PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT OF AFRICA, President of the Black Star Line, President-General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and "greatest orator of the race," the "Rt. Hon." Marcus Garvey has again convened in Harlem his world congress of negroes. But this time he is not having things all his own way. An organization called the Friends of Negro Freedom announces "a series of meetings with a view to driving out of the country the influence of Marcus Garvey and his worthless schemes through which negroes are losing their hard-earned dollars." Other detractors recall an article published in the New York *World* for February 12, 1922, and headed: "$1,000,000 FRAUD IS LAID TO GARVEY, THE 'NEGRO MOSES'—Federal Indictment Charges He and Three Others Duped Investors in Black Star Line—Two Huge Steamships Now Called Mythical—Mass Meeting Pledged Support to 'Sir President of Africa' after his Recent Arrest." Then, too, Garvey's foes accuse him of having entered into an alliance with Edward Young Clarke, the Imperial Kleagle and Acting Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. Nevertheless, Garvey is as resolute as of old and as gorgeous if not more so. On the day following the opening of this "Third International Convention of the Negro Peoples," the New York *World* informs us:

THE LITERARY DIGEST
August 19, 1922

GUNNING FOR THE "NEGRO MOSES"

THE "NEGRO MOSES" RIDES IN STATE.
"Rt. Hon." Marcus Garvey in military attire. When addressing an audience at "Liberty Hall," he wears an Oxford cap and flowing robes of black, emerald and vermilion.

Marcus Garvey, President-General of the United Negro Improvement Association and "Provisional President of the Republic of Africa," wearing a chapeau from which waved red and white plumes, clad in a military cloak of blue, on which was gold lace a-plenty, and followed by his "High Potentate," "Chaplain-General," "Representative of the American People at the Black House, Washington," Black Cross nurses, members of the uniformed rank, and a host of followers riding in automobiles, paraded the streets of Harlem yesterday afternoon while thousands of negroes who do not agree with Garvey's "Resurrect Africa" movement looked on.

Harlem was in gala attire. Lenox and Seventh Avenues were especially decorated. Flags and bunting were in evidence, the colors of the association, black, green and red, predominating. Police led the parade and a large detail was stationed along the line of march. This arrangement is said to have been made by mutual consent, a request having been made by the Garvey people that adequate protection be given.

There was little cheering as Garvey passed in his high-powered car. Most of those who witnessed the parade appeared to be looking on out of curiosity, but great enthusiasm was displayed by the marchers themselves.

During the procession there were several animated discussions between marchers and bystanders, but none resulted seriously. At Lenox Avenue and 135th Street, a "Garveyite" took excep-

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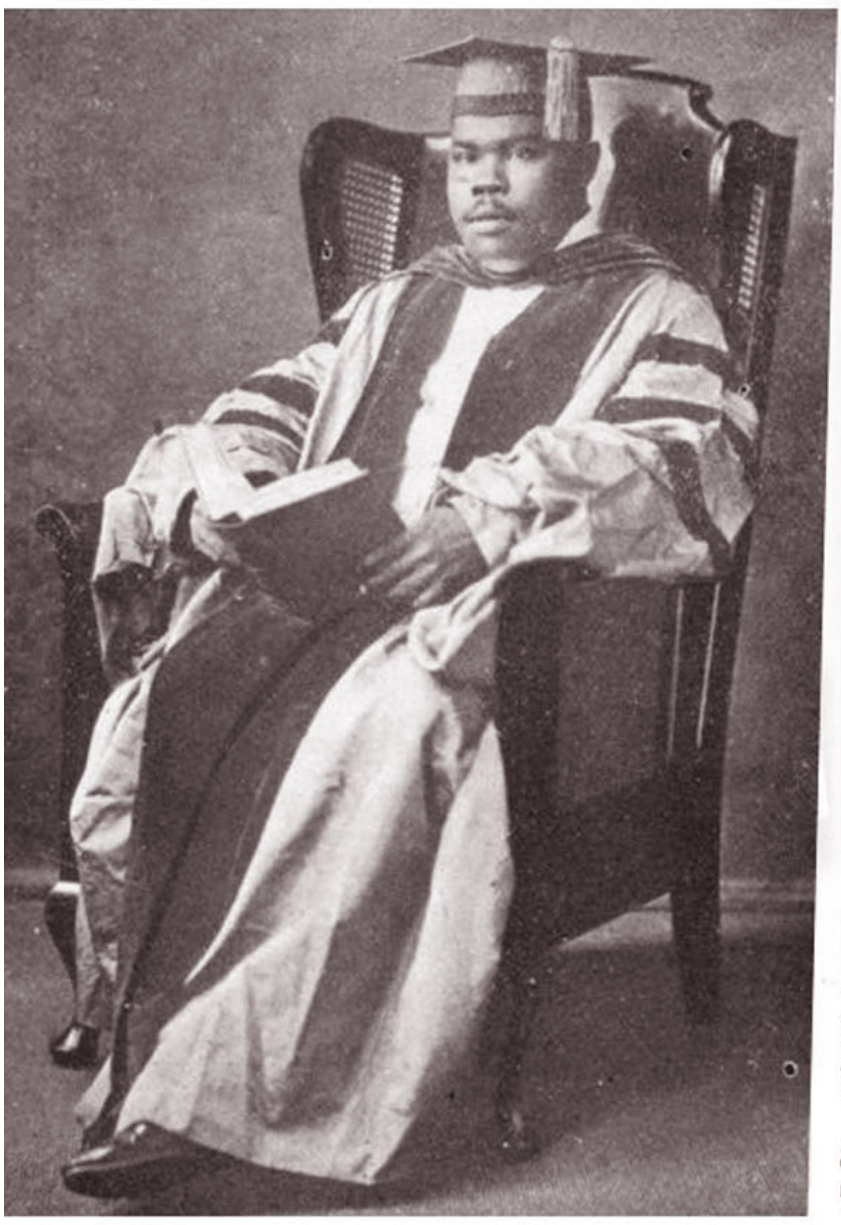
tion to a remark of an onlooker charging Garvey with being a black member of the Ku Klux Klan. This is an unpopular subject in Harlem and the crowd was with the anti-Garvey man. Prompt interference by the police quelled the argument.

