

THE EMANCIPATION OF A RACE
DISSERTATION FOR THE DEGREE OF Ph.D.
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ANTHONY CLAUDE MARTIN

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ABSTRACT

THE EMANCIPATION OF A RACE

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAREER AND IDEAS OF
MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY, TOGETHER WITH AN
EXAMINATION OF DIVERS IDEOLOGICAL
AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUGGLES IN
WHICH HE BECAME INVOLVED

By

Anthony Claude Martin

Marcus Mosiah Garvey (1887-1940) occupies a central position in Black History as the organizer of the largest black nationalist movement ever. The present study examines his ideas and career as it unfolded in the West Indies, the United States, Europe and elsewhere.

Examination of Garvey's ideas occupies the first portion of the study after a biographical introduction. Garvey's ideas centered around the principle that race was the primary consideration affecting the destinies of black people. They would therefore have to be emancipated on the basis of a platform of "race first." Race first meant striving for an independent black nation in Africa where black people could work out their own destinies free from oppressive rule by alien races. It meant also that

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black people would have to be economically self-reliant. Religion, history, art, and every other aspect of the black experience would have to be vigorously infused with a black oriented point of view. And all of this would be facilitated by the possession of communications media under the control of the organization (the Universal Negro Improvement Association).

The study shows that Garvey's powerful position in the United States and the world brought him into conflict with the most powerful governments in the world, together with such disparate groups as the N.A.A.C.P. and the Communist International. Governments saw Garvey as a threat to stability among their black populations. Rival organizations saw Garvey as an ideological challenge to the methods they were proposing to eradicate the oppression of black people.

Against all these powerful forces Garvey was able to prevail until his imprisonment in and deportation from the United States slowly loosened his grip on the black masses in America and elsewhere.

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VOLUME I

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY, 1887-1940

What do I care about death in the cause of the redemption of Africa? . . . I could die anywhere in the cause of liberty: A real man dies but once; a coward dies a thousand times before his real death. So 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.

-- Marcus Garvey¹

History records that slaves--by virtue of their experiences and the knowledge gained in captivity in strange lands--have eventually become Masters of themselves, and in time enslaved others. Let us therefore use adversity as others have done. Take advantage of every opportunity; where there is none, make it for yourself, and let history record that as we toiled laboriously and courageously, we worked to live gloriously.

-- Marcus Garvey²

Marcus Mosiah Garvey was born in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica, on August 17, 1887. His childhood was deeply rooted in the peasant environment which largely surrounded him. He once described an uncle, for whom he sometimes worked, as a sharecropper. His own parents also engaged in small-scale peasant farming. Garvey's was not a typical peasant experience, however. His father, a descendant of

the Maroons, Jamaica's African ex-slaves who successfully defied the slave regime, was also a skilled tradesman, a stonemason. Garvey's background further distinguished him from the typical peasant in that it included voluminous reading from an early age. For his father was possessed of a library among whose volumes Garvey developed an early taste for reading.

His childhood was characterized by an adequate elementary education supplemented by private tutors and Sunday school. For a time he pumped the organ for his local Wesleyan church. His leadership ability seems to have manifested itself from the very beginning, for his physical prowess gave him a position of eminence among his peers. This situation brought about his first encounter with the legal entanglements which were to plague his whole career. For on one occasion a group of children led by himself were apprehended and brought before juvenile court for stoning the windows of a church and school. A fine of one pound was placed upon young Garvey. This his father refused to pay and he was rescued from the reformatory by the efforts of his mother.³ Because of this incident Garvey henceforth harbored a deep animosity towards his father which was not lifted until twenty-four hours before his father's death in 1920.

At the age of fourteen Garvey left school and became apprenticed to a local printer. Two years later, in

1903, he moved to Kingston, Jamaica's capital city, where he obtained work as a printer. By the time he was eighteen he had achieved what he later described as "an excellent position as manager of a large printing establishment." Participation in a strike, during which he consented to lead the workers despite assurances of favor from management, cost him his job. He then obtained new employment with the government printery.

In Kingston Garvey quickly immersed himself in the intellectual and political life of the city. He made a systematic study of elocution, studying the style of preachers who impressed him and taking elocution lessons from Dr. J. Robert Love, pioneer black nationalist figure and sometime member of Jamaica's legislative council. Garvey's love for elocution and debating brought him third place in an island-wide oratorical contest in 1910. He was also active in organizing debating contests in West Kingston and elsewhere.

By 1909 Garvey's political involvement had brought him into the National Club organized by a lawyer and legislative council member, Sandy Cox. Garvey was elected one of the assistant secretaries of this club, which sought to combat privilege and the evils of British colonialism on the island. It was about this time too (1910) that Garvey established the first of the many publishing ventures he was to own, the tri-weekly Garvey's Watchman.

In 1910 Garvey embarked on the first of his many wanderings in foreign lands. Costa Rica was his first destination. There he worked for a while as a time-keeper on a United Fruit Company banana plantation, as a laborer on the pier at the capital, Port Limon, edited a paper, La Nación, harassed the British consul concerning his non-protection of the many British West Indian laborers working in Costa Rica, was arrested for urging workers to fight for better conditions, and was eventually expelled from the country (or left to escape the authorities).⁴

By now Garvey was clearly a man with a mission and pointed irrevocably towards his life's work, the formidable task which he set himself, of emancipating a race. He continued, for the next year or so, to wander through Latin America, going to such places as Panama and Ecuador where West Indian workers had migrated in large numbers in search of work. He observed the universal degradation of the black race, worked intermittently to finance his travels, started another small paper in Colón, Panama, and agitated among black workers. A black worker in Colón at the time remembers meeting Garvey round about 1912 as he addressed the Colón Federal Workers Union, made up mostly of black workers.⁵ There is a possibility that Garvey may have stopped briefly, perhaps in transit at a seaport, somewhere in the United States during this period.⁶

From Central America Garvey returned briefly to

Jamaica and by the autumn of 1912, undeterred by a lack of money, he was in England, where his only surviving sister, Indiana, was working as a governess. In England he indulged his love of public speaking at Hyde Park's Speakers' Corner, was a regular visitor to the visitors' gallery of the House of Commons, and worked for the Africa Times and Orient Review, the foremost Pan-African journal of the day. At the offices of this publication, which was edited by the Egyptian-Sudanese Pan-Africanist Duse Mohamed Ali, Garvey wrapped magazines, carried them to the post and express offices, wrote at least one article, and generally made himself useful in exchange for a small wage.⁷ He found the time to travel widely through England, Scotland and Europe and one authority who knew him well has made an unsubstantiated claim that he made it to North Africa.⁸ Garvey said later that he attended some lectures in law at Birkbeck College of the University of London.

By July 1913 Garvey was, not surprisingly, almost destitute and applied for government assistance. Possibly because of his job at the Africa Times and Orient Review, however, (his article for the magazine was published in the October issue), he was able to eke out an existence for almost another year. By May of 1914, however, by which time he was probably again without employment, the Anti-slavery and Aborigines Protection Society intervened on his behalf, despatching him to the Colonial Office with an offer of a

contribution from the society if the Colonial Office would put up some of the money to repatriate him to Jamaica. Early in June the society informed the Colonial Office that Garvey was now "endeavouring to raise a fund to meet passage money" and offered to match equally any amount proffered by the Colonial Office. Garvey managed to do without the largesse of these two agencies, however. He succeeded in raising his fare home and left England on June 17, 1914.⁹

This, Garvey's first sojourn in England, was of great importance to his career. The workings of British democracy made a lasting impression on him and, like later generations of visitors from the colonized world to the metropolis, he noted the contrast to the autocracy which the very same colonizers maintained in their tropical dependencies. He was often to call, in the years to come, for an extension of "British justice" to the colonies, Jamaica in particular. England gave him an opportunity, too, to enhance his already wide knowledge of the worldwide sufferings of the African race. In the pages of the Africa Times and Orient Review there appeared regularly articles by and about such leading figures from the four corners of the African universe as Booker T. Washington, Edward Wilmot Blyden, John Edward Bruce, W. E. B. DuBois and William Ferris, to name but a few. Some of these would before long be his associates in the United States. Many Africans, West Indians and other black people also visited the offices

of the journal. And the fact that the journal combined a Pan-African outlook with wide coverage of middle and far eastern nationalist struggles and indeed all anti-colonial struggles, contributed further to Garvey's growth and influenced his future outlook. In his travels through England and Scotland, too, Garvey had an opportunity to meet and observe the conditions, often very severe, afflicting African, West Indian and other seamen and students of color.

Garvey arrived back in Jamaica on July 15, 1914, his head bristling with ideas on making a living and founding a racial movement. To secure the former he tried selling greeting and condolence cards and "monumental tombstones."¹⁰ To secure the latter he formed, five days after his arrival, the Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association and African Communities (Imperial) League. The title bore testimony to the enlarged vision brought about by his travels and the fear, which he never relinquished, that weak races were doomed to slavery and possibly extinction. In this regard he wrote, soon afterwards,

For the last ten years I have given my time to the study of the condition of the Negro, here, there, and everywhere, and I have come to realize that he is still the object of degradation and pity the world over, in the sense that he has no status socially, nationally, or commercially (with a modicum of exception in the United States of America). . . .¹¹

Garvey became president and travelling commissioner of the new organization and Amy Ashwood, whom he had met at

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the weekly meeting of the East Queen St. Baptist Literary and Debating Society, became its secretary. The association was formed on their second meeting.¹² A few days later an inaugural meeting took place at the Collegiate Hall, Kingston, presided over by the mayor of Kingston.¹³ Recruiting was slow, even though Garvey worked tirelessly and succeeded in establishing himself in the minds of many as an agitator and a nuisance. During the first year or so Garvey entered into correspondence with Booker T. Washington, whose autobiography Up From Slavery had been a great inspiration, and extended a "hearty welcome" to W. E. B. DuBois on his visit to Jamaica. He also busied himself trying to organize an industrial and agricultural institute along the lines of Washington's Tuskegee. Opposition to his movement was widespread from "respectable Negroes" who had not yet learnt to love their blackness. As Garvey wrote later, "I had to decide whether to please my friends and be one of the 'black-whites' of Jamaica, and be reasonably prosperous, or come out openly, and defend and help improve and protect the integrity of the black millions, and suffer."¹⁴

After about a year the organization could boast of only about a hundred members.¹⁵ Up to this time its activities were largely confined to Kingston. In November 1915, however, its first public meeting outside Kingston was held, in Garvey's hometown of St. Ann's Bay. The Jamaica Times

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reported, "right merrily did the people of the town turn out to listen to their fellow townsman."¹⁶ Garvey had planned to undertake a fund-raising lecture tour in the United States beginning this very month, having received an assurance of support from Booker T. Washington. But the latter's death caused him to postpone his trip until 1916. In the meantime he held memorial meetings to honor Washington's memory.

Garvey arrived in New York on March 23, 1916 for a lecture tour which he thought would last five months and would be confined to race audiences mostly in the South. He arranged for his mail to be delivered to an address in Jamaica during his absence and let it be known wherever he went in America that he was raising funds for an industrial institute to be established in Jamaica.

Garvey's advent into the United States did not find him as much a stranger to conditions there as some are led to believe. For one thing his wide reading on racial matters had obviously included the race in North America. (If he read nothing else but the Africa Times and Orient Review he would have received a tolerably good introduction to race relations in the United States). More than this, though, Garvey's visit to the United States came in the midst of a large-scale migration of West Indians to that country. By the time of Garvey's early years in the United States, West Indians already formed a substantial part of the population

of Harlem, there were West Indian migrant laborers in such places as Florida and South Carolina, the student bodies of such schools as Tuskegee and Howard had their fair share of West Indians, some West Indians had enlisted in black United States regiments and gotten themselves killed during the Great War, and professional and businessmen from the islands were a common phenomenon in many Afro-American communities. One islander, Cyril Briggs, was even editor of the New York Amsterdam News. The to-ing and fro-ing of persons and ideas generated by this migration meant that adapting to the United States was probably not too much more of a problem for West Indians than adapting to the North was for Southern Afro-Americans whose great migration was proceeding at the same time. This unity of Afro-American and West Indian history was particularly well illustrated in Garvey's case. Before he even arrived in the United States in 1916 he had already corresponded with Booker T. Washington, welcomed W. E. B. DuBois to Jamaica, and spoken with Robert Russa Moton, Washington's successor at Tuskegee.

By March 1916 Garvey's sense of mission, his conviction that he had been called upon by extraterrestrial forces to emancipate his race, had developed to an uncanny degree. Shortly before leaving Jamaica he had written, in a letter to Moton, "I am now talking with you as a man with a mission from the High God." Even though he still thought that Jamaica would be the main field of his exertions, he had

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nevertheless already mapped out the course which he was to follow over the next few years. He wrote in the same letter,

I have many large schemes on my mind for the advancement of my people that I cannot expose at the present to the public as in such a case my hope of immediate success would be defeated, as my enemies are so many and they are ever anxious to misrepresent me. I have firstly to found a press of our own and to get some working [start?] so as to demonstrate my true intentions.¹⁷

Once in the United States, Garvey found lodgings with a Jamaican family in Harlem, came down with pneumonia, obtained work as a printer, and saved enough to start out on his fund-raising tour through the states. He gave his address at this time as 53 W. 140 Street in Harlem.¹⁸ By June he was lecturing in Boston and by November, demonstrating again the amazing mobility which had characterized his Central American and European visits, he had already visited, among other places, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Baltimore, Washington, D. C. and Chicago. He had also met a goodly number of prominent national and local Afro-American leaders. Among these was John Edward Bruce, whom he called "a true Negro," a man for whom he had "the strongest regard," a Dr. R. R. Wright, Jr., Dr. Parks, vice president of the Baptist Union, Dr. Triley of the Methodist Episcopal church of Philadelphia, Rev. J. C. Anderson whom he described only as being "of Quinn Chapel," Mrs. Ida Wells-Barnett of anti-lynching fame, magazine editor Fenton Johnson and William H. Ferris.¹⁹ Bruce, Emmett J. Scott of Tuskegee and Ida Wells-

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Barnett were among those who provided him with introductions to the many prominent persons he met. Bruce had been an agent for and a regular contributor to the Africa Times and Orient Review. Ferris had once written an article for the same magazine in which he praised Garvey's October 1913 article, which had appeared a few months before his.²⁰ Ferris was later to edit Garvey's weekly Negro World from 1920 to 1923 and to hold a variety of high offices within the U.N.I.A. Bruce, after an initial period of skepticism, became a regular contributor to and member of the editorial boards of both the Negro World and Garvey's Daily Negro Times. To his death in 1924 he remained the staunchest of Garvey's supporters among the Afro-American intelligentsia.

Garvey's whirlwind tour took him through thirty-eight states and lasted about a year. He returned at the end of it to New York, where he established a temporary base. Harlem, still only recently converted into the black section of New York, was already the veritable capital of the black world. Its population, composed in the vast majority of Southern and West Indian-born immigrants, was possessed of a rare vitality, containing as it did, a high proportion of radicals of all types and a large number of the greatest practitioners the race has produced of such creative arts as literature, drama, photography and more. Race uplift groups of all kinds abounded and the main thoroughfare, Lenox Avenue, was a favorite haunt of soap-box orators.

Harlem, however, was but a microcosm of the black world of the World War I period. The subjugation of Africa by European imperialism was still a fresh memory. In many parts of that continent colonial rule was still less than two decades old. In response to this an infinite number of nationalist and Pan-Africanist organizations had come into being in Africa, Europe, North America, the West Indies, Central and South America--everywhere that African people lived, and all looking towards the restoration of African independence. Apart from the African question, black communities everywhere had local problems of their own. In the United States it was lynching, the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, race riots, jim crow in the armed forces and everywhere else, and more. In Haiti it was the excesses of United States military rule. In Central America and Cuba it was the mistreatment of migrant West Indian labor. In England it was race riots and the non-employment of black people except in wartime. Practically everywhere else it was European colonialism. With the exception of Ethiopia, and to some extent Liberia, the black man was everywhere in a state of non-independence. Garvey, in his involvement in the printers' strike, in his participation in Jamaica's National Club, in his agitation among black workers in Central America, in his travels in Europe, and in his formation of the U.N.I.A. (the "Conservation" had dropped out of the title along the way) had long embodied the spirit of black

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Garvey moved onto the center of the Harlem stage with all the ease and self-confidence of the man with a mission. He visited W. E. B. DuBois at one of the N.A.A.C.P.'s offices on the white (downtown) side of New York's Manhattan and came away implacably opposed to the near total absence of black faces therein contained. DuBois seems to have done nothing to soothe his disgust. In Harlem meanwhile he took to the streets, joined the soap-box and step ladder orators, and formed political alliances with such prominent Harlem radicals as the Socialists A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen (soon to begin publication of their Messenger magazine) and Hubert Harrison, one-time Socialist and a leading Harlem intellectual. Someone who knew Garvey at this time recalled that he "could throw his voice around three corners without batting an eyelash."²¹

On June 12, 1917, Garvey was invited by Harrison to address a mass meeting attended by two thousand held at the Bethel A. M. E. Church for the purpose of organizing Harrison's Liberty League.²² Garvey himself had held a not too successful meeting not long before this, in the course of which he fell off the platform. The Liberty League meeting was a windfall, however, for he was a tremendous success. Shortly before, or perhaps shortly after Harrison's

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meeting, Garvey began to hold weekly meetings of his own every Sunday at 3 p.m. They were held in Harlem's Lafayette Hall, at 131st Street and Lenox Avenue. The meetings were slated to continue until October 1917 and Garvey was still being billed as head of the U.N.I.A. and A.C.L. of Jamaica. At one of these Sunday meetings on July 8, less than a month after the Liberty League gathering, Chandler Owen presided and Garvey's address was devoted to a denunciation of the "Conspiracy of the East St. Louis Riots."²³ The first New York branch of the U.N.I.A. may already have been formed by this time, for the association's address was given as 235 W. 131st Street. The subject of this lecture shows that Garvey had once again demonstrated the propensity, as in Costa Rica and Panama, of quickly becoming embroiled in the purely local issues of wherever he happened to be.

Garvey's first U.N.I.A. branch in New York, as well as a second attempted early in 1918, were both envisaged as being auxiliary to the Jamaica headquarters. Garvey himself, as president of the Jamaica division, did not hold office in them. Both efforts were disrupted by attempts by Socialists and Republicans to turn them into political clubs. On a third attempt based on the wishes of a nucleus of thirteen members, Garvey consented to become president of the New York branch, thus concretizing a decision which he had in all likelihood already contemplated, namely to cast down his bucket in the United States.²⁴ With this move New York

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supplanted Kingston, Jamaica as U.N.I.A. headquarters. A schism developed in this new attempt, too, but Garvey weathered the storm. The association's meeting place had meanwhile moved from the Lafayette Hall to the Palace Casino where it remained for most of 1918.

Once the decision to remain in the United States had been made, Garvey moved on with renewed vigor. The U.N.I.A. was incorporated under the laws of New York on July 2, 1918. On July 31 the African Communities League was incorporated as a business corporation.²⁵ About a month later the Negro World appeared, destined to become the most widely circulated of race papers and the bane of European colonialists in Africa, the West Indies and elsewhere. It was initially edited free by Garvey. The earliest issues were distributed free by being pushed under peoples' doors in the early hours. Garvey himself participated in these early efforts at distribution.

During the year Garvey embarked on his first fund raising tour outside of New York after moving the U.N.I.A. headquarters. His first stop was Detroit, where he was hit in the head by a stone thrown by a heckler. On his return to New York his secretary Amy Ashwood, who had accompanied him, was summoned to the District Attorney's office a total, she wrote later, of seventeen times. The authorities, it seems, suspected Garvey of raising funds for a non-existent "Back-to-Africa" enterprise.²⁶ This was not the first

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By November 11, 1918 the New York Times could report a meeting of 5,000 persons presided over by Garvey at the Palace Casino. The meeting celebrated the end of World War I by calling on the allied powers to hand over the ex-German colonies in Africa to black rule. Several persons were nominated at the meeting to lobby on behalf of the U.N.I.A. at the up-coming Paris Peace Conference. Among them were A. Philip Randolph and Ida Wells-Barnett. The U.N.I.A. eventually despatched a Haitian as High Commissioner to lobby during the conference due at least in part, no doubt, to the fact that Afro-Americans with few exceptions, were being denied passports to France by the United States government. (One month later Mrs. Wells-Barnett received a similar honor from the Democracy Congress of the National Equal Rights League led by William Monroe Trotter. She was denied a passport by the United States government).²⁷ Shortly after the November meeting Mrs. Wells-Barnett addressed a U.N.I.A. meeting in New York. On this occasion, however, she annoyed Garvey by advising both him and his audience against the idea of a return to Africa and the establishment of what was subsequently to become the Black Star Line. Like most people who saw Garvey in action, she later testified to the

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remarkable sway which he exercised over his audience.²⁸

By 1919 Garvey was already firmly established as one of Harlem's most important radical figures. And it was during this year that the fame of him spread all over the globe. Before the year had ended he would be regularly discussed in the press and in governmental circles in Europe, Africa, the West Indies and elsewhere. Before the year had ended, too, he would come under increased scrutiny from a variety of law enforcement authorities in the United States.

In March of 1919 at another large meeting at the Palace Casino, this time presided over by Chandler Owen, Garvey claimed that DuBois had humbugged the activities of his High Commissioner in France.²⁹ (DuBois' own Pan-African Conference, held in February, had been widely mistaken in Europe for being a Garveyite gathering). The desire for an Afro-American lobby at the Paris Peace Conference was also responsible for bringing together a group of Harlem radicals and other prominent race-conscious individuals at the home of wealthy but race-conscious Madame C. J. Walker. Garvey was among those present at this meeting, out of which grew the short-lived International League of Darker Peoples.³⁰

In June of this year Garvey incorporated his Black Star Line, its purpose being to place ships on the seas which would link up black communities worldwide by trade and also facilitate the movement of black persons free from the discriminations meted out on the ships of white nations.

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The Yarmouth, the line's first ship, made its maiden voyage later the same year. It was in connection with this shipping company that Garvey was harassed, both before and after its incorporation, by District Attorney Edwin P. Kilroe of New York, culminating in rash statements by Garvey, a libel suit by Kilroe and a Garvey retraction.

By the time of the Black Star Line's incorporation, Garvey claimed later, the U.N.I.A. had about thirty branches and over 2,000,000 members.³¹ This figure apparently included sympathizers as well as members in any strict sense, but the spread of his ideas by this time could not be gainsaid. As early as 1918 the Negro World had been reaching places as far as Panama and throughout 1919 Garveyites were blamed by colonial authorities for anti-white riots in Jamaica, Trinidad and British Honduras, among other places. The British government included Garvey in an undercover study on black radicals. In America, too, both J. Edgar Hoover of the Justice Department and Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer investigated Garvey, as did the Lusk Committee of the New York state legislature for its report into seditious activities published in 1920.

In October of this year Garvey, fast approaching the peak of his career, had his closest escape from an untimely death. Several shots were fired at him by one George Tyler, two of which found their mark. The wounds were minor, however. Tyler died mysteriously, supposedly jumping to his

death from the cell where he was awaiting an appearance in court. It was widely suspected that he planned to implicate persons unknown in his assassination attempt. A little over two months after this attempt on his life, on Christmas Day 1919, Garvey was married during a lavish spectacle at Liberty Hall, now the U.N.I.A.'s own meeting place. His bride was Amy Ashwood, whom he had met shortly after returning to Jamaica in 1914. She had been U.N.I.A. secretary from its inception. In 1916 she had left Jamaica for Panama but had become reunited with Garvey in the spring of 1918 when she moved to the United States. The marriage was over by early 1920, the couple having parted company amidst a welter of accusations and counter-accusations concerning infidelity, financial misdealings and political strategies.

1920 witnessed the First International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World, organized by Garvey, and lasting from August 1st to 31st. At the opening session at Madison Square Garden an overflow crowd of 25,000 filled the arena and spilled out into the streets around. The other sessions took place in Liberty Hall in Harlem. Delegates attended from every nook and cranny of the black world. A Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World was adopted. This declaration listed the main grievances of the race, and demanded their resolution. Notice was served on European colonialists that the black man had an "inherent right . . . to possess himself of Africa" regardless of the

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claims of any other race or nation. Demands were made for the capitalization of the "N" in Negro, for black history in schools, for an end to lynching and for an end to sundry other discriminations. The red, black and green were adopted as the colors of the race, August 31 was proclaimed an international holiday for black people and a Universal Ethiopian Anthem was adopted. During the course of the convention Garvey was elected President-General of the U.N.I.A. and Provisional President of Africa. The Mayor of Monrovia, Liberia, Gabriel Johnson, was elected Supreme Potentate, or ceremonial leader. Several other persons were elected leaders of various parts of the black world.

1920 also saw the birth of the U.N.I.A.'s Negro Factories Corporation which, over the next two or three years, managed a number of U.N.I.A. businesses including laundries, restaurants, a doll factory, tailoring and millinery establishments and a printing press. Some of these ventures had been in operation since 1918, for Ida Wells-Barnett reported having been shown a U.N.I.A. restaurant and some unspecified smaller undertakings by Garvey in that year.

By 1921 Garvey was unquestionably the leader of the largest organization of its type in the history of the race. The vast majority of U.N.I.A. branches existed in the United States, the West Indies and Central America, but formally organized branches or groups of adherents to his philosophy could be found then, and in the years that followed,

everywhere else that black people lived. In Canada, for example, there were branches on the west coast, in Nova Scotia, Montreal, Toronto and other areas. In Africa there were branches in several areas, including Liberia, Nigeria and South Africa. In Kenya nationalists such as Harry Thuku and Jomo Kenyatta were corresponding with him and/or carefully reading his pronouncements. Branches appeared in England, even in Australia. Garvey had succeeded, like no one else, in gathering up the worldwide feelings of dismay at the loss of independence and defiance against colonialism and oppression, which characterized the "New Negro" spirit of the age. And not only had he gathered up this spirit, but he had remarkably been able to channel it into a single massive organization.

By early this year, he was lamenting the fact that only four million persons had so far answered the call of the U.N.I.A. and he announced a total of seven hundred branches scattered over the world.³² In October the Negro World announced eight hundred branches, four hundred and eighty of them chartered. There is no reason to doubt the number of branches, though concerning the figures for actual membership Garvey once explained, "We nominally count millions of members of this association as those who have at some time or other possessed a disposition to help put over the program."³³

Garvey's unparalleled success had the effect of

arraying against him the most powerful conglomeration of hostile forces ever to confront a race leader. The United States government was against him because they considered all black radicals subversive; the British and other European colonialist governments were against him because he was a threat to the stability of their African colonies; the Communists were against him because he successfully kept black workers out of their grasp and because he had no time for any talk about white workers being the best friends of black workers; the N.A.A.C.P., and other integrationist organizations in the United States were bitterly against him because he argued that white segregationists were the true spokesmen for white America and because he in turn advocated black separatism, preferably by founding a strong government in Africa and reclaiming it as the black man's country, much as white segregationists proclaimed the United States a white man's country. His organization also had to contend with unscrupulous opportunists who were not above sabotaging its workings for personal gain.

In 1921 opposition from all these forces escalated to a remarkable extent. First the United States government, through the instrumentality of the State Department almost succeeded in dealing a near death blow to the organization by an attempt to prevent Garvey from re-entering the country after a short trip to the Caribbean area. Garvey's one month trip to promote the Black Star Line turned into a five

month game of international hide and seek as United States consuls in the area, under the direction of Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, stolidly refused to visé his passport for re-entry into the United States. He managed to make it back, however, after being briefly detained at New Orleans, barely in time for his Second International Convention. At this convention the Communists, spearheaded by their black auxiliary, the African Blood Brotherhood, made a bid to capture his following. This attempt was foiled. Meanwhile the N.A.A.C.P., through its major black spokesman, W. E. B. DuBois, was steadily increasing its campaign of attacks in its organ the Crisis, and elsewhere, against Garvey. The black Socialists, too, had begun to criticize Garvey, and the British authorities were busy pursuing the policy they had begun in 1919, of banning the Negro World, prohibiting U.N.I.A. officials from entering their colonies, and generally doing whatever they could to thwart the spread of Garvey's influence.

Finally on January 12, 1922 Garvey was arrested for alleged mail fraud in the promotion of stock for the Black Star Line, which had by now run into difficulties. This was a signal for redoubled efforts on the part of his enemies. From then up to and beyond his trial in 1923, articles flew thick and fast from the N.A.A.C.P.'s Crisis, from the black Socialist Messenger, and from the integrationist black press, presuming his guilt and calling for his arrest and

deportation. These efforts became even more hysterical when, in June 1922, Garvey held a summit conference with the Ku Klux Klan in Atlanta, Georgia. A coalition of integrationists shortly thereafter took to the streets of the United States and Canada in the notorious "Marcus Garvey Must Go!!!" campaign. Their expressed intention was to bring about the removal of Garvey and the complete "extirpation" of his movement. The high point of their efforts was reached when in January 1923 they joined hands with the United States government in its attempts to be rid of Garvey. In a well-known letter signed by eight integrationists from, among other places, the N.A.A.C.P., Urban League, the Socialist Messenger magazine and Chicago Defender, the Attorney-General of the United States was called upon to speed up the government's case against Garvey and get rid of his movement. The government responded enthusiastically to this integrationist support.

Despite all this, the U.N.I.A. managed to push ahead. The Daily Negro Times appeared in 1922 and a Blackman magazine was projected, but did not in fact appear until much later. Garvey's second marriage took place during this year, to his private secretary Amy Jacques.

Garvey announced his intention to tour the world, including Africa, in 1923. This tour did not materialize, but the threat was enough to cause much anxiety and agitation in the British Colonial Office. Despatches flew back and

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forth between the British representative in Washington, the Colonial Office in London and British governors in Africa and elsewhere. Their general consensus was that Garvey should be prevented from landing in British colonies. Some areas even drafted special legislation prohibiting entry to certain types of people, to be used when Garvey appeared.

1923, however, was the year of his conviction on the mail fraud charges. On insubstantial evidence he was sentenced to the maximum five years in jail, in addition to a fine of \$1,000 and ordered to pay the costs of the trial. There followed three months in the New York Tombs prison without bail, before he was released pending appeal. Despite these personal setbacks the organization continued to grow. Garvey was now claiming a 6,000,000 membership and nine hundred branches. Five hundred of the branches and a little less than half the memberships were said to be in the United States.³⁴

1924 was Garvey's last full year as a free man in the United States. During this year the remarkable faith which his followers placed in him was again demonstrated when they subscribed enough to launch a new steamship line, the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company. During this year the U.N.I.A. officially declared that God is black because, they argued, God is a spirit but for purposes of conceptualization must reflect the image of the beholder. Hence God for black beholders must be black. 1924, too, was

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the year of the blocking of Garvey's intention to set up a base in Liberia. The sudden announcement by the Liberian government led to a loss of \$50,000 worth of U.N.I.A. cargo which was already en route to Liberia, plus the repatriation, at U.N.I.A. expense, of several pioneer families and U.N.I.A. officials who were on their way to Liberia at the time of the announcement. During this year the U.N.I.A. launched its Negro Political Union designed to bring its voting strength to bear on American and other elections by endorsing candidates based on their record of dealings with the race, and irrespective of party affiliations. DuBois, fretting at Garvey's continued freedom pending his appeal, denounced Garvey during this year as "the most dangerous enemy of the Negro race in America and in the world."

In February of 1925 Garvey's appeal was turned down and he entered the federal penitentiary at Atlanta. What his enemies hoped to obtain through his imprisonment did come to pass. Schisms appeared in the American movement resulting, by 1926, in a splinter in the New York branch, the largest of all (estimated at 35,000 members at one time). These strains occasioned by Garvey's departure were still relatively minor. For Garvey, even from jail, managed to maintain some control, appointing and dismissing officers, and conferring often with his aides. At an extraordinary conference in Detroit in 1926 the Secretary-General, G. Emonei Carter, reported 814 "domestic" branches, 215 "foreign" and 91 "new" ones (whether

foreign or domestic not specified), a grand total of 1,120. There were twenty-five pending applications for charters.³⁵

Meanwhile the clamor for Garvey's release mounted. Thousands of petitions, telegrams and the like bearing huge numbers of signatures poured into various United States government departments from all over the world. Delegations went to Washington to meet the Pardon Attorney and other officials. Massive parades were held in Harlem, led by an open car bearing Garvey's ceremonial robes and a large portrait of the incarcerated leader. At one demonstration an estimated 150,000 people marched and jammed the sidewalks. Many prominent persons, including some who had campaigned for Garvey's imprisonment, now joined their voices to the chorus for his release. The government, bewildered by the depth of feeling shown for someone they liked to characterize as a crook, and viewing with apprehension the upcoming election year, decided to commute his sentence, but with deportation. Garvey's lawyer, sensing the illegality of deportation, fought but did not succeed in keeping Garvey in the country.

When news of the commutation became known late in November 1927, large numbers of dormant U.N.I.A. members paid up their dues and became active again in anticipation of Garvey's reappearance. He was, however, spirited away to New Orleans by the authorities and deported from there. Five thousand loyal followers nevertheless were on hand to

listen to his farewell address from the deck of the vessel taking him to the West Indies. They stood in the rain and sang the U.N.I.A. hymn, "God Bless Our President" as the ship pulled away, bearing their leader from the scene of his greatest triumphs, never to set foot in the United States again.³⁶

When the ship stopped in Panama Garvey was greeted by a delegation from the local U.N.I.A. and in Jamaica, where he arrived on December 10, he was given a hero's welcome as some of the largest crowds in the island's history turned out to greet him.

None dismayed by his deportation, Garvey set about making the most of his adversity. In 1928 he visited England, presented a renewed petition to the League of Nations and visited Canada, where he was briefly arrested and silenced after a United States consul complained that he was making speeches in favor of the Democratic candidate for United States president.

In August, 1929, Garvey held the Sixth International Convention in Jamaica. It was as spectacular as the earlier ones in Harlem. A split occurring at the convention resulted in the formation of a separate U.N.I.A. Inc., headquartered in the United States. Garvey remained head of his faction, now calling itself the U.N.I.A. and A.C.L. (August 1929) of the World. The American schismatics did not carry the whole American field with them. They failed, for example, to win

control of the Negro World, which continued to carry Garvey's pronouncements. Units loyal to Garvey often changed their names to Garvey Clubs, Ethiopian Clubs and the like, and animosity between the two groups in the United States occasionally led to violence.

1929 marked, too, Garvey's entry into Jamaican electoral politics. Between the convention and the end of the year Garvey formed a Peoples' Political Party (P.P.P.), began campaigning for a seat in the Legislative Council, was jailed for three months for contempt by British judges when he promised to reform the bench if elected, and was elected to the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation (K.S.A.C.) council while in jail. Upon his release the corporation promptly declared his seat vacant but he was returned unopposed early in 1930. Meanwhile, the British judges convicted him again, this time for supposedly libelling British colonialism, arising from an editorial in his Blackman newspaper. The Blackman, a daily, had appeared in March 1929, and was an important vehicle whereby Garvey championed the cause of Jamaica's oppressed and demolished, for a time, the monopoly of the conservative press.

Garvey's bid for the Legislative Council was defeated in January 1930, largely because the majority of the black masses still had no vote under British colonialism. His P.P.P. nevertheless successfully placed some candidates in both the K.S.A.C. and the Legislative Council. Garvey

himself continued to serve on the K.S.A.C. council for the next few years, on one occasion (1931) being re-elected while out of the country. During this period Garvey occasionally acted as a de facto trade union leader, taking up the causes of unorganized workers. In 1930 he actually formed a Workers and Labourers Association, envisaged not as itself a trade union, but as an agency for popularizing the need for unionization.

Meanwhile his Jamaican journalistic efforts continued with a succession of papers. The demise of the Blackman in 1931 was followed by the New Jamaican, an evening paper in 1932 and 1933, when it folded. The Negro World to which Garvey had continued to send articles, also ceased publication in 1933. Almost immediately there followed the Black Man, a magazine which Garvey published first in Jamaica and later in England up almost until his death.

In 1931 Garvey made yet another trip to England and the League of Nations. Back in Jamaica he continued to hold political meetings, in 1932 welcomed Nancy Cunard to Jamaica, formed an amusement company and dabbled in real estate. A Seventh International Convention was held in Jamaica in 1934, followed some months afterwards by a shift of his base of operations to England.

In England Garvey contacted African students, harangued the crowds at Hyde Park's Speakers' Corner, and managed to keep together those divisions of the U.N.I.A.

which had survived the depression, the schisms following his deportation from the United States, and the inroads into his erstwhile followers (especially in the United States) made by Father Divine, Muslims, the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, the Communists and divers other groups who participated in the mad scramble for Garvey's followers, once he was removed from the country.

His organization in the United States remained viable despite all this, however, and in 1936, 1937 and 1938 Garvey visited Canada to meet with his North American followers. There was nothing on these occasions to prevent him from coming as far as Windsor, Ontario, a stone's throw from Detroit. His United States followers on these occasions would cross the border in large numbers, and would, among other things, attend Garvey's School of African Philosophy which provided crash courses for U.N.I.A. organizers. After his 1937 visit to Canada he toured the West Indies, speaking to enthusiastic audiences in St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, Barbados, Trinidad and British Guiana. During his 1938 visit to Canada he held his Eighth International Convention in Toronto from August 1 to 17.

Despite his deportation, and despite the increasing fragmentation of his membership, his ideas continued to hold sway among the black masses in America with remarkable tenacity. For one thing the fragmentation did not always

mean a difference in ideology between the various splinter groups. Many of them, such as the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, and the Moorish Americans, continued to regard Garvey as something of a patron saint even after breaking from the U.N.I.A. The Communist press of the 1930's in particular, is filled with stories of the frustrations meted out to Communist organizers in black communities because of the persistence of Garvey's doctrines of race first and separatism.

Those of Garvey's followers who remained in U.N.I.A. units in the United States loyal to him tried hard throughout the 1930's to find a way to get him back, knowing full well that his presence would help reunify the movement. In this effort they received the enthusiastic support of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Mississippi segregationist, whose 1939 United States Senate bill to acquire a West African home for those Afro-Americans who wished to go, Garvey supported.

Garvey died in London in June 1940, active to the end in his efforts to emancipate a race.

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MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY, 1887-1940

¹Negro World, April 28, 1923, p. 10.

²Amy Jacques Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism (Kingston, A. J. Garvey, 1963), p. 29.

³Amy Ashwood Garvey, "Marcus Garvey - Prophet of Black Nationalism" (unpub. manuscript, n.p., n.d., Amy Ashwood Garvey papers, London), p. 9.

⁴National Archives of the United States, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group (R.G.) 59, 811.108G 191/46, Roy T. Davis, U. S. Legation, Costa Rica to Secretary of State, March 5, 1928; ibid., General Records of the Department of Justice, R. G. 60, 198940, Anonymous letter to the Department of Justice, n.d. [August 1919?]; "Prophet of Black Nationalism," p. 20; J. A. Rogers, World's Great Men of Color (New York, J. A. Rogers, 1947), p. 599; Garvey and Garveyism, p. 7.

⁵Interview with Mr. J. Charles Zampty, Highland Park, Michigan, April 17, 1973.

⁶The Jamaica Times of November 13, 1915 quotes Garvey at p. 29 as saying that he has travelled in "America, North and Central, Europe and parts of the West Indies." Another source claimed that Garvey first visited the U. S. in 1911 - F. A. McKenzie, "Is There a Black Peril?", Overseas, VI, April 1921, p. 43. If the Jamaica Times article is correct and the Overseas one wrong, a further possibility may be an intransit stop on his way to or from England.

⁷"Prophet of Black Nationalism," p. 21; New Jamaican, August 16, 1932, p. 2; W. H. Ferris in the New York Amsterdam News, February 11, 1925, p. 1.

