or in Oklahoma; keep your coal mines in Pennsylvania, but, brother, if somebody discovers oil in Timbuctoo; if somebody discovers gold in Kimberley, or in Johannesburg; if somebody discovers copper in Sierra Leone, or diamonds in Nigeria or in Somaliland or Basutoland, it belongs to me. (Applause.) It belongs to the 400,000,000 Negroes, because it is the property of our forefathers.

We never sold it; we never gave it away; we never rented it to anybody; we have not leased it out. So anybody who is squatting there, who cannot show a title signed by us for his possession had better get out, for moving day is coming. As we moved the Germans from Rheims, from the other places, and sent them across the Rhine; as we moved the German and central powers across the plains of Mesopotamia, so the 400,000,000 Negroes of the world will move somebody from coast to coast to free their territory.

You may laugh at it, and say that I am crazy, that it is a huge joke, that it is something laughable, but it is to be remembered that it was thought laughable when George Washington declared that America should be a free and independent country. The British in the House of Parliament laughed at him, made jokes at his remarks, and what of today? We have the Stars and Stripes.

Ten years ago the Czar of Russia laughed in the face of the social revolutionists in that country when they threatened that the time would come when they would no longer be ruled by the Czar. He laughed at them, but today he is under the ground; Lenin and Trotsky are ruling there now.

Laugh at the U. N. I. A. You may laugh at the Negro as you may. But so long as there are 400,000,000 Negroes in the world with blood in their bodies, with ambitions and with feelings, surely as there is a God above, they shall unite and strike a blow for our universal emancipation, and for the freedom of our country.

We, of the U. N. I. A., represent the new Negro, whose ambition leads him to use power for himself as others use power for themselves. Born American citizens, as a large number of us are, we have ambitions, we have feelings, we have passions just like our white fellow citizens; we have lived under the same environment, passed through the same educational institutions, and out of the same text books.

Wilson and some Negro studied at the same time and read the same text books. President Harding probably studied with a Negro at the same time. And as in their case, so it has been with thousands of white men who have studied side by side with colored men and graduated from the schools at the same time. But what has become of the ambition of the Negro who studied and graduated with President Harding? What has become of the ambition of the Negro who graduated with Woodrow Wilson, with Charles Evans Hughes, with Daugherty and others who are taking part in this great system of government laid out by the majority group that rules? That Negro's ambition must be smothered; it must be limited. And with all his education, with all his feelings, and his passions and ambitions, he must be a bell boy, he must be a porter, or he must be a handy man in some office building. Thus far and no further.

But as to me, Woodrow Wilson, I must be President of the United States; I, Warren Harding, must be President; I, Charles Hughes, must be Secretary of State. But because of my color because of your color, our ambitions must be limited, we must be kept down by the majority group that rules. But though they limit my ambitions they cannot kill them. And if 400,000,000 Negroes cannot find an outlet for our ambitions in a country where the majority group of another race rules and dominates, surely we shall find a place where our race can give vent to our wildest and greatest ambitions.

So when we see that in America the Negro cannot become President; when we see in France that he cannot become President, and in England he cannot become Prime Minister, surely, since the Negro is not dead, he shall find a country where he will be able to rise from the lowest to the highest position in the state. It is for that that the U. N. I. A. works.

We are not agitating any disturbance in America, in the British Empire or in France, or within the bounds of Europe, or disturbance of government anywhere, but we do not respect any government on the continent of Africa. (Applause.) White folks will make laws for black folks in Europe and in America, but I would like to see the man who would have nerve enough to come in my home and make laws to govern me and my home. That is past the limit. A man may tell you on what side of the street to walk or where to stay, but if you go into my house and try to tell

me where to sit down, when to get up, or to go away, you know that would be past the limit. No one is going to stand for that, and the 400,000,000 Negroes are not going to stand and allow a mere handful of white men to tell them what to do in their own home.

Take, for instance, Belgium; that rules over a million square miles of territory in Africa. That country in Europe is not as large as this church, compared to the city of Washington. Yet we are sitting here and allowing Belgium to control one million square miles of land where the bulk of the rubber comes from. The rubber that you see on the automobile tires that cost so much comes principally from the Belgian Congo. Belgium sends her capitalists and explorers down there and gets the natives to produce that rubber. Some of you will remember the outrages of Leopold when the natives did not get enough rubber. They cut off the hands and ears of the Congolese or cut off their feet; and it was said that literally the blood of the massacred Congolese could float a warship, because they could not produce enough rubber for Belgium. And 400,000,000 Negroes have allowed that to go on for over three hundred years, because we did not know of our race, we did not know the worth of our country. Today the U. N. I. A. is drawing the fact to the attention of Negroes everywhere, and we expect you women of the race to fight the greatest part of the battle that is to be waged. We do not mean that we are all of us to go to Africa to fight that battle. We are asking you to remain just where you are and help to fight the battles of Africa.