On Seventh Avenue, near 133d Street, two negroes of opposite views took issue over Garvey's unfortunate transaction with the Black Star Line, in which thousands of dollars were lost. Garvey's champion contended the money lost to members of the United Negro Improvement Association was due to bad advice and unfair business methods adopted by those he trusted. He asserted the President-General of the Association could get thousands of dollars more if he desired.



In order to show white people the Universal Negro Improvement Association is on the map, the parade, after leaving Liberty Hall, No. 120 West 138th Street, marched down Seventh Avenue as far as 110th Street. It was then that banners reading "White Man Rules America, Black Man Shall Rule Africa," "We Want a Black Civilization" and "God and the Negro Shall Triumph" were raised.

"LET'S PUT IT OVER"

A Home In Africa

NOTICE TO

Members of Universal Negro Improvement Association

All members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association who desire to go to Liberia, West Africa, to settle to help in the industrial, commercial and cultural development of the country, and who intend sailing September, October, December, 1924, or January, February, March, April or May, 1925, are requested to send in for application form to be filled out.

Address

UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSN., DEPT. E

56 West 135th Street

NEW YORK CITY, U. S. A.

(images added)

Three thousand five hundred negroes attended a mass meeting that evening at the 71st Armory, where, as the New York *Tribune* tells us,

Gorgeous robes and trappings and richly decorative costumes of almost every hue were worn. Several companies of negro soldiers of the Regular Army, trim and erect in immaculate uniforms, were on hand, as were white-uniformed Black Cross nurses. The various speakers wore brilliant, flowing robes.

There were present at the meeting representatives of the negro race from every corner of the United States, from Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, Central and South America, the West Indies and Canada. The various speakers were enthusiastically applauded, and Garvey's plea for freedom for the negro race and for Africa brought forth a tremendous outburst.

"If England wants peace," said the speaker, "if France wants peace, if Italy wants peace, I suggest to them that they pack their bag and baggage and clear out of Africa." Continuing he said: "Egypt has spoken, Poland has spoken and Poland is now free, Egypt is free, and Ireland also is free. Africa is now speaking, and if for seven hundred and fifty years Irishmen found perseverance enough to have carried the cause of freedom on and on until they won, then four hundred million negroes are prepared to carry on the fight for African liberty.

"We are willing to form an alliance with the great white race for the preservation of civilization and for the good of a lasting peace, but it must be clearly understood that the new negro is a different man to the negro of seven or eight years ago. We are willing to fight to see Africa restored to us as our home."