⁸J. A. Rogers, op. cit., p. 599.

⁹Public Record Office, London, Colonial Office records, G/27424, Register of Correspondence, Jamaica, destroyed file, letter from M. Garvey, July 8, 1913; ibid., Misc/19729, May 28, 1914, "Repatriation of M. Garvey," Register of Correspondence, Colonial Office, destroyed file, June 9, 1914; ibid., destroyed file, June 19, 1914. In the case of all these destroyed files, the actual correspondence has been destroyed but a synopsis of their contents remains.

¹⁰"Prophet of Black Nationalism," p. 54.

¹¹Marcus Garvey, Jnr., A Talk With Afro-West Indians - The Negro Race and its Problems (Kingston?, African Communities League, 1915?), p. 1.

¹²"Prophet of Black Nationalism," p. 41.

¹³Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁴Amy Jacques Garvey, ed., The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey or Africa for the Africans (Second edition, London, Frank Cass, 1967), Volume II, p. 127.

¹⁵"Prophet of Black Nationalism," p. 60.

¹⁶Jamaica Times, November 13, 1915, p. 29.

¹⁷Garvey to Moton, February 29, 1916, facsimile in Daniel T. Williams, Eight Negro Bibliographies (New York, Kraus Reprint Co., 1970), n.p.

¹⁸"Prophet of Black Nationalism," p. 77; Garvey to Emmett J. Scott, June 9, 1916, in Eight Negro Bibliographies.

¹⁹Marcus Garvey, Jr., "West Indies the Mirror of Truth," Champion Magazine, I, 5, January 1917, p. 267.

²⁰Africa Times and Orient Review, I, 4 (N.S.), April 1914, pp. 77-78.

²¹Negro World, April 8, 1922, p. 6.

²²James Weldon Johnson, Black Manhattan (New York, Atheneum, 1968, first pub. 1930), p. 253.

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²³Marcus Garvey, Conspiracy of the East St. Louis Riots (New York, U.N.I.A., 1917).

²⁴Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 129; Garvey and Garveyism, p. 25.

²⁵R. G. 60, 198940, William Ware, President, Cincinnati U.N.I.A. to Chief Inspector, Post Office Department, November 18, 1930.

²⁶"Prophet of Black Nationalism," pp. 111-113.

²⁷Ida B. Wells, Crusade for Justice - The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells, edited by Alfreda M. Duster (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 379-380.

²⁸Ibid., p. 381; "Prophet of Black Nationalism," pp. 114-116.

²⁹Crisis, XXI, 2, December 1920, p. 60.

³⁰Messenger, August 1922, p. 470.

³¹Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 129.

³²Negro World, February 19, 1921, p. 1; February 26, 1921, p. 6.

³³Ibid., January 6, 1923, p. 2.

³⁴Evening World, June 29, 1923.

³⁵Negro World, March 27, 1926, p. 7.

³⁶Ibid., December 24, 1927, p. 5.

CHAPTER II

RACE FIRST

In a world of wolves one should go armed, and one of the most powerful defensive weapons within the reach of Negroes is the practice of race first in all parts of the world.

-- Marcus Garvey¹

What We Believe

The Universal Negro Improvement Association advocates the unity and blending of all Negroes into one strong, healthy race. It is against miscegenation and race suicide.

It believes that the Negro race is as good as any other, and therefore should be as proud of itself as others are.

It believes in the purity of the Negro race and the purity of the white race.

It is against rich blacks marrying poor whites.

It is against rich or poor whites taking advantage of Negro women.

It believes in the spiritual Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

-- Marcus Garvey²

Marcus Garvey, unlike most twentieth century leaders of the race in the Western Hemisphere who approach him in stature, built a mass organization that went beyond mere civil rights agitation and protest and based itself upon a definite, well thought out program which if followed

explicitly, would, in his opinion, lead to the total emancipation of the race from white dominion.

Central to the ideological basis underpinning Garvey's program was the question of race. For Garvey, the black man was universally oppressed on racial grounds, and any program of emancipation would have to be built around the question of race first. Before the black man could think in terms of any other form of struggle (such as joint co-operation with white workers) he would first have to effect his emancipation as a race. For Garvey, then, the race became a "political entity" which would have to be redeemed.³ Against the rival suggestion that humanity, and not the black race, should be the objects of his zeal, he argued that it was not "humanity" which was lynched, burned, jim-crowed and segregated, but black people.⁴ The black man in a white world was forever marked out for oppression by the conspicuousness of his color, and he would now turn this disadvantage into a positive rallying force. Garvey declared simply, "The Ethiopian cannot change his skin; and we shall not."⁵

The primacy of race characterized the U.N.I.A. from its beginnings in Jamaica⁶ and by 1919 officials of the United States government were drawing attention to what they considered this subversive doctrine.⁷ Active membership in the U.N.I.A. was confined to people of African origin.

Garvey went about the task of converting the disabilities of race into a positive tool of liberation with a thorough aggressiveness. "No man can convince me contrary to my belief," he declared, "because my belief is founded upon a hard and horrible experience, not a personal experience, but a racial experience. The world has made being black a crime, and I have felt it in common with men who suffer like me, and instead of making it a crime I hope to make it a virtue."⁸ Accordingly, the consciousness of Garvey's followers was saturated with the new doctrine. Black dolls were manufactured for their children; at a time when most leading Afro-American newspapers camouflaged their racial identity under such titles as the Chicago Defender, the New York Amsterdam News, etc., Garvey's own paper unashamedly proclaimed itself the Negro World; he encouraged his followers to support their black businessmen and professionals;⁹ the race catechism used by his followers disabused the minds of black folk concerning the claims of the Hamitic myth by explaining that contrary to this myth, black people were "certainly not" the recipients of any biblical curse;¹⁰ advertisements of a racially demeaning nature were frowned upon by the Negro World;¹¹ the Negro World sponsored beauty contests and published photographs of beautiful female members of the race, a subject on which Garvey waxed poetic--"Black queen of beauty, thou has given color to the world;"¹² the dictum of the European

missionaries that man was created in the image and likeness of God was utilized to show that a white God could not be a correct image and likeness of a black person; the organization's Black Cross Nurses were "organized to create a system of relief for any great calamity which might overtake the Negro peoples of the world;"¹³ the Bible was delved into to show that "race prejudice is as old as the human family, and that even religious teachers are not free from it," since the marriage of Moses to an Ethiopian as recorded therein, had displeased his family;¹⁴ indeed, practically every aspect of the organization was designed with the purpose of bolstering the black man's self-esteem and fostering a pride in self.

The primacy of race in Garvey's thought was coupled with a deep pessimism concerning the future of the black man in America. The black man, with increasingly ample educational opportunities, would in Garvey's view aspire towards positions of influence. Such aspirations would bring him into direct competition with the white power structure. Within fifty to a hundred years such confrontation would lead to a racial clash which would end disastrously for the black race.

This analysis led Garvey inevitably in the direction of racial separation. His economic ventures in the United States amounted to an attempt towards a nucleus of a self-sustaining (and therefore self-employing) black race in

America. But his gaze looked more longingly towards Africa as the salvation of the African abroad. Even in Africa, though, he found the European overlords attempting to increase the seeds of future racial discord, as in 1938 when he found himself protesting British consideration of a proposal to resettle European Jews in Tanganyika, Kenya or British Guiana. "I am seriously protesting on behalf of the natives to whom these countries belong," he wrote on this occasion, "against the attempt to complicate their national and future existence, and I may repeat that the protest is not actuated by any unfriendly attitude toward the Jews, but because of the dangers of the future and the injustice it will bring to the native population."¹⁵

Garvey's concern over the salvation of the race led him to harsh criticism of any weaknesses which he perceived among his race, and there was no phenomenon which displeased him more than that of the black man who did not think in racial terms. Such criticism brought out the finest of his invective--"Yes, this an 'Uncle Tom Negro.' Yes, a 'yes boss Negro'--a 'howdi massa Negro'--a 'yes Mass Charlie Negro.' A Negro who will be satisfied to blacken a white man's shoes all the days of his life and lick the white man's spittle if he orders him to do so."¹⁶

Garvey viewed the question of the black man's racial survival with an urgency that singled him out from contemporary black leaders. And his doctrine of race first

permeated all aspects of the black man's existence. Thus he manifested an acute awareness of the role of culture as a tool for liberation. He himself was a prolific poet of liberation.¹⁷ Indeed, his poems are as good a source of his ideology as any. They were replete with such themes as the beauty of the black woman, the need for self-reliance, the glories of African history, the necessity for an end to black participation in white wars, protests at the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, and the like. This experimentation with the arts for purposes of politicizing the membership was also indulged in by one of Garvey's closest associates from among the ranks of the Afro-American intelligentsia, John Edward Bruce. One such Bruce creation, a play entitled "Preaching vs. Practice," expressed Garvey's hostility towards unscrupulous black preachers. The main characters consisted of a bank manager, a "very suave" Baptist preacher and some New Negroes, who were members of the U.N.I.A.¹⁸ Another Bruce play, "Which One," provided an excellent example of the use of this medium for political education. The main characters this time were a Mr. Sennebundo Ajai, an African U.N.I.A. diplomat, and three young ladies, one each from Martinique, the British West Indies and Afro-America, all of whom were in love with the hero, who was on the verge of departure for Nigeria on U.N.I.A. organizational business. In between the romantic escapades the audience was treated to monologues extolling

the virtues of the U.N.I.A. The set was liberally decorated with the red, black and green of the U.N.I.A., and the hero and the lady of his choice eventually announced their intention to be married in a Liberty Hall in Africa.¹⁹

Garvey himself indulged in political play-writing. A creation of his, "The Coronation of the African King," was performed at his Edelweis Park headquarters in Jamaica in 1930. The play was in three acts and included scenes in New York, Washington, Paris, London, the West Indies, Ashanti, Dahomey, Senegal and the Sudan. One scene showed the French premier and British Prime Minister David Lloyd George conferring over U.N.I.A. penetration into Africa. Another scene featured black voices delivering stirring oratory against a backdrop of African freedom fighters engaged in bloody struggle with French usurpers in the Sudan. The whole play was conceived as a dramatization of the results of U.N.I.A. propaganda since 1918.²⁰

Garvey's heyday in the 1920's coincided with the Afro-American literary efflorescence known as the Harlem Renaissance, for the race and Africa-consciousness of which Garvey himself was in no small way responsible. Yet Garvey could not uncritically accept the exoticism and exaggerated Negritude which sometimes characterized writers of the period. He accordingly joined in the chorus of criticism against Claude McKay's Home to Harlem. Writing from France he disapproved strenuously of black writers who were

"prostituting their intelligence, under the direction of the white man, to bring out and show up the worst traits of our people. . . ." McKay's book he considered "a damnable libel against the Negro." As against such works he postulated his conception of the type of artist the race needed--"We must encourage our own black authors who have character, who are loyal to their race, who feel proud to be black, and in every way let them feel that we appreciate their efforts to advance our race through healthy and decent literature."²¹

The Negro World, in similar vein, took Countee Cullen, another luminary of the Harlem Renaissance, to task. The paper deplored the fact that a Harvard graduate could overdo the Negritude idea to the extent of writing:

Not yet has my heart or head
In the least way realized
It and I are civilized.²²

Also, during U.N.I.A. international conventions in New York and Jamaica, a literary censor was recommended who would safeguard the race from material unfavorable to the black man.²³

During the latter half of the 1930's Garvey increasingly focused his attention on Paul Robeson, the leading black motion picture actor of the period. Garvey paid due homage to Robeson's artistic ability but did not like the spectacle of the foremost black dramatic personality of the age being cast in a series of roles calculated to demean

black folk. Robeson was reported in 1929 to be the projected star of a satire on Garvey's career written by two white authors known for their sensationalism of Harlem's seamier side. Whether this had anything to do with Garvey's attitude is unclear. The play was to be titled "Jeremiah the Great."²⁴ At any rate, 1935 found Garvey denouncing Robeson's appearances in such well-known stage and motion picture productions as "Emperor Jones," "Sanders of the River" and "Stevedore." Readers of Garvey's Black Man magazine were informed that "Paul Robeson, the Negro actor, has left London for Hollywood. He is gone there to make another slanderous picture against the Negro." The point was made that in days gone by any black man who succeeded in white circles was automatically lionized. That day should be no more. The hope was expressed that Robeson was now making sufficient money "so that when he retires from the stage he may be able to square his conscience with his race by doing something good for it."²⁵ 1937 found Garvey protesting to the British Broadcasting Corporation against anti-black programs and to the British Moving Picture Board against Robeson's films,²⁶ while in 1939, one year before his death, he actually published a critical pamphlet aimed at Robeson's films.²⁷ Robeson withdrew from Hollywood the same year for the same reasons contained in Garvey's criticisms.²⁸ Garvey's concern with the racial implications of culture embraced also vaudeville (the U.N.I.A. owned two

follies companies in the post-United States Jamaica period),²⁹ various U.N.I.A. choirs and bands (such as the Universal Jazz Hounds of the Jamaica U.N.I.A.),³⁰ and also sport, where Garvey expressed keen interest in the wider implications of the Joe Louis vs. Max Schmeling bouts of the late 1930's.³¹

Garvey's doctrine of race first was severely tested by the presence within the race of large numbers of persons of mixed African and Caucasian origin. Although obviously not white, such people were light enough to form a visible sub-group within the black race. The division was heightened by certain historical factors. In his anxiety to forge intra-racial solidarity, Garvey identified the light-skin question as a major stumbling block. He took the position that "There is more bitterness among us Negroes because of the caste of color than there is between any other peoples, not excluding the people of India."³² He went as far as to assert that prejudice within the race probably exceeded that directed against the race by alien races.³³ This position brought Garvey into serious ideological conflict with middle-class leaders in the United States and the West Indies, many of whom were themselves of lighter hue. Such opposition was particularly hostile in the United States, where integrationist leaders took the position that this problem either did not exist, or was relatively minor in the United States, and that Garvey,

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because of his West Indian background, was erroneously importing this feature of island society into an Afro-American scene which he did not understand. This integrationist argument was well expressed by W. E. B. Dubois, editor of the Crisis, organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.), and, during Garvey's American period, the veritable dean of Afro-American integrationists. DuBois stated the integrationist counter-claim as follows:

. . . there is no doubt but what Garvey has sought to import to America and capitalize the antagonism between blacks and mulattoes in the West Indies. This has been the cause of the West Indian failures to gain headway against the whites. Yet Garvey imports it into a land where it has never had any substantial footing and where today, of all days, it is absolutely repudiated by every thinking Negro; Garvey capitalizes it, has sought to get the cooperation of men like R. R. Moton on this basis, and has aroused more bitter color enmity inside the race than has ever before existed. The whites are delighted at the prospect of a division of our solidifying phalanx, but their hopes are in vain. American Negroes recognize no color line in or out of the race, and they will in the end punish the man who attempts to establish it.³⁴

The reality was not identical with DuBois' assertions. For here, as elsewhere in his long-continuing ideological struggle with Garvey, DuBois, the eminent scholar, abandoned his historian's craft and allowed the wish to father the thought. Garvey had indeed come out of a West Indian society which then (and to a lesser extent now) was stultified by an exaggerated three-tiered system of white-brown-black social stratification. As early as 1913,

in one of his earliest extant articles, Garvey drew attention to the problem.³⁵ In a pamphlet of around 1915 he returned to the subject,³⁶ and on the eve of his departure for the United States in 1916, he poured his heart out in a letter to Robert Russa Moton, Booker T. Washington's successor at Tuskegee Institute. Cataloguing the woes of the black man in Jamaica, he explained that "The black man naturally is kept down at the foot of the ladder and is trampled on by all the shades above. In a small minority he pushes himself up among the others, but when he 'gets there' he too believes himself other than black. . . ."³⁷ This caste situation in Jamaica, a legacy of slavery and British imperialism, never ceased to exercise Garvey's mind, and after his expulsion from the United States he launched a frontal assault on the problem. His new Jamaican daily, the Blackman (the name of which caused much hostility from the brown class) editorialized:

Some people are afraid, some annoyed and others disgusted that we, as they say,

RAISE THE COLOUR QUESTION

The question has long ago been raised and put into vindictive operation. The colour question is the one and only reason that we cannot find a black girl or boy in store or office in this city when to our certain knowledge intelligent ones among them . . . have been refused at places filled with half illiterate brown and mulatto girls and boys affecting the attitude of superiors in behavior. . . .

There is going to be fairplay in this country yet. 'The Blackman' is on the job and soon will blacken some of these stores and offices beyond recognition.³⁸

As the editorial suggests, even in Jamaica, where the color-caste distinctions were acute, the tendency of the brown class was to deny its existence, much as DuBois and the Afro-American integrationists did. But Garvey was relentless in his attempts to bring the issue to the surface. "This hypocritical cry of 'Peace, Peace,' when there is no Peace is ruinous to the peace and harmony of society," he declared.

We deny the existence of a condition that is woven into the warp and woof of the fabric of our social and public life. We refuse to admit the presence of a feature in our national life, the inescapable results of whose insidious workings cause delay, irritation and annoyance. We rave against, we forbid, we threaten those [who] dare to refer to the evident, the patent facts and their glaring results. While the whole land is leavened and permeated with the evils of colour distinction and we cry out for harmony and peace. We are, to use a vulgar phrase, a bunch of cheats. We are dishonest, immoral, liars, hypocrites.³⁹

This type of assault on entrenched privilege brought Garvey a death threat from an anonymous "Jamaican Secret Society of Colored Men," who considered him a "black swine." Garvey, characteristically, offered a reward of £20 for identification of the culprits and let it be known that he would welcome any attempt on his life.⁴⁰

The color situation within the race in America was different only in degree, but certainly not in essence. And here, too, Garvey found himself in trouble for loudly declaiming on the unmentionable. Upon arrival in the United States in 1916 he had embarked on a thirty-eight

state tour which revealed many basic similarities. Garvey's critics made, and continue to make much of the fact that in the United States anybody with the slightest trace of African blood was considered black by white people. But this did not nullify the fact that the experience of slavery in the two areas had been similar. In Afro-America, the tendency of slaveowners to manumit their mulatto children had caused a disproportionate number of mulattoes among the free black population. By the abolition of slavery in the 1860's these had often obtained a headstart in educational and economic matters which easily converted itself into social snobbery. Indeed, it was not long before white pseudo-scientific racists were beginning to explain the disproportionate numbers of light-skinned people in business and the professions in terms of the admixture of genetically "superior" white blood. It is not surprising then that Garvey discovered in Afro-America a preference for light-skinned people as clerks, waitresses, etc., and newspapers full of advertisements for skin-whiteners, often couched in the crudest possible language. Added to this, he discovered in New York, Boston, Washington and Detroit the "Blue Vein Society" and the "Colonial Club." "The West Indian 'lights' formed the 'Colonial Club' and the American 'lights' the 'Blue Vein' Society."⁴¹ These attitudes extended into the churches. In the Detroit church of Reverend Bob Bagnall, later on N.A.A.C.P. Director of Branches,

Garvey, acting on a tip, occupied a seat not too far from the front "and the effort nearly spoiled the whole service, as Brother Bob, who was then ascending the pulpit, nearly lost his 'balance' to see such a face so near the 'holy of holies.'" On a similar attempt to test the Blue Vein and Colonial Club type churches in New York "the Reverend Daniels was ready to fight."⁴² It would appear then, that Garvey, as one of his supporters pointed out, did not "appeal" to intra-race color prejudice in the United States but rather "revealed" it.⁴³

Despite the similarities of course, the situation in America, where the white majority did not need the support of the buffer mulatto element to the same extent as the white minority in the islands, was not as serious as in the West Indies. Garvey was fully aware of this.⁴⁴ The situation in America was serious enough to warrant exposure and attack, but in the West Indies it more nearly approximated a rigid caste structure. Garvey himself pinpointed this difference better than any of his critics:

In the term 'Negro' we include all those persons whom the American white man includes in this appellation of his contempt and hate; . . . The contents of the term are much reduced in Jamaica and the West Indies, but it carries no less of reprobation against the persons. . . . The great curse of our Jamaica communal life is the failure of the hybrid population to realize their natural and correct identification. . . ."45

What this meant in concrete terms was that whereas the U.N.I.A. in the United States numbered among its ranks

people of all colors excluding white, and business and professional people in addition to the great mass of workers and peasants, in Jamaica it was largely confined to the "humbler sections" of humanity. Which led Garvey to surmise that "God seems to save from the bottom upwards."⁴⁶

Garvey's experience with the light-skinned element, both in the West Indies and America, led him to be hostile towards those who seemed to portray the supercilious attitudes he abhorred. It led him, too, to consider miscegenation to be an evil which should not be perpetuated--"We are conscious of the fact that slavery brought upon us the curse of many colors within our Race, but that is no reason why we of ourselves should perpetuate the evil. . . ."⁴⁷ To those people who were of lighter hue he suggested that "The off-colored people, being children of the Negro race should combine to re-establish the purity of their own race, rather than seeking to perpetuate the abuse of both races."⁴⁸

The doctrine of race first had various implications for Garvey's attitude towards white people. It meant first of all the absolute exclusion of white people from membership in the U.N.I.A. and affiliated organizations. This fact was spelled out in the organization's constitution and in its race catechism. White people were also prevented from holding shares in Garvey's economic undertakings. The desire to build racial self-reliance led logically to the rejection of white financial philanthropy. In reply to a

suggestion by a white reporter in 1921 that "certain negro-philies in Massachusetts" might be prevailed upon to contribute to the U.N.I.A., Garvey replied, "We do not want their money; this is a black man's movement."⁴⁹ And one of the many remarkable achievements of Garvey is that through vigorous racial self-reliance he did succeed in collecting much larger sums than his contemporaries who had the support of white philanthropists.

Race first meant, however, not only race first for black people, but for other races as well. As far as Garvey was concerned, white people put race before all other considerations. White republicans, democrats, socialists, and even Communists, in the final analysis would prove unreliable allies in the struggle, for at crucial points their position as white men would override other considerations. And not only did white people place racial self-interest before all other considerations, but they were for the most part hostile towards the black man. Accordingly Garvey often preferred an honest expression of racism to the friendly overtures of the philanthropist. For behind the friendly countenance of the philanthropist there often lurked a racist, and the open expression of racism appealed to Garvey as more honest. Furthermore, the honest expression of racism was a blessing in disguise, since it forced the black man into a heightened racial consciousness, whereas the smiling liberal could lull the African into a sense of

false security. Garvey seems to have held these views from very early in his public career. In an article probably written in 1916, and published in Chicago in January of 1917, Garvey expressed his admiration for the tremendous strides made by Afro-Americans in the short period since the Civil War--strides which had already placed the Afro-American in the forefront of the race in such areas as race enterprises and education. Garvey saw southern racism as a factor in this progress--"The honest prejudice of the South was sufficiently evident," he explained, "to give the Negro of America the real start--the start with a race consciousness, which I am convinced is responsible for the state of development already reached by the race."⁵⁰ So the honest expression of white racial self-interest, then, did not unduly worry Garvey. Indeed, he could even admire it, for he considered it the duty of every race to seek its own interest. Thus he could say, "We have to admire the white man who fixed the Bible to suit himself, and who even fixed tradition itself, telling us that everything worthwhile 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."⁵¹

By the same token, however, white self-interest was seen as entirely detrimental to black self-interest. And within the confines of a country such as the United States,

where whites formed a large ruling majority, such white racial self-interest would tend inexorably towards the extermination of the black minority. It was for this reason that Garvey favored racial separation, ideally based on a black state in Africa. It was for this reason too that Garvey usually deprecated the participation of black soldiers in white people's wars, especially where this involved fighting other black people. On this subject he felt so strongly that he is said to have wept after witnessing the depleted ranks of black New York veterans marching down Harlem's Lenox Avenue in 1919.⁵² This was also the subject of some of his poetic meditations:

When blacks fight blacks in white men's wars
They're fools for all their valiant pain,
For they shall never hope for right
In whatsoever is the gain.⁵³

Despite the fact that Garvey would not accept white philanthropy or allow whites to join his organization, it did not follow that he could not work to a limited extent with white people. In fact, by maintaining an independent black power base, he had more freedom to work with or support widely differing types of white persons and organizations on specific projects or for limited objectives, than some of his contemporaries who were straitjacketed in inter-racial organizations.

The first category of white people with whom Garvey could cooperate were certain types of radicals. These were

usually people engaged in anti-colonial, anti-imperialist or anti-racist struggles. Often they were leaders of mass movements like his own and he could identify them as kindred spirits. Among persons in this category were Eamon De Valera, the Irish leader, who on one occasion was listed as a featured speaker at Garvey's Harlem Liberty Hall,⁵⁴ and the Russian revolutionaries Lenin and Trotsky⁵⁵ (even though Garvey was opposed to American Communists). He often had a good word for historical figures such as John Brown, Elijah Lovejoy, and others of abolitionist inclination.⁵⁶ He also had great admiration for Captain A. A. Cipriani, white leader of the Trinidad Workingmen's Association (TWA), whose public career largely coincided with Garvey's in time and political outlook. Cipriani had become head of the TWA in 1919 at the invitation of the members, who were black. From its inception the association was a Garveyite stronghold in Trinidad. Many of its meetings were held in Port-of-Spain's Liberty Hall and its second-in-command W. Howard Bishop, was a prominent Garveyite. Garvey corresponded with Cipriani, and the latter made representations to the British government in 1937 to change their intention of barring Garvey from entry into the island.⁵⁷

Another well-known white radical for whom Garvey seems to have had much respect was Nancy Cunard, a member of a wealthy shipping family who incurred the ire of her

parents, to her great financial loss, for becoming involved in a variety of black causes. In 1932 Cunard visited Jamaica to gather material for her Negro Anthology⁵⁸ and was the guest at a reception arranged by Garvey, whose paper carried much favorable comment on her visit and on her political position.⁵⁹ At least two of his New York meetings were also addressed by a Dr. Marie Louise Montagu, white president of the International Humanity League.⁶⁰

If Garvey could associate with some radical whites of the far left in deference to their anti-imperialist stance or reputation as leaders of the masses, he could also contrarily, though by no means inconsistently, associate to a limited extent with segregationists of the far right. Among these were white persons from the Southern United States who were among the greatest racists of the twentieth century and were not known for any efforts to conceal their belief in the racial inferiority of the black man. Yet these persons shared one very crucial ideological tenet with Garvey--they, too, believed in race first and therefore in the separation of the races, preferably by colonization in Africa, and an end to miscegenation. Between these two sets of strange bedfellows there developed a symbiotic relationship which was fascinating in the unwritten code of conduct accepted by the parties. Their dealings centered around facilitating the colonization program which was central to Garvey's plans and in avoiding

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the racial cataclysm which they both thought would come from a close juxtaposition of the races. Garvey thus dismissed out of hand the accusations of his integrationist detractors that he had "joined" the Ku Klux Klan. Similarly, Major Earnest Sevier Cox of the White America Society could reply to accusations that he and Garvey had formed an alliance, and that he was Garvey's disciple, by stating that they had an understanding concerning the integrity of both races, and that was all.⁶¹

This aspect of Garvey's ideological position has endeared him to white segregationists and racists apart from those with whom he dealt actively. (He dealt mainly with the Ku Klux Klan, Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi, Earnest Sevier Cox of Virginia, and John Powell of the Anglo-Saxon Clubs of America.) Among others who saw in Garvey a black champion for their cause were the German Emergency League Against the Black Horror, who sought Garvey's aid in 1921 for the removal of French African occupation troops from the Rhineland.⁶² Garvey had previously attacked the presence of these troops in Germany, but on different grounds--he thought that the French were afraid to send them home because their exposure to Europe and military training might augur ill for French colonialism.⁶³

An amusing example of the white segregationist attempting to extract what he can use of Garvey's separatist ideology comes from a review of Garvey's Philosophy and

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Opinions appearing in a South African journal in 1968.

Unlike some racist publications, this journal did not ignore the fact that all of Garvey's thought was not palatable to them. It however praised his stand against miscegenation and declared:

There are many black marks against Garvey. But if the leaders of African states like Zambia, Kenya, Tanzania, Sudan and so on were to abandon racialism and accept his philosophy of non-racialism coupled with pride in and upliftment of the Black African, Africa would become a far happier and more peaceful continent.⁶⁴

One of the most controversial of Garvey's endorsements of white segregationists came in 1921 and centered around President Warren G. Harding's controversial speech delivered in Birmingham, Alabama. Harding, before a crowd of 100,000 people spoke in terms reminiscent of Booker T. Washington. After declaring that he was going to be frank and honest whether people liked it or not he postulated that "Racial amalgamation there cannot be. Partnership of the races in developing the highest aims of all humanity there must be if humanity is to achieve the ends which we have set for it. The black man should seek to be, and he should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man and not the best possible imitation of a white man."⁶⁵ Harding further suggested that the black man should cease to vote solidly Republican just as the southern white man should cease to vote solidly Democratic. He hinted vaguely at increased educational opportunities for black folk, but

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with a proviso about education suited to peoples' positions in life which sounded like a rehashing of Booker T. Washington's ideas on industrial education. Garvey's response was an immediate telegram pledging the support of all New Negroes.⁶⁶ A New York Times correspondent saw the speech as an attempt by the Republican party to win over the white south,⁶⁷ a view probably shared by Garvey's integrationist foes.

Despite Garvey's limited agreements with some white persons, the insistent black nationalist thrust of the U.N.I.A. ensured the hostility of the majority of white persons. One white lady witnessing a U.N.I.A. parade at 125th Street in Manhattan in 1920 is said to have tearfully exclaimed, "And to think, the Negroes will get their liberty before the Irish."⁶⁸

Garvey's race first doctrine was essentially a strategy to ensure self-reliance and equality for the down-trodden African race. Unlike the white preachers of this doctrine with whom he collaborated, he did not go a step further and preach racial superiority. He more than once stressed that "All beauty, virtue and goodness are the exclusive attributes of no one race. All humanity have their shortcomings; hence no statement of mine, at any time, must be interpreted as a wholesale praise of, or attack upon any race, people or creed."⁶⁹ The race catechism used by Garveyites reinforced this attitude as follows:

- Q. Did God make any group or race of men superior to another?
- A. No, He created all races equal, and of one blood, to dwell on all the face of the earth.
- Q. Is it true that the Ethiopian or Black group of the human family is the lowest group of all?
- A. It is a base falsehood which is taught in books written by white men. All races were created equal.⁷⁰

And like all reformers and revolutionaries, Garvey dreamed of an era of universal peace and humanity which would be facilitated by a rehabilitated race--

The heart of the Negro is deep and holy. Misdirected, it has been emotional and sentimental up to the present, but the recovery of the race in its sublimest thought will give it an urge, direct it toward an end that will bestow great blessings upon mankind.

Such blessings would include the salvaging of "the bankrupt civilization of white Europe."⁷¹

NOTES

RACE FIRST

¹Negro World, July 26, 1919, quoted in, A. Mitchell Palmer, "Exhibit No. 10. Radicalism and Sedition Among the Negroes as Reflected in their Publications," Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice, Vol. XII of Senate Documents, No. 153, 66th Congress, 1st Session, 1919 (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1919), p. 163.

²Negro World, January 5, 1924, p. 4.

³The Black Man, II, 3, September-October, 1936, p. 5.

⁴Negro World, July 28, 1923, p. 1.

⁵Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 62; The Blackman, August 28, 1929, p. 1.

⁶A U.N.I.A. application form of 1915 required the applicant to state his color. Enclosed in Marcus Garvey to Booker T. Washington, April 12, 1915, Box 939, Booker T. Washington papers, Library of Congress.

⁷National Archives of the U.S., Records of the Post Office Department, R.G. 28, Box 56, Unarranged #500, U.S. Post Office, Translation Bureau, to Solicitor, Post Office Department, July 24, 1919.

⁸Speech at the Ward Theatre, Kingston, Jamaica, Negro World, January 7, 1928, p. 2.

⁹National Negro Voice, July 19, 1941, p. 8.

¹⁰Universal Black Men Catechism, (n.p., n.d.), p. 8.

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¹¹After Garvey's imprisonment some such advertisements (e.g., for bleaching creams) did appear, no doubt a reflection of financial necessity; for a letter protesting this development, see, Negro World, September 7, 1929, p. 4.

¹²Amy Jacques Garvey, ed., Selections From the Poetic Meditations of Marcus Garvey (New York, A. J. Garvey, 1927), p. 22.

¹³Literary Digest, August 19, 1922, p. 42 (photo).

¹⁴Universal Black Men Catechism, p. 10.

¹⁵Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office records, F.O. 371/21637, Garvey to Viscount Halifax, Secretary of State, Foreign Office, November 22, 1938.

¹⁶Blackman,* September 3, 1929, p. 1.

¹⁷Selections . . .; Amy Jacques Garvey, The Tragedy of White Injustice (New York, A. J. Garvey, 1927). The Black Man magazine also contains a large number of his poems.

¹⁸John E. Bruce papers, Schomburg Collection, New York, Fl0, 8 (n.d.).

¹⁹Ibid., BD 10, D. 1.

²⁰Blackman, June 21, 1930, p. 3.

²¹Negro World, September 29, 1928, p. 1.

²²Negro World, January 9, 1932, p. 2.

²³Ralph Bunche, "The Programs, Ideologies, Tactics and Achievements of Negro Betterment and Interracial Organizations," unpublished manuscript prepared for the Carnegie-Myrdal study on The Negro in America, June 7, 1940 (Schomburg Collection), p. 419; Negro World, June 7, 1924, in F.O. 371/9633.

* "Black Man" refers here to Garvey's monthly magazine published for the most part in England. "Blackman" refers to his daily (subsequently weekly) paper published in Jamaica.

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²⁴Negro World, November 9, 1929, p. 5. The authors were to be Wallace Thurman and Willard Jourdan Rapp.

²⁵Black Man, I, 10, late October 1935, pp. 10-11.

²⁶Panama Tribune, February 14, 1937.

²⁷Marcus Garvey, Grand Speech of Hon. Marcus Garvey at Kingsway Hall, London, Denouncing the Moving Picture Propaganda to Discredit the Negro (London, Black Man Pub. Co., 1939).

²⁸Paul Robeson, Jr., "Paul Robeson: Black Warrior," Freedomways, XI, 1, First Quarter, 1971, p. 26.

²⁹Blackman, April 16, 1929, p. 8.

³⁰Ibid., August 27, 1929, p. 3.

³¹Black Man, III, 10, July 1938.

³²Negro World, December 8, 1923, p. 1; Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 128.

³³Marcus Garvey, An Answer to His Many Critics (U.N.I.A. press release "To the White Press of the World," January 1923).

³⁴W. E. B. DuBois, "Marcus Garvey," The Crisis, XXI, 3, January 1921, p. 114.

³⁵Marcus Garvey, Jr., "The British West Indies in the Mirror of Civilization," The Africa Times and Orient Review, October 1913, p. 159.

³⁶Marcus Garvey, Jr., A Talk With Afro-West Indians (Kingston?, African Communities League, 1915?), p. 6.

³⁷Garvey to Moton, February 29, 1916, reprinted in Eight Negro Bibliographies.

³⁸Blackman, April 16, 1929, p. 2.

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- ³⁹Blackman, January 22, 1930, p. 1.
- ⁴⁰Blackman, May 20, 1929, p. 7.
- ⁴¹Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 58.
- ⁴²Ibid.
- ⁴³Negro World, October 27, 1923, p. 6.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., December 1, 1923, p. 1; Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 56.
- ⁴⁵Blackman, September 17, 1929, p. 1.
- ⁴⁶Ibid.
- ⁴⁷An Answer to His Many Critics, n.p.
- ⁴⁸Marcus Garvey, Aims and Objects of Movement for Solution of Negro Problem Outlined (New York, Press of the U.N.I.A., 1924), n.p.; Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 42.
- ⁴⁹Rollin Lynde Hartt, "The Negro Moses," The Independent, CV, February 26, 1921, p. 205.
- ⁵⁰Marcus Garvey, Jr., "The West Indies in the Mirror of Truth," Champion Magazine, I, 5, January 1917, p. 267.
- ⁵¹Negro World, April 28, 1923, p. 10.
- ⁵²Saunders Redding, The Lonesome Road (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1958), p. 229.
- ⁵³Black Man, I, 11, late December 1935, p. 4.
- ⁵⁴Handbill in the John E. Bruce papers announcing a Liberty Hall meeting on Saturday, January 1 (year not given).
- ⁵⁵Philosophy and Opinions, I, p. 73.
- ⁵⁶Negro World, March 7, 1925, p. 1; Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 10.

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⁵⁷ New Jamaican, September 1, 1932, p. 2; CO. 323/1518, minute of 21 July 1937.

⁵⁸ (London, Wishart, 1934).

⁵⁹ New Jamaican, July 12, 1932, p. 2; July 18, 1932, p. 1; July 29, 1932, pp. 1-2; July 30, 1932, pp. 1, 3.

⁶⁰ Negro World, April 19, 1924, p. 2; August 23, 1924, p. 3.

⁶¹ Ibid., August 15, 1925, p. 4.

⁶² "A German Appeal to Garvey," the Nation, CXIII, 2947, December 28, 1921, p. 769.

⁶³ Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 113.

⁶⁴ Bulletin of the Africa Institute, Pretoria, March 1968. (Copy in A. J. Garvey papers.)

⁶⁵ New York Times, October 27, 1921, p. 11.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Truman Hughes Talley, "Garvey's 'Empire of Ethiopia,'" World's Work, XLI, 3, January 1921, p. 265.

⁶⁹ Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 134; Blackman, June 21, 1929, p. 1.

⁷⁰ Catechism, pp. 2-3.

⁷¹ Black Man, II, 3, September-October 1936, p. 4.

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CHAPTER III

NATIONHOOD

When we, as members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, talk about a government of our own in Africa, a flag of our own and a national anthem of our own, some Negroes laugh at us, but we have only pity for them, as they know not what they do. When Uncle Sam lynches her black boys with her uniform on their back, and John Bull calls her ex-soldiers aliens who helped her in the Ashanti and Zulu wars to take big slices of Africa, then it is high time for some dull, apathetic Negroes to think in terms of nationhood.

-- Marcus Garvey¹

. . . we are determined to solve our own problem, by redeeming our Motherland Africa from the hands of alien exploiters and found there a Government, a nation of our own, strong enough to lend protection to the members of our race scattered all over the world, and to compel the respect of the nations and races of the earth.

-- Marcus Garvey²

Garvey was the complete Black Nationalist. The whole of his public career was enacted during a period when African peoples all over the world had descended, in some cases only very recently, into near total subjugation. In Africa itself only Liberia and Ethiopia maintained a very precarious independence. In the western hemisphere, the only independent black nation, Haiti, was invaded by United

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States marines and occupied from 1915 to 1934. Black people were universally oppressed, lynched, enslaved and discriminated against. Convinced that black people must seek salvation first as a race, Garvey set himself the task of doing this through the principle of nationhood. Black persons should be brought into one active community which, based in Africa, would encompass the whole African universe. By belonging to this Pan-African community of 400,000,000 (Garvey's critics often took issue with his arithmetic) black persons could rely on the force of an overwhelming majority, even in areas, such as the United States, where they were in a minority. The U.N.I.A. represented the nucleus of this nation, and Garvey's intention was to move its headquarters to Liberia, a scheme which was foiled in 1924 by the combined hostility of the Liberian, British, French and United States governments.