You have given your men too easy a time; you have allowed them to get away with too many things; and we expect you women to measure up. The white race has progressed to that extent because of the mothers, the womanhood of the race. Anything a white woman wants she sends her man to get it, and he had better come home with it or stay out. If she wants a seal coat she sends him out to hunt for it. If she wants diamonds she sends him all the way to Africa, and he conquers the natives, rules them, takes away their diamonds and brings them home. The white woman has been the hand behind the white man, and so you colored women must measure up.

You want freedom. Send your men out to get it and don't allow them to come home until they bring it (applause). That is what we expect of the women of the race to do for us, not in five or ten years, but the time will soon come. Some of our critics say "Garvey is crazy! How can he stay here all the way in America and build up a republic in Africa? They expect that I would be foolish enough to tell them how we are going to do it. But in saying nothing I want to say this: It was only last week I was in my office when a representative of the Associated Press came to me and said: "Mr. Garvey, we have a bit of news from London, and I want your advice on it. A cable came this morning stating that propaganda is being carried on from one part of Africa to the other by a new system of wireless, and we want to find out the dope of it." As though I would be so crazy to give him that dope or any dope. The cable came from London stating that natives of Africa were conveying news of importance to them from one section of Africa to the other, and such news would reach from one end to the other in twelve hours. This is done by a system of drum communication.

That is the way they broadcast the news of the U. N. I. A. Every twenty-four hours of the day every section of Africa knows what is being done by the U. N. I. A., as messages are transmitted here from New York to Los Angeles in a few minutes. In Africa we have no wireless or system like that, but we have had our system, centuries old, long before anything was known about radio transmission, and we are now using it in Africa with a vengeance.

The British thought that they were smart and said they would not allow any Garvey propaganda. So they suppressed the circulation of The Negro World in Nigeria, Sierra Leone; also in Senegal, Tripoli, etc. They thought by so doing the natives would get no information of our doings, but they are using the old time system. So a week ago they discovered that the natives were using it. One tribe would beat the sound on the drum and another tribe would catch the sound and relay it on the drum, so that in a few hours the whole continent of Africa would be reached.

And that is the way the U. N. I. A. is sweeping Africa with the doctrine of Africa for the Africans, at home and those abroad. So the Africans are going to do their own redeeming, and all that they are expecting is to get scientific and mechanical help from this side.

We are not asking all Negroes to pack up, bag and baggage, and go to Africa, because some Negroes on this side are too lazy, and we do not want any lazy American or West Indian Negroes to go to Africa. We may want them later on when they would not be lazy, because if they try to be lazy we will provide a pen for them. The other day there was an uprising in Kenya. The British had guns, while the natives had bows and arrows. The latter did the same as the Indians did here in the old days. The poor natives started throwing stones and brandishing sticks, and the Englishmen went to the air in an aeroplane and the matter was finished in a few minutes. So you understand what the natives want. They want men of scientific training so that they can match aeroplane for aeroplane, submarine for submarine, poison gas for poison gas and liquid fire for liquid fire. That's what we are talking about. And that is the kind of Negro we want in Africa now.

I am only sorry I cannot get to Africa yet. Every time I try to get there they try to put me in jail. The first time I tried to get away they picked me up for fraudulent use of the mails. That was eighteen months ago, and

the case has been postponed fifty times. When they thought I would get away they arrested me for not filing a proper income tax report. When they feared that this charge also would fall they picked me up for libeling the District Attorney.

But the longer they keep me here the more Garveys they are making. So I am not worried. But we must be serious.

Some of you must have read of the happenings in Ireland. Once I was a friend of De Valera. That was before the compromise. When he was fighting for the republic I did everything from the U. N. I. A. to help him. We cabled the king and Parliament on behalf of De Valera. And when the time arrived for a compromise and they were offered the Free State, we saw that their opportunity had come. But De Valera has now spoiled the thing, for he could have accepted the Free State and in a few years made a republic of it, because he would then have control of the country.

However, the Irish have given us a splendid object-lesson of perseverance and tenacity. For 750 years these people had been fighting for the freedom of Ireland. For seven centuries they had subscribed to the doctrine of a free Ireland. Hundreds of thousands, millions of Irishmen, have died in that space of time, fighting for that great ideal. Yes, a splendid example for Negroes today.

Negroes expect that we are going to get back Africa in a day. Wait! It will come in God's good time and in the time that you make up your mind to have it. It will not come before you make up your mind. The Irish have been fighting for their freedom, and every day some Irishmen die. Later on, in the same way, some of our men will have to die in Africa.

Negroes believe in death only when they are going to heaven. But there is another kind of death—the death that brings liberty, the death that George Washington and Patrick Henry risked more than 100 years ago when they were laying the foundations for the glorious Stars and Stripes. This is the same kind of death that the members of the U. N. I. A. are prepared for in the fight for the freedom of our country. (Applause.) What do I care about death in the cause of the redemption of Africa? I could as well die in Washington or in New York as in Barbados, Jamaica, Demerara or in Nigeria, Sierra Leone or Nyassaland. I could die anywhere in the cause of liberty. A thousand times before his real death. (Laughter.) We want you to realize that life is not worth its salt except you can live it for some purpose. And the noblest purpose for which to live is the emancipation of a race and the emancipation of posterity.