At Liberty Hall, Harlem, where the convention holds its sessions, Garvey is "enthroned on the daïs, in a gown of red and

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green velvet stripes." All through the month of August he will preside there, unaffrighted by what his newspaper, the *Negro World*, calls "fierce opposition and the most unrelenting and the most virile attacks from his enemies." Among these, one of the liveliest is William Pickins, Field Secretary of the National Association for the Improvement of Colored People. Not long ago, Garvey wrote Pickins a letter, widely circulated in the negro press. In that letter he promised Pickins a title of nobility, as will be seen from the following excerpt:

On the night of August 10th, His Highness the Potentate of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, who is the Honorable Gabriel Johnson of Monrovia, Liberia, will in his official capacity as Potentate, confer certain honors and titles upon certain distinguished negro characters according to the instructions of the Executive Council of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Among the men of the race who have accomplished things singled out to be honored, your name appears. We feel that you have done exemplary work in the cause of Africa, and that your services should be rewarded and by those of us on whose shoulders it falls to take appreciated cognizance of the things that are done in the name of scattered Ethiopia. You have been singled out to be honored with a title in the gift of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. The designation of the title has has not yet been announced, as His Highness the Potentate has not yet arrived in the United States of America, and may not arrive until around the 31st day of the present month; but this honor will be conferred upon you at the Court Reception of the race to be given at Liberty Hall, 120 West 138th Street, New York City, on the night of August 10th.

Pickins was indignant. His reply, likewise published in the negro press, contains these spirited sentences:

[illegible] deem myself too good, or quite good enough, to [illegible] distinction from the hands of honest people, however [illegible] they may be, and especially from colored people. On the [illegible] and, I can not feel myself quite bad enough to accept any [illegible] or alliance with such an organization as the Ku Klux Klan [illegible] the Black Hand Society. I would rather be damned or murdered by such an organization than to be honored or rewarded by it. The U. N. I. A. is not (or at least has not been heretofore regarded as) in a class with those criminal organizations, but I gather from your recent plain utterances that you are now endorsing the Ku Klux Klan, or at least conceding the justice of its aim to crush and repress colored Americans and incidentally other racial and religious groups in the United States."

It appears that Garvey has had dealings with the Klan. On the 10th of July last, the New York *Tribune* reported:

What the Ku Klux Klan means to the American negro, and how Edward Young Clarke, Acting Imperial Wizard of the Klan, told it in plain words to Marcus Garvey, "Provisional President of the Republic of Africa," was reported last night by Garvey, in

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his "Presidential" robes of violent red and green, to 4,000 wildly excited negroes in Liberty Hall, Harlem.

"I had an interview with Acting Imperial Wizard Clarke in Atlanta, June 25," said Garvey, "to learn the truth of the Klan's attitude toward the race I represent. He told me the Klan is determined to make America a white man's country, and the Klan is a mighty powerful white organization that represents the opinions and the prejudices of every true white man in the United States.

"I tell you the Universal Negro Improvement Association is just like the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan wants America for the white folks. We want Africa for Africans."

This "understanding reached between Marcus Garvey and the Ku Klux Klan" is regarded by the New York *Call* as "one of the most curious examples of brothers in arms," and Garvey's own paper tells us that the affair has caused "considerable commotion in negro newspaper circles," adding,

In the New York *World* on Sunday, July 23, Mr. Garvey informed the reading public that he visited the Imperial Kleagle to get first-hand information regarding the plans, purposes and activities of an organization that has been cussed and discust, pro and con. We recommend a careful perusal of that article. It shows that Mr. Garvey was in his senses and in his right mind when he entered the lion's den.

In that article he denies having "surrendered to the Wizard." With equal vehemence he denies having "formed an alliance with the Klan." What really occurred, he declares—and all that occurred—was this:

Knowing the power and influence and intention of the Klan, I interviewed the executive for the purpose of getting them, if possible, to adopt a different attitude toward the race and thus prevent a repetition in many ways of what what happened during the days of reconstruction.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the famous negro author and editor, has watched the Garvey movement with interest and with a degree of sympathy ever since its beginnings. Now that Garvey is under indictment as well as confronted by an organized effort to destroy Garveyism root and branch, two articles by Dr. Du Bois in the *Crisis* are being gotten out and reread. Says he:

It is a little difficult to characterize the man Garvey. He has been charged with dishonesty and graft, but he seems to me essentially an honest and sincere man with a tremendous vision, great dynamic force, stubborn determination and unselfish desire to serve; but also he has very serious defects of temperament and training: he is dictatorial, domineering, inordinately vain and very suspicious. He can not get on with his fellow workers. His entourage has continually changed. He has had endless lawsuits and some cases of fisticuffs with his subordinates, and has even divorced the young wife

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whom he married with great fanfare of trumpets about a year ago. All these things militate against him and his reputation. Nevertheless I have not found the slightest proof that his objects were not sincere or that he was consciously diverting money to his own uses. The great difficulty with him is that he has absolutely no business sense, no *flair* for real organization and his general objects are so shot through with bombast and exaggeration that it is difficult to pin them down for careful examination.