The idea of nationhood, like probably all of his major ideas, had already been formulated by Garvey before the U.N.I.A. was formed. As early as 1910 he had been elected secretary of the National Club in Jamaica. This club sought to break the stranglehold of the Jamaican plantocracy on that island's political life, and agitated for self-government for Jamaica. Garvey later claimed some limited success for the club's struggle against the plantocracy.³

By the time that the U.N.I.A. became operative in

the United States, then, Garvey had long come to the conclusion that mere civil rights agitation was not sufficient to demolish the black man's burden. He proclaimed his disagreement with the limited strategies of his rivals--the Universal Negro Improvement Association, he declared, did not speak "in the language of theology and religion; not in the language of social reform, but the Universal Negro Improvement Association speaks in the language of building a government: of building political power and all that goes with it."⁴

And "all that goes with it" the U.N.I.A. did have. Indeed, the U.N.I.A. during Garvey's American period became a microcosm of the African nation which Garvey hoped to build. In the international conventions beginning in 1920 the U.N.I.A. had its parliament. Issues were aired and debated, usually for the full thirty-one days of August, and all officers, including Garvey himself, were duly elected. Delegates, themselves usually elected by U.N.I.A. branches and other race organizations, attended from places as far apart as Australia, Africa and North America. Presiding over the organization from 1920 onwards was a Potentate, a kind of constitutional monarch. The U.N.I.A. constitution stipulated that the Potentate must be an African from the Motherland. Garvey himself, the executive head, was given the title of Provisional President of Africa. The African diaspora was subdivided into several broad geographical

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regions, each presided over by a Leader. The organization had its own "Universal Ethiopian Anthem" which in 1920 was adopted as "the anthem of the Negro race." The anthem had been begun in 1919 by Arnold J. Ford, musical director of the U.N.I.A., at a spot in a meadow where a black girl had been found mutilated and murdered.⁵ The organization, too, had its own Magna Charta in its "Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World"⁶ adopted at the first annual International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World, at the opening ceremonies of which in New York in 1920, 25,000 black people were present. Garvey himself was bestowed with the title "Honorable" at this convention.⁷ A U.N.I.A. civil service administered its own exams and prepared workers for service in the organization.⁸ The U.N.I.A. demonstrated the trappings of nationhood, too, by bestowing titles on deserving members of the race. White as well as black critics ridiculed the practice, to which Garvey retorted, "I am accused of creating Dukes, Barons and Knights. Who gave the white man a monopoly on creating social orders?"⁹ To W. E. B. DuBois, his indefatigable critic, did he especially oppose this argument--"If DuBois was created a Knight Commander of the Bath by the British King, or awarded a similar honor by some white Potentate, he would have advertised it from cover to cover of the 'Crisis,' and he would have written a book and told us. . . ."¹⁰ With similar logic Garvey insisted on wearing,

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on ceremonial occasions, uniforms and robes after the fashion of those worn by the leaders of sovereign states. Garvey lived long enough to see the Italian fascists install a Duke of Addis Ababa after their invasion of Ethiopia. He pointedly noted the lack of hostility to this occurrence by those who had ridiculed him in 1924 for appointing John E. Bruce a Duke of the Nile.¹¹ The external attributes of nationhood could also be seen in the uniformed auxiliaries of the U.N.I.A., such as the Universal African Legions, the Universal Motor Corps, the Universal African Black Cross Nurses, Juveniles, and so on.

The most extravagantly impressive item of Garvey's nationalist inspired pageantry centered around the court receptions that marked his conventions. Such receptions were conceived of as "the biggest event in the social life of the Negro Peoples of the World." One such reception was adorned with a statue of the Black Queen of Beauty holding aloft her torch of truth.¹² Among the retinue at such court receptions were "Her Majesty Candace and Provisional Ladies of the Royal Court of Ethiopia of the U.N.I.A."¹³

The most enduring of the U.N.I.A.'s external trappings of nationhood was its flag of red, black and green, adopted in the 1920 Declaration of Rights as the official colors of the African race. The question of a flag for the race was not as trivial as might have appeared on the surface, for in the United States especially, the lack of an

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African symbol of nationhood seems to have been the cause for crude derision on the part of white persons and a source of sensitiveness on the part of Afro-Americans. White derision over this deficiency was summed up in a popular American song "Every race has a flag but the 'coon.'" A report of 1912 appearing in the London based Africa Times and Orient Review (for which Garvey worked) documented the far-reaching consequences of this song.¹⁴ A Bishop J. Lennox of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Zion of Cleveland, Ohio, had emerged from a theatre where the song had been sung to be met by a fistfight between an Irishman and an Afro-American who had objected to the white man's repeating the song. The bishop duly parted the contestants but was moved by the incident to design a flag for the race to remove this source of ridicule. His flag was subsequently endorsed by 85,000 (according to the article) members of the race at a convention in Ontario. The general conclave of the bishop's church also endorsed the flag. The flag was a complicated affair of stars and bars and red, white, blue and purple, and was based on biblical symbolism (purple for Jesus' robe, white for the purity of the saints, blue for the loyalty of the Negro to the United States, etc.) The flag itself was apparently not a great success but the idea lived on with Garvey who was able to translate it into the more meaningful (and today universally adopted) red, black and green.

Garvey was in all probability familiar with the bishop's article. In 1921 he declared,

Show me the race or the nation without a flag, and I will show you a race of people without any pride. Aye! In song and mimicry they have said, 'Every race has a flag but the coon.' How true! How true! Aye! But that was said of us four years ago. They can't say it now, . . .¹⁵

The race catechism used by Garveyites explained the significance of the red, black and green as red for the "color of the blood which men must shed for their redemption and liberty," black for "the color of the noble and distinguished race to which we belong," and green for "the luxuriant vegetation of our Motherland."¹⁶ On at least one occasion Garvey gave a different explanation for the colors. On this occasion his purpose seems to have been to deliberately alarm his interviewer. The interviewer was Charles Mowbray White of the United States government-sponsored coalition of businessmen, conservative trade-unionists and professional people known as the National Civic Federation. This gentleman called on Garvey at the Black Star Line offices during Garvey's 1920 International Convention to ascertain Garvey's ideological position. He was informed in answer to a question that the red expressed the U.N.I.A.'s sympathy with the "Reds of the World," the green expressed a similar sympathy for the Irish in their struggle against the British, and the black stood for people of the African race.¹⁷

The nationalist implications of Garvey's flag, like other aspects of Garvey's thought, were not confined to Afro-America but inspired nationalist struggles on the African continent too. Thus at the charter unveiling ceremony of the U.N.I.A. Woodstock division in Cape Town, South Africa in 1924, the feature speaker, J. G. Gumbs, who happened to be both president of the massive Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union and a member of the advisory board of the Cape Town U.N.I.A., expressed particular gratitude for the red, black and green flag, a flag, as he expressed it, "of our own."¹⁸ In the very next year the African National Congress, also of South Africa, adopted a gold, black and green flag--gold for the country's wealth, black for the people and green for the land. The flag suggested by a Garvey admirer and influential ANC member, T. D. Mveli Skota.¹⁹ In the 1950's the red, black and green could be seen in Kenya, this time with a shield, arrow and spear superimposed on it, as the flag of Jomo Kenyatta's nationalist Kenya African Union.²⁰ (Kenyatta himself had come under Garvey's influence as early as 1921.)²¹

It was of the nature of Garvey to follow his ideas through to their logical conclusions. One of the more important consequences of his doctrine of nationhood, then, was the establishment of representatives of the race in strategic areas. To this end the Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World had called "upon the various

governments of the world to accept and acknowledge Negro representatives who shall be sent to the said government to represent the general welfare of the Negro peoples of the world."²² Just days after the adoption of this declaration the announcement was made that the U.N.I.A.'s Leader of the American Negroes would soon take up residence in a Black House in Washington, since black people could not elect one of their own to the White House.²³

But even before the declaration and the Black House proposal (which was not implemented) the U.N.I.A. had sent commissioners to France to the Versailles peace conference of 1919. Their lobbying efforts did not succeed in obtaining any abatement in the zeal of the European imperialist powers to seize the ex-German African colonies.²⁴ Perhaps for this reason the 1920 declaration wrote the League off as "null and void as far as the Negro is concerned, in that it seeks to deprive Negroes of their liberty."²⁵ Nevertheless by 1922, the U.N.I.A. was ready to try the League again. A U.N.I.A. delegation consisting of Oxford trained George O. Marke from Sierra Leone, Professor J. J. Adam from Haiti, who was educated at Tuskegee, William LeVan Sherrill from Afro-America, a graduate of Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Arkansas, and Professor James O'Meally from Jamaica, a former headmaster of Calabar College, proceeded to Geneva to lay a petition before the League.²⁶ The petition requested that the ex-German colonies be turned over to black

leadership, since black soldiers had been responsible for their capture. The petition suggested that under black leadership they could make good within twenty years. Then 400,000,000 black people would not be serfs any longer.²⁷

The delegation arrived in Geneva early in September of 1922, secured seats in the assembly hall and were admitted to all committee rooms and were generally treated with courtesy. After lobbying for three and a half weeks they were able to interest the Persian delegation in submitting the petition on behalf of the U.N.I.A. The Persians did so, but by this time the current session of the League was within three days of ending. It therefore had to be filed away for consideration at the 1923 session. The delegation seems to have performed a highly successful feat of lobbying for they were allowed to sit among the official delegates rather than in the gallery where non-official delegates sat. According to a member of the delegation, of about three hundred similar unofficial delegates attempting to present petitions, the U.N.I.A. was the only one which succeeded.²⁸

For the 1923 League session the U.N.I.A. again dispatched a representative, in the hope that the 1922 petition would be debated. This time the sole delegate was Professor Jean Joseph Adam, a former president of the San Francisco U.N.I.A. division and a member of the 1922 delegation who had acted as its secretary and translator. Now he was

upgraded to the rank of First Provisional Ambassador of the Negro Peoples of the World to France. He would reside in Paris and would lobby at Geneva.²⁹ He sailed from New York on August 23, and on August 24, the British Consul-General in New York, who kept a close watch on the U.N.I.A., so informed the British Ambassador in Washington who so informed the Foreign Office in London.³⁰ By the time that Adam got to Europe the League, probably at the instigation of Britain and France, whose ex-German African territories were the objects of the U.N.I.A.'s race-conscious desires, had quietly thwarted Garvey's plans. They had gotten around the U.N.I.A.'s assumption of nationality by resolving that all nationals with grievances should present them through their respective governments. As far as Garvey was concerned, of course, the African wherever he lived had no government to speak to his interests and so he should be heard as a race. And the U.N.I.A., with its aspirations to nationhood, represented these racial interests.³¹ Furthermore, the United States was not even a member of the League, which fact doubly excluded Afro-Americans.

Nevertheless, here, as elsewhere, Garvey had trodden upon the toes of British and French imperialism, and a debate of his petition would have represented an immense propaganda victory for him (which, as other events showed, could readily be translated into unrest in British and French colonies) as well as a serious embarrassment for

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Britain in particular. The boldness of his scheme is overshadowed only by the remarkable fact that it almost succeeded. Britain and France had ample reason to thwart Garvey's petition, for the African nationality which he desired could only be obtained at their expense. Among other things, the petition stated:

We, your Petitioners, representing the four hundred million Negroes of the world, desire to bring before you the fact that our race is now seeking racial political liberty; that we desire to found a Government of our own, and that we shall be given the opportunity to exercise that liberty that is common to all free men of all races and nations.

The document recalled the heroic efforts of black soldiers, supposedly in the cause of democracy, and showed that all subject peoples had received something out of the war, save and excepting only the majority of Africans:-

We readily appreciate the fact that the League of Nations has taken into consideration the restoration of Palestine to the Jew. . . . Ireland has been given the consideration of a Free State Government, Egypt has been granted a form of independence, and there is still a great consideration for India, who was represented at the Peace Conference at Versailles through and by reason of the splendid service rendered by Indian soldiers.³²

Garvey issued a renewed petition in 1928 and continued to try and attract the League's attention thereafter, but never came any closer to success than in 1922.³³

The U.N.I.A. drive for nationhood did not stop with commissioners to the League of Nations and a provisional ambassador to France. Travelling commissioners were constantly on the move, establishing personal contact with

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U.N.I.A. branches. In some areas, especially on the African continent, such commissioners had perforce to operate clandestinely, for they faced arrest by the British, French, and other colonialist authorities, if caught.

There were also provisional ambassadors appointed, and legations set up, in other places besides France. One such place was Liberia, where a legation was set up in 1921. Its resident secretary was Cyril Crichtlow from Trinidad. His correspondence with Garvey was couched in the language and style of similar correspondence between British and American diplomatic representatives and their home governments. Telegrams were also exchanged between the legation and U.N.I.A. headquarters in Harlem, in a special code. The resident secretary summed up his duties in a letter to Garvey, in the following terms:-

The oral instructions of Your Excellency, being conceived from the point of view that the post was a diplomatic one, the Commissariat a Legation, and my position Secretary to the Legation, indicated that I should do all that a Legation Secretary would be expected to do--study the Liberian situation, the people and the government, ferret out all important news about whomsoever and whatsoever, and make confidential reports to Your Excellency direct, aside from other reports that I might send to the Council through Your Excellency.³⁴

In the case of Liberia, Garvey had attempted to establish a legation without openly advertising it as such. In January of 1924, however, he despatched an ambassador to Britain amidst much fanfare. He had been distressed during his travels in Europe to discover that all peoples and races

residing there had someone who could look after their interests, the African being, as per usual, the sole exception.³⁵ The first U.N.I.A. ambassador to Britain was Sir Richard Hilton Tobitt. Tobitt, a former African Methodist Episcopal minister and schoolmaster in Bermuda, had attended the 1920 U.N.I.A. convention and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Rights. He was elected Leader of the Eastern Provinces of the West Indies and, as a result of his refusal to disavow the U.N.I.A. he lost his position in the church and suffered a withdrawal of government support from his school.³⁶ On his appointment he was admitted by Garvey to the "exclusive order of Knight-Commander of the Sublime Order of the Nile," which entitled him to use the prefix "Sir."³⁷ He was charged with the task of representing the interests of the Negro peoples of the world at the Court of St. James. He was to study the political situation in England as it affected the African race. Garvey considered the time propitious (Tobitt sailed in January of 1924) because 1924 was a year of Labour Party rule. A Labour government, Garvey surmised, would be less difficult to deal with than aristocratic Conservatives, since they should have some sympathy for the aspirations of the mass of people. For this reason, too, Tobitt was charged with creating favorable sentiment among the English working class, for, as Garvey explained, "If you can convince the English working man that he has no cause for

complaint against the Negro it would be impossible for any government in Great Britain to do anything that would affect the interests of Negroes, . . ." If English workers refused to fight, then there was no way that Britain could go to war with the U.N.I.A. in Africa. Tobitt, like Adam in France, would be a provisional ambassador only, and would give way when a truly independent Africa began sending ambassadors of its own.³⁸

Garvey, with all the aplomb of the master propagandist, officially informed the British government of the appointment of the Hon. Richard Hilton Tobitt as "High Commissioner and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Britannic Majesty's Government" in a note that read as follows:

Honourable Richard Hilton Tobitt is accredited by the Universal Negro Improvement Association to interest himself in all matters affecting the interest of the Negro race within Great Britain.

It continued,

His credentials have been submitted to His Majesty's Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary and it is hoped that His Majesty's Government will accord to him such courtesies as are extended to other representatives of independent races and sovereign peoples.³⁹

Upon arrival in England, Tobitt requested interviews with the prime minister and the secretary of state of the Colonial Office, so that he might present the credentials of the U.N.I.A. and A.C.L. His request precipitated a debate over whether a response should properly come from the British Foreign Office or the Colonial Office. One Colonial

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Office official suggested that it was the business of his department "to keep Garvey and his associates out of West Africa--not out of No. 10."⁴⁰ Keeping the U.N.I.A. out of No. 10 (official residence of the British prime minister) should be the responsibility of the Foreign Office. Another Colonial Office official considered the adverse effects on British colonialism in the West Indies which would flow from any such official recognition of the U.N.I.A.:

The confidence of the West Indies in HMG [His Majesty's Government] would suffer a rude shock if any sort of official recognition were given to this Association, which has a record of fraud, sedition, and incitement to violence.⁴¹

Not surprisingly, Tobitt's request for an interview to present his credentials was finally turned down.⁴² The U.N.I.A. High Commissioner nevertheless did remain in England awhile, among other things addressing meetings of U.N.I.A. branches in Manchester and London.⁴³ In 1925 he crops up again, this time as High Commissioner of the Eastern Provinces of the West Indies. In this capacity he fared much better with the Dutch colony of Surinam, where he was received by the governor and given the freedom of the colony.⁴⁴

It is worth noting in passing that Garvey's diplomatic service in the years 1919 to 1925 can stand comparison in terms of scope and size with those of many of the new African and West Indian independent states in the early years of independence in the 1960's.

One year before refusing to accept Garvey's High Commissioner to the Court of St. James, the British government had seriously considered extending quasi-diplomatic recognition to the Cuban division of the U.N.I.A. The situation in Cuba was unique. Here, thousands of black workers, especially Haitians and Jamaicans (the latter British subjects), had for years been recruited to work as laborers on Cuban sugar plantations. (Many of their descendants still live in Cuba, particularly in Oriente province.) In Cuba these black workers were ruthlessly oppressed and were afforded practically no legal protection, either by the Cuban government or by British diplomatic personnel. In this situation the U.N.I.A. became firmly entrenched among the black workers in Cuba and in time became mutual aid society, race uplift organization and quasi-government for the black population. It was practically the only effective attempt to look after their interests.⁴⁵ Not surprisingly, by the mid-1920's Cuba had far and away the largest number of U.N.I.A. divisions and chapters in the West Indies with a total of fifty-four, almost twice the number in Trinidad, which ranked second with thirty. Garvey's own Jamaica had ten at this time.⁴⁶

In this situation the British minister in Cuba bought the U.N.I.A.'s idea of extending semi-official recognition to it as the organization protecting the interests of British West Indian workers in Cuba. The Foreign Office

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in London to whom the suggestion was forwarded, decided to sound out three governors of its West Indian colonies before coming to a decision. These governors, all of them well acquainted with the work of the U.N.I.A. in their own colonies, were mostly totally hostile to the idea. The governor of Barbados, for example, explained that there were but two U.N.I.A. branches in the island, one of which was composed of "more solid men" and lacked "any distinctly anti-white proclivities," while the other was allegedly very probably disloyal. Semi-official recognition of the Cuba U.N.I.A. would give a fillip to the local branches which might end in headaches for British colonialism. "If, however," he replied to the Foreign Office query,

the Cuban branch were recognised as the centre of protection of the interests of the British West Indians in that Country I foresee that the Society would obtain a status in this Colony that might be very inconvenient. It would certainly result in a very large increase in membership and the hot heads in the Association would probably be awakened to renewed zeal to stir up trouble between the two races. The Barbadians are generally a quiet well behaved body of men, but they are very excitable and easily roused.⁴⁷

He further indicated that U.N.I.A. members had recently sent threatening letters to planters and were encouraging the workers to strike, and with the approach of croptime in the sugar plantations, these hot heads might become restive. Furthermore, it would be inconsistent to recognize the U.N.I.A. in Cuba and repress it in Barbados (where it was subject to police surveillance and the Negro World was

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The British governor of Jamaica was somewhat less hostile to the idea, possibly because the Cuban U.N.I.A. was largely Jamaican in composition. He was prima facie against recognition, but in the peculiar circumstances, "as a means of obtaining concerted action for the protection of British West Indians in that country," he could not "forsee how this Government would be embarrassed by semi-official recognition of the persons mentioned, provided that care is taken to prevent all idea that this Government is in any way party to the recognition."⁴⁸ His refusal to condemn the idea outright was in part due to his belief that there might be facts concerning the proposal with which he was not familiar.

The governor of Trinidad, where the U.N.I.A. was usually most repressed among the British West Indian islands, replied briefly and with venom:

I am strongly averse to any action which might in any way lead to the Universal Negro Improvement Association believing that His Majesty's Government regarded the Association as one which could in any way improve the position of His Majesty's negro [sic] population in the West Indies.

He added that he had recently refused a petition from the Trinidad U.N.I.A. to lift the ban on the Negro World "owing to the objectionable character of the matter which this publication continues to contain."⁴⁹

Based on these opinions, the British minister in

Cuba was advised to withhold recognition.⁵⁰ Thereafter the Cuban government, with the collusion of such American employers of black labor as the United Fruit Company, increased its campaign against the U.N.I.A. which, among other things, was responsible for strikes against these employers. U.N.I.A. officials were sometimes jailed and branches were sometimes closed by the government.⁵¹ In 1930 Garvey himself was refused permission to visit Cuba. General Manuel Delgado, Secretary of the Interior, explained that there was no race problem in Cuba, but the U.N.I.A. was nevertheless stirring up same. He also issued a statement ordering the provincial governments to close all U.N.I.A. branches.⁵²

If Garvey's provisional government was well supplied with ambassadors and travelling commissioners, he himself on his travels acted like a head of state, requesting, and sometimes receiving interviews with such people as the governor of British Honduras and the president of Costa Rica.⁵³ It was partly for this reason, too, that he made his much-criticized visit to the headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan in Atlanta, Georgia. He reasoned that he was the head of the largest international organization of black people while the Klan represented the "Invisible Empire" which most truly represented white opinion in America, and thus a summit conference was in order.

The U.N.I.A.'s assumption of nationality was not

without its humorous incidents. In 1923, for example, the U.N.I.A. despatched an official delegation to the funeral of United States President, Warren Harding. The delegation rode in a car complete with a member of the Universal African Legions on each running board. After the funeral the delegation amused themselves by driving through the streets of Washington and watching the policemen salute and hold up the traffic to let them pass. They had obviously been mistaken for representatives of a sovereign state. William Sherrill, remembering the incident a decade later explained that "Having never before enjoyed such consideration at the behest of southern police, we took full advantage of our mistaken identity."⁵⁴

Underpinning Garvey's predilections towards nationhood were his own speculations on political theory. He seems to have given some thought to the question of democracy. He conceived the major problem of democratic practice to be the devising of a mechanism of government which would ensure the permanent representation of the popular will, a popular will which would apparently be synonymous with the expression of the majority of the population, but which would somehow ensure "that all the citizens of that government will be satisfied and in sympathy with each other."⁵⁵ He found fault with American democracy on this score. He explained that often only a tiny minority of the population actually votes for the president of the

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United States, so he does not necessarily represent the will of the majority in the population. Furthermore, since the executive often controlled the judiciary, appealing from one to the other would sometimes be like appealing from Caesar to Caesar.⁵⁶ In order to solve these problems of non-majority government and insensitivity to the popular will he once wrote a short essay on "Governing the Ideal State." He proceeded on the premise that since all systems of government ultimately depend on human implementation, he would devise a system whereby representatives of the people would fulfill their trust or suffer immediate recall, disgrace and execution:

Government should be absolute, and the head should be thoroughly responsible for himself and the acts of his subordinates. . . . He should be the soul of honor, and when he is legally or properly found to the contrary, he should be publicly disgraced, and put to death as an outcast and an unworthy representative of the righteous will of the people.

Such threat of instant recall and death should also hang over the heads of the ruler's subordinate officials:

His administrators and judges should be held to strict accountability, and on the committing of any act of injustice, unfairness, favoritism or malfeasance, should be taken before the public, disgraced and then stoned to death.

To further ensure the incorruptibility of the ruler, Garvey suggested that he "be removed from all pecuniary obligations and desires of a material nature" through the device of a very large salary and allowances, both during and after his administration. In return, the ruler should

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devote himself entirely to the governance of the state, and during the period of his administration, he should forestall the possibility of sectarian interest group pressure by spurning the company of all friends outside of his immediate family. And to prevent the device of a ruler amassing an ill-gotten fortune in his wife's name, Garvey suggested that any non-disclosure of receipts and disbursements of the ruler's household by the wife (whose duty it would be to keep such accounts) would result in death for the whole family, excepting only any member who reported the act before discovery.

For such persons found to have abused their trust, their disgrace would not end at death. For "images of them should be made and placed in a national hall of criminology and ill fame, and their crimes should be recited and a curse pronounced upon them and their generations."

These stringent measures advocated by Garvey were influenced obviously by pessimism concerning human nature, no doubt influenced by his own experiences with his graft-ridden subordinates. They were also motivated by his quest for the elusive notion of government for the good of all the people, in order to "prevent the factional party fights of Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, etc., for the control of Government, because of the belief that Government is controlled in the interest of classes, and not for the good of all the people."⁵⁷

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Furthermore, Garvey foreshadowed the unwillingness of independent African countries to be restricted by established political ideologies (sometimes to the point of random eclecticism) by insisting that he felt free to "pick out the best in every government, whether that government be monarchical, democratic or soviet."⁵⁸ In his annual International Convention Garvey recognized a major step towards the realization of race democracy, "the greatest Legislative Assembly ever brought together by the Negro peoples of the world"⁵⁹--an appraisal which was not historically inaccurate.

Garvey's thoughts on democracy led him inevitably to the consideration of such subjects as capitalism and communism, since the concept of democracy is meaningless without relation to the economic system underpinning it. He considered capitalism to be a necessary stage in human advancement while simultaneously expressing uneasiness at the results of its unrestrained uses. He summed up this attitude in an essay on "Capitalism and the State"--"Capitalism is necessary to the progress of the world, and those who unreasonably and wantonly oppose or fight against it are enemies to human advancement: but there should be a limit to the individual or corporate use or control of it."⁶⁰ He also gave poetic expression to his abhorrence of unrestrained capitalism:

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The common thief now steals a crust of bread,
 The law comes down upon his hungry head;
 The haughty land robber steals continents,
 With men, oil, gold, rubber and all contents.
 The first you say is a hopeless convict',
 While the latter escapes the law by trick;
 That grave, one-sided justice will not do
 The poor call for consideration, too.⁶¹

Garvey saw the hand of unrestrained capitalism in many of the world's wars and international problems:

Oil 'concessions' in Mexico or Persia; rubber 'concessions' in Liberia, West Africa; sugar or coffee 'concessions' in Haiti, West Indies, to be exploited for the selfish enrichment of individuals, sooner or later, end in disaster; hence ill-feeling, hate, and then war.⁶²

Garvey's disapproval of unrestrained capitalism extended to the nascent upper crust of his own race. And like Frantz Fanon three decades later, he was of the opinion that this class among the black race was more destructive than similarly circumstanced persons among the white and other races. For while white millionaires endowed charitable foundations and otherwise displayed some progressive characteristics, rich black persons tended to be more parasitical and destructive to their own race. During the International Convention of 1924 Garvey expressed this idea thus--"We have not only to fight the white capitalist, but we also have to fight the capitalistic Negro. He will sell his own people into Hell the same as anybody else."⁶³ In 1929 he repeated similar sentiments--"The Negro or 'Coloured' race is developing a class of millionaires or money hoarders, much more dangerous to the race's life and

existence than any similar group of men among any other race."⁶⁴

For solutions to these problems Garvey seems to have leaned in the direction of reforms of a social democratic nature rather than towards the complete eradication of the capitalist system. He favored ceilings of one million and five million dollars for investible funds controlled by individuals and corporations respectively. Sums accumulated above these figures should be appropriated by the state. The state should also expropriate without compensation the assets of capitalists and corporations who fomented wars and strife in the furtherance of their financial interests.⁶⁵ In his own organizations Garvey attempted where possible to implement these ideas by organizing his business ventures along cooperative lines and by placing a ceiling on the number of shares any one person could own in the Black Star Line. He seems to have sometimes seen such efforts as attempts by poor people to establish "a capitalistic system of their own" to "combat the heartless capitalistic system of the masterly ruling class."⁶⁶ On one occasion, while representing workers in Jamaica in a dispute with the United Fruit Company, he even described himself as a capitalist in an attempt to show that he also was an employer of labor, but nevertheless found ways to avoid the excesses concerning which the strikers he represented were complaining.⁶⁷

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Garvey's disapproval of unrestrained capitalism, coupled with a reluctance to advocate a complete overthrow of the capitalistic system, was indicated also by the company he kept, so to speak. For the Third World leaders whom he admired were generally those of similar political outlook--people like himself involved in nationalist struggles and like himself attempting to walk a precarious tightrope between capitalism and communism. The most important of these were Mahatma Gandhi in India, Clements Kadalie, leader of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union in South Africa, and Captain A. A. Cipriani, leader of the Trinidad Workingmen's Association. These leaders were usually lumped together with Garvey in Communist journals as "petit-bourgeois reformists" "misleaders" and "fakers." Imperialist governments usually considered them dangerous agitators.

Garvey's tendencies to social democracy can also be seen in his optimism concerning the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the United States in the 1930's⁶⁸ and most of all in his long-standing fondness for the welfare socialism represented by the British Labour Party. As early as 1923 Garvey was reported by the New York Age as being a member of this party.⁶⁹ His support of the Labour Party was due first of all to the belief that a government, supposedly of workers, would not manifest the same imperialistic designs against the Third World peoples as did the British

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Conservative Party, which represented the aristocratic element. This has been a perennial dream of colonized peoples in the British empire, but one which has usually been betrayed. In 1923, for example, Garvey, rejoicing over the fact that the British Labour Party was now the official opposition in parliament, editorialized on the significance of this event for black British subjects as follows:

Let us take new courage as well as firm confidence in our effort, and let us be inspired through the achievement of the Labour Party in England and the Labor forces all over the world.

The ascendancy of Labor in politics will bring about a new political order which cannot be as senseless as the one to which they succeed.

. . . Labor may have enough sense to know that the best course it could adopt toward its own prosperity is to be fair and friendly to all human groups. We would not contemplate labor going out to fight other peoples for the adventurous exploitation of that which is native to such peoples. We could not think of Ramsay McDonald as Premier of England declaring war against native Africans who seek to protect their native rights, but we would expect it of David Lloyd George or an Arthur J. Balfour, who represent the Tory element and the capitalistic crowds of their country. . . . We are glad of the downfall, therefore, of the Tory Government of England. We also rejoice when other monopolist political organizations tumble down to be succeeded by the control of that element of the people who know what human love is, who know what justice is.⁷⁰

In going so far as to ascribe such altruistic tendencies to the Labour Party, Garvey seems to have been departing from his normal position of blanket hostility to white groups, regardless of affiliation, except where he could cooperate

with them for limited objectives. His position here contrasted with his attitude to white groups before, or indeed afterwards, as his handling of overtures from the United States Communists in 1924 was to show.

In January of 1924 Garvey celebrated the victory of the short-lived government of Ramsay MacDonald with a telegram informing the new premier that the U.N.I.A. looked to Labour as allies of the black race in the fight for national independence in Africa.⁷¹ Almost simultaneously he despatched his U.N.I.A. ambassador to England and explained the propitiousness of the time in terms of the Labour victory.⁷² The propitiousness of the time and Garvey's generally favorable attitude towards the Labour Party may have had something to do with the fact that at about this very time the London U.N.I.A. was expressing appreciation for the fact that the Labour Party had been assisting unemployed black persons in London to find work.⁷³

This unusual endorsement of Labour in Britain was also due in some measure to Garvey's lack of substantial distinction between the Labour Party's welfare socialism on the one hand and Russian socialism as practised under Lenin, on the other. For, as will be seen later, despite his feuds with Communists in the United States, Garvey admired Lenin for his mass movement and his attempts to curtail capitalistic control, and he considered the British Labour Party to be of the same stripe. In eulogising Lenin at Liberty

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Hall in 1924 upon the Russian leader's death he said,

I believe, in time, that the whole world will take on the social democratic system of government now existing in Russia. It is only a question of time, I say. England is the first to have reached out for this perfect state of social democratic control among its peoples.⁷⁴

By 1932 he was willing to admit that the Labour Party had not arrived at Communism but that it was working diligently towards this goal and would soon be "Red Communists," a proposition which did not appear to alarm him.⁷⁵ In the meantime he had reiterated his support for the party during the 1929 elections.⁷⁶

In 1927 the Labour Party did receive an opportunity to reciprocate in a minor fashion. South African trade union leader Clements Kadalie, during a visit to Britain, succeeded in obtaining the party's assistance in the case of a Nyasalander, Isa Macdonald Lawrence, who had been sentenced by British authorities to three years hard labor for importing into Central Africa six copies of Garvey's Negro World and two of the South African Worker's Herald. A Labour M.P., Mr. Richard Wallhead, raised the question in the House of Commons, as a result of which Lawrence was released.⁷⁷

In the 1930's reports of Garvey's affiliation with the Labour Party were revived. He himself was quoted in 1931 as saying that during a recent visit to England he had addressed crowds in Hyde Park "on behalf of some of my

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friends in the Labor party."⁷⁸ In 1934 and 1935 his imminent departure from Jamaica was reported as linked to an intention to run for parliament as a Labour Party representative for West Kensington.⁷⁹ The late 1930's found him reprinting an occasional article from the left-wing Labour journal Tribune in his own Black Man.⁸⁰

Garvey's reflections on political theory, and especially on democracy found expression in his conception of his own leadership. Though at times showing a tendency towards the autocratic, he was nevertheless imbued with a consuming notion of service which led to a fatalistic acceptance of sacrifice as the inevitable consequence of leadership,⁸¹ despite occasional complaints concerning the difficulties of race leadership and the unworthiness of errant colleagues.⁸²

Garvey's concept of leadership as dedication, sacrifice, and even martyrdom, was matched by a loyalty among large numbers of his followers which astounded observers. Kelly Miller of Howard University, one of the small number of non-Garveyite Afro-American intellectuals who attempted to analyze him with some semblance of objectivity, wrote that "it must be conceded that he has begotten for himself an intensity of discipleship which has no parallel among Negroes in this country."⁸³ Miller noted that on the death of Frederick Douglass, Howard University, of which Douglass had been a trustee, could raise only a few thousand dollars

to endow a school in his honor. The Douglass home had similarly failed to become a mecca for the race. In the case of Booker T. Washington, too, his campfollowers, many of whom were indebted to him for their exalted positions, were very indifferent to the attempt to raise an endowment of half a million dollars in his honor. This contrasted sharply with the devotion of Garvey's followers, even, and indeed more so, after his incarceration. T. Thomas Fortune, veteran civil rights fighter, dean of Afro-American journalists, former close associate of Booker T. Washington, and, for the last few years of his life editor of the Negro World, made a similar observation:

The editor of the Negro World is in a position to judge of this matter because he has been actively engaged in race journalism for forty-five years and has known every leader of the race in America and in other lands during that time, personally or by reputation, from Frederick Douglass to Marcus Garvey. None of them had the magnetic personality of Mr. Garvey; none of them could draw men to him and hold them as he. None of them had a world-embracing slogan that appealed to the Negro people everywhere.

These observations were part of a Fortune editorial entitled "Loyalty to Mr. Garvey Most Striking Thing in Race History."⁸⁴ A petition from the Jacksonville, Florida, U.N.I.A. division to President Coolidge for Garvey's release from prison, expressed the same idea in more poignant fashion--"The world has never had a character, as a leader, such as Marcus Garvey, one of the most inspiring and courageous idealists in history. And this Marcus Garvey is all

the Negro has ever had."⁸⁵ To the official mind of an Attorney-General of the United States, such loyalty was irrational and disturbing. He explained his perplexity in a memorandum to President Coolidge:--

The situation as presented in the Garvey case is most unusual. Notwithstanding the fact that the prosecution was designed for the protection of colored people, whom it was charged Garvey had been defrauding by means of exaggerated and incorrect statements circulated through the mail, none of these people apparently believe that they have been defrauded, manifestly retain their entire confidence in Garvey, and instead of the prosecution and imprisonment of the applicant being an example and warning against a violation of law, it really stands and is regarded by them as a class as an act of oppression of the race in their efforts in the direction of race progress and of discrimination against Garvey as a negro [sic]. This is by no means a healthy condition of affairs.⁸⁶

Such loyalty manifested itself in many thousands of letters, telegrams, petitions and the like which poured into departments of the United States and other governments whenever Garvey was unfairly dealt with by officialdom.⁸⁷ It manifested itself too in such scenes as those which were enacted during Garvey's trial in 1923 for alleged mail fraud. Hundreds of his supporters knelt, prayed, lamented and allegedly threatened witnesses. The police wagon carrying him to prison was obstructed by an estimated three hundred people, and, in the quaint language of the New York Times, "several negresses [sic] showed marked emotion."⁸⁸ This paper was as perplexed by these manifestations of devotedness as had been the Attorney-General of the United States, and in an editorial entitled "A Hero More Sorry Unimaginable,"

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chided Garvey's supporters--"Surely there ought to be intelligence enough among the colored people to see that Garvey illustrated their worst and weakest qualities, not their best and strongest."⁸⁹ A Barbadian Garveyite faced with the option of deportation from Liberia or disavowing Garveyism refused to do the latter since he considered the principles of the U.N.I.A. too deeply engraved on his heart.⁹⁰ During the annual Convention of 1926, with Garvey in jail, 150,000 people paraded through Harlem behind Garvey's robes and cheered from the sidewalk.⁹¹ This loyalty was manifested, too, in the fact that only about eighteen persons out of the 35,000 Black Star Line stockholders written by United States government officials who seized the company's books, were willing to agree that they were dissatisfied with the company's operations. All eighteen were, Garvey thought, in the employ of the government.⁹² Many of these same stockholders were among those who subscribed \$4,400 towards a defense fund the very same night of his arrest.⁹³ Such feats of fund raising were quite commonplace. In 1919 in Cuba stevedores bought up \$250 worth of shares in a few minutes.⁹⁴ In 1921 Garvey collected an estimated \$25,000 U.S. in Costa Rica, most of it within forty-eight hours.⁹⁵ The United Fruit Company at Puerto Barrios, Guatemala, reported a sale of drafts destined to the U.N.I.A. and Black Star Line of \$2,941.08 between November 1921 and February 1922. This figure was

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considered an understatement. The population of Puerto Barrios was given as only 2,400.⁹⁶ Within a year of his release on bail in 1923, Garvey is said to have collected 150,000 balboas from followers in Panama.⁹⁷

Concerning such manifestations of loyalty, Negro World columnist S. A. Haynes concluded that Garvey had demonstrated two things, namely that black people could be organized, and that they were indeed "eager to repose confidence in and support sincere Negro leadership."⁹⁸ If anything, this may even have been an understatement. A visitor to Garvey's Harlem offices in January 1920 reported a line of people stretching over a hundred yards along 135th Street waiting to see Garvey, some for no other reason than to personally express their appreciation to him.⁹⁹

Not surprisingly, such fierce unswerving loyalty was often branded "fanaticism," and Garvey's critics and enemies did not hesitate to describe the style of leadership existing within Garvey's provisional African nation as fascist. Such accusations were helped along by a strain of violence which seemed to run among Garveyites. Apart from anti-colonial struggles in which they were implicated, such as the 1919 uprisings in Trinidad and British Honduras,¹⁰⁰ Garveyites, particularly in the United States, were often implicated in violent confrontations with rival persons and groups. Possibly the most publicized of such cases involved the murder of former U.N.I.A. Leader of the American Negroes,

J. W. H. Eason in New Orleans in 1923. He had broken with Garvey and was in the midst of a nationwide campaign against the U.N.I.A. He was shot after addressing an anti-Garvey meeting in New Orleans. Two members of Garvey's police force were arrested but later acquitted after trial.¹⁰¹ W. A. Domingo, Jamaican ex-editor of the Negro World reported that "in New York City, as early as the Fall of 1919, I raised my voice in protest against the execrable exaggerations, staggering stupidities, blundering bombast and abominable assassinities of our black Barnum, culminating in Thomas Potter and myself being assaulted, kicked, and placed under arrest by Garveyites in the Spring of 1920."¹⁰² In August of 1920, too, several hundred Garveyites invaded a revival meeting being held under a big tent at W. 138th Street in Harlem by the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell, Sr. The cause of this disturbance was the Reverend Charles S. Morris, veteran missionary from Norfolk, Virginia, whose sermon contained a rejection of Garvey's African program, because, in his opinion, the colonialist powers were too strong to be dislodged. Uniformed police and plainclothesmen had to escort the reverend gentleman home, and by a circuitous route, since the most direct route went past Liberty Hall.¹⁰³

The "Marcus Garvey Must Go" campaign launched by A. Philip Randolph and the so-called Friends of Negro Freedom to have Garvey deported leaned heavily on such incidents in

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their efforts to build a case. They informed the Attorney-General of the United States concerning the clause in the U.N.I.A. constitution which debarred persons convicted of crime from being received by the Potentate, save where such crime had been committed in the interest of the organization. They regularly catalogued a long list of such incidents, including attacks on their own anti-Garvey meetings.¹⁰⁴ W. E. B. DuBois, too, appended his name to the list of real or potential victims of U.N.I.A. violence and threats. He "was not only threatened with death by men declaring themselves his [Garvey's] followers, but received letters of such unbelievable filth that they were absolutely unprintable." His friends were moved, he declared, to provide him with secret police protection when he landed in the United States from his trip to Africa.¹⁰⁵ Arguments over Garvey's trial sometimes turned peaceful gatherings such as house parties into brawls resulting in slashings and other injuries.¹⁰⁶ A case similar to the Eason murder occurred in Miami in 1928. Here a Laura Champion, alias Laura Koffey, a self-styled African princess whose unauthorized money-collection endeavors from U.N.I.A. branches had been denounced by the organization, was killed at an anti-Garvey meeting addressed by herself. A Garveyite was murdered by her followers in retaliation. The president and the Colonel of Legions of the Miami U.N.I.A. division were charged with and acquitted of first degree murder.¹⁰⁷ The late 1920's

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and 1930's also witnessed street fights in Harlem between Garveyites and Communists, and between rival Garveyite factions.