We are not going to abuse the white man, understand me well. The U. N. I. A. is not trying to cause hatred or enmity against the white man, because if I were a white man I would be doing just what he is doing. If I were a white man do you think I would make any black man President, Secretary of State or Postmaster General? No. So do not expect too much from the white man, for he is not going to give up all the things that he wants or a job that enables him to take care of his woman, for your sake.

So you must not be annoyed at the white man, but just do what he is doing. The sensible thing for you to do is to go out and get your share, regardless of anything else. First of all, find out that your cause is just, that your cause is righteous, and then go to it. Find out that your cause is just, and if anyone comes in your way

Knock Him Into Paradise. But if your cause is unholy, then you cannot go forth to battle. We have prayed to our God to help us fight a righteous cause, and we know that it is a righteous one, because He Himself has inspired us, for He said, "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God," and we are doing so now.

We have to admire the white man who fixed the Bible to suit himself, and who even fixed tradition itself, telling us that everything worth while and beautiful was made by the white man; that God is a great white man; that Jesus was a white man, and that the angels, etc., whatever they are, are as beautiful as peaches in Georgia. (Laughter.) He had nearly got the world to believe that. He nearly got away with that stuff. But the Japanese thought that they should examine that philosophy, and found out that it was not true, and so they said, "you are talking about a white God. I will have a yellow god, and a yellow Christ, and a philosophy of my own."

He nearly got away with that stuff with us. He carried it on for 300 years. But the new Negro said five years ago: "Let us examine his philosophy." And they found out that, the... God or white Christ, and if that other fellow made a white God and a white Christ, we are going to make a black God and a black Christ, and we will even change the color of the angels' wings. It is the new philosophy of the new school. The white men are determined to impose their ideas, however, on the world.

Three thousand years ago we had a wonderful civilization in the world. It was the civilization that Europe stole. The remains of the civilization lay buried underground. Some years ago they started to dig up the places in order to see if they would find anything of that wonderful civilization. But they began at once to scheme. They went down and dug up a black man whose nose is just like that of Marcus Garvey. (Laughter.) Yet they are such skillful fellows they have come and tried to tell us that Tu-tankh-Amen was a white man. Did any of you ever see a white man with a nose like Marcus Garvey's? But we should not fall out with them for that. We intend to live beside each other, care for each other, and respect each other, even admire each other, but politically, socially, religiously and educationally we are going our own way. (Applause.)

We are going in our own direction. The U. N. I. A. has tumbled over the philosophy of the white man, and the

U. N. I. A. is about to destroy the education of the white man in so far as that education is imposed upon Negroes. Negroes, you have to evolve an education, a culture, a philosophy, and a civilization of your own. So long as you continue to ape the white man in his civilization, and so long as you continue to assimilate the white man's learning and philosophy, so long as you remain his slave, his mental slave, you will be his physical slave. You must first emancipate your mind, and then only can you emancipate your bodies.

You must erect a civilization of your own, write a history of your own, and you must foster a tradition of your own. Tradition says that a Negro was the greatest being that God ever created. History says the greatest civilization the world has ever seen was the civilization of our forefathers. Read that history, send down the ages that tradition, and by so doing you shall build a race and a nation upon which

### The Sun Will Never Set

and a race and a nation that will be respected all over the world. May God bless you and show you the vision of the U. N. I. A.—a vision without hatred, without malice, but with love for all mankind; with a foundation of justice, of human liberty and of righteousness. That is the doctrine of the U. N. I. A. That is the propaganda that we are sending around the world. That is what we are asking you to subscribe to tonight.

It is not a cause of racial antagonism or racial hatred; it is a cause of racial love, the cause of love of self and of race appreciation, and I feel sure that it is worth something to each and every one of you. I pray God will bless you and keep you together and that you will live in peace and harmony in Washington as elsewhere in this great republic and nation. The U. N. I. A. does not mean that you cannot be a loyal citizen of America and yet work for the cause of Africa. Our race has a dual loyalty. The white man has a loyalty for his nation and one for his race. The Negro must have the same.

We are only appealing to the loyalty of race; the loyalty to our fathers who are calling for help to save the country from English greed and exploitation, from French expansion and Italian exploitation, and surely the 400,000,000 Negroes of the world should answer the call.

We should say to the 280,000,000 who are in Africa to hold the fort, for we are coming. (Applause.)

Hold the fort, for we are coming 400,000,000 strong, with our superior knowledge of western civilization. We are coming to liberate the land of our fathers and emancipate our scattered and despised race throughout the world. (Applause.) Our fathers did not send us to school to be mere boot-blacks, to be mere bellboys and porters. They sent us to school to choose what we shall be, and so we of the U. N. I. A. have decided that we shall be free men; we shall live free men and die free men. May God bless you.

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