On the other hand, Garvey is an extraordinary leader of men. Thousands of people believe in him. He is able to stir them with singular eloquence, and the general run of his thought is of a high plane. He has become to thousands of people a sort of religion. He allows and encourages all sorts of personal adulation, even printing in his paper the addresses of some of the delegates who hailed him as "His Majesty." He dons on state occasion a costume consisting of an academic cap and gown flounced in red and green!

When it comes to Mr. Garvey's industrial and commercial enterprises there is more ground for doubt and misgivings than in the matter of his character. First of all, his enterprises are incorporated in Delaware, where the corporation laws are loose and where no financial statements are required. So far as I can find, and I have searched with care, Mr. Garvey has never published a complete statement of the income and expenditures of the Negro Improvement Association or of the Black Star Line or of any of his enterprises, which really revealed his financial situation.

Suppose Mr. Garvey should drop from the clouds and concentrate on his industrial schemes as a practical first step toward his dreams: the first duty of a great commercial enterprise is to carry on effective commerce. A man who sees in industry the key to a situation, must establish sufficient businesslike industries. Here Mr. Garvey has failed lamentably.

To sum up: Garvey is a sincere, hard-working idealist; he is also a stubborn, domineering leader of the mass; he has worthy industrial and commercial schemes, but he is an inexperienced business man. His dreams of negro industry, commerce and the ultimate freedom of Africa are feasible; but his methods are bombastic, wasteful, illogical and ineffective and almost illegal. If he learns by experience, attracts strong and capable friends and helpers instead of making needless enemies; if he gives up secrecy and suspicion and substitutes open and frank reports as to his income and expenses, and, above all, if he is willing to be a coworker and not a czar, he may yet in time succeed in at least starting some of his schemes toward accomplishment.

In his addresses, constantly appearing in the *Negro World*, Garvey now and then warns his followers against the danger of being led astray by his detractors. Recently he declared,

> With all the controversy—with all the things said and written about the Unime personally, as far as the African program is concerned, I trust you will pay absolutely no attention, for the simple reason those things are incidental; you will have them in every big movement; you will have them in every big endeavor. You have not yet found in all human history where all the people have ever agreed

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at one and the same time. Therefore, I do not want the leaders of the Universal Negro Improvement Association to pay much attention to what other negroes say, because they do not mean what they say any how, and there is not much to what they say.

Meanwhile, his appeal to race patriotism has all the eloquence it had before the clouds began to gather. "What do we desire?" he asks, and answers,

We desire the emancipation of the entire race; we desire the freedom of our country, Africa; free from the domination of an alien race, free from exploitation, free from the pernicious influence of an alien civilization, and an alien creed. (Applause.)

This is the time when all peoples are looking forward. On every hand you hear the cry for liberty, and what is liberty? It is that sacred principle for which millions have died in the past, for which millions will die to-day, and for which millions more will die in the future. Yes, on this principle stood Patrick Henry in the Virginia Legislature one hundred and forty-odd years ago; there he defied the organized power of a mighty Empire; I think I can hear the word of that noble patriot ringing through this hall to-night—"I care not what others may say, but as for me, give me Liberty or give me death." Such were the words that inspired the early Colonists to fight the battle of independence to make America the greatest Republic in the world; such are the words that will inspire the four hundred million negroes throughout the world to fight for the freedom of our motherland, Africa.

To free Africa, we must first free ourselves mentally, spiritually and politically. So long as we remain the religious slaves of another race, so long as we remain educationally the slaves of another race, so long as we remain politically the slaves of another race, so long shall other men trample upon us and call us an inferior people. But when we lift ourselves from this racial mire to the heights of religious freedom, of political freedom, of social freedom of educational freedom, then and then only will we start out to become a great race and ultimately make of ourselves a mighty nation.

The new negroe desires nationhood. We believe if nationhood is good for the Anglo-Saxon race, if nationhood is good for the Anglo-American race, if nationhood is good for the Japanese race, for the Chinese race, or any other race in the world, then it is also good for this great black race of ours. (Applause)

We shall have in this twentieth century nothing less than freedom. If it must be won by sacrifice, then we are prepared for sacrifice of any kind; if we must give our money, we shall give it; if we must give of our intelligence, we will give it; if we must give of our physical power, we will give it; if we must give of our blood, we shall give it, for by the blood of the fathers, the children are freed. (Applause.)

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