The violent streak running through Garvey's supporters was not the only point of similarity between Garveyism and the doctrines of fascism and nazism which arose shortly afterwards in Europe. In their fierce nationalism, in their doctrines of racial purity, in their uniformed indoctrinated youth groups, in their conversion of the crowd into disciplined uniformed units, with some qualifications in their anti-Communism, in the impassioned oratory of their leaders, in the pageantry, the atmosphere of excitement surrounding their movements, European fascism and nazism bore certain resemblances to Garveyism.

Such similarities were not lost upon contemporaries. J. A. Rogers, journalist and historian, lifelong acquaintance of Garvey and during the 1920's and 1930's a regular contributor to Garvey's newspapers, noticed the similarities during a trip to Mussolini's Italy in 1927. Writing from Italy for the Negro World, he said,

The other thing that made me feel at home, as I said, was Fascism, or should I say Mussolini. I have been through the agitation that raged around Garvey in Harlem in 1922, and I have but to shut my eyes and ears to color, the issues, and watch human conduct to hear the same old tune sung to different words.

He went on to disapprove of the violent excesses accompanying Mussolini's rule and pointed out that Mussolini had done

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an about face from his former socialistic anti-clerical stance. He continued his observations,

In brief, Mussolini is a 'benevolent despot,' with none of the Caesar pose one sees in his popular pictures. But, of course, the masses, which take to Fascism as they do to a dogfight or the latest song or any other novelty, are looking for fireworks or a miracle--a reason for not judging Marcus Garvey too harshly.¹⁰⁸

Ten years later Garvey himself impressed upon Rogers the fact that the U.N.I.A. had ante-dated Mussolini with the style of government associated with the latter. He said,

We were the first Fascists. We had disciplined men, women and children in training for the liberation of Africa. The black masses saw that in this extreme nationalism lay their only hope and readily supported it. Mussolini copied fascism from me but the Negro reactionaries sabotaged it.¹⁰⁹

At a speech the same year (1937) delivered in Canada to U.N.I.A. members who had travelled across the border from Detroit, Garvey emphasized the same point--"The U.N.I.A. was before Mussolini and Hitler were heard of. Mussolini and Hitler copied the program of the U.N.I.A.--aggressive nationalism for the black man in Africa."¹¹⁰ On other occasions he pointed out that he had preached race purity before Hitler,¹¹¹ and in 1935 he told an interviewer in London,

They laughed at me because I dressed my followers up in uniforms and paraded them through the streets. But look what Mussolini and Hitler have done with shirts and uniforms. If I had been left alone the Negro, too, would have had a shirt.¹¹²

The question of fascism recurred very often in Garvey's various publications. In 1923, for example, the New York Amsterdam News quoted a Negro World editorial

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which claimed that the U.N.I.A. had accomplished a bloodless revolution more far-reaching than fascism.¹¹³ In 1929 Garvey's Jamaican paper the Blackman editorialized, while Garvey was in jail, to the effect that "Marcus Garvey is the Mussolini of the Negro race and no other Negro can or has come up to him as a fighter for the liberties and rights of a people."¹¹⁴ Garvey himself identified one trait he admired in Mussolini as his iron fisted rule, which Garvey considered necessary at some stages of history.¹¹⁵

Garvey's interest in Hitler, too, coincided with his rise to influence in Germany. Indeed, even before Hitler's journey to power in the early 1930's, Garvey, on a visit to Germany in 1928 had expressed himself as being impressed by German thoroughness and discipline. He suggested that black people might profitably imbibe some of these qualities.¹¹⁶ In 1932 the editor of his New Jamaican praised Hitler's role as a patriot, a view that Garvey shared.¹¹⁷ Garvey hoped further that the black race would produce a Hitler and that black people would acquaint themselves with Hitler's ideas. By 1934, though, mindful of his own experience in the United States and Jamaica, he concluded that a black Hitler could only be permanently successful in Africa. For Africa afforded a far greater opportunity for an appeal along nationalistic lines than areas in the African dispersion.¹¹⁸

Garvey, then, admired Hitler and Mussolini for the points of similarity between their programs and his. He was

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also correct in pointing out that his program had pre-dated theirs, and he is in no way unreasonable in suggesting that his program may have been known to them since the Garvey phenomenon was widely reported in European newspapers and journals from at least as early as 1919. We have already seen the German Emergency League Against the Black Horror, obviously a racist organization in the Hitler mold, seeking Garvey's support as early as 1921, over a decade before Hitler's rise to power.

Garvey's admiration for Hitler and Mussolini was not, however, an unqualified one. His admiration was based on the objective consideration of their political style and philosophy. He was too astute not to realize, however, that the particular theories they held could spell only ruin for Africa, and he opposed them resolutely on this basis. As early as 1924 he despatched a telegram to Mussolini from the Fourth International Convention of Negro Peoples of the World, meeting in Harlem, requesting a change in Mussolini's Africa policy and self-determination for Italian colonies in Africa.¹¹⁹

His dual attitude of limited endorsement and hostile opposition to Hitler and Mussolini can best be explained in a Garvey statement of 1933 on Hitler:

Adolph Hitler, the German Chancellor, cannot be mistaken for anything else than a patriot. . . .

. . . We are interested in Hitler only from the point of view of Germany's relationship with our race.

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It is evident that if Hitler hates the Jew, he also hates the Negro. . . .

Whilst we admire him as a German Nationalist, or rather, Patriot, we must not do so to the loss of our nationalism or patriotism, therefore, it would be very unwise for us to encourage one as pronounced in his views as Hitler. Hitler stands for a greater Germany, which is his right, and the Negro should stand for a greater Africa which is also his right.¹²⁰

Opposition to Mussolini was couched in similar terms.¹²¹

And a Negro World editorial of 1928 argued that Mussolini was not only aware of Garvey, but considered him a menace to his plans for Italian imperialism in Africa. The editorial quoted from a speech in which Mussolini had referred to a Harlem riot as follows:

There is one great quarter in New York called Harlem where the population is exclusively Negro. A great riot broke out there last July which, after a whole night of sanguinary conflict, was finally controlled by the police, who found themselves opposed to compact masses of Negroes.

The editorial commented that Mussolini's account was exaggerated and represented an indirect warning to the United States that Afro-American race consciousness was a menace to his schemes in Africa, especially since he knew that Garvey's program came out of Harlem. The editorial continued,

He may not call Marcus Garvey by name, but Negroes throughout the world know that he regards Garvey as the most potential hindering force to his scheming and planning to lay robber hands on Africa's wealth.

It ended in prophetic vein--"We are somewhat puzzled, in common with other beholders, at the new attitude for Ras Taffari toward the ancient enemy of Ethiopia, but we will

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not take hasty judgement."¹²²

With Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 Garvey's opposition became strident, and practically every issue of his Black Man was adorned with hostile articles and poems bearing verses of which the following from a Garvey creation entitled "The Smell of Mussolini," is typical:

Let all Italians live and die in shame,
For what their Mad Dog did to our dear home:
Their Mussolini's bloody, savage name
Smells stink from Addis back to sinful Rome.
.....
We'll march to crush the Italian dog,
And at the points of gleaming, shining swords,
We'll lay quite low the violent, Roman hog.¹²³

Garvey's concept of nationhood was, therefore, extremely well-developed. Not only was it adorned with the paraphernalia of nationality (flag, uniforms and the like), but it was buttressed by Garvey's own speculations concerning such questions as democracy and fascism, and reinforced by his style of leadership. Through his ambassadors and commissioners, too, the U.N.I.A. made concrete steps towards assuming the role of Pan-African nation. This, of course, was a provisional nation, biding the time of Africa's liberation. Within maybe fifty years, Garvey conjectured, while W. E. B. DuBois and the N.A.A.C.P. "will be sending up petitions to Congress asking them to introduce another Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, Marcus Garvey and the U.N.I.A. will be coming up the Hudson Bay with a flotilla of battleships,

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dreadnoughts and cruisers to land our first ambassador, and whilst they will be introducing bills in Congress, we will be entertained in the White House as being the first ambassadors from the great African republic. And let me tell you, they will hear us then."¹²⁴

There can be no doubt that Garvey's assumption of nationality filled a very great void in the lives of black peoples, especially during his most successful years, from 1919 to 1925. Almost nowhere on the globe did black people at this time have a government of their own race. And the U.N.I.A., reaching as it did into every area where black people lived, sowed the seeds of nationalism, and on occasion even acted in fact as a provisional government.

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¹Negro World, January 30, 1926, in Public Record Office, London, F.O. 372/2257.

²Blackman, December 30, 1929, p. 1.

³Garvey identified some of the other leading figures in the Club as S. A. G. Cox, Alexander Dixon, H. A. L. Simpson, a Mr. DeLeon and himself--Blackman, September 11, 1929, p. 7; see also Jamaica Times, April 30, 1910, p. 22, quoted in Rupert Lewis, "A Political Study of Garveyism in Jamaica and London: 1914-1940" (University of the West Indies, Department of Government, Unpub. MSc. Thesis, July 1971), p. 53. A contemporary remembered Garvey as one of the most frequent speakers at the Club's weekly meetings. His speeches were usually anti-government. See, R. N. Murray, ed., J. J. Mills - His Own Account of His Life and Times (Kingston, Collins and Sangster, 1969).

⁴Negro World, February 24, 1923, p. 2.

⁵Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 140; Negro World, August 25, 1923, p. 2.

⁶Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 135-143.

⁷Blackman, December 28, 1929, p. 14.

⁸Negro World, October 8, 1921, p. 4.

⁹Ibid., February 4, 1928, p. 1.

¹⁰Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 313.

¹¹Black Man, II, 2, July-August 1936, p. 18.

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- ¹²Blackman, August 24, 1929, p. 3.
- ¹³Invitation in Arthur A. Schomburg papers, Schomburg Collection, Box 10.
- ¹⁴"New Flag for Afro-Americans," Africa Times and Orient Review, I, 4, October 1912, p. 134.
- ¹⁵Negro World, March 19, 1927, p. 1 (reprint of a 1921 speech).
- ¹⁶Catechism, p. 37.
- ¹⁷National Civic Federation Papers, New York Public Library, Box 152. White also sought views on Garvey from W. E. B. DuBois and the anti-Garvey black socialists A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen.
- ¹⁸Negro World, June 14, 1924, p. 9.
- ¹⁹Mary Benson, South Africa: The Struggle for a Birthright (Middlesex, Penguin, 1966), p. 46.
- ²⁰Donald Barnett and Karari Njama, Mau Mau from Within, quoted in Wilfred Cartey and Martin Kilson, eds., Independent Africa (New York, Vintage, 1970), p. 105.
- ²¹C. L. R. James, The Black Jacobins (New York, Vintage, 1963), p. 397.
- ²²Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 141.
- ²³New York World, August 18, 1920, p. 13; New York Times, August 18, 1920, p. 2.
- ²⁴National Negro Voice, August 30, 1941, p. 4.
- ²⁵Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 141; Catechism, p. 39.
- ²⁶Negro World, June 18, 1932, p. 6.
- ²⁷Ibid., June 11, 1932, pp. 1, 5.

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²⁸Ibid., August 25, 1923, p. 3.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰F.O. 371/8513, H. G. Armstrong, H. M. Consul-General, New York, to H. M. Charge d'Affaires, Washington, D. C., August 24, 1923.

³¹Negro World, October 27, 1928, p. 7.

³²Petition of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities' League to the League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, n.p.--copy in U.S. National Archives, R.G. 59, 800.4016/19.

³³See, e.g., Negro World, October 27, 1928, p. 7; August 3, 1929, p. 2; November 14, 1931, p. 1; Public Record Office, F.O. 371/18505, J. V. Wilson, League of Nations to William Strang, Foreign Office, and related correspondence, May 1934.

³⁴R.G. 59, 882.00/705, Crichlow to Garvey, "Special Personal Report," June 24, 1921.

³⁵Negro World, January 26, 1924, p. 2.

³⁶Public Record Office, London, Colonial Office records, C.O. 318/356, Governor of Bermuda to Secretary of State, Colonial Office, 2 November 1920.

³⁷Negro World, January 26, 1924, p. 2.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹C.O. 554/64, Marcus Garvey and P. L. Burrows, Secretary-General of the U.N.I.A. to Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, H. M. Colonial Secretary, January 25, 1924.

⁴⁰Ibid., minute on file, dated 13 February 1924.

⁴¹Ibid., minute of 6 March 1924.

⁴²Ibid., private secretary of the Secretary of State, Colonial Office to Tobitt, 8 March 1924.

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⁴³Negro World, April 5, 1924, p. 5; April 19, 1924, p. 8; May 10, 1924, p. 8.

⁴⁴Ibid., May 19, 1925, p. 7.

⁴⁵Ibid., February 2, 1924, p. 2. A correspondent from Santiago de Cuba says that Jamaican U.N.I.A. members control the dispensing jobs in many hospitals and use their positions to provide medical care for Haitians and Jamaicans.

⁴⁶U.N.I.A. Central Division (New York) Files, Schomburg Collection, Box 2, a. 16. The figures are for the years 1925-1927.

⁴⁷F.O. 371/8450, Charles Bain, Governor of Barbados to Secretary of State, Colonial Office, 16 January 1923.

⁴⁸Ibid., Governor L. Probyn to Duke of Devonshire, Secretary of State, 25 April 1923.

⁴⁹Ibid., Governor Wilson of Trinidad to Secretary of State, 20 January 1923.

⁵⁰Ibid., Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office to Under Secretary of State, Foreign Office, 29 May 1923.

⁵¹Negro World, August 4, 1928, p. 8; Blackman, June 28, 1930, p. 9.

⁵²R.G. 59, 837.00--General Conditions/27; New York Times, January 30, 1930, p. 4; January 31, 1930, p. 9. Some branches were reopened six months later--Blackman, June 28, 1930, p. 9.

⁵³F.O. 371/5684, F. Gordon, H. M. Consul, Port Limon, Costa Rica to A. P. Bennett, H.B.M. Minister, San José, Costa Rica, 9 May 1921; ibid., Governor Eyre Hutson of British Honduras to Secretary of State, Colonial Office, 14 July 1921.

⁵⁴Negro World, July 9, 1932, p. 2.

⁵⁵Ibid., October 3, 1925, p. 1.

⁵⁶Ibid., January 7, 1928, p. 2.

- ⁵⁷"Governing the Ideal State," Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 74-76.
- ⁵⁸Negro World, October 3, 1925, p. 1.
- ⁵⁹Blackman, September 7, 1929, p. 1; Negro World, August 3, 1929, p. 1.
- ⁶⁰Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 72.
- ⁶¹Tragedy of White Injustice, p. 13.
- ⁶²Ibid.; see also, Blackman, April 8, 1929, pp. 1, 6; January 7, 1930, p. 1.
- ⁶³Daily Worker, August 12, 1924, pp. 1, 5.
- ⁶⁴Blackman, September 5, 1929, p. 1.
- ⁶⁵Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 72.
- ⁶⁶Blackman, January 8, 1930, p. 1; see also, New Jamaican, September 6, 1932, p. 5.
- ⁶⁷Blackman, May 29, 1929, p. 7.
- ⁶⁸Black Man, I, 2, January 1934, p. 14.
- ⁶⁹New York Age, July 7, 1923.
- ⁷⁰Negro World, December 15, 1923, p. 1.
- ⁷¹Ibid., February 2, 1924, p. 1.
- ⁷²Ibid., January 26, 1924, p. 2.
- ⁷³Ibid., January 12, 1924, p. 7.
- ⁷⁴Ibid., February 2, 1924, p. 3.
- ⁷⁵New Jamaican, October 12, 1932, p. 1.

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⁷⁶Blackman, April 3, 1929, p. 1; June 7, 1929, p. 1; June 4, 1929, p. 1.

⁷⁷Clements Kadalie, My Life and the ICU (New York, Humanities Press, 1970), p. 125; Negro World, August 20, 1927, p. 2; George Shepperson, in Sylvia Thrupp, ed., Millennial Dreams in Action (The Hague, Mouton and Co., 1962), p. 153. Kadalie and the Negro World give the country of importation as Rhodesia, Shepperson says they were imported into Nyasaland.

⁷⁸Negro World, December 19, 1931, p. 8.

⁷⁹Ethiopian World, May 26, 1934; New York Times, May 3, 1934, p. 3; March 28, 1935, p. 12.

⁸⁰E.g., Black Man, III, 11, November 1938.

⁸¹E.g., R.G. 60, 198940, Garvey to J. W. Snook, Warden of Atlanta Federal Prison, c. November 16 [date hidden by file binding] 1926; African Nationalist Pioneer Movement (Detroit), Garveyism a Political Creed, n.p.; Tragedy of White Injustice, p. 11; Negro World, March 24, 1923, p. 10; April 30, 1927, p. 1; August 10, 1929, p. 3; December 5, 1931, p. 1; January 30, 1932, p. 1; Voice of Freedom, I, 2, August 1945, p. 1; R.G. 59, 882.00/705, Cyril A. Crichtlow to Garvey, June 24, 1921.

⁸²E.g., Negro World, August 14, 1926, p. 1; August 24, 1929, p. 3; January 30, 1932, p. 1.

⁸³Ibid., September 3, 1927, p. 2.

⁸⁴Ibid., May 9, 1925, p. 4.

⁸⁵Ibid., June 25, 1927, p. 1.

⁸⁶National Archives of the United States, Records of the Office of the Pardon Attorney, R.G. 204, 42-793, John Sargent, Attorney-General to the President, "In the Matter of the Application for Commutation of Sentence of Marcus Garvey," November 12, 1927.

⁸⁷See, e.g., the many thousands of these still retained in R.G. 60, 198940; R.G. 204, 42-793; National Archives

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⁸⁸New York Times, June 22, 1923, p. 19; also, New
York Herald, June 23, 1923; Negro World, June 30, 1923, p.
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⁸⁹New York Times, July 3, 1923, p. 12.

⁹⁰C.O. 554/62, British Consul O'Meara, Monrovia to
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⁹¹Negro World, August 21, 1926, p. 2. White New
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⁹²Marcus Garvey, Speech Delivered by Marcus Garvey
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1968, first pub. 1928), p. 13.

⁹³Bruce papers, BL 27, Bruce to editor, The World,
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⁹⁴Federal court records, Southern District of New
York, FRC 539440, Joshua Cockburn to Garvey, December 5,
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⁹⁵F.O. 371/5684, F. Gordon, H. M. Consul, Port
Limon, Costa Rica to A. P. Bennett, H. B. M. Minister, San
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⁹⁶R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/27, American Consul,
Guatemala City to Secretary of State, March 9, 1922.

⁹⁷F.O. 371/10632, Panama and Canal Zone, Annual
Report, 1924.

⁹⁸Negro World, May 6, 1933, p. 4.

⁹⁹Hugh Mulzac, A Star to Steer By (New York, Inter-
national Publishers, 1972), p. 81.

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100 Tony Martin, "Revolutionary Upheaval in Trinidad, 1919: Gleanings from London and Washington," Journal of Negro History, LVIII, 3, July 1973.

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105 W. E. B. DuBois, "A Lunatic or a Traitor," Crisis, XXVIII, 1 May 1924, p. 9.

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109 J. A. Rogers, World's Great Men of Color (New York, J. A. Rogers, 1947), p. 602; Garvey said this during a conversation with Rogers in London in 1937.

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111 Ibid., II, 3, September-October 1936, p. 2.

112 New York Amsterdam News, August 31, 1935, clipping in U.N.I.A. Central Division (New York) files, Box 15, G.

113 New York Amsterdam News, September 19, 1923, p. 12.

114 Blackman, December 14, 1929, p. 5.

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¹¹⁶Negro World, August 25, 1928, p. 1.

¹¹⁷New Jamaican, July 28, 1932, p. 3; Black Man, I, 2, January 1934, p. 13.

¹¹⁸Black Man, I, 4, March-April, 1934, p. 3.

¹¹⁹Negro World, August 9, 1924, p. 6.

¹²⁰Black Man, I, 1, December 1933, p. 2.

¹²¹Ibid., April 16, 1929, p. 1; Negro World, May 7, 1932, p. 1.

¹²²Negro World, October 6, 1928, p. 4.

¹²³Black Man, II, 2, July-August 1936, p. 9.

¹²⁴Negro World, February 24, 1923, p. 2.

CHAPTER IV

SELF-RELIANCE

The Universal Negro Improvement Association teaches to our race self-help and self-reliance, not only in one essential, but in all those things that contribute to human happiness and well being. The disposition of the many to depend upon the other races for a kindly and sympathetic consideration of their needs, without making the effort to do for themselves, has been the race's standing disgrace by which we have been judged and through which we have created the strongest prejudice against ourselves.

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The race needs workers at this time, not plagiarists, copyists and mere imitators; but men and women who are able to create, to originate and improve, and thus make an independent racial contribution to the world and civilization.

-- Marcus Garvey¹

No one had a keener sense of racial outrage at the injustices perpetrated against the black man than did Marcus Garvey. Yet, imbued with the experience of the widely travelled and the well read, and full of the influence of Booker T. Washington, he decided from early in his public career that black people would have to rely largely on their own efforts to completely shake off the shackles of oppression. In a pamphlet published in Jamaica round about 1915 around the same time as he was

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corresponding with Washington or shortly thereafter, he explained in very Washingtonian terms that "The Negro is ignored to-day simply because he has kept himself backward; but if he were to try to raise himself to a higher state in the civilized cosmos, all the other races would be glad to meet him on the plane of equality and comradeship." ' He went on to express an idea which would later cause him much enmity from Afro-American integrationists of the DuBoisian anti-Washingtonian school--"It is indeed unfair to demand equality when one of himself has done nothing to establish the right to equality."² Garvey never abandoned this dual tendency to score the white race for its injustice, while simultaneously utilizing the language of condemnation to spur the black race on to greater self-reliance.

This emphasis upon self-reliance was a logical and necessary corollary to Garvey's race first doctrine. For if the U.N.I.A. was to organize around the racial principle, then this must preclude the strings of white philanthropy. He was not averse to approaching white governments of black people and the League of Nations to support his programs, but he obviously considered this kind of quasi-diplomatic activity to be different from founding a black mass movement on white support.

Garvey's belief in the necessity for self-reliance led him occasionally to speak in the language of Social

Darwinism. He attacked the pseudo-scientific racists who tried to justify genocide against black people in terms of the Darwinian "survival of the fittest"³ and turned their arguments to the cause of racial self-reliance. "White philosophers," he argued, "Darwin, Locke, Newton and the rest . . . forgot that the monkey would change to a man, his tail would drop off and he would demand his share."⁴ And not only had these philosophers been mistaken, but black heroism in the Great War had finally given the lie to such false assumptions. He reminded his black audiences that "that theory has been exploded in the world war. It was you, the superman, that brought back victory at the Marne."⁵

The urgency felt by Garvey for racial independence and self-reliance led him to argue that in independent endeavor lay the only hope of eventual solution to the problem of race prejudice. The white race would cease its aggressiveness towards the black when it was met by independent black power of a magnitude equal to its own. White prejudice was manifested "not because there is a difference between us in religion or in colour, but because there is a difference between us in power."⁶

Furthermore, Garvey was of the opinion that the black man had little choice in the matter. If he did not continue going forward, spurred on by his own efforts,

then he would slide backwards into slavery and even extermination. "The days of slavery are not gone forever," he reminded his followers. "Slavery is threatened for every race and nation that remains weak and refuses to organize its strength for its own protection."⁷

The most important area for the exercise of independent effort was economic. Garvey believed, like Washington before him, that economics was primary. Successful political action could only be founded on an independent economic base. "After a people have established successfully a firm industrial foundation," he wrote, "they naturally turn to politics and society, but not first to society and politics, because the two latter cannot exist without the former."⁸ Within months of his arrival in the United States in 1916, Garvey was already appraising, with approval, the efforts made by Afro-Americans in the economic field. At this early period, before he had made his decision to cast down his bucket in the United States, he wrote, in a vein having prophetic implications for his own career, "The acme of American Negro enterprise is not yet reached. You have still a far way to go. You want more stores, more banks, and bigger enterprises. I hope that your powerful Negro press and the conscientious element among your leaders will continue to inspire you to achieve. . . ."⁹

This desire for economic self-reliance dominated

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Garvey's thought. The fact that the black man was a consumer and not an independent producer worried him. "Let Edison turn off his electric light and we are in darkness in Liberty Hall in two minutes," he once said, "The Negro is living on borrowed goods."¹⁰

Garvey made a valiant attempt to change this state of affairs. Between 1918 and the early 1920s Garvey's headquarters area in New York City, sprouted a large assortment of U.N.I.A. businesses. The Black Star Line, which eventually owned several ships, was incorporated in 1919 according to the laws of Delaware, but with its main office in Harlem. The Negro Factories Corporation was incorporated the same year. Under its aegis there appeared Universal Laundries, a Universal Millinery Store, Universal Restaurants, Universal Chain Stores, as well as a hotel, tailoring establishment, doll factory and printing press. In addition, the organization in New York had by the first half of 1920 acquired three buildings, one lot and two trucks, and its weekly organ the Negro World had achieved a circulation of 50,000, this figure having jumped from 17,000 in eleven months under the editorship of William H. Ferris, an author and graduate of Harvard and Yale. By 1920, too, Garvey was even contemplating a large bank.¹¹ By 1920, upwards of three hundred persons were employed by the U.N.I.A. and its allied corporations in the United States, and between 1920 and 1924 U.N.I.A.

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and allied employees on occasion exceeded one thousand in the United States alone.¹²

In addition to the parent body in Harlem, local branches of the U.N.I.A. in the United States and elsewhere also owned considerable amounts of property and sometimes ventured into local business ventures. The encouragement of local businesses was in fact a prime motive for the enterprises established in Harlem by Garvey. They were for demonstrative purposes to propagandize people into the possibility of increased black business endeavour, as much as for anything else. In 1927, for example, after several years of financial assault on the organization, and two years after the incarceration of Garvey, his attorneys, in an application for pardon, stated that the organization still owned assets, usually real estate, valued at \$20,000 in Philadelphia, \$30,000 in Pittsburgh, \$50,000 in Detroit, and \$30,000 in Chicago, among other places.¹³ Local units outside the United States participated in such economic activity also.¹⁴ The Colon, Panama, U.N.I.A., for example, ran a co-operative bakery, while the Kingston, Jamaica, branch ran a laundry and an African Communities League Peoples Co-operative Bank, the shares of which were open only to U.N.I.A. members.¹⁵ The normal form of U.N.I.A. business organization was along co-operative lines.¹⁶

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The individual business enterprises established by U.N.I.A. branches all over the world were to be linked, according to Garvey's grand design, into a worldwide system of Pan-African economic co-operation. He envisaged a trading network linking up the African communities throughout the world. Such a trading community, when fully developed, would be so large that the economies of scale generated would enable it to thrive even in the face of hostility from the rest of the world. Garvey summed up this idea thus: "Negro producers, Negro distributors, Negro consumers! The world of Negroes can be self-contained. We desire earnestly to deal with the rest of the world, but if the rest of the world desire not, we seek not."¹⁷ The Black Star Line (and later the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company) was to be the carrier for this Pan-African trade.

Among the areas most receptive to the idea of a Pan-African trading network was West Africa, traditionally the home of some of the most experienced traders of the race. The representative of the Black Star Line in Lagos, Nigeria, went so far in 1920 as to try to encourage Garvey to defer his dream of a Pan-African nation in favor of a concentration of effort on the Pan-African economic link. He considered the former scheme particularly formidable because of the certain opposition of imperialist powers.¹⁸ This attitude was fairly common among more moderate

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elements on the West African coast. The National Congress of British West Africa, itself a Pan-West African nationalist group, endorsed Garvey's Black Star Line idea as a "great and even sublime conception for which everybody of African origin will bless the name of Marcus Garvey," and agreed that New World Africans should be welcomed back home to the continent, but also considered a Pan-African political entity unfeasible.¹⁹

Garvey's attempts to establish economic self-reliance went beyond cooperative business enterprises, for U.N.I.A. branches acted as mutual aid friendly societies for the payment of death and other minor benefits to members. In rural areas among poor communities, this aspect of the organization's operations assumed greater importance. Local divisions also were required to maintain a charitable fund "for the purpose of assisting distressed members or needy individuals of the race," a fund for "loans of honor" to active members, and an employment bureau to assist members seeking work.²⁰

Economic self-reliance, especially on the American scene, acquired a special urgency for Garvey, for he foresaw a depression which he thought would finish the black man in America for good: "The readjustment of the world, as I have often said, is going to bring about an economic, industrial stagnation in America that is going to reduce the Negro to his last position in this nation."²¹

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The U.N.I.A. quest for self-reliance led to sporadic attempts at educational facilities provided by the organization. Garvey's correspondence with Booker T. Washington and his visit to the United States were both motivated by a desire to establish in Jamaica an industrial and agricultural school along the lines of Washington's Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. This desire for an education geared towards independence continuously cropped up. The 1920 Declaration of Rights had demanded unlimited and unprejudiced education for black people,²² and U.N.I.A. locals in Port Limon (Costa Rica), Colon (Panama), British Guiana and elsewhere ran elementary and sometimes grammar schools.²³ One such school in Colon was described, two months after its inception in 1925, as being along cooperative lines (with free tuition for members' children), with an enrolment of over three hundred, and staffed by five British West Indian and one Panamanian teacher, the latter appointed to satisfy a government requirement for a Spanish-speaking teacher.²⁴

In New York City the association owned a "Booker T. Washington University" in the early years, and in 1926 the association in the United States obtained the Smallwood-Corey Industrial Institute in Claremont, Virginia, afterwards renamed Liberty University. The school was reported to be on property adjoining the James River and containing the wharf where the second lot of

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slaves landed in Virginia in 1622. The school was transferred to the U.N.I.A. in consideration for assuming its outstanding indebtedness. At the time of its transfer the school's vice-president, J. G. St. Clair Drake, was the U.N.I.A.'s International Organizer, while its principal, Caleb B. Robinson, was a member of the Philadelphia division. The school's founder, John D. Smallwood, had been educated at Hampton Institute in Virginia.²⁵

Liberty University was acquired amidst high hopes that it would become a successful vehicle for imparting self-reliance, race pride and rehabilitating black history.²⁶ The university, like several other Afro-American colleges of the period, was in fact a high school, and it struggled on for three years before being closed in 1929 due to financial difficulty. Those students who did attend were often sponsored by local U.N.I.A. units and were dedicated Garveyites.²⁷

In addition to formally organized schools the U.N.I.A. throughout its history organized in-service training courses of various kinds. During Garvey's American period, for example, the organization carried out such programs for its civil servants, and ex-school-master James O'Meally wrote a special guidebook for prospective U.N.I.A. officers.²⁸ And during Garvey's last years in London he organized a School of African Philosophy which, by means of correspondence courses, as well as

intensive courses administered by Garvey himself in
Canada (after U.N.I.A. conventions in Toronto), prepared
U.N.I.A. workers for their roles in the organization.

NOTES

SELF-RELIANCE

¹Negro World, August 18, 1923, p. 1.

²A Talk With Afro-West Indians - The Negro Race and Its Problems, p. 2.

³Blackman, November 14, 1928, p. 1.

⁴St. Louis, Mo., Star, October 6, 1923, copy in F.O. 371/8513.

⁵British Guiana Tribune, May 15, 1921, copy in C.O. 318/364.

⁶Negro World, February 1923, p. 2.

⁷Ibid., May 22, 1926, p. 1.

⁸Ibid., May 17, 1924, p. 1.

⁹Marcus Garvey, "The West Indies in the Mirror of Truth," Champion Magazine, I, 5, January 1917, p. 267.

¹⁰Negro World, January 26, 1924, p. 3.

¹¹William H. Ferris, "Garvey and the Black Star Line," Favorite Magazine, IV, 6, July 1920, p. 396; Amy Ashwood Garvey, Marcus Garvey: Prophet of Black Nationalism, pp. 153, 154; Michael Gold, "When Africa Awakes," New York World, Magazine and Story Section, August 22, 1920, p. 7; Ida B. Wells, Crusade for Justice, p. 380; F.O. 371/4567, M.I. 1.c., New York, to Foreign Office, January 7, 1920; New York Amsterdam News, January 31, 1923, p. 1; John E. Bruce Papers, BL II, undated anonymous letter, "To the Editor."

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¹²Ferris, op. cit.; Negro World, May 6, 1933,
p. 4.

¹³R. G. 204, 42-793.

¹⁴The Star and Herald (Panama), April 19, 1925,
p. 3; R. G. 59, 819.5032, Odin G. Loren, American Vice
Consul, Colon, Panama, to Secretary of State, Washington,
D.C., April 22, 1925.

¹⁵Negro World, June 30, 1923, p. 7; Blackman,
July 30, 1929, p. 3; Blackman, August 23, 1930, p. 7.

¹⁶Negro World, February 2, 1924, p. 1.

¹⁷Blackman, April 10, 1929, p. 2.

¹⁸John E. Bruce papers, Ms. 267, Akinbami Agbebi
to Bruce, 18 May 1920.

¹⁹Times of Nigeria, May 24, 1920, pp. 4, 5,
quoted in J. Ayo Langley, "Garveyism and African National-
ism," Race, XI, 2, October 1969, p. 159.

²⁰Universal Black Men Catechism, p. 28.

²¹Negro World, January 26, 1924, p. 3.

²²Catechism, p. 36.

²³Negro World, December 24, 1927, p. 6; Blackman,
August 5, 1929, p. 3; ibid., June 21, 1930, p. 3.

²⁴R. G. 59, 819.5032, Odin G. Loren, American Vice
Consul, Colon, to Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.,
April 22, 1925; The Star and Herald, April 19, 1925, p. 3.

²⁵Negro World, July 24, 1926, p. 3.

²⁶Ibid., August 7, 1926, p. 10; August 28, 1926,
p. 4.

²⁷E.g.: ibid., June 16, 1928, p. 4; June 30, 1928,
p. 8; July 21, 1928, p. 8; July 28, 1928, p. 2; March 23,
1929, p. 6; August 17, 1928, p. 4; August 24, 1929, p. 13;

September 7, 1929, p. 3; January 23, 1932, p. 4; Blackman, August 26, 1929, p. 8.

²⁸John E. Bruce papers, 68-6; 143-8.

²⁹E.g., Black Man, IV, I, June 1939, p. 8.

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CHAPTER V

RELIGION

God in the affairs of men is on the side of the strongest battalion.

-- Marcus Garvey¹

. . . in spite of all the evidence . . . Negroes still believe that Garvey is not dead. What is wrong? Was he immortal? Was he not human and subjected to sickness and death like the rest of us?

-- S. U. Smith, treasurer
Harmony Division, Jamaica²

In March of 1917, the Champion Magazine, an Afro-American monthly journal appearing in Chicago, editorialized on the need for a religion that would inspire the black man to do for himself. The editorial noted that "From a secular standpoint both Booker T. Washington and Dr. DuBois with their different schools of thought supplied it." Nevertheless, the article continued, "such faiths do not penetrate so deeply into the nature of a man as those inspired by his spiritual self." The editorial went on to articulate an impassioned plea: "The Negro is crying for a Mohamed, a Prophet to come forth and give him the Koran of economic and intellectual welfare.

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Where is he?"³ An article by Marcus Garvey had appeared in this magazine two months earlier,⁴ and within the next two years Garvey would be on his way towards answering his plea.

Garvey seems to have had frequent contact with religion during his early years. At the age of seven he is supposed to have enjoyed affecting the role of preacher among his playmates.⁵ As a boy, too, he pumped the organ in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica, the church to which his parents belonged.⁶ Garvey later converted to Catholicism,⁷ which fact did not deter him from following an independent line in things religious. Among the people whom he claimed rendered assistance to the U.N.I.A. in its formative years in Jamaica were a Catholic bishop and Scottish clergyman.⁸ One of Garvey's earliest public appearances in Harlem took place in the hall of a Catholic church during the first half of 1917.⁹

Like many of the world's great revolutionaries and reformers, Garvey dreamt dreams, saw visions, and long before his dreams assumed worldwide importance, he was imbued with a self-conscious premonition of impending greatness. This phenomenon, coupled with his fascination for religion and religious ritual, gave his career a messianic quality which he himself was not reluctant to express. He was not loathe to compare his own career to that of Jesus Christ. In doing so, however, he was

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attempting to recapture what he considered to be the progressive and revolutionary essence of the early Christian church, an essence which was hopelessly obscured by the Christian practitioners of his era. As far as he was concerned, Christ was the leader of a mass movement for the uplift of oppressed people, and so was he. This explains why he could be pro-religious and very often anti-clerical at the same time. Christ's doctrine, he explained, "was simple but revolutionary. He laid the foundations of a pure democracy and established the fact, not a theory, of the Universal Brotherhood of man."¹⁰

Sometimes Garvey saw himself as "a John the Baptist in the wilderness," the forerunner of a "greater and more dangerous Marcus Garvey . . . with whom you will have to reckon for the injustice of the present generation."¹¹

And just as he saw himself in the role of messiah, so he saw his doctrine of Black Nationalism as one which would survive and thrive even in the face of persecution. A favorite poetic quotation of U.N.I.A. orators was the line "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again."¹² The more his work was persecuted in one part of the world, the more it spread elsewhere, even a thousand fold. One could just not crucify a principle.¹³

This spiritual aspect of Garvey's movement distinguished it from the more important contemporary movements with similar goals. The universal feeling of

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oppression and resentment felt by black people at their world-wide subjection to colonialism and oppression cannot be over-emphasized. The decades before the rise of Garvey had given rise to dozens of Pan-African type organizations emanating from various parts of the world. Most of those had enjoyed comparatively little significant success until Garvey appeared. Garvey's uncanny ability to encompass all this worldwide racial sentiment and the spectacular initial success with which he channelled it into organizational form released emotions of hope and appreciation among black people which knew no bounds. Garvey's followers and admirers regularly hailed him as "the mightiest prophet who has appeared among us in fifty years," a great religious teacher, a John the Baptist, and the like.¹⁴ They regularly compared him to Christ. Like Christ he had built his organization (in the United States) from a nucleus of twelve followers plus himself. He, too, had been betrayed for money and condemned by governments. And his gospel, too, would be preached to every nation and would precipitate an end to barbarism.¹⁵ One preacher wrote a book wherein he essayed to show that Garvey had brought the race the U.N.I.A. through the instrumentality of God.¹⁶ And Garvey's faithful comrade, John E. Bruce, invoked biblical authority for Garvey's program of African redemption.¹⁷ Garveyites from Colon, Panama, seeking their leader's release from prison

in the United States, informed President Coolidge that "We the Negroes of the World look upon Garvey as a super-man; a demigod; and as the reincarnated Angel of Peace come from Heaven to dispense Political Salvation" to an oppressed people. "Yea," this message continued, "we love Garvey next to our GOD."¹⁸ One New York division went so far as to canonize Garvey in his own lifetime, after his expulsion from the United States.¹⁹ This tendency to apotheosize Garvey found expression in the U.N.I.A. creed which read in part: "We believe in God, the Creator of all things and people, in Jesus Christ, His Son, the Spiritual Savior of all mankind. We believe in Marcus Garvey, the leader of the Negro peoples of the world, and in the program enunciated by him through the U.N.I.A. . . . the redemption of Africa."²⁰ A similar creed found its way into a nationalist South African church: "We believe in one God, Maker of all things, Father of Ethiopia . . . who did Athlyi, Marcus Garvey and colleagues come to save? The down-trodden children of Ethiopia that they might rise to be a great power among the nations."²¹

It was consistent with this veneration that some of Garvey's followers at first refused to believe accounts of his death (due in part to the fact that the first reports of his passing were in fact false) and had to be reassured that Garvey had indeed passed on, but remained

in spirit to share the joys and sorrows of his people.²²

Garvey did not indulge in religion for its own sake, however, but used it as he did art, for furthering his program of race pride and self-reliance. In so doing he exhibited much originality and was willing to incur the wrath of less radical churchmen and laymen alike, especially in Afro-America. The political use of religion for Garvey began by the simple argument that if, as established Christian churches preached, man was made in the image and likeness of God, then black men should depict a God in their own image and likeness, which would inevitably be black. Garvey pointed out that the practice of Western Hemisphere Africans to worship a God of another race had few parallels anywhere else. It was quite normal for men to visualize and depict their gods in their own color. The foisting of a white God onto black people was therefore a white distortion. Garvey's close colleague Bishop George McGuire reinforced this argument by pointing out that Christ was historically reddish brown rather than lily-white. And furthermore, should Christ visit New York, he would not be allowed to live on Riverside Drive, but would have to reside in Harlem because of his color.²³ Garvey reiterated this view by the ingenious argument that "Because He came as an embodiment of all humanity, and therefore was coloured," Christ was persecuted.²⁴

This facet of Garvey's thought, like most others, was taken to its logical conclusion. At a religious ceremony marking the close of the 1924 International Convention of Negro Peoples of the World, Jesus Christ was canonized as a "Black Man of Sorrows" and the Virgin Mary as a Black Madonna.²⁵ This convention had also agreed to "The Idealization of God as a Holy Spirit, without physical form, but a Creature of imaginary semblance of the black race, being of like image and likeness."²⁶ Garvey explained that this did not mean that the U.N.I.A. was embarking upon a new religion. It was simply correcting the mistake of centuries.²⁷

Garvey's black God elicited rebukes from a cross-section of the types of people who opposed his other programs. The Rev. Everard W. Daniel of the St. Philips Colored Episcopal Church in Harlem considered the idea absurd. Garvey was in his view, holding the race up to ridicule.²⁸ One British Foreign Office official considered that this religious program, in his words, "beats the band." Another Foreign Office official thought that "Bishop McGuire seems to have got some of his ideas from Chartres."²⁹ Professor Kelly Miller of Howard University agreed that God was equally as black as he was white, but thought that the remedy did not lie in "the vindictive alternative of Marcus Garvey."³⁰ A correspondent to the New York Times expressed a similar view. He pointed out

that Indians and Africans in Brazil had long depicted Christ as black, but minus what he considered Garvey's racial animosity.³¹

Since religion for Garvey was eminently political, the black God of the U.N.I.A. differed from many other Christian gods in so far as he was a God of self-reliance. The God of the U.N.I.A. concerned himself with spiritual matters. He endowed all races equally and left them to their own devices to solve the problem of survival. It appeared as though Garvey, in view of his own religious background, and mindful of the entrenched position of religion in the lives of black people, opted to channel this religious fervor into the path of racial salvation, rather than attempt to launch a frontal assault against it. Therefore Garvey incessantly repeated his message: "We blame God for many things that he doesn't even know about."³² He was convinced that in a thoroughly materialistic world mere religious precepts would not sway the hearts of those in power. He went so far as to jokingly suggest that if he thought religion alone could win justice for the black man he would be a bishop.³³ Garvey's religion, then, differed in this critical aspect from the opiate which had traditionally been taught to black persons by white proselytizers.³⁴

This difference between Garvey's religion and

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white Christianity was not accidental. He considered white Christianity to be synonymous with hypocrisy and assailed black people for giving up the world to the white man for the dubious privilege of receiving Jesus: "The white man has the world and gives up Jesus! Don't you know the white man has a right to Jesus, too? Jesus belongs to everybody so you are foolish to give up the world and take Jesus only."³⁵ Accordingly, when, during the annual International Convention of 1922 in New York a white Bible society pretentiously offered free Bibles to delegates, the offer was graciously declined, with the suggestion that they be sent south to the racists who dwelt in those parts, since all the delegates already possessed their own.³⁶ The bitterness which Garvey felt toward white Christianity is eloquently summed up in a Negro World editorial of his of 1923:

The Negro is now accepting the religion of the real Christ, not the property-robbing, gold-stealing, diamond-exploiting Christ, but the Christ of Love, Justice and Mercy. The Negro wants no more of the white man's religion as it applies to his race, for it is a lie and a farce; it is propaganda pure and simple to make fools of a race and rob the precious world, the gift of God to man, and to make it the exclusive home of pleasure, prosperity and happiness for those who have enough intelligence to realize that God made them masters of their fate and architects of their own destinies.³⁷

In 1937, in similar vein, Garvey described himself as a Christian driven from the church by actions such as the pope's blessing of Italian fascists en route to their

invasion of Ethiopia.³⁸ And to black preachers who uncritically emulated their white counterparts, Garvey was equally hostile. He considered them of little help to the U.N.I.A. since they mostly confined their activities to preaching and collecting money.³⁹

During his American period, Garvey's religious program was reinforced and often implemented by the African Orthodox Church. While the U.N.I.A. never adopted any specific religious denomination, Christian or otherwise, to the exclusion of others, the African Orthodox Church (AOC) was the nearest approximation to such a state of affairs. The dominant figure in the AOC was George Alexander McGuire (also known as George Alexander) a naturalized American, originally a Church of England minister in his native Antigua and elsewhere in the West Indies, and later an Episcopalian and Chaplain-General of the U.N.I.A.⁴⁰ McGuire was ordained first bishop of the AOC on September 29, 1921 by a functionary of the Russian Orthodox Church, after duly being re-ordained and elevated to the episcopate in the American Catholic Church in order to ensure apostolic succession.⁴¹

The Negro World extended its congratulations to Bishop McGuire on this occasion and reminded its readers that this was in keeping with the decision of its recent convention to endorse all churches under race leadership while not allying itself with any. Bishop McGuire

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resigned as Chaplain-General of the U.N.I.A. upon his elevation to the episcopate.⁴²

Despite a tiff with Garvey which caused Bishop McGuire to temporarily resign from the U.N.I.A.,⁴³ the AOC played an important role in disseminating Garveyism in North America, the West Indies, Africa, and elsewhere. It was Bishop McGuire who wrote the race catechism used by Garveyites, and which faithfully reproduced Garvey's (and McGuire's, for they seem to have been mostly the same) ideas on religion and religious history, as well as the fundamental principles of the U.N.I.A. Garveyites, some high-ranking, played important roles within the AOC. In 1924, for example, a former secretary-general of the U.N.I.A. became vicar-general of the African Orthodox Church.⁴⁴ And during the "united synodal service" of the fourth general synod of the AOC held at Harlem's Liberty Hall in 1924, Bishop McGuire conferred the degree of Doctor of Civil Laws (DCL) on Garvey.⁴⁵ In 1923, with Garvey incarcerated in the Tombs prison in New York, McGuire's name was mentioned by some as a possible successor in the event that Garvey should be permanently denied bail.⁴⁶

The work of the African Orthodox Church served often as a supplementary propaganda agency for the U.N.I.A. The Negro Churchman, its official organ, regularly pushed such Garveyite ideas as race pride, colonization in Liberia,

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and the like. McGuire's editorials, "Ex Oriente Lux," usually began, "Churchmen of African Descent, Greeting in Christ,"⁴⁷ which bore obvious similarity to Garvey's own perennial opening gambit, "Fellowmen of the Negro Race, Greeting."

The AOC's activities in colonised territories proved no less embarrassing to colonial authorities than those of the U.N.I.A. itself, and indeed the two were sometimes represented in the same individual. An AOC clergyman who doubled as U.N.I.A. head in Santo Domingo was thus reportedly deported from that country for insulting the British flag, while another, a Ven Edward Seiler Salmon, was deported, according to the same source, from Trinidad to Jamaica for fomenting riots and strikes there and for stirring up workers in British Honduras against the United Fruit Company. He was Assistant Secretary of the Trinidad Workingmen's Association.⁴⁸ The source of this information was a renegade AOC clergyman who took it upon himself to inform the British authorities of his church's activities. Among the gratuitous information thus proffered was the fact that the AOC had ordained a bishop, ostensibly of Canada, but who would in fact preside from Nova Scotia over the West Indian sections of the church. It was feared that the title Bishop of the West Indies would cause the British colonialists to prevent him entry into the islands. The branches of the AOC

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in the West Indies were even told by McGuire to change their name if molested by the authorities, if this would allow them to carry on their work.

The African Orthodox Church was similarly engaged in various parts of Africa. In 1924, for example, an application for membership was accepted from an "Archdeacon of Pretoria, South Africa" together with his congregation of five hundred. In accepting the application, Bishop McGuire is reported to have suggested that the archdeacon help effectuate Garvey's entry into South Africa, after which Bishop McGuire would consecrate him Bishop of South Africa.⁴⁹ Shortly thereafter, from Griqualand West, again in South Africa, came word that an AOC clergyman intended coming to New York to attend the next International Convention and to be elevated to the episcopate by Bishop McGuire.⁵⁰ In 1929 a branch of the AOC was begun in Uganda by Reuben Spartas Mukasa, a nationalist politician who had for some time been in correspondence with Bishop McGuire, and who was also an admirer of Garvey.⁵¹

Bishop McGuire was one of Garvey's most trusted colleagues during Garvey's American period, and was recognized as such by Garvey. In 1925 he summed up his religious belief in a nutshell: "I believe in God; I believe in the Negro race." And even though the U.N.I.A. was not a religion, he was sure that "the time has come when we shall all espouse it as a great, all-comprehensive, racial

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missionary movement, a holy cause to which every Negro should give undivided allegiance."⁵²

Not unnaturally, U.N.I.A. meetings were characterized by many religious overtones. They featured hymns, prayers and sometime processions, and every unit had a chaplain. Christian festivals such as Easter and Christmas were celebrated, but, in keeping with Garvey's reinterpretation of Christianity, they were turned around to the cause of Garvey's program. At a Christmas pageant at Liberty Hall in Harlem, for example, Christ was depicted as a black child.⁵³ For the period before Easter, the U.N.I.A. produced its own moving picture to replace passion plays where white actors portrayed God.⁵⁴ At Easter, Garvey made his annual speech on "The Resurrection of the Negro."⁵⁵ Even the Christian practice of baptism had its counterpart, for the association's catechism stipulated that infants should be brought by their parents to be dedicated by the chaplain of their division not later than three months after birth, "at which time they enter the general membership of the Organization."⁵⁶

Garvey the irrepressible, not content with being a poet and playwright of liberation, turned his hand, too, to political hymn-writing. Among his religious verses there cropped up, inevitably, such titles as "Freedom's Noble Cause--1834-1934" and lines such as "Nevermore, as black foot-stool,/Shall Afic's sons be sold."⁵⁷

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Garvey took his religious innovations very seriously, and he and his colleagues were intolerant of religious cranks who were attracted to the organization.

"The U.N.I.A. is flooded with a bunch of eccentric religionists," said Negro World columnist S. A. Haynes of a lady who complained that the organization was godless.⁵⁸ Garvey himself expressed disagreement with Fr. Divine, who proclaimed himself God in Harlem, and his disapproval of the Jamaican folk-religion "pocomania," was surprisingly strong. He considered it the preserve of "ignorant Negroes who have been neglected educationally and culturally" and an expression of "freedom of barbaric expression."⁵⁹ He disapproved also of Jamaican "prophets and prophetesses who are going to fly Heavenward for the solution of the Negro problem,"⁶⁰ an apparent reference to the Jamaican prophet Bedward, with whom Garvey is on occasion somewhat controversially compared.⁶¹ On another occasion Garvey declared, "They sent poor Bedward to the asylum, but they will have a hard time to send me there. . . ."⁶²

As previously stated, the U.N.I.A. refused to exclusively adopt any single Christian denomination. This reluctance to split the race along denominational lines extended to the avoidance of distinction between different religions. Though adopting Christian forms for the U.N.I.A., Garvey considered differences between religions such as Christianity and Islam, inconsequential, since they were

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but different ways of worshipping God.⁶³ An early copy of the preamble to the U.N.I.A. constitution enclosed in Garvey's correspondence to Booker T. Washington had referred to the promoting of "Christian" worship. This gave way in revised versions to "spiritual" worship.⁶⁴

This religious tolerance is interesting in the light of the rapid post-Garvey spread of Islam among Afro-Americans. For the U.N.I.A., at least during Garvey's American period, presented the budding Islamic movement with a sympathetic forum. This tolerance towards Islam may have been indirectly due to Garvey's renowned predecessor in the cause of African redemption, Edward Wilmot Blyden. Blyden's career was in many ways similar to Garvey's - West Indian origins, sojourns in the United States, fostering the cause of African colonization by New World Africans, a lengthy sojourn in Liberia. Garvey would undoubtedly have been familiar with Blyden before he first left Jamaica, but if even he was not, he would have come across much information on Blyden in the Africa Times and Orient Review for which he worked in England. In what may be his earliest extant pamphlet,⁶⁵ published round about 1915 in Jamaica, Garvey carried a quotation from Blyden's Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race which occupied about half of its few pages. The quotation itself dealt only peripherally with Islam, but the book from which it was taken is a clear

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expression of Blyden's admiration for Islam, despite Blyden himself being a devout Christian.

Blyden's favorable attitude towards Islam had influenced, also, Garvey's trusted friend and co-worker John E. Bruce. Bruce had met Blyden (the latter died in 1912) and had been planning a biography of him. In an address to the Boston U.N.I.A. in 1923 Bruce compared Christian and Islamic attitudes to the African race, to the detriment of the Christians. He considered that "Islam hath chosen the better way to reach the hearts and to hold the confidence of these black men in Africa."⁶⁶

Favorable references to the Islamic faith appeared quite frequently in the Negro World. An article of 1923, for example, entitled "Crescent or Cross?" was reprinted from the London Islamic Review for the benefit of "The Growing Circle of Our Race Interested in Islamic Culture."⁶⁷ And some Negro World writers went so far as to occasionally compare Garvey with Mohammed. One such, in 1925, compared "The prophet of Allah, concentrating his inexhaustible incandescent energy on the spiritual-material liberation of his people and the 'Herald of the New Dawn,' Garvey, stressing with equal zeal the material-spiritual redemption of his race."⁶⁸ Another, in a paean of praise entitled "Sing of Garvey, Glorify Him, Ye Myriad Men of Sable Hue," referred to him as "a child of Allah."⁶⁹ Even the organization's Universal Ethiopian Hymnal, compiled

by Rabbi Arnold J. Ford (a leader of Harlem's Black Jews, no less) contained a hymn "Allah-Hu-Ak Bar" based on African lyrics.⁷⁰

Among the Muslims who established apparently close contact with the U.N.I.A. during Garvey's American period were adherents of the Ahmadiya movement, a Muslim denomination founded in Northern India a decade or so before the end of the nineteenth century. In 1920 Dr. Mufto Muhammad Sadiq, a missionary from this group, had come to the United States, where he purchased a property at 4448 South Wabash Avenue in Chicago, part of which was converted into a mosque, and began proselytizing.⁷¹ By 1923 we find Sadiq among the guests on the rostrum during a Liberty Hall meeting.⁷² Sadiq returned to India in 1923 and was succeeded by one Mohammed Yusuf Khan, also of India, and the Ahmadiya members in Chicago continued to take advantage of the friendliness of the Negro World to spread the word concerning Islam. A letter to the paper in 1924 from Muhammad Diu bearing the same Wabash Avenue address, discoursed on the subject "Has Christianity Failed and Has Islam Succeeded?"⁷³ Diu appeared in the Negro World again in 1925, this time replying to a couple of uncharacteristically questionable editorials by T. Thomas Fortune in which the latter disagreed with Blyden that Islam was preferable to Christianity. Fortune's argument rested on the alleged moral superiority of

monogamy over polygamy and the ease of divorce in Islam.⁷⁴ Diu, described as belonging to the Moslem Ahmadiya Mission, pointed out that illegitimacy and divorce among Christian monogamists undermined Fortune's argument. Fortune remained adamant, however.⁷⁵ An associate editor of the *Negro World* favored the Muslim position,⁷⁶ and even Fortune was by 1926 denouncing "the high-handed way in which the Christian Americans and Europeans are and have been dealing with the African and Asiatic Mohammedans."⁷⁷

Possibly because, at least in part, of such favorable exposure in the *Negro World*, Islam continued to be a subject of interest among U.N.I.A. members in the United States after Garvey's deportation. In 1931, for example, the Cleveland, Ohio, division celebrated a "Mohammed Day" meeting, during the course of which they were addressed by one Dr. Abad M.D. Sty, listed as being from North East Africa.⁷⁸

The Ahmadiya Muslims apparently did not succeed in building up a mass movement, but those Muslims who did were also associated in some respects with the U.N.I.A. It is sometimes said that Elijah Muhammad, since the 1930's leader of the most successful of these Muslim organizations, the Nation of Islam, was a corporal in the uniformed ranks of the Chicago U.N.I.A. division.⁷⁹ Whether he was a member of Garvey's para-military unit or not, Muhammad did some of his earliest proselytizing in

Chicago in 1933 from a U.N.I.A. Liberty Hall.⁸⁰ He also apparently encourages, or at least does not object, to having his movement cast in the role of successor to the Garvey movement.⁸¹ It is also sometimes suggested that W. D. Fard, who originated the movement to the leadership of which Elijah Muhammed succeeded, acknowledged Garvey as a forerunner of his movement. A similar claim is made for Timothy Drew (later known as Noble Drew Ali) founder in 1913 of the Moorish-American Science Temples, who is sometimes believed to be a possible inspirer of W. D. Fard. Drew's movement had, for its major theological document a Holy Koran compounded of the teachings of the Bible, Marcus Garvey and the Quran. Garvey was apparently "eulogised at every meeting as the John the Baptist of the movement."⁸² Indeed, so successful were the Moorish-Americans at attracting Afro-American Garveyites after Garvey's deportation that Philadelphian Garveyites actually wrote the United States authorities in 1935 asking for Garvey's return to combat the usurpation of Garvey by the Moorish-Americans, even to the detriment of orthodox Garveyites. The letter indicated that the Moorish-Americans, were enticing away U.N.I.A. members "under the pretense that they are doing Garvey's work, as he no longer can return." The Moorish-American leaders constantly reminded their converts of the injustices attendant upon Garvey's deportation and went so far as to claim authority

from Garvey, while denouncing orthodox Garveyites as crooks who had lost contact with Garvey.⁸³

The essence of religion for Garvey was the imparting of race pride, Black Nationalism and self-reliance. In this light, his willingness to encourage Islam and the attraction which he had for Muslims in Afro-America are not difficult to understand. Indeed, even Harlem's Black Jews, as previously noted, could find a home in the U.N.I.A. for the basic thrust of their doctrines boiled down in essentials to a similar message of race pride and self-reliance. And in religion, Garvey was concerned primarily with essentials. Christian and non-Christian religions approved by Garvey all simultaneously predicted and worked hard to effectuate a return of the former glories of the African race. The U.N.I.A. catechism expressed it thus:

- Q. What prediction made in the 68th Psalm and the 31st verse is now being fulfilled?
- A. 'Princes shall come out of Egypt, Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.'
- Q. What does this verse prove?
- A. That Black Men will set up their own government in Africa, with rulers of their own race.⁸⁴

NOTES

RELIGION

¹Negro World, January 30, 1932, p. 1.

²National Negro Voice, July 29, 1941, p. 6.

³Champion Magazine, I, 7, March 1917, p. 334.

⁴Ibid., I, 5, pp. 267, 268.

⁵Amy Ashwood Garvey, "Marcus Garvey: Prophet of Black Nationalism" (n.p., n.d., unpub. manuscript), p. 6.

⁶J. A. Rogers, World's Great Men of Color, II (New York, J. A. Rogers, 1947), p. 599; R. G. 60, 198940, James L. Houghteling, Commissioner of Immigration, to Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, n.d. [c. Feb. 1938].

⁷Negro World, August 9, 1924, p. 7; R. G. 204, 42-793, application for executive clemency, June 5, 1925.

⁸Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 128.

⁹Rogers, p. 599.

¹⁰Blackman, November 30, 1929, p. 1.

¹¹Negro World, May 26, 1923, p. 1.

¹²Amy Jacques Garvey quotes it and the stanza from which it is taken in Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. iii.

¹³Negro World, August 24, 1929, p. 2; July 3, 1926, p. 1.

¹⁴Arkansas Survey, December 18, 1927, p. 1; Negro World, December 24, 1927, p. 2; ibid., February 19, 1927, p. 8; ibid., March 10, 1923, p. 4; ibid., May 15, 1926, p. 2; National Negro Voice, July 26, 1941, p. 1.

¹⁵Negro World, April 4, 1925, pp. 2, 5; Bruce Papers 69-6, speech by Mrs. Bruce, n.d.

¹⁶Rev. Zebedee Green, Why I Am Dissatisfied--Part Two (Pittsburg, 1924), p. 6.

¹⁷Bruce Papers, D-96, 43-9.

¹⁸R. G. 204, 42-793, Colon U.N.I.A. to President Calvin Coolidge, June 20, 1927.

¹⁹Negro World, January 1931, p. 3.

²⁰Sixth Anniversary Drive, Cincinnati Division, No. 146, 1927, pp. 14, 15.

²¹Tony Martin, "Some Reflections on Evangelical Pan-Africanism, or, Black Missionaries, White Missionaries, and the Struggle for African Souls," Ufahamu, I, 3, Winter 1971, p. 84. The church was the Afro-Athlican Constructive Church.

²²National Negro Voice, July 19, 1941, p. 1; July 26, 1941, p. 5.

²³New York Times, August 6, 1924, p. 3.

²⁴Blackman, August 3, 1929.

²⁵Negro World, September 6, 1924, p. 2.

²⁶Ibid., June 7, 1924, p. 1.

²⁷Ibid., September 6, 1924, p. 5.

²⁸New York World, August 23, 1920, p. 12; New York Age, August 28, 1920, p. 1.

²⁹F.O. 371/9633 minutes of June 26 and October 20, 1924.

³⁰Pittsburg Courier, August 8, 1924.

³¹New York Times, August 17, 1924, part VIII, p. 12.

³²Negro World, January 26, 1924, p. 6.

³³Ibid., February 24, 1923, p. 2.

³⁴See further, ibid., March 3, 1923, p. 2; April 7, 1923, p. 2; January 24, 1925, p. 7; January 30, 1932, p. 1; Blackman, September 25, 1929, p. 1.

³⁵The Tribune (British Guiana), May 22, 1921, reprinted from the Gleaner (Jamaica), March 26, 1921. Enclosure in C.O. 318/364, Governor of British Guiana to Secretary of State, Colonial Office, June 7, 1921.

³⁶Amy Jacques Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism (Kingston, pub. by A. J. Garvey, 1962), p. 99.

³⁷Negro World, November 3, 1923, p. 1; May 21, 1932, p. 1.

³⁸Black Man, II, 5, January 1937, p. 5.

³⁹Negro World, February 2, 1924, p. 5; March 19, 1927, p. 10; Black Man, I, 6, 1934, p. 10.

⁴⁰F.O. 371/9633, Rev. E. Urban Lewis to H. M. Consul General, New York, September 24, 1924; Negro World, October 8, 1921, p. 3.

⁴¹Negro World, ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Crusader, V, 3, November 1921, p. 5; F.O. 371/9633.

⁴⁴Negro World, March 29, 1924, p. 2.

⁴⁵Invitation card to the ceremony in F.O. 371/9633.

⁴⁶New York Amsterdam News, June 27, 1923, p. 1.

⁴⁷E.g., Negro Churchman, V, 2, February 1927, p. 2.

⁴⁸F.O. 371/9633, Lewis to H. M. Consul, New York, September 24, 1924.

⁴⁹F.O. 371/9633, Lewis to H. M. Consul, November 1, 1924.

⁵⁰Negro World, February 7, 1925, p. 2.

⁵¹Robert I. Rotberg, A Political History of Tropical Africa (New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965), pp. 340, 341.

⁵²Negro World, December 5, 1925, p. 3.

⁵³Ibid., January 3, 1925, p. 3.

⁵⁴Ibid., September 5, 1925, p. 6.

⁵⁵Philosophy and Opinions, I, p. 66; Blackman, April 6, 1929, p. 2; Negro World, April 7, 1923, p. 2.

⁵⁶Catechism, p. 29.

⁵⁷Marcus Garvey, Jr., Universal Negro Improvement Association Convention Hymns ([Kingston], 1934); some of the hymns in here were by Arnold J. Ford, who compiled the better-known Universal Ethiopian Hymnal (Beth B'nai Abraham Pub. Co., 1920, 1921, 1923).

⁵⁸Negro World, March 19, 1927, p. 4.

⁵⁹Black Man, I, 12, late March 1936, p. 16.

⁶⁰Ibid., II, 5, January 1937, p. 12.

⁶¹E.g., Sylvia Wynter, "Garvey and Bedward," Sunday Gleaner, March 12, 1972, p. 20 and related correspondence.

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⁶²Lenford S. Nembhard, Trials and Triumphs of Marcus Garvey (Kingston, The Gleaner Co. Ltd., 1940), p. 117.

⁶³Blackman, August 31, 1929, p. 13.

⁶⁴Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 38.

⁶⁵A Talk With Afro-West Indians.

⁶⁶Bruce Papers, 75-6.

⁶⁷Negro World, September 8, 1923, p. 10.

⁶⁸Ibid., August 15, 1925, p. 8. The writer was one Randolph P. Mercurius.

⁶⁹Ibid., June 4, 1927, p. 3.

⁷⁰Hymnal, p. 4.

⁷¹A. T. Hoffert, "Moslem Propaganda--The Hand of Islam Stretches Out to Aframerica," The Messenger, May 1927, pp. 141, 160.

⁷²Negro World, September 1, 1923, p. 3.

⁷³Ibid., January 5, 1924, p. 10.

⁷⁴Ibid., July 18, 1925, p. 4; September 5, 1925, p. 4.

⁷⁵Ibid., October 3, 1925, p. 4.

⁷⁶Ibid., October 17, 1925, p. 5.

⁷⁷Ibid., July 3, 1926, p. 4.

⁷⁸Ibid., August 8, 1931, p. 3.

⁷⁹Leonard E. Barrett, The Rastafarians (Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of Puerto Rico, 1968),

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p. 62. The statement was told to Barrett by Mrs. Amy J. Garvey during an interview.

⁸⁰Muhammad Speaks, Special Issue [n.d., c. June 1972], p. 5.

⁸¹See foreword by Daniel Burley, in Elijah Muhammad, Message to the Blackman in America (Chicago, Muhammad Mosque of Islam No. 2, 1965).

⁸²Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy, They Seek a City (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1945), p. 175.

⁸³R.G. 60, 39-51-821, Benjamin W. Jones, Secretary of Philadelphia U.N.I.A. to Joseph B. Keenan, Asst. Attorney General, May 21, 1935; for a similar complaint see the Negro World, April 15, 1933, p. 4.

⁸⁴Catechism, p. 13.

CHAPTER VI

HISTORY

You assume a right to write history within the last 500 years, and simply because you have been able to dump so many tons of your history in the world and other people have not said anything by way of complaint, you think your history rests there. But a lot of things your Mr. Wells has said we Negroes treat as bunk. Mr. H. G. Wells may divert civilization for the benefit of his Anglo-Saxon group, but that does not make it the fact that the people who laid claims to the civilization he attributed to others are going to give up easily. The black man knows his past. It is a past of which he can be nobly proud. That is why I stand before you this afternoon a proud black man, who would be nothing else in God's creation but a black man.

-- Marcus Garvey¹

Out of cold old Europe these white men came,
From caves, dens and holes, without any fame,
Eating their dead's flesh and sucking their blood,
Relics of the Mediterranean flood;
Literature, science and art they stole,
After Africa had measured each pole,
Asia taught them what great learning was,
Now they frown upon what the Coolie does.

-- Marcus Garvey²

Garvey's educational preparation formal and informal, for his career of race leadership in the U.N.I.A. was uniquely suited to his destined role. It included an adequate elementary and post-elementary education,

mastery of the printing trade while still in his teens, elocution lessons, active participation in debating clubs, wide experience in journalism, extensive travel over the African diaspora, a sojourn in law school, and an avid interest in Black History.

Garvey's study of history seems to have already assumed significant proportions during his teenage years, while serving his printer's apprenticeship. During this period he interested himself largely in black heroes of the Caribbean, of whom Toussaint L'Ouverture, leader of the Haitian revolution, was his favorite.³ His early articles in the Africa Times and Orient Review and in Champion Magazine, show this keen appreciation of West Indian history. Quite possibly before he first left Jamaica, he began to explore the history of Africa as well as that of Afro-America. His interest in African history was clearly stated in his pamphlet A Talk With Afro-West Indians published in Jamaica before he left for the United States. Here he commended his audience to a study of Edward Wilmot Blyden:

You who do not know anything of your ancestry will do well to read the works of Blyden, one of our historians and chroniclers, who have done so much to retrieve the lost prestige of the race, and to undo the selfishness of alien historians and their history which has said so little and painted us so unfairly.⁴

Garvey's knowledge of, and appreciation for the history of his race, was reinforced by many of his early

contacts. Duse Mohamed Ali, for whom he worked during his first London period, had by then already published his well-known historical work on Egypt, In the Land of the Pharoahs. William H. Ferris, one of the earliest editors of the Negro World, had previously published his two-volume work on The African Abroad. John Edward Bruce, probably Garvey's most steadfast defender among the Afro-American intelligentsia, had in 1911 been among the founders of the Negro Society for Historical Research in Yonkers, New York, and was its president. This society disseminated historical knowledge and collected rare books and manuscripts on the history of black people. The society's Pan-African thrust was symbolized by the selection of King Lewanika of Barotseland as Honorary President. Duse Mohamed Ali was among its corresponding members, as was Mrs. Marie Du Chatellier of Bocas del Toro, Panama, later an important U.N.I.A. organizer. It antedated by four years the better-known Association for the Study of Negro Life and History founded by Carter G. Woodson. The secretary-treasurer of the Negro Society for Historical Research, Arthur A. Schomburg, commenting on the appearance of Woodson's Journal of Negro History in 1916 considered that this journal was "stealing our thunder in which we are pioneer."⁵ Woodson himself many years later became a Negro World columnist. And among Garvey's life-long acquaintances, from his boyhood in

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Jamaica to his last years in England, was another of the leading black historians of the twentieth century, J. A. Rogers.⁶

History, like everything else for Garvey, was a subject to be used for the furtherance of racial emancipation. He used history first to establish a grievance, to show that the black man had been wronged. Many of his writings were historical in this sense. In 1938, for example, he submitted a memorandum to the West India Royal Commission, a British government body which was investigating recent rioting and workers' revolts in the islands. Here he traced the history of the islands since emancipation--the denial of full equality to Afro-West Indians, their resultant migrations in search of work elsewhere, the usurpation of the island economies by alien races--in order to explain the recent upheaval.⁷

History, however, could also be used to instill self-confidence. He continually stressed the fact that the African had in former times enjoyed a creditable history, and that this had been acknowledged by historians such as Herodotus who belonged to an era which felt less inclined to establish any myths of African inferiority.⁸ The African, therefore, had nothing to be ashamed of in the face of allegations of inferiority emanating from the white world. Indeed, black people should move from the defensive and aggressively rehabilitate their past. "The

time has come," he declared, "for the Blackman to forget and cast behind him his hero worship and adoration of other races, and to start out immediately to create and emulate heroes of his own. We must canonize our own saints, create our own martyrs, and elevate to positions of fame and honor Black men and women who have made their distinct contributions to our racial history."⁹

Garvey's stress on the progressive nature of the black past was a reaction to the distortions which he observed emanating from the pens of white historians in his era. He therefore carried on a constant campaign against white historical writing on the black past. In 1929, for example, he declared that "History is written with prejudices, likes and dislikes; and there has never been a white historian who ever wrote with any true love or feeling for the Negro."¹⁰ He went on to say that

White historians and writers have tried to rob the black man of his proud past in history, and when anything new is discovered to support the race's claim and attest the truthfulness of our greatness in other ages, then it is skillfully rearranged and credited to some other unknown race or people.¹¹

Garvey's rehabilitation of the black past, especially the ancient past, and his acknowledgement of the greatness of black heroes past and present, in no way detracted from his ready admission of the fact that the black man had fallen behind in the preceding few hundred years in the march towards material progress. He incorporated this into a cyclical theory of history which was

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designed to give the black man hope. As in the case of all great revolutionary theories, from Christianity to Communism, Garveyism decreed that the attainment of its ultimate goals was inevitable, the goals in this case being the resurgence of the black race: "In the cycle of things he lost his position, but the same cycle will take him back to where he was once."¹²

In the tradition of the world's great revolutionary philosophies, however, the inevitable success which awaited the black man would have to be activated by the black man's own efforts. In other words, success was inevitable, provided the black man did not become complacent and did not cease to engage in constant struggle, based on the lines of Garvey's program. As Garvey himself expressed it, "We are bound to win. Black men and women are bound to go forward; nothing can stop them but death and themselves."¹³ This same idea was succinctly expressed by Garvey during a debate with a delegate at the Sixth International Convention of Negro Peoples of the World held in Jamaica in 1929. The exchange went like this:

Mr. Garvey: You don't believe there is a literal interpretation to Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to God?

Mr. Bailey: I do.

Mr. Garvey: Then how can we do it except we attempt it?¹⁴

This idea was also the central theme of Garvey's long

poetic saga, The Tragedy of White Injustice. The poem recounted African glories at a time when Europe was steeped in barbarism and catalogued a history of European genocide and rapine. The poem then postulated the black man's inevitable resumption of glory and held out the hope of peace if the white man should mend his evil ways soon. Otherwise, Armageddon would ensue.

Garvey's interest in black history differed in one important respect from that of some cultural nationalists, to whose school of thought he is sometimes linked. For he avoided the pitfalls of living in the past. He used history to establish a grievance, instill black pride and point a way for eventual race emancipation, and that was all. He refused to glory in the past to the extent of letting its exoticism become a hindrance to the struggle in his own time. By 1936 he was able to say, "It is an established fact that the Negro had a glorious past. We need not worry about it now, because outside of inspiring us with confidence and hope it will be of no material value to harp on it, for the present is what confronts us along with the future."¹⁵ Thirteen years earlier he had expressed similar sentiments: "We may go back three thousand years ago and point to our civilization of that time. But WE CANNOT LIVE BY THE PAST."¹⁶

Garvey's interest in history was reinforced by a feeling of deep empathy with the historical suffering of

the black race. Garvey's sense of spiritual mission often expressed itself through this medium. The following expression was typical:

My firm purpose, my one purpose in life, is to work for the salvation of my race. Because of the cries from the grave--I hear the cry of 300 years. The cry of my great-grandparents in the cotton and cane fields; I see the hard taskmaster drawing his lash across their backs; I hear them cry out in mortal agony: 'It pains; it pains; it pains.' I see them fall under the lash; I see them fall to the ground; I see them buried, and I hear the wailing souls from heaven and from regions below. I hear the cry of my mother and father and millions of Negroes who have been brutalized: 'Go on, Garvey! Go on! Go on!' And so, fellow men, because of that cry that cry that comes from the grave I have given up all material desires; I have given up all temporal pleasures and have dedicated myself to the sacred principles of the U.N.I.A., the emancipation of the Negro race and a free and redeemed Africa.¹⁷

This communion with the past was linked to a strong consciousness on Garvey's part of himself actually being an important historical figure. He often spoke in terms of future generations who would be inspired by his example, as well as the past generations whose sufferings would thereby be rendered not in vain.¹⁸

Not surprisingly, in the light of the foregoing, history played an important role in the day to day affairs of the U.N.I.A. The race catechism used by the organization was largely an encapsulation of historical knowledge concerning the race. The first of its four sections, on Religious Knowledge, succinctly described Africa in antiquity, with particular emphasis on biblical references

to Africa and Africans. Readers were informed, for example, that Africa was mentioned three times in Christ's life--in the person of Balthazar, one of the three wise men; when he fled from Herod and sojourned in Egypt; and on Calvary, when his cross was laid on Simon the Cyrenian, a man of Africa. Several biblical figures, including some of the ancestors of Christ were traced to Africa, as was the wife and father-in-law of Moses, both Ethiopians.

The second section, on Historical Knowledge, provided a bird's eye view of Ethiopia, Meroe, Egypt, the slave trade, New World Slavery, Pre-Columbian Africans in the Americas. It also included brief biographical sketches of such famous Africans from the Motherland and the dispersion as Edward Wilmot Blyden, James Africanus Horton and Samuel Lewis of Sierra Leone, Rev. Samuel D. Ferguson of Liberia, Conrad Reeves of Barbados, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Frederick Douglass, Prince Hall, Alexander Crummell and others.¹⁹

J. A. Rogers, the black historian, sometimes lectured to U.N.I.A. locals,²⁰ as did the equally eminent Arthur A. Schomburg,²¹ on topics of Black History. J. A. Rogers' From Superman to Man was offered as a bonus with subscriptions to the Negro World,²² and his articles often appeared therein, as well as in Garvey's Jamaican newspapers. The dust jacket of From Superman to Man still bears a Negro World testimonial on its 1971 edition.

Carter G. Woodson, sometimes referred to as the "Father of Black History," regularly wrote for the Negro World, and his Association for the Study of Negro Life and History was favorably reported by the paper's writers.²³ Woodson himself had actually been the one who took the initiative in writing Garvey requesting permission to publish in his paper.²⁴ Woodson had a similarly amicable relationship with Garvey's Harlem-based daily paper, the Negro Times. Veteran journalist John E. Bruce, who worked on this paper, was a friend of Woodson and sometimes plugged Woodson's historical efforts in his regular column appearing in the paper, making sure to send on copies of the relevant issues to Woodson. Woodson's Journal of Negro History and his book The Negro in our History were subject to much favorable treatment in the Negro Times.²⁵ As early as 1920 the Declaration of Rights of Negro Peoples of the World had demanded Black History in schools. And when the organization obtained Liberty University in Virginia, it was envisaged that it would teach the true history, and that the Carthaginian general Hannibal would not be portrayed as Caucasian within its walls.²⁶ For juvenile readers of the Negro World the lives of famous black figures such as vaudeville star Bert Williams and ex-heavyweight boxing champion Jack Johnson were serialized in comic strip form.²⁷ Black Star Line ships were named after race heroes, as were the Phyllis Wheatley

the Booker T. Washington University, both in
 This interest in race history was not confined
 American Garveyites.²⁸ Garvey himself was a
 of African art pieces and on one occasion we
 spending an afternoon with Professor William Leo
 at the latter's Howard University office re-
 pictures of ancient Ethiopian culture.²⁹
 n important feature of Garvey's makeup which was
 ed by his use of history was his deep feeling of
 He took the view that great civilizations in
 were destroyed by materialism and a submergence
 values, and he looked forward to an ideal society
 ld learn from these past mistakes. In this re-
 saw a chance for the black man to be humanity's
 For the black man had the double experience of
 ncient civilizations on the Nile as well as the
 's in which he currently lived. The former had
 royed by materialism and feelings of racial
 ty. The latter was in the process of disinte-
 or the same reason. In this situation the black
 not only emancipate himself, but perhaps save
 n the process and "salvage the bankrupt civili-
 white Europe." He could do this because "The
 the Negro is deep and holy. Misdirected, it has
 ional and sentimental up to the present, but the
 of the race in its sublimest thought will give

it an urge, direct it toward an end that will bestow great blessings upon mankind."³⁰

NOTES

HISTORY

1 Marcus Garvey, Speech at Century Theatre, p. 26.

2 Marcus Garvey, The Tragedy of White Injustice,

3 Amy Ashwood Garvey, Marcus Garvey - Prophet of
Nationalism, pp. 12-16.

4 A Talk With Afro-West Indians, p. 3.

5 Bruce Papers, Ms 23, Schomburg to Bruce, June?

6 J. A. Rogers, World's Great Men of Color, p. 610.

7 C.O. 950/44, Marcus Garvey, Memorandum to the
a Royal Commission, 24 September 1938.

8 E.g., Nembhard, Trials and Triumphs, p. 113; The
of White Injustice, p. 6; A Talk With Afro-West
p. 3.

9 Marcus Garvey, African Fundamentalism. This was
reprinted several times in the Negro World and
e and sold as a poster for framing.

10 Blackman, June 20, 1929, p. 1; Philosophy and
II, p. 82.

11 Ibid., see also, H. W. Peet, "An Interview with
Garvey," The Southern Workman, LVII, 10 October
424; Negro World, April 28, 1923, p. 10; ibid.,
7, 1929, p. 1; Blackman, November 28, 1929, p.

- ¹²Black Man, II, 2, July-August 1936, p. 11.
- ¹³Negro World, August 18, 1928, p. 1.
- ¹⁴Negro World, September 7, 1929, p. 8; for similar sentiments see, A Talk With Afro-West Indians, p. 6.
- ¹⁵Black Man, II, 3, September-October 1936, p. 3.
- ¹⁶Negro World, March 24, 1923, p. 10.
- ¹⁷Ibid., July 25, 1925, p. 1.
- ¹⁸E.g., Blackman, April 9, 1929, p. 1; Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 183, 276.
- ¹⁹The Universal Black Men Catechism used by the author is a reprint of the original catechism. It is mostly the same as the original, though Mrs. Amy J. Garvey has informed the author that some changes have been made. One probable change is the substitution of "Black Men" for "Negro."
- ²⁰E.g., Negro World, January 23, 1932, p. 3; U.N.I.A. Central Division, New York, files, Box 14, f. 4, handbill for a U.N.I.A. meeting of July 21, 1935.
- ²¹Schomburg Papers, Box 3, Rev. R. Felix, vice-president, New York division, U.N.I.A. to Schomburg, November 21, 1934 and November 26, 1934. Schomburg spoke on this occasion on "African Cultures in America."
- ²²Negro World, December 24, 1927, p. 6.
- ²³E.g., ibid., June 18, 1927, p. 4.
- ²⁴Carter G. Woodson Papers, Library of Congress, Box 5, Folder 85, T. Thomas Fortune to Woodson, December 21, 1923, replying to Woodson to Garvey of December 15, 1923.
- ²⁵Woodson papers, Box 5, Folder 77, Bruce to Woodson, January 17, 1923; Bruce to Woodson, January 20, 1923.

²⁶Negro World, August 7, 1926, p. 10.

²⁷E.g., ibid., September 14, 1929, p. 7; November 9, 1929, p. 7.

²⁸E.g., National Negro Voice (Jamaica), August 9, 1941, p. 4.

²⁹Negro World, February 2, 1924, p. 2.

³⁰Black Man, II, 3, September-October 1936, p. 4; Negro World, July 17, 1926, p. 1.

CHAPTER VII

PROPAGANDA

The great white man has succeeded in subduing the world by forcing everybody to think his way, from his God to his fireside. He has given to the world, from the Bible to his yellow newspaper sheet, a literature that establishes his right and sovereignty to the disadvantage of the rest of the human race.

The white man's propaganda has made him the master of the world, and all those who have come in contact with it and accepted it have become his slaves.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association is now calling upon the 400,000,000 members of our race to discard the psychology and propaganda of all other peoples and to advance our own. The white man taught that the best of the world was intended for him, and we now teach that all the beauties of creation are the black man's, and he is heir to all that God has given to man.

-- Marcus Garvey¹

Garvey sold the Negro to himself. . . .

-- S. A. Haynes²

Among Garvey's greatest feats was the thoroughness and success of his propaganda effort. He set out with self-conscious candor to oppose the propaganda of race pride and nationhood to the contrary ideas of white supremacy, African inferiority, white man's burden and Caucasian manifest destiny. Garvey almost single-handedly

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took on the official propaganda machines of all the European and North American colonialist powers, as well as the myriad non-official publications, agencies, universities and the like which helped in the dissemination of information inimical to the black man. "We are not afraid of the word propaganda," he declared, "for we use the term in the sense of disseminating our ideas among Negroes all the world over. We have nothing stealthy in this meaning."³ As far as Garvey was concerned everything--education, religion, history, the news media--was enlisted by the dominant race to the furtherance of propaganda designed to perpetuate its continuance in power. The time had come, therefore, for the black man not only to make his own propaganda available, but to refuse to be guided by those who did not suffer and could not empathize with him. He said, "It takes the slave to interpret the feelings of the slave; it takes the unfortunate man to interpret the spirit of his unfortunate brother; and so it takes the suffering Negro to interpret the spirit of his comrade."⁴

Garvey's propaganda effort was most earnest in the years of his greatest glory, from 1918 to about 1922 in the United States. He considered the war-induced turmoil of the period 1914 to 1922, with its political unrest, its Russian Revolution, and its rumors of self-determination for all peoples, ideal for strident

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propaganda of his type. By 1924 he thought that the world scene had stabilized to the point where the U.N.I.A. effort would have to shift more towards silent organization with a de-emphasis on loud propaganda. He informed his followers:

Remember, the policy of the Universal Negro Improvement Association for 1924 and 1925 as far as its objective goes is the same as it was in 1917 and 1918, only that we are using more careful judgment. The things that we could have said in 1914, up to 1920 we cannot say now, but we mean them just the same.⁵

This attitude was doubtless influenced, too, by the unprecedented attacks on his organization, both from within and without, which manifested themselves in the period up to 1924. Yet, there had been no essential change. The International Convention of 1924, for example discussed, among other things, "the tabooing of all alien propaganda inspired to destroy the ideals of and the enslaving of the minds of the Negro."⁶

U.N.I.A. propaganda was disseminated in a variety of ways. In fact practically every aspect of the organization had propaganda value. Its artistic productions were, as already described, largely geared towards political indoctrination. The same could be said for religion as practised within the organization. Its black doll factory and other businesses were designed to instill racial self-confidence and set an example. As Garvey said, you could not tell black people, you had to show them.⁷

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U.N.I.A. printed material such as the race catechism served a similar purpose. The U.N.I.A. was even in the business of moving pictures, some of its parades having been filmed for showing at Liberty Halls. Many of Garvey's speeches as well as selections rendered by the Black Star Line band were available on phonograph records.⁸ At the 1929 International Convention delegates considered the feasibility of a broadcasting station to further disseminate the message.⁹ Garvey's ambassadors, too, like all ambassadors, were charged with propaganda functions.¹⁰ His travelling commissioners literally toured the whole world spreading his message and disseminating his literature.¹¹

But the most effective of Garvey's propaganda devices were his newspapers. Having been trained as a printer and a journalist, Garvey was uniquely qualified for his role of newspaper propagandist. He founded several papers and journals during his life in several different countries. Round about the years 1910 to 1911 he started Garvey's Watchman in Jamaica, La Nacionale in Port Limon, Costa Rica and La Prensa in Colon, Panama, and he was apparently a co-publisher of the Bluefields Messenger in Costa Rica. All of these were short-lived.¹² The weekly Negro World was published in Harlem from 1918 to 1933 (after which it continued for awhile in 1934 under new ownership as Fr. Divine's World Peace Echo). From

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1922 to 1924 the daily Negro Times appeared in Harlem. Back in Jamaica after his expulsion from the United States he published the Blackman from 1929 to 1931. This started, as it proclaimed in large type on its front page, as "A Daily Newspaper Devoted to the Uplift of the Negro Race and the good of Humanity." It was later converted into a weekly. Its demise was followed by the appearance in 1932 of the New Jamaican, "A Daily Evening Paper Devoted to the Development of Jamaica." This lasted until 1933, and was followed almost immediately by the Black Man magazine,¹³ first published in Jamaica in December 1933, and later in England up at least until 1939. In addition to papers founded by Garvey, he worked on The Africa Times and Orient Review in London during 1912 to 1914. The National Club which he helped found in his early days in Jamaica issued its own fortnightly Our Own and his mentor of this period, Dr. J. Robert Love, published the Jamaica Advocate.

The most important of Garvey's papers and possibly his single greatest propaganda device was the Negro World. It appeared in 1918, not long after Garvey abandoned his initial intention of returning to Jamaica. Garvey himself edited it at no charge to the organization in the beginning,¹⁴ and the earliest issues were often distributed free by Garvey himself pushing them under peoples' doors in Harlem during the early hours of the morning.¹⁵

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The propaganda function of the Negro World was never concealed. The paper considered itself "a propaganda medium published in the interest of the awakened Negro."¹⁶ The paper in its earliest period bore the banner headline "NEGROES GET READY" which appeared at the very top of the front page and even dwarfed the paper's title. The title was followed by the explanation, "A Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Negro Race Without the Hope of Profit as a Business Investment."¹⁷ Throughout almost the whole life of the paper its front page was devoted to a Garvey polemic. A. Philip Randolph in his campaign against Garvey derided this practice thus: "What sort of a newspaper is the Negro World anyway, which devotes its front page, the news page of every modern civilized, recognized newspaper in newspaperdom, to the vaporings, imbecile puerilities and arrant nonsense of a consummate ignoramus?"¹⁸ What Randolph did not know was that Garvey's front page ideological statements served as gospel for black people in every corner of the African world. The reading of Garvey's Negro World message was a standard part of U.N.I.A. meetings wherever the organization existed. A Negro World columnist in 1927, for example, explained that "it is translated into scores of dialects twenty-four hours after arrival in Africa and carried by fleet runners into the hinterland, up the great lakes of Southeast Africa, . . ."¹⁹ This fact was later corroborated by

Jomo Kenyatta, first president of modern independent Kenya. Speaking of the early 1920's, he reported that Kenyan nationalists would gather round a reader of the paper, who would read the desired article two or three times. The others would memorize it and take the message to other communities.²⁰ In Trinidad the governor noted in 1920 that at meetings of the Trinidad Workingmen's Association and elsewhere verbatim quotations were utilized from the Negro World and other Garvey writings.²¹

Apart from Garvey himself, the Negro World was helped in its efforts by a succession of some of the finest editorial brains in Afro-America. One of the earliest was W. A. Domingo, who for a short while in 1919 was the paper's "editorial writer."²² He and Garvey parted over his socialistic ideas (according to Garvey) and his disagreements over Garvey's business schemes.²³ During 1920-1921 the paper had as a joint editor Hubert H. Harrison, a lecturer-activist and a highly respected member of Harlem's intellectual community. From 1916 to 1919 he had published The Voice, organ of his Liberty League, founded in 1917.²⁴ William H. Ferris, historian and graduate of Harvard and Yale served three years as literary editor and one as associate editor between 1919 and 1923. He claimed that the paper's "bona fide" circulation grew threefold within his first year.²⁵ John E. Bruce was for some years a contributing editor up to his

death in 1924, as was Eric D. Walrond, a successful literary figure in the Harlem Renaissance. But perhaps the most illustrious of the Negro World editors was T. Thomas Fortune, generally acknowledged dean of Afro-American journalists, who edited the paper from 1923 to his death in 1928. He dictated his last Negro World editorials from his sick bed during the last three weeks of his life.²⁶ Duse Mohamed of the Africa Times and Orient Review was also at one time associated with the paper.²⁷ In the last years after Fortune, this high editorial standard was maintained under Hucheshwar G. Mudgal, an Indian who came to Harlem via the Trinidad U.N.I.A.

The Negro World penetrated every area where black folk lived and had regular readers as far away as Australia.²⁸ It was cited by colonial powers as a factor in uprisings and unrest in such diverse places as Dahomey, British Honduras, Kenya, Trinidad, Cuba and elsewhere. These powers therefore had no illusions concerning the appeal of its message of racial self-reliance and its anti-colonialist tone to oppressed black people. During its entire existence, therefore, the paper was engaged in a running battle with the British, French, United States and other governments, all of whom assiduously sought to engineer its demise, or, failing that, restrict or prevent its circulation, especially in Africa, Central America and the West Indies. The attitude of the

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colonialist powers can be summed up in the words of a British official in Panama: "The whole paper bristles with radical antagonism,"²⁹ Garvey and his followers, for their part variously protested these attempts, joked about them, always tried to circumvent them, and, in Garvey's case, waxed poetic about them:

We will keep from them the 'NEGRO WORLD'
That no news they'll have of a flag unfurled;
Should they smuggle copies in, and we fail,
We will send the sly agents all to jail.
This is the white man's plan across the sea
Isn't this wily and vicious as can be?³⁰

In more prosaic fashion the 1920 Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World protested the suppression of black papers all over the world,³¹ while a 1928 Garvey petition to the League of Nations specifically protested the banning of the Negro World and the imposition of penalties in some areas of life imprisonment and even death.³² Garveyite S. A. Haynes observed laconically, and correctly, "It is read weekly by the British and French Foreign Offices."³³

The British authorities were kept especially busy in their war against the paper. In 1923 the British acting governor of Nyasaland explained that "On the grounds that this paper was poisonous and mischievous to a degree which only those who have dealings with the crude African native can properly appreciate, it was placed in March last year on the list of prohibited

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papers in Nyasaland."³⁴ Four years later a Nyasalander was sentenced to three years hard labor for importing six copies, together with two of a South African workers' paper into Rhodesia.³⁵ In 1923 copies were being confiscated in Northern Rhodesia.³⁶ Around the same time, the acting governor of Sierra Leone was reporting that the paper "though not absolutely prohibited has been strictly controlled, and only a few copies have been allowed to circulate."³⁷ In the other British colonies in West Africa--the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Gambia--it was banned outright by this time, however.³⁸ It was still prohibited in these areas into the 1930's.³⁹ The British overlords were less successful in suppressing elements among the local African press who supported Garvey's program. The Gold Coast Leader in an article of 1928 entitled, "Censorship of the Negro World a Sign of Weakness," praised the paper, supported its principles of Pan-African cooperation and actually quoted from the forbidden publication.⁴⁰

In South Africa, though the paper was not proscribed outright, a local agent in Kimberly reported that when he picked up his papers at the local post office, he ran a gauntlet of "kicks, punches, sneers, insults and impertinent questions."⁴¹

In the West Indies, too, the heavy hand of British reaction fell upon the paper. Indeed, here the paper was attacked practically from its inception. As early as

February of 1919, when U.N.I.A. agents were discovered soliciting membership and selling the paper in Trinidad, it was proscribed.⁴² In June of 1919 the acting governor of Trinidad confided to his counterpart in British Guiana that in so doing "the action taken by this Government is not strictly covered by the law."⁴³ It was not until 1920 that the legal niceties attending its prohibition were attended to.⁴⁴ Attempts to have the ban lifted during the following years were unsuccessful.⁴⁵

In British Honduras the paper was withheld from distribution from early 1919 under emergency regulations. When in 1920 the governor received permission to pass permanent legislation against it he decided that maybe he did not want to follow this course of action after all, since he was afraid of the racial feeling that still existed after the rioting staged by the black populace in July 1919.⁴⁶ Garveyism was considered to be a factor in these disturbances.

British Guiana followed the same pattern. Here, too, the paper was first banned early in 1919 and only afterwards was the question of legislation to legitimize the fait accompli considered. On June 20, 1919 the colony's executive committee unanimously agreed to recommend prohibition of the Afro-American publications Crusader, Monitor, Recorder and Negro World. The Negro World, by this time already prohibited, was singled out

by the white colonial overlords of this black colony as being of "grossly offensive character."⁴⁷ When the bills were actually ready to be introduced before the colony's Court of Policy there was so much protest from the black population that the governor considered it necessary to telegraph for a warship to stand by. The governor then deferred to public sentiment to the extent of introducing the bill banning foreign "objectionable" publications but curtailing the operation after its second reading. The idea was that in case of emergency, the last stages of the bill could be rushed through and it could become law in a very short time.⁴⁸ Black agitation continued, nevertheless, and a petition requesting the lifting of the embargo was presented not long afterwards to the British-appointed Wood Commission which was investigating conditions in the area.⁴⁹ Accordingly the governor in 1922 seriously considered acceding to these requests, but explained, in a despatch to Winston Churchill, that his executive committee was totally against the idea, and it would anyway be unwise while the ban continued in Trinidad.⁵⁰ The Trinidad government, in response to an inquiry from Churchill reiterated its refusal to discontinue its embargo,⁵¹ despite the fact that the British Guiana governor thought the paper no less objectionable than radical white magazines which were admitted, and was also convinced that the paper's tone had by 1922 grown

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appreciably less strident than in 1919.⁵² The paper was also "promptly suppressed" in 1920 in Bermuda,⁵³ and in Grenada in the same year such a course was considered to stem its growing circulation.⁵⁴

In the late 1920's the paper was banned for a while in Cuba,⁵⁷ and in the mid-1920's in Liberia, as a follow-up to the independent African republic's embargo on the U.N.I.A. generally.⁵⁸ The paper fared no better in French colonies, for it was banned in all of them from at least as early as 1922,⁵⁹ though it appears to have been available in the Ivory Coast in 1932.⁶⁰ For much of the paper's life, of course, sections were printed in French and Spanish, in addition to English.⁶¹

Against this onslaught on his major propaganda organ Garvey replied with a well-organized smuggling network which, at least in the beginning, proved very effective in circumventing authorities, though at great cost to the organization, for consignments which were discovered were invariably destroyed. And heavy penalties for possession of the paper in some areas caused the greater concentration of U.N.I.A. effort to be placed on getting the message across through the clandestine circulation of the paper, rather than on any profitability which might have resulted from normal distribution. This idea was expressed in the front page declaration of the paper, quoted above.

The most important link in the clandestine Negro World distribution network was provided by black seamen, but one West Indian worker at the Panama Canal remembers being first introduced to the paper in 1918 by Japanese sailors who used to deposit them on their way through the canal.⁶² The success of these smuggling efforts was attested by the colonial authorities themselves. The governor of British Honduras, for example, confessed that despite his embargo on it from early 1919, "I had every reason to believe that the newspaper was being smuggled into the Colony through Mexico and Guatemala, in larger numbers than before the ban was placed on it."⁶³ The governor of Trinidad, too, in 1920 reported a large cache of the paper, together with U.N.I.A. leaflets, including a pamphlet written by Garvey specially to the people of Trinidad, hidden in between the cargo of a ship from New York.⁶⁴ C.L.R. James has said that despite the ban, he managed to buy a copy every Saturday morning in Port-of-Spain.⁶⁵ The police in Trinidad, and doubtless elsewhere, were kept busy looking for the paper, and houses were liable to be searched by detectives.⁶⁶

The United States government, although it never actually banned the Negro World, was nevertheless keeping it under close surveillance from the beginning. Officials of the Post Office, and the Justice and State Departments in particular were constantly being advised of its radical

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nature and were often called upon to decide whether it qualified for being denied the use of the United States mails. In addition, Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer of "Palmer Raids" communist hunting fame, in 1919 gave the Negro World pride of place in his Department of Justice report on "Radicalism and Sedition Among the Negroes as Reflected in their Publications." The Negro World was the first of the several Afro-American publications dealt with in the report.

By July of 1919 officials of the Post Office Department were conferring among themselves and seeking the advice of their solicitor as to whether the paper was objectionable enough to be proceeded against. They were particularly alarmed at pro-Bolshevick and race-first articles, both of which were apparently considered equally dangerous.⁶⁸ Apart from the department's own observations, the occasional public spirited American citizen sought to draw their attention to the radical effects of the paper. One such, a resident of Tower Hill, Virginia, and apparently white, sent the Post Office Department copies of the Negro World and Chicago Defender, to show what kind of matter was benefitting from the United States mails. He drew the attention of the officials to the fact that Negroes now would not work for white folks,⁶⁹ presumably due to the influence of these papers.

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American consular agents abroad, who generally shared the feelings of their host governments that the United States mails should not be used for what they considered the subversion of friendly governments. In May of 1919, for example, the American consul in Georgetown, British Guiana, reported that the local Inspector of Police had called on him. This goodly British official explained that his government was desirous of preventing the receipt and distribution of four publications--the Negro World, Crusader, Monitor (published in Omaha, Nebraska), and the Christian Recorder (official organ of the African Methodist Episcopal Church--apparently the combination of black and American was enough to cause fright among British colonial officialdom). The British official explained, in the words of the consul, that "owing to the fact that the black population is several times that of the white and includes some prominent persons such as officials, lawyers, doctors and ministers, they are uncertain as to the advisability of taking the necessary steps here to prevent their circulation." They therefore preferred for the United States to stop them at source, presumably, if not by banning them outright, then by denying them the use of the mails. The consul reported that of the four, only the Negro World and Crusader were dangerous.⁷⁰ Two years later the Post Office solicitor got around to declaring that a publication could not be subject to a blanket

denial of mailing privileges. Each issue would have to be separately ruled upon.⁷¹ The British authorities in London itself, in a document of that same year entitled "Unrest Among the Negroes" sought to carry the proverbial coals to Newcastle by informing Uncle Sam that there were radical black organizations in the United States. The U.N.I.A. and the Negro World were mentioned in the report, and its British drafters were careful to point out that "It is certain that the various negro [sic] organizations in the United States will not leave the British colonies alone."⁷²

In the case of Trinidad, the American Consul took the initiative in suggesting that the paper be stopped at source. He explained that "altho [sic] the local Postal Authorities burn every copy they can find of this publication, which is obviously intended as propaganda to cause race troubles, and general anarchy, nevertheless it is believed that many copies escape destruction, and are circulated in a surreptitious way throughout this Colony." He enclosed several wrappings in which papers had been mailed by Garvey to persons in Trinidad, to "show how the United States mails are being used for the purpose of forwarding to a friendly country, papers directly inciting the negro [sic] population to acts of murder and anarchy."⁷³ Baker kept up his campaign against the paper in other despatches.⁷⁴

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From Costa Rica, the Post Office Department found itself being prodded into action by an anti-Negro World coalition of the United Fruit Company, the British consul and the Costa Rican authorities. The United Fruit Company was a huge employer of agricultural labor throughout Central America and the Caribbean area. Garvey himself, during his Central American wanderings some years before, had been in their employ for a while as a timekeeper on a banana plantation in Costa Rica. Large numbers of their agricultural labor force were British West Indians who had migrated throughout the whole area in search of work. In September 1919 the Washington counsel for the United Fruit Company wrote the Secretary of State and enclosed sample copies of the Negro World. Garvey's earlier sojourn in Costa Rica had evidently not been uneventful, for it was clearly remembered by the company. The letter explained that Garvey "left Limon in 1912 and that he is a typical noisy Jamaican, and if allowed to go on as he has been doing, there is a possibility of his attempting to repeat the French experience in Haiti." He reported, too, that the governor of Limon, with the agreement of the British consul, was planning to deport all those present at the next U.N.I.A. meeting (who would probably all have been British citizens from the West Indies). The United Fruit Company counsel suggested, finally, that the Department of Justice assign its secret service to the case,

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since the U.N.I.A. was inciting revolution and thereby violating the neutrality of countries at peace with the United States.⁷⁵ Similar correspondence was received from Costa Rican officials who, after banning the Negro World, requested the New York post office not to allow it to be mailed to Costa Rica.⁷⁶

The Negro World propaganda spreading over the Carribbean area did not bypass United States colonies. From St. Croix in the United States Virgin Islands came more official recognition of the power and ubiquitousness of U.N.I.A. propaganda, and a reminder to Washington of its unsavouriness to officialdom. Casper Holstein, a prominent figure in the United States-based Virgin Islands nationalist movement, was a regular contributor to the Negro World, where he found a cooperative medium. His brother-in-law, D. Hamilton Jackson, was president of the St. Croix Labor Union. After a short spell in the United States, Jackson was by 1923 back in St. Croix agitating, among other things, for universal suffrage. Officials became alarmed at the propaganda value of articles appearing in the Negro World praising Jackson's efforts. One judge ventured the opinion that "all the poisonous articles published in the Negro World by Holstein are inspired by Jackson."⁷⁷

The course of events in the United States suggests that the United States authorities apparently preferred

to move against Garvey himself, rather than possibly create an equally great furore by moving merely against the paper. Indeed, a move against the paper may have been very unpopular with the same establishment black leaders who were actually anxious to see the government move against Garvey himself, since many of them were involved in publications of their own and were sensitive to any precedents establishing press censorship. This had been the lesson of Attorney-General Palmer's 1919 report against the Afro-American press. Some of Garvey's bitterest enemies (such as A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen of the Messenger, and Cyril Briggs of the Crusader) were indicted along with Garvey and the Negro World in that report, while even the Crisis, edited by W. E. B. DuBois, though disclaiming any brief for the Negro World and other publications, still came out in defense of their right to speak.⁷⁸ Similarly, in 1920, a Graham Sedition Bill was killed in Congress with the support of the conservative black New York Age and the N.A.A.C.P. This bill had sought to muzzle and render non-mailable radical black publications.⁷⁹ A move against Garvey himself involved no such entanglements for the United States government, since the most important recognized leaders outside of the U.N.I.A. were near totally arrayed against him. The nearest that United States officialdom came to banning the Negro World was during and soon after Garvey's

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trial in 1923 for alleged mail fraud, when they could have moved under the cloak of Afro-American establishment opposition to Garvey which had reached its zenith. Garvey mentioned in an application for executive clemency that the prosecutor threatened to close both the Negro World and the daily Negro Times during and after the trial. He also illegally seized the subscription lists for the Negro World, and subscribers soon began receiving enemy papers. The purpose of the threats was to scare the editors into not reporting the prosecutor's conduct during the trial.⁸⁰ There is no reason to suppose that Garvey's statement is not correct. The Negro World reporting of the trial was, indeed, unusually subdued.

If the Negro World was the greatest single propaganda device that the U.N.I.A. possessed, it had a close rival in Garvey himself. A handbill announcing a Garvey lecture in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1917 referred to him as "an orator of exceptional force."⁸¹ Ere long, handbills would proclaim him "the World's Greatest Orator."⁸² A U.N.I.A. circular advertising a speech of his at the Albert Hall in London in 1928 proclaimed that the world's greatest orator was "to deliver one of the greatest speeches ever heard in any period of the world's history." Readers of the circular were assured that "Such a chance comes sometimes but once in a lifetime."⁸³ The most surprising thing about these statements is that few people

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would have quibbled with them. The excellence and power of Garvey's oratory was probably the single most uncontroversial of his attributes. Indeed it is difficult to think of any other fact concerning Garvey on which such diverse persons as Communist leaders, J. Edgar Hoover of the Department of Justice, N.A.A.C.P. anti-Garveyites, British colonial police officers and Garvey's followers all agreed.

In their efforts to capture the feel of a Garvey oration, those who witnessed this singular experience often summoned up equally exquisite language to describe what they had witnessed. U.N.I.A. organizer Marie Duchatellier, in a letter to John E. Bruce said, on the subject of Garvey's oratory,

I have noted what you say in your letter in re my writing to Mr. Garvey to bridle his language, but I think I have told you before that you ask of me an impossible thing. I told you I had just as well stop the flowing waters of Niagara Falls. You say you have written to Mr. Garvey on the subject, so that will have to suffice. All that you say is true and if Mr. Garvey was less Radical [sic] it might be better, but you had just as well hope for the 'Ethiopian to change his skin or the leopard his spots' as to ask Garvey to change his method or procedure. I am convinced that it is the outpouring of the pent up feelings of generations of his ancestors who have borne the oppression and injustice of the white man for centuries. The cry has come ringing down the ages and he is giving voice to the cumulative agonies our people have suffered during their slavery and since their emancipation. We are the 'heirs of the ages.'⁸⁴

A reporter of the Panama-American expressed it this way:

He would probably pass unnoticed in a crowd--until

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he speaks. He has the most precious of all bounties, the gift of eloquence; and as he speaks his small, dark brown eyes seem to grow, his even white teeth flash through black lips. His speech is smooth and unctuous, without any touch of the American twang despite his long residence in the United States. His English is that of an Oxford scholar and when he speaks--his hearers listen.⁸⁵

Even a British colonial police officer, detailed to observe a Garvey meeting in British Honduras, could not totally obscure his appreciation of Garvey's fine oratory behind his obvious contempt:

Marcus Garvey was introduced by the Chaplain and commenced his 1-1/4 hours address. When he waxed hot I was reminded of Rider Haggard's 'Winstopogoas' in his moments of animal feriousness [sic] but he nevertheless knew how to get his hearers and was cheered heartily time and again. Garvey in his serious moments did not lack humour which was appreciated. . . . There were moments of enthusiastic madness into which he worked himself while speaking when I thought the aid of a medical man would be absolutely necessary but, such was not to be.⁸⁶

A newspaper report of a Garvey speech in Jamaica said, "Towards the end of his speech Mr. Garvey applied the well known prank of the platform speaker, 'I think I have kept you long enough for tonight,' he said, and the crowd roared for him to continue."⁸⁷ An apparently white United States paper said of his equally apparently black audience on one occasion, "they cheered almost his every word. Men shouted and some even gave vent to an emotional 'amen.'" This article noted, "He pronounced such words as 'master' with the use of a long 'R' but ordinarily his flow of language was that of the educated southern negro

[sic]."⁸⁸ Herbert J. Seligman, director of publicity of the N.A.A.C.P., also commented on his "slightly English intonation that falls strangely upon the ears of Americans unaccustomed to natives of the British West Indies."⁸⁹ Robert Minor, covering Garvey's 1924 International Convention for the Workers (Communist) Party of the U.S.A. said, "I heard Garvey speak last night. He is one of the most powerful personalities that I have ever seen on the platform."⁹⁰ After a speech at Howard University in 1924, the head of the department of public speaking and dramatic art considered it one of the few good speeches he had ever heard. Dean Kelly Miller considered it one of the best ever delivered in the University Chapel. J. Edgar Hoover of the Department of Justice, soon to become head, for almost half a century, of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was less effusive. He wrote in 1919, "He is an exceptionally fine orator. . . ."⁹²

The excellence of Garvey's early training as a printer and journalist was matched by his long and systematic study and practice of elocution. Seldom has the education of a race leader been so uniquely fitted to his subsequent career. As a youth in Kingston, we are told that Garvey visited various churches to study and learn from the speaking styles of ministers.⁹³ During this period he also is said to have taken elocution lessons from his early mentor Dr. J. Robert Love.⁹⁴ By 1910

Garvey was participating in elocution contests and himself training young orators and promoting such contests in West Kingston. A former president of the Jamaica Union of Teachers recalled having seen Garvey perform about this time during the finals of an all-Jamaica elocution contest. Each finalist recited two items. Garvey's first item, a poem, left him in first place at the end of the first round. During the second round he was heckled by someone in the audience. This occasioned much laughter. Garvey's performance was as a result adversely affected and he placed third in the overall standings.⁹⁵ During his first London years (1912-1914) he often spoke at "Speaker's Corner" in Hyde Park⁹⁶ (as indeed he did during all his other periods in London). Back in Jamaica in 1914 he frequented and participated in the weekly literary debates at the Baptist Church Hall in Kingston.⁹⁷ Indeed, as late as 1932, he was still organizing elocution contests in Jamaica.⁹⁸

By the time he burst on the American scene, then, Garvey's preparation in the art of oratory had been long, varied and thorough. And his oratorical skill was put to the fullest advantage as a propaganda medium for the organization. More so than a writer, Garvey was first a speaker. A corps of very efficient shorthand writers copied his speeches verbatim and they filled many pages of the Negro World and his other papers. He was

constantly on tour, so that in an age before television his followers, especially in the United States, but to some extent also in Canada, the West Indies, Central America and Europe, had fairly ample opportunities to see and hear him in person. Among Garvey's subordinates there were also several outstanding orators. They also spent much time on tour, sometimes travelling with Garvey. Some of these were fine enough, indeed, to make a British colonial police officer's report of a U.N.I.A. meeting read almost like a Negro World article: "S. A. Haynes then rendered a most inspiring address and was very applauded [sic]." Again, "Miss Davis a very excellent speaker rose and in the course of her address gave some vivid examples of the oppression of the negro [sic]." ⁹⁹

Garvey's propaganda, as has been mentioned, and as will be discussed in greater detail later, caused, or was implicated in, nationalist and anti-colonial manifestations all over the world. Many of the concessions to colonized people that followed were traced by Garvey ultimately to his propaganda. In 1925 he said that "In the West Indies black men have been elevated to high positions by the British Government so as to offset and counteract the sweeping influence of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Several of the colonies have been given larger constitutional rights." He claimed some credit for similar concessions to the race in Africa

and America.¹⁰⁰

He also credited his propaganda and the example of the Negro World with bringing about an improvement in the tone of Afro-American journalism. He said, "When I arrived in this country in 1916, I discovered that the Negro press had no constructive policy. The news published were all of the kind that reflected the worst of the race's character in murder, adultery, robbery, etc. . . . other features played up by the papers were dancing and parlor socials of questionable intent, and long columns of what is generally called 'social' or 'society' news" of the Mr. John Brown entertained Miss Minnie Baker variety. "Miss Minnie Baker probably was some Octoroon of questionable morals, but made a fuss of because of her 'color'. . . ." After a few years of the Negro World he thought that this trend was changing:

'The Negro World' has rendered a wonderful service to Negro journalism in the United States. It has gradually changed the tone and make-up of some of the papers, and where in 1914-15-16 there was no tendency to notice matters of great importance, today several of the papers are publishing international news and writing intelligent editorials on pertinent subjects.¹⁰¹

One interesting result of Garvey's propaganda was to call forth an extensive counter-propaganda effort from colonial powers. They evidently felt that their efforts in banning the Negro World and imprisoning and deporting Garvey's agents were not enough, so they set out, wherever

they could, to deliberately counter Garvey's message. In New York in 1923 the British Consul General actively promoted a pro-British magazine, The British West Indian Review to, in his own words, "offset, to some extent, the vicious propaganda being carried on by Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association."¹⁰² In Panama the head of the British legation in 1925 announced that he had mounted his own propaganda campaign among the West Indian population to counter Garvey's propaganda. He had enlisted the support of ministers with large West Indian congregations and was organizing the boy scouts as a medium for getting across pro-British and anti-Garvey sentiments.¹⁰³ A writer in the white South African Cape Argus, in 1923 came to the same conclusion concerning the need to organize active anti-Garvey propaganda:

No doubt the government will watch very carefully the spread of this and other anti-white propaganda in the Union, but it will easily be realized that mere suppression of these movements as they arise will not be sufficient. The native people are growing up, and some healthy counteracting methods to enable them to express their growing ideals will be necessary.¹⁰⁴

For Garvey to have had the great British propaganda machine on the defensive must rank among his greatest feats. While the black W. E. B. DuBoises and A. Philip Randolphins of America called him a clown and a buffoon and helped engineer his downfall, the arbiters of the fate of black people in Washington and London were

disposed to be more realistic. As early as 1919 the British government had informed Washington that the U.N.I.A. program was "being carried on by clever propaganda directed principally by Marcus Garvey, a West Indian negro [sic] . . ." ¹⁰⁵ They had no illusions about the threat that Garvey posed to the maintenance of equilibrium in their colonies.

Garvey was aware of the existence of a counter-propaganda effort. Round about the same time as the British Consul General in New York was overseeing the first edition of the counter-propaganda British West Indian Review, Garvey was declaiming in Liberty Hall against "counter-propaganda to distort and disrupt the minds and intentions of those who are behind the program." ¹⁰⁶ In 1929 he issued a statement on the situation:

Just at this time there is a well organized propaganda and conspiracy engineered by a combination of forces known and unknown, seen and unseen, in the United States of America, and different parts of the world, to undermine the powerful influence of the Universal Negro Improvement Association in uniting Negroes everywhere

This propaganda and conspiracy is being conducted on the one hand by some of our one-time slave masters, who have never been able to outlive the idea that the Negro should be anything else but a slave, and on the other hand by a cheap, brainless, conscienceless, treacherous, disloyal brand of Negro reprobates who, like traitors of all causes, national, secular and religious, are ever willing to sell themselves for the thirty dirty pieces of silver.

It is difficult for me to explain thoroughly and as clearly as I would like to the complete make-up of the combinations that are now organized to fight the Universal Negro Improvement Association. . . . ¹⁰⁷

Garvey's propaganda did not die with him. A surprisingly ample number of leaders in Africa and the diaspora in the 1960's, the era of independence and Black Power, acknowledged his influence. Kwame Nkrumah and Nnamdi Azikiwe in West Africa, and Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad in Afro-America, are but a few of the better-known.¹⁰⁸

NOTES

PROPAGANDA

- ¹Negro World, November 3, 1923, p. 1.
- ²Ibid., May 6, 1933, p. 4; Garvey and Garveyism, p. 214.
- ³Blackman, April 16, 1929, p. 2.
- ⁴Ibid., May 21, 1929, p. 1.
- ⁵Negro World, November 22, 1924, p. 5; see also ibid., August 1, 1925, p. 1; Black Man, III, 10 July 1938, p. 12.
- ⁶Negro World, June 7, 1924, p. 1.
- ⁷Ibid., November 22, 1924, p. 5.
- ⁸For a list of these, see ibid., October 8, 1921, p. 7.
- ⁹Blackman, August 31, 1929, p. 3.
- ¹⁰E.g., R.G. 59, 882.00/705, Cyril A. Crichlow, Resident Secretary, Monrovia to Garvey, June 24, 1921; Negro World, January 26, 1924, p. 2.
- ¹¹E.g., C.O. 318/356, Governor Wilfred Collet of British Guiana to Viscount Milner, October 8, 1920.
- ¹²Garvey and Garveyism, pp. 7-8; Crisis, XXI, 2, December 1920, p. 58.

¹³This was sometimes written Blackman, but the Black Man rendition is used in this work to distinguish it from the newspaper.

¹⁴Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 129.

¹⁵Marcus Garvey - Prophet of Black Nationalism, pp. 138-139.

¹⁶Negro World, August 10, 1929, p. 3.

¹⁷Ibid., July 19, 1919, p. 1.

¹⁸A. Philip Randolph, "Reply to Marcus Garvey," Messenger, August 1922, p. 468. What would Randolph have said of the London Times' use of its front page for advertisements?

¹⁹Negro World, August 20, 1927, p. 4.

²⁰C. L. R. James, Black Jacobins (New York, Vintage, 1963), pp. 396-397.

²¹C.O. 318/356, Governor Chancellor to Viscount Milner, November 30, 1920. The editors placed such a high premium on Garvey's messages that when he was away on tour after he had left the country they sometimes reprinted old speeches of his if his message did not arrive in time for going to press. Apparently there were even times when, in an emergency, they concocted their own message and placed Garvey's name to it, a practice which did not please Garvey--Trials & Triumphs, p. 77; Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 200; Black Man, I, 1 December 1933, p. 19.

²²Negro World, July 19, 1919, p. 2. Editors or editorial writers wrote regular editorials in addition to Garvey's front page statements. Garvey was officially designated managing editor. Editions of June 7 and 14, 1919 bear only Garvey's name on the editorial staff. Domingo's name appears in issues for July 1919. The writer came across only occasional copies of the paper for 1919.

²³Messenger, September 1919, p. 32.

²⁴Hubert H. Harrison, When Africa Awakes (New York, The Porro Press, 513 Lenox Ave., 1920), pp. 8, 10; Who's Who in Colored America, 1927, p. 87.

²⁵William Ferris, "The Spectacular Career of Garvey," New York Amsterdam News, February 11, 1925, p. 1. He says here the circulation grew from 17,000 to 60,000. Elsewhere he gives the latter figure as 50,000--see, Favorite Magazine, IV, 6, July 1920, p. 396.

²⁶Negro World, June 9, 1928, p. 4.

²⁷Ibid., April 15, 1933, p. 4, article by S. A. Haynes.

²⁸Woodson papers, Box 5, G 86, A. Goldsmith (a black Australian) to Woodson, September 6, 1920. The Negro World was not the only Afro-American publication read by this race-conscious individual.

²⁹C.O. 554/66, Braithwaite Wallis, British legation, Panama, confidential memo to Austen Chamberlain, November 4, 1925.

³⁰Tragedy of White Injustice, p. 12.

³¹Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 139.

³²Marcus Garvey, Renewal of Petition of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, to the League of Nations (London, Vail & Co., 1928), para. 54.

³³Negro World, August 20, 1927, p. 4.

³⁴C.O. 525/104, Acting Governor R. Rankine to His Excellency the Governor General and High Commissioner, Cape Town, May 15, 1923.

³⁵Negro World, August 20, 1927, p. 2; Kadalie, My Life . . ., p. 125.

³⁶C.O. 417/693, Richard Goode, Acting Administrator, Livingstone, to Prince Arthur of Connaught, High Commissioner for South Africa, Cape Town, May 2, 1923.

³⁷C.O. 267/600, Acting Governor, Sierra Leone, to Duke of Devonshire, May 28, 1923.

³⁸Public Record Office, London, Colonial Office records, Gov/28913, synopsis of a destroyed record, Register of Correspondence for the Gold Coast, 1923; Negro World, April 21, 1923; C.O. 554/64, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League," memo by Colonial Office, March 7, 1924.

³⁹C.O. 318/399/76634, "Memorandum - Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League" [1930]; U.N.I.A. Central Division (New York) files, Box 3, a 33, K.E.E. Baidoo, Abidjan, Ivory Coast to Negro World, November 16, 1932.

⁴⁰Reprinted in Negro World, December 1, 1928, p. 5. The original article was from the Leader of October 17.

⁴¹Negro World, September 13, 1924, p. 10.

⁴²C.O. 318/356, Governor J. R. Chancellor to Viscount Milner, November 30, 1920.

⁴³C.O. 295/521, W. M. Gordon to Governor of British Guiana, June 10, 1919.

⁴⁴R.G. 844 g. 04417, Henry D. Baker, American Consul, Trinidad, to Secretary of State, March 5, 1920.

⁴⁵E.g., Negro World, October 4, 1924, p. 6.

⁴⁶F.O. 371/4567, Governor Eyre Hutson of British Honduras to Secretary of State, Colonial Office, May 10, 1920.

⁴⁷C.O. 111/624, Officer Administering the Government (OAG) C. Clementi, British Guiana, to Viscount Milner, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc., etc., September 2, 1919, confidential.

⁴⁸C.O. 111/630, Sir Wilfred Collet, Governor of British Guiana to Milner, April 14, 1920.

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⁴⁹C.O. 318/373, petition from British Guiana U.N.I.A. to Major E. F. L. Wood, n.d.

⁵⁰C.O. 318/371, Collet to Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill, July 6, 1922.

⁵¹C.O. 318/371, Churchill to Governor Wilson of Trinidad, August 22, 1922, secret; Gov/51931, destroyed secret file of September 29, 1922--headnote refers to Trinidad's refusal to lift the ban.

⁵²C.O. 318/371, Collet to Churchill, July 6, 1922.

⁵³C.O. 318/356, OAG, Bermuda, to Milner, November 27, 1920.

⁵⁴C.O. 318/358, Governor G. Haddon-Smith of Grenada to Milner, October 8, 1920.

⁵⁵R.G. 59, 818.4016/ orig., American Consul, Port Limon, to Secretary of State, Washington, D.C., August 24, 1919.

⁵⁶F.O. 372/2257, H.M. Consul, Colon to Secretary of State, February 5, 1926.

⁵⁷F.O. 371/7286, H.M. Consul-General, Dakar, Senegal to Secretary of State, August 17, 1922; Negro World, January 10, 1925, p. 7 (speech by Garvey at Liberty Hall).

⁵⁸Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 385; Negro World, May 16, 1925, p. 4.

⁵⁹F.O. 371/7286, H.M. Consul-General, Dakar, Senegal to Secretary of State, August 17, 1922; Negro World, January 10, 1925, p. 7 (speech by Garvey at Liberty Hall).

⁶⁰U.N.I.A. Central Division (New York) files, Box 3, a 33, K.E.E. Baidoo, Abidjan, Ivory Coast to Negro World, November 16, 1932.

⁶¹When Fr. Divine acquired the paper in 1934 (re-named the World Peace Echo), he reproduced his speeches in a variety of other languages, including Russian, for no obvious reason.

⁶²Interview with Detroit Garveyites in 1967 by V. A. Chavous.

⁶³F.O. 371/4567, Governor Hutson to Secretary of State, Colonial Office, May 10, 1920.

⁶⁴C.O. 318/356, Governor Chancellor to Milner, November 30, 1920.

⁶⁵C. L. R. James, "Document: C.L.R. On the Origins," Radical America, II, 4, July-August 1968, p. 24.

⁶⁶"Trinidad News Letter," Crusader, III, 5, January 1921, p. 23.

⁶⁷Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice, Vol. XII of Senate Documents, no. 153, 66th Congress, 1st Session, 1919 (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1919), pp. 162-165 and passim.

⁶⁸R.G. 28, Box 56, Unarranged, #500, memorandum by the Third Assistant Postmaster General, July 11, 1919; ibid., U. S. Post Office, Translation Bureau, to William H. Lamar, Solicitor, Post Office Department, July 24, 1919; ibid., U. S. Post Office, New York, N.Y., Bureau of Translations & Radical Publications to Lamar, October 31, 1919.

⁶⁹R.G. 28, Box 53, Unarranged, #398, G. C. Wharton, Tower Hill, Virginia, to Third Assistant Postmaster General, January 5, 1920.

⁷⁰Ibid., American Consul, Georgetown to Secretary of State, May 9, 1919; also George Ball-Greene, Acting Colonial Secretary, British Guiana to U. S. Consul, May 3, 1919.

⁷¹Ibid., John H. Edwards, Solicitor to R. C. Bannerman, Chief Special Agent, Department of State, August 5, 1921.

⁷²Ibid., "Unrest Among the Negroes," October 7, 1919.

⁷³R.G. 28, Box 56, Unarranged, #500, American Consul, Trinidad, Henry D. Baker to Secretary of State, October 5, 1919.

⁷⁴E.g., R.G. 59, 844g. 5045/3, Baker to Secretary of State, December 5, 1919; R.G. 59, 844g. 04417, Baker to Secretary of State, March 5, 1920; R.G. 28, Box 53, Unarranged, #398, Baker to Secretary of State, March 5, 1920.

⁷⁵R.G. 28, Box 56, Unarranged, #500, Walter S. Penfield to Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, September 25, 1919.

⁷⁶Ibid., Acting Second Assistant Postmaster General to Solicitor, Post Office Department, January 8, 1920; ibid., Assistant Secretary, Department of State to Postmaster General, October 27, 1919.

⁷⁷R.G. 59, 811 G. 00/37, C. E. Rappolee to Governor, U.S. Virgin Islands, "Report on activities of one D. Hamilton Jackson," February 10, 1923; ibid., W. Jensen, Acting Judge of District Court to Government Secretary, February 10, 1923; ibid., Charles H. Gibson, Government Attorney, St. Croix, to Despatching Secretary, February 9, 1923.

⁷⁸Crisis, editorial, XIX, 2, December 1919, p. 46.

⁷⁹New York Age, January 13, 1920, p. 4; February 7, 1920, p. 4.

⁸⁰R.G. 204, 42-793, Garvey's application for executive clemency, June 5, 1925; Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 257.

⁸¹Reprinted in Amy Jacques Garvey, Black Power in America (Kingston, A. J. Garvey, 1968), p. 13

⁸²E.g., handbill for International Convention of Negro Peoples of the World, 1922.

⁸³C.O. 554/78, Circular from U.N.I.A. dated May 1928.

⁸⁴Bruce papers, Ms 189, Etta [Marie Duchatellier] to Bruce, Panama City, January 12, 1920.

⁸⁵Sidney A. Young, ed., Isthmian Echoes (Panama, R.P., Benedetti Hnos [1928]), pp. 244-245.

⁸⁶F.O. 371/5684, Report of Assistant Superintendent of Police, British Honduras, Mr. H. McDonald, July 5, 1921.

⁸⁷C.O. 318/364, enclosure from the Tribune, May 15, 1921, in Governor of British Guiana to Colonial Office, June 7, 1921.

⁸⁸N.A.A.C.P. Administration Files, Library of Congress, Box C-304, clipping, no title, no date.

⁸⁹New York Age, December 10, 1921, p. 1.

⁹⁰Daily Worker, August 13, 1924, p. 3.

⁹¹Negro World, February 2, 1924, p. 2.

⁹²R.G. 60, 198940, J. Edgar Hoover, "Memorandum for Mr. Ridgely," October 11, 1919.

⁹³Garvey and Garveyism, p. 7.

⁹⁴Graham Knox, "Political Change in Jamaica (1866-1906) and the Local Reaction to the Policies of the Crown Colony Government," in F.M. Andic and T. G. Matthews, eds., The Caribbean in Transition (Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of Puerto Rico, 1965), p. 161.

⁹⁵Rev. C. A. Wilson, Men of Vision (Kingston, The Gleaner Co., 1929), pp. 129-130; Garvey and Garveyism, p. 7; for Garvey's contest performance see J. J. Mills - His Own Account of His Life and Times, pp. 108-111.

⁹⁶Marcus Garvey - Prophet of Black Nationalism, p. 24.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 41.

⁹⁸New Jamaican, August 22, 1932, p. 1.

⁹⁹F.O. 371/5684, Report of Assistant Superintendent of Police McDonald, British Honduras, July 5, 1921.

¹⁰⁰Negro World, July 25, 1925, p. 1; August 24, 1929, p. 8.

¹⁰¹Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 78-79.

¹⁰²F.O. 371/8513, H.M. Consul General, New York, to H.M. Ambassador, Washington, April 18, 1923.

¹⁰³C.O. 554/66, Braithwaite Wallis, British Legation, Panama, confidential memo to Austen Chamberlain, November 4, 1925.

¹⁰⁴Pathfinder, "Propaganda Among the Natives," The Cape Argus, January 5, 1923.

¹⁰⁵R.G. 28, Box 53, Unarranged, #398, "Unrest Among the Negroes," October 7, 1919; a copy is also in R.G. 59, 811.4016/27.

¹⁰⁶Negro World, February 24, 1923, p. 2.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., August 17, 1929, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸See Black Power in America, op. cit.

CHAPTER VIII

U.S.A. vs U.N.I.A.

Garvey is a West-Indian negro [sic] and in addition to his activities in endeavoring to establish the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation he has also been particularly active among the radical elements in New York City in agitating the negro movement. Unfortunately, however, he has not as yet violated any federal law whereby he could be proceeded against on the grounds of being an undesirable alien, from the point of view of deportation. It occurs to me, however, from the attached clipping that there might be some proceeding against him for fraud in connection with his Black Star Line propaganda. . . .

-- J. Edgar Hoover¹

Only crooks and thieves and cowards fear to go to prison. Men with principles don't care about jails.

-- Marcus Garvey²

Garvey's most productive years, from 1916 to 1927, were spent in the United States. The United States provided him with the large black population base, the financial and technological resources, and the strategic location at the center of world and Pan-African affairs that were the objective conditions against which he could rise to world prominence.

The timing of Garvey's appearance in the United

States contributed both to his success and to the opposition which his movement evoked. The time was propitious because the World War had accelerated the flow of black Southern migrants to industrial centers of the North. These new urban arrivals, forced into ghettos and the victims of numerous race riots and sundry discriminations, were forced by these contradictions in the land of material opportunity, into a highly politicized state which was ready for radical race propaganda as skillful as Garvey's. Garvey's success in capitalizing on this objective readiness must not, of course, be minimized. For despite the objective readiness of the black masses, neither the Communists, nor the black socialists, nor the N.A.A.C.P., nor any of the other purported race leaders of the time were able to channelize it to the extent that Garvey did.

Garvey's timing was propitious, too, because the treatment of Afro-American soldiers had further crystallized black resentment and hatred against the American system of racial oppression. The army's attempts to get rid of the highest-ranking black officer, Colonel Charles Young, at the beginning of hostilities; the early reluctance to train black officers; the hanging and imprisonment of large numbers of black soldiers after the Houston Riot of 1917; the ill-treatment of black soldiers in France; and the lynching of black soldiers in the United

States by mobs of white citizenry infuriated at the sight of Afro-Americans in military uniform; all this and more made the black masses in Afro-America ready for militant race struggle. This readiness was heightened by the contradiction that, thanks to the war-induced labor shortage, Afro-American workers were often in a better financial position than they had been before the war.

All of the above conditions applied, not only to southern immigrants to the north, but also to many thousands of West Indians whose migration was simultaneous with that of the southerners. The West Indian immigrants settled overwhelmingly in New York City, and they provided much solid support for Garvey's earliest attempts at organization in America.

But if the times were favorable, they were also sensitive and highly dangerous for radicalism in all its forms in the United States. Garvey's advent in the United States coincided with savage official repression against radicals, as personified especially in the Industrial Workers of the World. Raids on their property, tamperings with their mail, mass arrests of their leaders, deportation of some of the foreign-born among them, all this could have given Garvey an idea of what might, and as it turned out did, happen to his own organization and to himself.

In the face of all this danger Garvey showed a characteristic disdain. By the time he arrived in America

in 1916 he had already established in Jamaica a reputation as what officialdom like to call an "agitator," and before long he had plunged into purely domestic Afro-American politics. For as early as 1917 we find him, in a pamphlet distributed by the U.N.I.A. (housed at this time at 235 West 131st Street, New York) denouncing the East St. Louis pogrom against the black community.³ The pamphlet consisted of the text of a speech delivered by Garvey on July 8, 1917. The introduction contained, without comment, the information that the speech had been delivered "before a large and enthusiastic gathering of Negro Americans and West Indians, at which the Police Captain of the Borough Precinct attended by more than ten detectives, police lieutenants, and secret-service men were present."⁴ Such official interest in Garvey and his movement was to continue to long after he had been deported from the United States.

Such immediate official interest in Garvey is not difficult to explain. First of all, Garvey was provoking officialdom at a time when government facilities in Washington, D.C. were as rigidly segregated as anywhere else in the American South. What this meant was that white officialdom was by no means uniformly convinced that the black man was inherently equal to anyone else or that he deserved to be treated like a human being. The official mind usually saw, in the desire of black people

to be free and equal, a problem of law and order, and precious little else, except the shadowy manipulations of a Communist bogey which was presumed to be behind most manifestations of Afro-American resistance to oppression. To this kind of mentality, even the National Urban League, the N.A.A.C.P. and black Republicans trying to enfranchise members of the race, could on occasion be viewed as threats to the peace.⁵

The general attitude of American officialdom can be summed up in the words of a memorandum submitted by Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes to the President of the United States in 1924. The U.N.I.A. in America was here described as "extremely radical" and "subversive to good government" not to mention the inevitable "strong communist angle."⁶ To all intents and purposes the mere expression of resentment, or the promise of self-defense against oppression was all it took to qualify for inclusion among the ranks of subversives. Even where the official mind acknowledged that the black man had been wronged, its insensitivity and callousness prevented it from making any effort to eradicate the root causes of oppression and resentment. The solution lay in appeals to law and order. These attitudes were clearly and unequivocally expressed by Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer in his report on "Radicalism and Sedition Among the Negroes as Reflected in their Publications." He said,

. . . there have occurred the several race riots in Washington, Knoxville, Chicago, Omaha, and Arkansas, and the more radical Negro publications have been quick to avail themselves of the situation as cause for the utterance of inflammatory sentiment - utterances which in some cases have reached the limit of open defiance and a counsel of retaliation. Every indication given in previous expressions of insubordination has been amply fulfilled in subsequent publications, until, at this time, there can no longer be any question of a well-concerted movement among a certain class of Negro leaders of thought and action to constitute themselves a determined and persistent source of a radical opposition to the government, and to the established rule of law and order.⁷

Amongst the instances of Garvey's radicalism mentioned in this report was an address of his "which preached a doctrine of the negro [sic] for the negro."⁸ These attitudes can also be illustrated in the report of the Lusk Committee of New York State into "Revolutionary Radicalism." Their acknowledgement of the oppression of Afro-Americans was even more explicit: "The most interesting as well as one of the most important features of radical and revolutionary propaganda," they stated, "is the appeal made to those elements of our population that have a just cause of complaint with the treatment they have received in this country." This admission notwithstanding, the eradication of racism was predictably passed over in favor of a law and order solution:

The very fact that the negro [sic] has many just causes of complaint adds to the seriousness of the propaganda, and should encourage all loyal and thoughtful negroes in this State to organize to oppose the activities of such radicals, which cannot but lead to serious trouble if they are permitted

to continue the propaganda which they now disseminate in such large volume.⁹

The same ideas cropped up in the opinions of the American consul at Kingston, Jamaica, who saw Garvey as a "clever scoundrel" whose civil rights activity made him a menace. In the words of this official:

While he is clever enough to temper his propaganda with statements that he is for the negro [sic] rather than against the white man or any Government, his speeches are not lacking in many references to fighting for negro rights and I believe that a tendency of his propaganda is to alienate the loyalty of American and British negroes to his Association. . . .¹⁰

Thus did fighting for the black man's rights become a crime.

Garvey, for his part, did precious little to calm the fears of United States officialdom. Though from the early 1920's onwards he made much of the fact that the period of strident propaganda was over, and though he increasingly claimed, as the above quotation suggests, that he was not preaching disloyalty to individual alien governments within whose jurisdiction black people found themselves, his basic philosophy and tactics remained in essence unchanged, and United States officialdom, right up to the 1930's, was not fooled.

Throughout practically all of his public career, but especially during his American period, Garvey remained embarked upon a calculated risky course of provocation of United States officialdom. It could not be

otherwise. For in order to reach and stir the black masses the way Garvey did, he had to say the things that other leaders may have felt but may have been more discreet about broadcasting. And most of these things were not necessarily what United States officialdom liked to hear. In his 1917 denunciation of the East St. Louis pogrom, for example, his language gave no indication of the fact that he was an alien in the country for little more than a year, addressing an assemblage that contained a goodly share of police officers, in the era of deportation for foreign-born radicals. He condemned the collusion of civil authorities in the massacre as a crime against humanity. "For three hundred years," he said, "the Negroes of America have given their life blood to make the Republic the first among the Negroes of the world, and all along this time there has never been even one year of justice but on the contrary a continuous round of oppression."¹¹

Many of his early speeches, too, urged black men not to participate further in white men's wars, after the vain sacrifices of the World War. In a speech delivered not long after the termination of hostilities he declared, "The first dying that is to be done by the black man in the future will be done to make himself free. And then when we are finished, if we have any charity to bestow, we may die for the white man. But as for me, I think I

have stopped dying for him." This speech scandalized the New York State Lusk Committee looking into "Revolutionary Radicalism." Their comment was not unexpected: "These extravagant and bombastic utterances may look trivial in cold print, but the continuous utterance of such sentiments has a very disquieting and pernicious effect upon the untutored element of the negro [sic] population."¹²

Not least of Garvey's provocations to United States officialdom were his ambiguous flirtations with Communism. Like many other black leaders he resolutely prevented the Communists from co-opting his organization while at the same time hesitating to condemn them and, at times, openly endorsing the system of government in Russia. Many columns of the Negro World were devoted to such an endorsement in 1924 when Garvey delivered his panegyric on the death of Lenin.¹³ Nor was he loathe to portray United States operations in places like Haiti and Brazil as imperialistic adventures which would redound to the detriment of the inhabitants of these areas. One such speech led the Communist Daily Worker to announce with cautious approval, "Negro Leader Condemns U. S. Imperial Rule."¹⁴

In many other ways Garvey seems to have gone out of his way to harass United States officialdom. The Washington Conference of the Limitation of Armament, for example, was greeted by a Liberty Hall speech pointing

out the farcical aspects of disarmament while half of the world was unfree: "When all the burglars and all the robbers are put in jail, and we know they are in jail, then we will throw away our guns." This was followed up by a telegram to the conference reminding them that 400,000,000 black people were unrepresented, and commending to them President Harding's promise of democracy for black folk.¹⁵ Again, in 1922, Garvey wrote Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes asking for a State Department representative to attend the session on colonialism at his International Convention. The offer was declined.¹⁶

There was little about Garvey's program that could not be construed as a threat, direct or indirect, to the United States. His doctrines of militant racial struggle could often be, and indeed frequently were, transferred into strikes against such powerful United States corporations as the United Fruit Company, in several Latin American countries. His African program too, with its anti-imperialist and nationalistic implications would, if successful, augur ill for American financial interests. This was especially true for Liberia, which, despite its nominal independence, was often but one remove from being a United States colony.

Garvey took the position that American capital would seek to expand its influence in Africa. In 1929, for example, he wrote, "Europe today is bankrupt and

cannot advance much capital for the development of African industries, and therefore they are trying to interest American capitalists in the exploitation of the wealth of the great Continent."¹⁷ Almost ten years earlier, U.N.I.A. plans in Liberia had collided with American government finance in the republic. For in 1920 Garvey had despatched a commissioner to Liberia to explore the feasibility of setting up a U.N.I.A. colony there. The commissioner, Elie Garcia from Haiti, had reported secretly to Garvey that Liberia, in the midst of one of its perennial financial crises, had been offered a credit of five million dollars by the United States government. Garcia considered the United States offer to be embodied in "the most insulting and humiliating document ever presented to a free people for ratification." To obtain the money, he explained, Liberia would have to accept an American Receiver General who would collect and disburse all revenues free from the control of any Liberian official. For the duration of the contract the Liberian senate would have no power to grant concessions or vote contracts without approval of the Receiver General. Garcia observed that "The adoption of this contract for ten years if signed by the Government will mean the election of a white king over Liberia, and will be a great inconvenience to the U.N.I.A." He added that he had been informed that the Liberian delegate to the 1920

International Convention (Gabriel Johnson, mayor of Monrovia) had been secretly empowered by the Liberian government to see what financial assistance the U.N.I.A. might be able to provide, by way of counteracting the United States offer.¹⁸

When, some time later, Garvey's plans to establish U.N.I.A. settlers in Liberia were rudely thwarted by the Liberian government in 1924 and large concessions granted to the Firestone Rubber Corporation instead, Garvey saw collusion between United States big business and the United States government as partly responsible for his reversal. He recalled that two and a half years previously the capitalists Firestone, Ford and Edison had been for a walk in the woods with President Harding right after the appointment of an anti-Garvey consul to Liberia. The same trio, he explained, had recently sojourned in Vermont around the same time as President Coolidge, and about the same time, too, as his enemy W. E. B. DuBois had been sent as a United States representative to Liberia to engineer his downfall.¹⁹ His imprisonment shortly thereafter, he thought, was facilitated, in part at least, by the friendship between capitalist Firestone and Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce.²⁰

Having determined, practically from the inception of his sojourn in the United States, that Garvey was a dangerous character, various governmental, police,

quasi-official and corporate agencies subjected Garvey and the U.N.I.A. to a constant surveillance of international proportions. Where possible their surveillance was supplemented by infiltration into the U.N.I.A. Garvey's charge that "agents of governments, organizations, corporations and individuals, interested in the exploitation of Negroes operated among the membership and officers of the Association in several cities" was hardly an exaggeration.²¹ Garvey thought that as many as twenty to twenty-five per cent of his employees may have been secret service agents of the United States government. One U.N.I.A. counsel-general, Garvey noted, upon whom he depended for legal advice, was appointed an assistant United States attorney general after his conviction.²² White reporters who interviewed Garvey were also suspected of being intelligence men.²³ At a welcoming speech in Jamaica after his deportation from the United States in 1927, Garvey declared: "The Great United States Government got men to investigate me; all manner of Secret Service people were set after me, and 20 per cent of my employees were United States Secret Service. I believe I must have cost the United States Government about five million dollars in ten years."²⁴

Sometimes official surveillance took the form of an obvious police presence. Garvey's acknowledgment of the large police and secret service turnout at his July 1917 meeting has been noted. In 1918 Garvey returned to New York from a trip to Detroit and Virginia to find policemen at the U.N.I.A. headquarters. They claimed to be investigating the solicitation of funds by his secretary (later his first wife) Amy Ashwood, for what they considered a nonexistent movement. Ashwood later recalled being summoned to the office of the district attorney on seventeen occasions.²⁵ On one instance, in New Orleans, a large police contingent turned up at the Longshoremen's Hall to oversee a Garvey speech. The chief of police averted a showdown with U.N.I.A. members by submitting when ordered to sit down by Garvey.²⁶

Evidence of official surveillance of Garvey sometimes cropped up in unexpected places. At hearings before a Congressional Subcommittee on Appropriations for 1921, for example, the question came up of overload pay for a black Treasury Department employee. The case for such payment stated that he had been hired to transcribe proceedings at "some radical Negro meetings." A first class stenographer was required and a white

one would not do since he would be liable to be thrown out of the meeting or killed. A qualified black stenographer had been sought outside of the government service, but in vain. The Department of Justice, who commissioned his work, therefore had to use a government employee. These meetings took place in Washington, D.C., in July and September of 1920. The stenographer's task was described by a chief clerk of the Treasury Department as "very important and confidential stenographic work" consisting of "discreetly taking verbatim reports of the proceedings of negro [sic] radicals."²⁷ It transpired that this person had previously been employed as early as 1918, to cover a U.N.I.A. meeting in Baltimore, Maryland.²⁸

The role of the Department of Justice in this case was not an isolated event. For much of the official surveillance of Garvey emanated from this department. In 1919, for example, officials of the Panama Canal contacted the department's Bureau of Investigation on the question of the Garvey threat to both areas.²⁹ The correspondence soon found its way to the Bureau's J. Edgar Hoover who demonstrated a more than passing acquaintance with Garvey. He expressed genuine regret over the fact that Garvey had not yet

violated any federal law making him liable to deportation. He suggested, however, that proceedings might be sustained against him for fraud in connection with the Black Star Line. (When Garvey was eventually jailed in 1925 it was indeed on this very charge, and he was in fact deported thereafter.) Hoover did not fail to acknowledge his adversary's mettle, describing him as "one of the most prominent negro [sic] agitators in New York" and "an exceptionally fine orator, creating much excitement among the negroes through his steamship proposition." Hoover concluded his observations in predictable fashion: "In his paper the 'Negro World' the Soviet Russian Rule is upheld and there is open advocacy of Bolshevism."³⁰ By 1920 British officials, who regularly shared information with their American counterparts on the subject of Garvey, were cognizant of the fact that the Justice Department's agents were watching Garvey closely.³¹

The Justice Department's surveillance extended, as one might expect, to Garvey's economic undertakings. On August 31, 1921, for example, the director of the department's Bureau of Investigation, William J. Burns, informed his counterpart at the Bureau of Investigation

of the United States Shipping Board that he had been advised "by a strictly confidential source" that Garvey was negotiating for the purchase of a ship.³² As a result of this communication the Shipping Board was reminded that its prospective client was "President of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, the communist party which is affiliated with the Russian Soviet Government" and a radical agitator of long standing. Furthermore, he was a person who "advocates and teaches the over-throw of the United States Government by force and violence." It was therefore recommended that sale of a vessel to Garvey be cancelled.³³ The director of the Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation even attempted to influence the manner in which the prosecutor conducted the case against Garvey, following the latter's arrest in 1922.³⁴

Garvey was made painfully aware of the Justice Department's surveillance of him through the zeal of a black agent of the Bureau of Investigation's New York office, special agent James E. Amos, an ex-bodyguard of former President Theodore Roosevelt. Garvey, in an application for pardon after his imprisonment in 1925, catalogued a long list of grievances against

Amos. He charged that "one Amos, a colored man of the Department of Justice, who brags he can have anything done because he was bodyguard to the honored and deceased President Theodore Roosevelt, unconstitutionally and wickedly went from home to home and place to place among colored people--and he is still doing so--stirring up hatred and adverse feeling against me, and inspiring individuals to so act as to bring about my conviction and downfall." Garvey also charged Amos with advising defense lawyers at his mail fraud trial not to help him (Garvey afterwards defended himself) and of attempting to intimidate Garvey's own lawyer. Garvey's charges against Amos continued lengthily--that he and other enemies of Garvey had indulged in scenes of unrestrained glee following the prosecutor's summation; that on the opening day of the trial he was heard to say, after the prosecutor's opening address, "See, I have started my fireworks" that he and Garvey's adversary, W. A. Domingo, were constantly together before and during the trial plotting Garvey's downfall; that they both were responsible, together with others, for anonymous letters allegedly threatening the judge, prosecutor and jury, purportedly on Garvey's

behalf; that reports of these letters were carefully times to appear in the press during the last days of the trial, to prejudice Garvey's case; that Amos let it be known long before the case was over, that Garvey would be convicted; that he bragged that he would get Garvey's neck; that he falsely swore to an affidavit that Garvey had never applied for and secured his first paper of citizenship; that he personally instigated much civil litigation against Garvey, occasioning much financial loss to the U.N.I.A. and allied concerns; that he personally attended many of these cases and would often be seen coming out of chambers in the company of judges and other court officials involved in these cases, while the cases were still in progress; that Amos controlled entry into the courtroom during the trial and excluded Garvey's supporters, while packing the room with anti-Garvey demonstrators; that Amos and others got a person serving three years for burglary to falsely swear that Garvey stored arms and ammunition in Liberty Hall, in order to publicize this news and prejudice the case against Garvey; that the day after Garvey's conviction, "Amos led a contingent of Secret Service men, marshals and policemen" to Liberty Hall and one of Garvey's Offices, "and discovered not even a wooden pistol"; that "a

peculiar relationship" existed between Amos, the prosecutor and an attorney of a firm that specialized in prosecuting civil claims against Garvey's organizations, they having already secured judgments aggregating over \$60,000.00; that Amos bragged that Garvey had been arrested during his 1924 International Convention on an income tax charge in order to discredit him before the assemblage and break up the convention; that Amos was under the influence of the rival N.A.A.C.P., of which he was a member; that "for the purpose of humiliating me and gloating over my condition and predicament, Amos has unwarrantedly, improperly and unnecessarily busied himself in being vindictively and maliciously active at my arrests, by posing and demonstrating grimaces, actions, demeanor, passing remarks and staring me in the face with bravado and glee;" that Amos was responsible for the crude show of force when Garvey was arrested at the 125th Street station in Manhattan, on his way to surrender after his appeal was turned down; that Amos accompanied the lone marshal who escorted Garvey to the Tombs prison; that the next day's newspapers proclaimed that Garvey had been apprehended by Amos; and that Amos had been heard to confide that the greatest pleasure of his life would have been to escort Garvey to the Atlanta penitentiary.³⁵

Amos transferred his main efforts to Garvey's wife, Amy Jacques Garvey, once he had safely seen Garvey

to jail. In 1926 we find J. Edgar Hoover, by now Director of the department's Bureau of Investigation, sending on a secret report on the activities of Garvey and his wife, sent to him from New York by Amos. Amos now alleged that Garvey was instructing his wife from jail to collect monies in circumstances amounting to a use of the mails to defraud. The warden of the jail doubted the accuracy of this allegation and Garvey considered it an outrage against his wife. Funds were being solicited for newly-acquired Liberty University, but he pointed out that therein lay no crime.³⁶

Hoover and the Bureau of Investigation maintained their interest in Garvey even after he was deported. In 1928, for example, he received a report of Garvey's doings in England from "a confidential source."³⁷ In 1929, presumably because of his interest in Garvey, Hoover's aid was enlisted in the case of John O. Garrett vs. the United States, where an attempt was being made to recover portions of the \$22,500.00 of Black Star Line money still impounded by the United States Shipping Board.³⁸ As late as 1930, Hoover was still dealing with the U.N.I.A., this time proffering information to the State Department which was investigating the activities of a Trinidadian in Chicago suspected of being in some way connected with Garvey's movement.³⁹

United States surveillance of Garvey's activities

abroad was as diligently pursued as surveillance at home. American consular agents and "confidential sources" from Sweden to Liberia, from Canada to Trinidad, kept a close watch on Garvey, his organization and its ramifications in their respective areas.

In 1919, for example, the American embassy in Stockholm, Sweden, informed Washington by telegram that a Swedish paper had published a "sensational despatch" from London on the Black Star Line and Garvey's boast of imminent race war.⁴⁰ Reports came from elsewhere in Europe, too, such as a 1930 report from the ambassador to France on the radical black movement in France and an instance of its connection with Garvey.⁴¹ From London, too, came evidence of United States government interest in Garvey and his associates. When in 1919, for example, the embassy there passed on to Washington a British secret intelligence report on "Unrest Among the Negroes"⁴² (including data on Garvey and his associates), the State Department was highly appreciative of British attention to "the problem of negro [sic] unrest throughout the world" and expressed a desire to obtain all possible information from London.⁴³ This is interesting since much of the British information was obtained through surveillance of their own carried on inside the United States. In 1920 the presence in London of Garvey's ex-spouse, Amy Ashwood Garvey, on her way to Liberia, occasioned a

telegram from the United States embassy to ascertain from the State Department whether she was involved in "Garvey's anti-white activities." The State Department thought she was not.⁴⁴ In 1921 United States officials in London, acting on State Department advice, refused temporarily to allow Garvey's old associate and former employer, Duse Mohamed Ali to obtain a visa to enter the United States, despite Mohamed's willingness to say uncomplimentary things about Garvey when interviewed by the United States Consul-General in London.⁴⁵ This incident took place at the same time as similar efforts were being made to prevent Garvey from re-entering the United States, after a trip to the Caribbean. As late as 1928, after Garvey's deportation, United States officials in England were still on his trail. This time they were investigating white Englishman Dr. Charles Garnett, who had aroused their suspicion by virtue of having chaired Garvey's Royal Albert Hall meeting.⁴⁶

Since Garvey's activities impinged largely on African, and especially Liberian affairs, United States surveillance extended to this area too. Liberia, especially, enjoyed a special relationship with the United States, having been founded in the nineteenth century with United States private and public money as a refuge for Afro-American emigrants. At times during Garvey's public career Liberia was reduced to a virtual colony of the United States, with its chronically troubled financial

affairs under United States control. The development and eventual consummation of interest in Liberia on the part of Firestone Rubber Company in the 1920's ensured the permanency of United States interest in the area. The State Department's interest in Garveyism in Liberia could not have been more explicit. In May 1921, the United States Minister Resident and Consul General was instructed "to watch closely and report fully all activities" of the U.N.I.A. His instructions continued, "The Department desires to know the names of persons in Liberia connected with this apparently subversive movement and wishes to be informed especially with regard to Gabriel Johnson, Mayor of Monrovia, who is reported to have taken an active part in furthering the aims of this movement."⁴⁷ This United States representative was in the happy position of being able to report to Washington that he had already embarked on the Garvey trail, even before being ordered to do so.⁴⁸ Reports on Garveyism also reached the State Department from United States officials in Sierra Leone.⁴⁹

After Garvey's deportation from the United States he visited Canada on several occasions, making speeches, holding conventions, and conducting classes. Many of his supporters crossed the border, especially from Detroit, to be with him on these occasions. Not unnaturally, he did not escape the ubiquitous gaze of Uncle Sam's representatives on these occasions. In late October of 1928,

for example, less than a year after his expulsion from the United States, Garvey arrived in Canada and spoke in favor of Al Smith, Democratic presidential candidate in the imminent United States elections. He was promptly arrested by Canadian immigration authorities shortly before he was due to address a Montreal audience. He was brought before a board of enquiry of the local immigration authorities in Montreal and ordered deported under regulations prohibiting political agitators. Upon explaining that he was in transit anyway, he was placed on a \$100.00 bond, given until November 7 to leave, and ordered not to indulge in any more public statements.⁵⁰ The Negro World presumed that all this must be the handiwork of the Republican Party,⁵¹ and as usual they were not too far from the truth. For the American consul general in Montreal unknown, of course, to the public, claimed credit for the action of the Canadian authorities. Writing to Washington on the day after the deadline for Garvey's departure, he informed his superiors that Garvey had arrived in Canada two weeks previously and delivered his speeches in support of the Democratic Party. Garvey then, for some unexplained reason, called at the consul general's office but left before he could be interviewed. At this stage the consul general's office contacted the Canadian immigration authorities and informed them that Garvey was an ex-convict and inadmissible into Canada. Whereupon the Canadian

authorities, in this official's words, acted "quietly and promptly" in arresting and muzzling him.⁵²

From the anglophone West Indies came periodic observations on Garvey and Garveyites, from such places as Jamaica⁵³ and the United States Virgin Islands, where no less a person than the President of the United States in 1923 requested a report on a local political figure suspected of being a Garveyite.⁵⁴

Surveillance in this area was particularly keen in Trinidad, especially in the two years or so immediately after the World War. This was due largely to the serious character of the upheaval and riots which occurred there in 1919. The American consul in Port-of-Spain conferred regularly and swapped information on Garveyite influence with the British governor and police authorities. Not much escaped his attention. Characteristic of his zeal was his request from the local police authorities in 1920 of confidential character sketches of two young Trinidadians mentioned in a local black newspaper as hopefuls for employment in the Black Star Line.⁵⁵ The consul in Trinidad was among the strongest critics of what he considered Washington's tolerance in allowing Garvey's propaganda to leave New York for the islands. In 1920, for example, he admonished the State Department:

I have several times lately in despatches to the Department, mentioned the pernicious effects here already of this propaganda from New York, which

was probably largely responsible for the recent riots in Trinidad and Tobago. I cannot too strongly express my own opinion to the effect that this propaganda from New York should not be tolerated by our government.⁵⁶

This worldwide surveillance extended inevitably into Latin America, where some of the strongest U.N.I.A. branches existed. Reports flowed regularly into the State Department from such places as Costa Rica,⁵⁷ Panama,⁵⁸ and Cuba, where in 1921 the American chargé d'affaires requested an informal investigation of the U.N.I.A. and the nationality of its officers.⁵⁹ In Santo Domingo, then an occupied country, United States marines at the beginning of the 1920's suppressed the U.N.I.A. and arrested its leaders.⁶⁰

In Latin America, State Department surveillance was supplemented by that of the United Fruit Company, a huge employer of U.N.I.A. labor, and one-time employer of Garvey himself. In January 1920, for example, Marie Duchatellier, writing from Panama City where she was engaged on a promotional tour for the U.N.I.A. and Black Star Line, explained that the United Fruit Company had used its influence with the governments of Panama and the Canal Zone to try and prevent the U.N.I.A. delegation from landing. She reported that the local blacks together with the West Indians and led by a radical Spanish Panamanian, Morales, forced the hand of the authorities by threatening to strike on the Canal and burn down the

city of Colon.⁶¹ The company also kept a check, on occasion, of monies remitted by its workmen to Garvey's organizations. Such information was turned over to the local United States consul.⁶²

The United Fruit Company was not the only non-governmental or quasi-governmental body supplementing official surveillance. Another was the National Civic Federation, a powerful pressure group consisting of big businessmen, conservative leaders of organized labor and various public figures. In August 1920, in the midst of Garvey's epochal First International Convention of Negro Peoples of the World, the federation embarked on a novel means of ascertaining Garvey's position. A representative simply visited and interviewed several of the most important Afro-American political figures over the period of a few days.⁶³ The first person visited by the interviewer, Charles Mowbray White, was none other than Garvey himself. On August 18 he interviewed Garvey at the Black Star Line offices. Garvey presented him with a copy of the Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World and regaled him with stories of U.N.I.A. sympathy with communists and Irish liberationists. Garvey also explained that he did not advocate the return of all black people to Africa and relegated W. E. B. DuBois to the status of "ante-bellum Negro." To Garvey's intimation of an intention to visit Africa soon, White responded by appending

to his report a warning that the British government should be warned to keep him out of that continent.

Two days later White was at the offices of the Messenger, radical organ of New York's black socialists A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen. Owen did most of the talking but White reported that Randolph concurred in his partner's sentiments. From these purported socialists White learned that Garvey could not possibly be Bolshevik because "he has made no effort to study the socialist movement headed by us." Garvey, they said, was an uneducated ignoramus who knew nothing about the Afro-American, being leader of a "purely West Indian" movement. Owen and Randolph even advanced the hypothesis that Garvey might be working with the Department of Justice to destroy black solidarity by siphoning away money from rival organizations. They also expressed the conviction that Garvey's slogan of "Africa for the Africans" was unscientific, whereas they were scientific internationalists. They predicted that Garvey's schemes would collapse within three months.

This was followed two days later by a visit to W. E. B. DuBois. DuBois, like Randolph and Owen, considered the U.N.I.A. a West Indian rather than an Afro-American movement. According to White's transcript, DuBois attributed a large following to Garvey not only in the Caribbean but also in the East Indies. DuBois thought

that Garvey was allied with Bolsheviks and Sinn Feiners, and predicted a not too distant demise for the U.N.I.A.

White's mission took him next (on August 23) to Frederick Moore of the well-established black weekly, the New York Age. He, too, considered the U.N.I.A. a West Indian affair. He boasted about how nice and conservative his paper was, and expressed puzzlement at the authorities' reluctance to pounce on the "mountebank" Garvey, whom he accused of utopian and socialistic preachings.

The line between surveillance and harassment of Garvey and the U.N.I.A. was a thin one. Official surveillance obviously was not an end in itself. It was predicated on the assumption that Garvey was a subversive character whom the United States would be better off without. Official surveillance, therefore, was merely the backdrop against which a protracted war of attrition was enacted as a result of which, over an eleven year period, Garvey and his organizations were relentlessly harassed, culminating in the arrest, trial, imprisonment and deportation of Garvey himself.

This process started, as has been hinted above, not long after Garvey's arrival in the United States. Reference has already been made to Amy Ashwood's summonses before the District Attorney in 1918. In 1919 Garvey himself had a series of confrontations with public officials in New York. The Negro World of June 14, 1919, for example,

carried a Garvey account of his recent appearance before an official described as a State Attorney of New York at the latter's behest. On this occasion Garvey claimed that some "political grafters and conscienceless crooks," members of the race, had informed the New York police authorities that the Negro World was responsible for mailing bombs through the post to certain persons. These charges were not proved and the informers were expelled from the U.N.I.A.⁶⁴

During this same month Garvey's tribulations involving Edwin P. Kilroe, Assistant District Attorney of the county of New York, began. This time he was subpoenaed to the District Attorney's office together with Amy Ashwood, then secretary of the ladies' division of the U.N.I.A. and compelled to produce the books of the Black Star Line. Once again the cause had been complaints by recalcitrant members of the U.N.I.A. Other meetings followed, both as a result of complaints by U.N.I.A. rivals and Kilroe's own objections to matter appearing in the Negro World. Out of the conflict between the two came a libel action brought against Garvey by Kilroe. A retraction followed in the Negro World. Garvey afterwards claimed that his would-be murderer during an assassination attempt in 1919 informed him, before shooting, that he had been sent by Kilroe.⁶⁶

One of the more interesting United States

offensives in the continuing campaign against Garvey was the attempt by the State Department to prevent Garvey from re-entering the United States after a visit to the West Indies and Central America in 1921. For all its seriousness, the case was heavily overlaid with melodrama, as Garvey and the State Department and its consular representatives literally played hide and seek all over the Caribbean for five months.

Garvey left New York in February of 1921, journeyed by train to Florida, from which he proceeded by sea to Havana, Cuba. He made a triumphant tour of Cuba and was received by the island's president.⁶⁷ From Cuba he boarded the S.S. Antonio Maceo of the Black Star Line for Jamaica. Then the plot thickened. On March 1, American Consul Charles L. Latham, writing from his post in Kingston, Jamaica, informed the Secretary of State in Washington that the Daily Gleaner of that date had announced Garvey's impending arrival. He requested instructions concerning the visaing of Garvey's passport, should he intend returning to the United States, this in view of what he considered Garvey's subversive record.⁶⁸ On March 25, the State Department despatched its reply: "In view of the activities of Garvey in political and race agitation, you are instructed to refuse him a visa and to inform at the same time the Consul at Port Antonio [Jamaica] of your action."⁶⁹ On April 11 Garvey duly

presented himself at Latham's office and requested a visa to travel to the United States Canal Zone and then back to the United States. He was accompanied by Cleveland Augustus Jacques and Amy Euphemia Jacques (later his second wife), the latter described by Latham as secretary to the Negro Factories Corporation. All three had already booked passages for the same afternoon. Latham informed Garvey that he could not grant him a visa without time for due consideration and advised him to return the following day. He issued visas to Garvey's two companions, however. All three therefore cancelled their bookings for the Canal Zone and sailed the next day for Port Limon, Costa Rica, instead. Latham informed Washington of all this and of the fact that all American consular officials in Caribbean ports had been notified by mail that Garvey was not to be granted a visa.⁷⁰

More details of this notification were despatched to the State Department the following day (April 13) from Jamaica. Washington was advised that the consul-general at Panama had been telegraphed, since Garvey might yet attempt to land there. In such a case the view was expressed that "he would arouse considerable racial antagonism among the negroes [sic]" in the Canal Zone and the Republic of Panama, should he succeed.⁷¹

Once in Costa Rica Garvey attempted, as the United States officials had predicted, to obtain a visa

for Panama. Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes on April 26 informed his legation in San Jose, Costa Rica by telegram that Garvey must not be granted a visa.⁷² On May 2, the legation at San Jose replied advising Hughes that Garvey had already left for Bocas del Toro, Panama, by the time that Hughes' communication had arrived. He had entered Panama with a visa from the Panamanian consul in Boston.⁷³ In Panama he was again refused entry into the United States Canal Zone. He therefore boarded a launch and set out from Panamanian territory for Colon, where he arrived in full view of the American authorities.⁷⁴ (This was risky but feasible, since Colon, though a virtual enclave separated from the rest of Panama by the United States Canal Zone and the sea, is nevertheless not within the jurisdiction of the United States Canal Zone. Under normal circumstances Garvey would have travelled by train from Panama through the Canal Zone to Colon.)

From Panama Garvey returned to Jamaica and by May 7 American consul Latham was informing Washington that Garvey might attempt to enter the United States as a crew member of the Black Star Line's Kanawha (as the Antonio Maceo was still officially known).⁷⁵ On May 10 a secret urgent note was despatched from Secretary of State Hughes in Washington, "Refuse visa crew list SS Kanawha, if Garvey's name appears thereon, unless his name is removed therefrom."⁷⁶ Meanwhile the officials of the Black Star

Line in New York contacted the State Department on the question of their refusal to allow Garvey back.⁷⁷

Latham's perturbation increased shortly thereafter when he was informed that Garvey, on his earlier journey from Santiago de Cuba on the Black Star Line vessel, had shipped as purser without the knowledge of the American consul there. He thought this "very extraordinary." He suspected that Garvey might again be leaving for Port Limon on this vessel on or about May 20, and telegraphed instructions as to preventing Garvey from shipping as a member of the crew or a passenger.⁷⁸ The Secretary of State's telegraphed reply on May 20 admitted that the State Department could not prevent Garvey from travelling to Costa Rica, but the American consul at Port Limon was reminded to refuse Garvey a visa for the United States if he should show up there.⁷⁹

In the United States, meanwhile, a U.N.I.A. attorney had obtained a hearing at the State Department and had requested Garvey's return on the grounds that he was needed to transact Black Star Line business.⁸⁰ A week and a half after this interview, however, a memorandum from the office of the Solicitor of the State Department was still referring to Garvey as a troublemaker and suggesting "that he should be kept out of the United States if possible," though expressing doubt about the legality of refusing a bill of health to the Antonio

Maceo (Kanawha) as suggested by Latham, if Garvey should attempt to ship to the United States as a crew member. In such a case though, it would be sufficient to refuse to visa the crew list to ensure that all aliens would be kept on board if it arrived without a visaed crew list.⁸¹

Nevertheless, by this time this elaborate farce was about to play itself out. On June 22 Garvey, still in Jamaica, despatched a telegram to Secretary of State Hughes requesting that he instruct his consul to visa his passport.⁸² By this time, fortunately for Garvey, a new person had assumed Latham's position in Kingston. Garvey presented this new consul on June 23 with a request from the directors of the Black Star Line in New York that his passport be visaed.⁸³ By some coincidence the State Department found itself temporarily with an acting Secretary of State replacing Hughes at the same time as a new face appeared at the Kingston consulate. This new combination of actors first authorized the granting of Garvey's visa on June 25 and then finally issued it to him in Kingston on June 28.⁸⁴

Still, Garvey's problems were not yet over. On arrival in New Orleans on a banana boat by way of Guatemala, he was detained by the immigration authorities who were surprised at his valid passport and were evidently playing for time while they could devise some new scheme to hinder him further. He was finally allowed to enter

the country after despatching telegrams to the President and the Secretary of State on July 13, 1921.⁸⁵

As has been mentioned before, Secretary of State Hughes was refusing a visa to Garvey's long time associate Duse Mohamed Ali in London at the same time as he was playing hide and seek with Garvey in the Caribbean. The reason for the sudden granting of Garvey's visa is not clear. Certainly the presumption is strong that the sudden fortuitous and simultaneous change of personnel handling his case both in Kingston and in Washington may have been the stroke of good fortune that saved Garvey from an indefinite enforced stay outside of the United States. Garvey's escape may have been a narrow one indeed. The opinions of Hughes, Latham and others were too clearly expressed on their resolve to keep Garvey out of the United States to leave any room for doubt. The attempt to stall him in New Orleans, even after he received his visa, was certainly consistent with the other actions of the State Department. Garvey himself, obviously not fully aware of the nature of the correspondence which was emanating from Washington during these months concluded, and not necessarily wrongly, that his black enemies had goaded Washington into the action,⁸⁶ but that the real culprit was the consul in Kingston, Charles Latham. Being thus cast into the role of villain displeased Latham and he complained to Washington that New York papers were

carrying Garvey's opinions that it was his recourse to the State Department that led to a reversal of Latham's intentions to prevent his re-entry. Latham reminded the State Department of its role in the affair,⁸⁷ and his pique was understandable. Amy Jacques Garvey, discussing her husband's imprisonment in 1927, thought that the British government was implicated in the episode.⁸⁸

Official harassment also included annual efforts to disrupt Garvey's annual conventions in New York. The first conference in 1920, with its overflow audience of 25,000, had ensured Garvey's permanence as a world figure who could not be ignored. The propaganda victory accruing to Garvey as a result of the conference had also increased his position as an irritant to the United States government. Accordingly, subsequent conventions became targets for attack. The State Department effort to keep Garvey out of the United States in 1921 almost succeeded in causing him to miss the convention for that year. He managed to obtain re-entry into the country just over two weeks before the convention was due to begin, and this after being away, mostly by force, for five months. The refusal of a visa to Duse Mohamed Ali in April may possibly have been influenced by a fear that he might attend the convention. Certainly, this was a motive in attempts by immigration authorities some weeks before the convention began, to deny entry to the Mayor of Monrovia,

Liberia, Gabriel M. Johnson.⁸⁹ Johnson had been elected ceremonial head, or Potentate, of the U.N.I.A. in 1920, and was returning for the second convention. The 1923 convention had to be cancelled altogether due to a refusal of bail to Garvey after his conviction for alleged mail fraud. The trial ended over a month before the convention, but though Garvey lodged an appeal bail was refused, the refusal being compounded by the fact that the prosecutor and chief witness for the prosecution sailed for Europe immediately after its conclusion.⁹⁰ On August 4, 1924 with that year's convention barely begun, a grand jury indicted Garvey for an allegedly fraudulent income tax return for 1921. The indictment also contained a count of perjury.⁹¹ Garvey was arrested while presiding over the assembly but this time managed to obtain release on bail and was able to continue the conference. Garvey considered the indictment a fraud since it was based on imaginary income for the period when he was forcibly kept out of the country.⁹² Garvey's nemesis, special agent Amos of the Department of Justice, bragged that the arrest had been a deliberate attempt to embarrass the convention,⁹³ and the communist Daily Worker, which was covering the convention, charged as much.⁹⁴

It was not uncommon for U.N.I.A. halls to be raided by the authorities. Several Liberty Halls, including that of Garvey's headquarters in New York, were

subjected to this treatment. Possibly the most serious of these episodes was one which came to be known in U.N.I.A. circles as the Chattanooga Outrage. The incident took place on August 4, 1927, when, in the words of the Negro World, "a mob of white devils raided a peaceful meeting of the Chattanooga, Tenn., division and killed, wounded and imprisoned several Garveyites."⁹⁵ Apparently the police had previously prohibited U.N.I.A. meetings (street meetings only, according to the Negro World). On the night in question the police invaded an indoor meeting. Members of the Universal African Legions stationed at the door requested the police to produce warrants authorizing their entry, whereupon the police refused and opened fire. The legionnaires returned the fire. The result was a number of casualties on both sides.⁹⁶ The Baltimore Afro-American, normally hostile to Garvey, expressed its indignation at the action of these southern police. It editorialized:

The Chattanooga riot represents the typical Southern white reaction to colored organizations provided with military uniforms and weapons. In Tennessee a Negro cannot join the State Militia, but he can join the African Guards of Garvey, and the women are recruited as Black Cross Nurses.⁹⁷

Four U.N.I.A. members were subsequently tried and convicted on charges arising out of this incident. They were assisted by a U.N.I.A. defense fund set up to meet the emergency.⁹⁸

In Fort Smith, Arkansas, the charter of the local division was seized and seven of its officers fined and imprisoned in 1924.⁹⁹ A year earlier, in the wake of the shooting death of ex-Garveyite J. W. H. Eason, a Department of Justice sponsored raid took place on a mass meeting of the New Orleans division. The New York Amsterdam News reported that twenty-one persons present were arrested.¹⁰⁰ The records of the division were seized and a nationwide anarchistic plot among black people was supposedly uncovered. The Department of Justice announced that it would examine all of the two to eight thousand persons they suspected were members of the New Orleans division.¹⁰¹ Garvey immediately despatched a telegram and a letter to the United States Attorney-General protesting the raid and informing him that the U.N.I.A. was not only not anarchistic, but actually loyal.¹⁰² A top national official of the U.N.I.A., Thomas W. Anderson, Assistant Secretary-General, expressed the satisfaction of martyrdom felt by Garveyite victims of such raids:

We have been to prison for the Universal Negro Improvement Association, thank God! If our going to prison or even suffering death would advance the cause of Negro freedom, as advocated by the Universal, we would as willingly enter the prison cells or the vale of death as we would take a drink of water when thirsty.¹⁰³

The official campaign against Garvey reached into his private life. Garvey charged, for example, that the

prosecution for his mail fraud trial had brought his divorced first wife, "one Amy Ashwood, who sometimes uses the name of Amy Ashwood Garvey," as he put it, back into the country, even waiving some immigration procedures, to enlist her aid in an anti-Garvey campaign.¹⁰⁴ This first short-lived marriage, together with Garvey's subsequent courtship and marriage of Amy Jacques, also provided some enterprising persons, in the period while Garvey was still courting prior to each marriage, with the idea that he could be charged under some immorality statute such as the Mann "White Slavery" Act (which prohibited the interstate transportation of women for immoral purposes). In 1919, a few months prior to his marriage to Amy Ashwood, an anonymous writer to the Justice Department had suggested he be charged with violating the Mann Act since Ashwood had accompanied him on tour across state lines.¹⁰⁵ The United States consul in Kingston, Charles Latham, made a similar suggestion to the State Department concerning his then secretary Amy Jacques a mere month after Garvey had slipped away from him and re-entered the United States in 1921.¹⁰⁶ In July of that same year a telegram to the State Department originating in New York had again mentioned the Mann Act as a possible means of proceeding against Garvey, because of his courtship of Amy Jacques.¹⁰⁷ Garvey himself was aware of such schemes to frame him on a "white slavery" charge.¹⁰⁸

The post office, a long standing tool in the fight against radicals, sometimes figured in the official struggle against Garvey. As early as 1919 a copy of the British espionage report "Unrest Among the Negroes" had been forwarded by the State Department to the Postmaster-General for any action the latter might deem advisable.¹⁰⁹ Garvey's arrest in 1922, and subsequent conviction, imprisonment and deportation stemmed from a charge of using the mails to defraud.

But Garvey's tribulations at the hands of the post office continued, and in some respects even escalated after his deportation in 1927. Towards the end of 1928, for example, it was reported that the postal authorities were investigating what was described as a census of the Afro-American population. Garvey was said to be directing this alleged census from Jamaica and 40,000 letters were said to have already been sent out by him.¹¹⁰ Very shortly thereafter a group of persons signing themselves "Sufferers" wrote to the Attorney-General requesting that a stop be put to monies destined for Garvey since he was still, in their opinion, fraudulently fleecing black people in the United States.¹¹¹ It was not until 1932, though, that the postal authorities finally clamped down on Garvey's mail. On May 28 a postmaster in Yorges Island, South Carolina, wrote the Post Office Department at Charleston, South Carolina, informing them that for

the previous four to six weeks a large amount of first class mail had been coming in. It was all addressed to "negroes" [sic] and in care of a gentleman who did "not do any manual labor" but made a living as an organizer "among the more ignorant negroes in their various societies."¹¹² A remarkably rapid correspondence ensued between Yonges Island, Charleston and Washington, D.C., and a mere five days later the Postmaster-General in Washington issued a fraud order by virtue of which all of Garvey's mail was to be stamped "fraudulent" and returned to Jamaica undelivered. Also, no money orders issued to Garvey or any of his concerns was to be issued, certified or paid.¹¹³ It transpired that Garvey had on this occasion indeed unknowingly infringed the rules since some of the offending letters contained raffle tickets, the sending through the mails of which was illegal without official permission. As always, Garvey and his supporters in the United States embarked on the accustomed path of protest letters to the authorities, since the ban involved all mail to and from Garvey. The order was finally revoked two years later, in April of 1934.¹¹⁴ This two year embargo on Garvey mail thus accomplished what the Post Office Department had often been urged to do from at least a decade and a half earlier, when American consuls in the Caribbean, as well as various government officials and other persons in the United States, had urged a denial

of the mails to the Negro World.¹¹⁵

The means by which the United States was finally able to remove Garvey from the American scene once and for all was through the mechanism of the courts, and more specifically through the celebrated mail fraud trial in New York in 1923. The conviction handed down at this trial was affirmed by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in 1925. This case was the most important, but by no means the only one involving Garvey in the United States. From fairly early in his American period he and his concerns were practically continuously involved in litigation of one sort or another. There were libel cases against him, such as those brought by Assistant District Attorney Kilroe and communist Cyril Briggs, as well as libel cases brought by Garvey against such people and concerns as the Robert S. Abbott Publishing Company (publishers of the Chicago Defender) and black socialist W. A. Domingo. There were divorce suits and counter-suits involving Amy Ashwood Garvey. There were suits brought by the Black Star Line against persons and companies who had defrauded the corporation. There were numerous suits brought by Black Star Line and other employees for arrears of pay. There was the income tax case which was not officially declared nolle prosequi until 1932. There were cases against former employees for embezzlement or other dishonesty. Garvey had no

friend in the courts, as almost all these cases were determined in a manner unfavorable to him.¹¹⁶

The 1923 case marked the denouement in the long struggle between the United States and Garvey. The trial began one year after Garvey had been arrested on the charge of using the mails to defraud, in connection with promotion of the Black Star Line.¹¹⁷ Garvey had initially been indicted alone, after which the books and records of the Black Star Line and the U.N.I.A. had been seized by the authorities. The prosecution had used the lists of stockholders thusly obtained to send out circulars to them soliciting complaints against the corporation. Garvey alleged that Negro World subscribers also mysteriously began receiving rival black newspapers at this time. Upon realizing that the Black Star Line was a corporation rather than a private firm, the original indictment against Garvey alone was withdrawn and two new ones substituted. These named Garvey as President, Orlando Thompson as Vice-President, Eli Garcia as Secretary, and George Tobias as Treasurer respectively of the Black Star Line. This was apparently nothing more than a procedural move to safeguard the prosecution's case from dismissal on a technicality. Garvey was quite obviously the target, and his three co-defendants were eventually acquitted.

The case attracted much sensational publicity. Garvey himself attracted much of this when, very early in

the trial he accused his lawyer of counselling a deal inimical to his client's best interests. Garvey fired his lawyer at this point and thereafter defended himself. Garvey, being a colorful character, could not help but defend himself in flamboyant fashion.

The case itself was marked by many apparent irregularities, all working against Garvey. Right at the beginning, for example, application was made by Garvey to the trial judge, Judge Julian Mack, to disqualify himself, on the grounds that he was a member of or contributor to the N.A.A.C.P. This organization, of course, was hostile to Garvey, and its organ, the Crisis, had devoted much space to attacks on Garvey. Many of its high-ranking members had for many months been holding public meetings as part of a "Marcus Garvey Must Go" campaign and had actually written the Attorney-General of the United States asking him to get rid of Garvey.¹¹⁸ Judge Mack admitted his connection with the N.A.A.C.P. but did not consider himself biased thereby and denied the motion. Again, under cross examination by Garvey, a government witness, Schuyler Cargill, who claimed to have worked for the Black Star Line from 1919 to 1921, could not name a single fellow employee or the timekeeper during this period. He even admitted in answer to questions by Garvey and the judge, that he had been told by the prosecutor to testify to these dates of employment. When this

witness further could not give the location of the College Station post office where he claimed to have regularly mailed Black Star Line letters, he admitted having been told to give his testimony by Post Office Inspector Shea. Prosecution witnesses in general were characterized as "for the most part dishonest, dismissed and disgruntled ex-employees" of Garvey.¹¹⁹ Garvey's case was further prejudiced by the appearance in New York newspapers during the duration of the trial, of unsubstantiated stories of threatening letters being sent to the judge, prosecutor and jury. The prosecutor, for his part, concluded his remarks to the jury with the plea, "Gentlemen, will you let the tiger loose?" The tiger, of course, was Garvey. The co-defendants were ignored.

The two indictments contained thirteen counts and alleged a scheme to defraud by means of sending certain letters through the mail. Some counts also alleged a conspiracy on the part of the defendants to implement the same scheme. Garvey was convicted on only one count, namely that for the purpose of furthering his scheme, he caused to be sent, on or about December 13, 1920, "a certain letter or circular enclosed in a postpaid envelope addressed to 'Benny Dancy, 34 W. 131 St.'" in New York City. The prosecution produced an empty envelope bearing the Black Star Line stamp, and claimed that a particular letter promoting the Black Star Line had been posted in

it. Dancy, a Pennsylvania station cleaner, testified that government agents had come to his house and he had handed over the envelope to them there. He could not remember what had been in that particular envelope though he often received mail from the Black Star Line, the U.N.I.A. and the Negro Factories Corporation. Some of this mail he did not read, but some of what he read, he was sure "said invest more money in the Black Star Line for the case [sic] of purchasing bigger ships and so forth."

Garvey's lawyers, in setting forth their grounds for appeal, summarized their objections to the Dancy evidence and to the case and verdict in general as follows:

And when we seek to understand how it was that the jury, by some inexplicable, absurd process found that Garvey was guilty of mailing a circular or letter to Dancy, when there was not in the evidence any such circular or letter, and when there was not in the evidence any means by which the circular or letter could be identified, and when the sole exhibit consisted of an envelope, that did not even appear to have been addressed by Garvey, or through his procurement, then we feel fully justified in stating that the verdict was unjust, that it was the result of speculation, if not of passion or prejudice.¹²⁰

With the conclusion of the trial Garvey was on June 21 given the maximum sentence of five years, together with a \$1,000.00 fine. He was also ordered to pay the entire cost of the trial.¹²¹ The trial had been a long one, and this fact had apparently added to the judge's irritation, since he had other business to attend to. At

the close of the second week, for example, Judge Mack had requested the attorneys for both sides to speed up proceedings so that he could charge the jury at the end of the third week since he wanted to attend an international Jewish convention in Chicago. Garvey's response was to jump up and shout, "What? And jeopardize the liberty and freedom of Marcus Garvey!"¹²²

During the trial Garvey's weekly Negro World and his daily Negro Times reported the proceedings in uncharacteristically restrained fashion, due, Garvey said later, to threats from the prosecution to close down both papers.¹²³ It was not until Garvey was irrevocably lodged in jail after his unsuccessful appeal that articles denouncing the political nature of the trial began to appear frequently in the Negro World (the Negro Times having meanwhile ceased operations).

Garvey's problems did not end with his conviction. Despite his notice of appeal he was lodged in the Tombs prison and denied bail. Prosecutor Mattuck further argued that if even bail were set it should be in a high amount, since the monies of the U.N.I.A. were being used for the purchase of guns and ammunition for the Universal African Legions who would go to any means necessary to secure Garvey's release.¹²⁴ Garvey's followers spared no pains in their efforts to secure his release on bail. A Marcus Garvey Committee on Justice was immediately set up.

Some members of this committee journeyed to the Department of Justice to request bail for Garvey. During their discussions with department officials, Assistant Attorney-General W. G. Crim became irritated and expressed the desire to see a quick appeal so that Garvey could be sent to the federal jail in Atlanta.¹²⁵ In a subsequent application for pardon Garvey related that "before my trial and before the disposition of my case, one Mr. Crimm [sic] of New York politics, and of the Department of Justice of Washington, was heard to state in words most hateful and uncomplimentary that they are going to lock me away in Atlanta for five years or some such period, the exact language of which I am unable to recall just at this time."¹²⁶ When bail was finally allowed after three months it was set in the high figure of \$15,000.00. The extra three months incarceration pending bail was not afterwards deducted from his five year sentence.¹²⁷ Even after bail was granted Garvey's supporters were still faced with unusual frustrations, for no bonding companies would handle Garvey's bail and the \$15,000.00 had to be raised in cash.¹²⁸ In a further effort to harass the organization the bail was forfeited by Prosecutor Mattuck in February of 1925 when he issued a bench warrant for Garvey and had him arrested at the 125th Street station in Manhattan.¹²⁹ Garvey was on his way from Detroit to surrender to the authorities after being informed by

telegram that his appeal had been lost. He had been caught unawares because the appeal had suddenly been brought forward from the previously intimated date. The arrest and forfeiture of bail took place despite an agreement between Garvey's lawyer and the District Attorney that Garvey was on his way to surrender and would be produced on the following morning.¹³⁰ The forfeited bail money was only returned after several more months of legal battles.¹³¹

Garvey's conviction received its ultimate seal of finality when the Supreme Court in March of 1925 refused to review his case without bothering to proffer any reason for its refusal.¹³² Of this whole legal episode Garvey's counsel (whom he had retained to advise him after he assumed his own defense during the 1923 trial) remarked, "In my twenty-three years of practice at the New York Bar, I have never handled a case in which the defendant has been treated with such manifest unfairness and with such a palpable attempt at persecution as this one."¹³³

With the resolution of his appeal Garvey was despatched to the federal penitentiary in Atlanta, never to return to New York. But even the question of which prison he should go to involved behind the scenes official deliberation. After passing sentence Judge Mack had agreed to a change of prison from Atlanta to Leavenworth in Kansas if possible, since the southern prison might be

unbearably racist for somebody of Garvey's reputation. Garvey himself expressed a preference for Leavenworth. The court being advised that special authority would have to be sought from the Attorney-General, such authority was requested. The request was turned down by Washington on the grounds that the request stated as its only reason the fact of Garvey's color.¹³⁴

With Garvey in Atlanta, a defense committee was quickly formed and from the time of his incarceration until his eventual deportation in 1927 an intense pressure was brought to bear on United States officialdom for the release of Garvey. U.N.I.A. branches from all over the world despatched tens of thousands of signatures, petitions, letters, resolutions, telegrams and the like to various government departments and to the President of the United States requesting Garvey's release without deportation. Thousands of these are still lodged in the National Archives of the United States. Mass rallies were held in Harlem and elsewhere for the same purpose. On such occasions throngs of people would march behind an open car carrying Garvey's robes and a huge portrait of the imprisoned leader. Many black churches regularly celebrated "Marcus Garvey Sunday" when prayers were offered for his release. Many black, and some white newspapers lent their editorial columns to protests against the irregular aspects of the trial and the need for justice to be seen to

be done. The U.N.I.A. despatched delegations to various persons, including one to Pardon Attorney James A. Finch.¹³⁵ At headquarters Liberty Hall in Harlem Garvey's chair was left empty at meetings with his robes of office draped over it. Some middle of the road black intellectuals denounced the imprisonment of Garvey as politically motivated. Dean Kelly Miller of Howard University wrote, "It is a dangerous principle to impose legal punishment upon men for their belief rather than for their behavior. This trick is as old as political cunning and chicanery. . . . Did they not treat Socrates, Jesus and John Brown so?"¹³⁶ Professor W. H. H. Hart of the Howard University law school showed that Garvey was wrongly incarcerated.¹³⁷ Even some of Garvey's bitterest enemies, such as William Pickens of the N.A.A.C.P. who had agitated for his imprisonment, had second thoughts in the light of the injustice which had been perpetrated. To cap it all, in January 1927 nine of the twelve jurors who had returned the verdict of guilty against Garvey signed a declaration stating that Garvey was by then in their opinion sufficiently punished. Two of the jurors could not be located and one declined. One juror, a Martin J. Cregan, admitted that he had held out for a long time in the jury room against the conviction of Garvey. He had preferred convicting co-defendant Orlando Thompson instead but was eventually dissuaded by his fellow jurors.¹³⁸

Garvey, of course, agreed concerning the political nature of his conviction. While still lodged in the Tombs prison in 1923 he declared, "I am here because I dared to tell the Negro that the time has come for him to lift up his head and be a man."¹³⁹ He never ceased referring to his trial as a frame-up by the United States government because of his influence.¹⁴⁰ And from jail Garvey despatched several applications for pardon and letters to influential persons. In February of 1925, for example, he solicited the aid of a Senator James E. Watson for a review of the inequities in his case, adding, "It will make interesting American history." The senator took the matter up with the Justice Department but was informed that there was no basis for Garvey's complaint.¹⁴¹ Garvey also despatched applications for executive clemency in 1925, 1926 and 1927.¹⁴²

In jail, meanwhile, the authorities tried to shield Garvey from the curious, such as a stranger who wanted to interview him for a book he was writing, from his enemies, such as the Baltimore Afro-American, which requested information on what work was assigned to Garvey, what kind of food he was eating, etc., no doubt for yet another sensational article, and from his more solicitous friends, who requested a medical certificate showing Garvey's current health condition.¹⁴³

The most important consequence of Garvey's trial

and conviction, in terms of the protracted struggle waged against him by the United States government, was that it finally cleared the way for his deportation. In 1921 the government had almost succeeded in keeping Garvey out of the country, and official circles had been considering ways and means of getting rid of him through deportation even before that. As early as August 1919 Assistant Attorney-General R. P. Stewart transmitted an anonymous letter he had received informing on Garvey's allegedly unlawful activities to the Secretary of Labor inquiring whether any action could be taken under the immigration laws. The Department of Labor promised to look into the matter.¹⁴⁴ Two months later, on October 11, 1919, J. Edgar Hoover of the Department of Justice penned his "Memorandum for Mr. Ridgely," in which he regretted that Garvey had not yet violated any federal statute making him liable to deportation as an undesirable alien.¹⁴⁵ On October 15, 1919, R. P. Stewart forwarded further information to the Department of Labor. He informed the department that if they could not see fit to deport Garvey, then he would suggest turning the information over to the Post Office Department to determine whether Garvey was guilty "of using the mails in furtherance of a scheme to defraud."¹⁴⁶ It will be remembered that Hoover's memorandum contained a similar suggestion.

Garvey's narrow escape from unofficial deportation

in 1921 brought home to him in a most pertinent manner the vulnerability of his position as a British subject. Immediately upon re-entry into the United States he therefore obtained his first citizenship papers in New York City and looked forward to obtaining his full citizenship two years later.¹⁴⁷ But before his citizenship could become final he was arrested, indicted, tried and convicted. The result of all this was that with a crime involving "moral turpitude" now against his name, he was not only hindered in his bid to obtain full citizenship, but became immediately exposed to the danger of deportation. Thus Garvey argued in an application for pardon in June 1925 that not only had he been framed on the mail fraud charge, but that the 1924 income tax charge had been introduced as a standby in case the mail fraud case should fail. And if they both failed, Garvey thought that he would still be charged with "white slavery" under the Mann Act or on some other charge which could render him deportable.¹⁴⁸

The official attempt to move against Garvey before he could become a United States citizen was facilitated by the simultaneous clamour for his deportation raised by his black detractors of the "Marcus Garvey Must Go" campaign. Chandler Owen, for example, co-editor with A. Philip Randolph of the supposedly socialist Messenger, pushed the case for Garvey's deportation. In an article

of 1922 he sought to distinguish between his magazine's objections to the deportation of foreign-born European radicals on the one hand, and its advocacy of deportation for black Garvey, by arguing that radicals should only be against the deportation of class war prisoners, which Garvey in his opinion was not. He then examined the several clauses of the immigration laws to show their applicability to Garvey. The laws rendered deportable, for instance, "Persons who are directly or indirectly members of or affiliated with any organization entertaining and teaching disbelief in or opposition to organized government." He argued that Garvey's association with the Ku Klux Klan qualified him here. Garvey also qualified, in his opinion, under a clause relating to people likely to become a public charge, in view of his Black Star Line dealings. Again, the law referred to "all idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons" and the like. Here, too, he thought that Garvey would qualify.¹⁴⁹

Accordingly, no sooner was Garvey's conviction upheld on appeal in 1925, than the government's intention to deport him after the expiry of his jail term was made known.¹⁵⁰ And shortly after his arrival in Atlanta he was brought before the immigration authorities there for a hearing as a result of which a warrant of deportation was issued against him, ready to be executed whenever he should be released from jail.¹⁵¹

The question of the legality of Garvey's deportation is shrouded in considerable uncertainty. According to immigration authorities Garvey was deported (on December 2, 1927) on the grounds:

That he was a person likely to become a public charge at the time of his entry; and

That, subsequent to May 1, 1917, he has been sentenced to imprisonment for a term of one year or more because of conviction in this country of a crime involving moral turpitude committed within five years after entry, to wit: using the mails to defraud.¹⁵²

This was, of course, nothing but a recitation of the provisions of the relevant statute. Garvey's date of entry into the country was given here as 1921, which did not make too much sense since the crime he was accused of having committed (sending the Black Star Line circular through the mails) was allegedly committed in December 1920, even though he was not arrested until 1922. Thus, according to this statement the crime was committed not within five years of entry, but before entry. The 1921 date, of course, was the date of last entry, Garvey having initially entered in 1916.

Perhaps because he considered his deportation inevitable, Garvey seems not to have offered any objections during the deportation hearings in March of 1925, even though he testified on that occasion.¹⁵³ This is borne out by his willingness, expressed in the following month, to waive his right to remain in the country although

under protest since he was sure he was not in a legally deportable category. He wrote on this occasion (as part of an application for clemency):

That I am cognizant of the fact that I do not fall under the deportable statute, yet for the purpose of satisfying my enemies who are politically powerful enough to frame, indict and convict me without ordinary hope of redress and for showing my willingness to obey the laws as interpreted by those in authority, I have waived my rights to contest, beyond the allotting of a reasonable time for me to straighten out all my many business affairs in the interest of my race in America, by signifying my willingness to leave the country, the land of the Pilgrims and of Liberty. . . .¹⁵⁴

He wrote in similar vein to the Pardon Attorney in December 1925. Here he gave ill-health (asthma) as the reason for his renewed application. He recounted the fact that his earlier application for clemency had been refused and was not submitted to the President. Since, he said, he heard that he was to be deported he would leave on his own accord if given two weeks to gather his belongings and remove his family. "This I respectfully request," he stated, "so as to save the further humiliation of arrest by the Department of Labor and deportation as a criminal to my home where I have never committed crime and where my character is unimpeached."¹⁵⁵ Yet by late 1926 we find him complaining that since he has been in jail his enemies have visited the Department of Labor to press for his deportation.¹⁵⁶

Garvey's uncertainty over what position to adopt

concerning his deportation was matched by a similar uncertainty in at least some official quarters. In January of 1926, for example, Attorney-General John Sargent briefed the President on Garvey's application for commutation of sentence. He pointed out that Garvey, as an alien, was ineligible for parole and was in any case under a deportation order. Assistant United States Attorney Mattuck, the prosecutor in the mail fraud case, was still, Sargent wrote, opposed to deportation. Judge Mack, however, was not opposed to commutation with deportation, but not before Garvey should have served two years of actual imprisonment. The Attorney-General then went on to state his own very unique objections to deportation:

Garvey undoubtedly holds today an important and controlling influence over many thousands of the Negro race in the United States, and while it may be that his further imprisonment will result in dissatisfaction to a greater or less extent, his release and deportation would by no means eliminate him as a menace. While a prisoner, his activities are subject to control, but with unrestricted freedom in another country to continue his propaganda, he might become even a greater menace to his own race and to society generally.¹⁵⁷

He therefore counselled denial of Garvey's application. His argument is rendered doubly interesting by the fact that the British acting governor of Jamaica, Garvey's own country, shortly afterwards inquired of the Foreign Office in London whether it would be feasible to ask the American authorities not to deport Garvey back to Jamaica, presumably because he feared the effect that Garvey would

have in that island, from which place he obviously could not be deported. The Foreign Office thought that any such representations would serve no useful purpose.¹⁵⁸

However, with the chorus of voices clamoring for Garvey's release building up to a crescendo, the Attorney-General by 1927 was ready to change his mind. In a memorandum to President Coolidge dated November 12, 1927, he counseled immediate commutation together with deportation. This time his advice was based on the "most unusual" and "by no means . . . healthy condition of affairs" induced by the Garvey case. He pointed out to the President that far from the imprisonment of Garvey serving as a deterrent to wrongdoing, the black population was regarding his continued incarceration as "an act of oppression of the race in their efforts in the direction of race progress." He pointed out that his advice would have been different were Garvey to remain in the United States.¹⁵⁹ So whereas in 1926 he had been fearful of the influence which Garvey might continue to have from abroad, by 1927 the Attorney-General considered the situation caused in the United States by Garvey's continued incarceration so critical that it was imperative to get him out of the country immediately. President Coolidge accordingly commuted Garvey's sentence on November 18, 1927. The official wording of the relevant parts of the document was as follows:

Whereas it has been made to appear to me that the

ends of justice have been sufficiently met in this case by the imprisonment already served: I, Calvin Coolidge, do hereby commute the sentence of the said Marcus Garvey to expire at once.¹⁶⁰

Under normal circumstances Garvey's sentence would have expired on October 14, 1928 with good conduct.¹⁶¹

Despite the fact that the President commuted the sentence on November 18 "to expire at once" it wasn't until November 21 that the Pardon Attorney got around to writing the warden of the prison to this effect. He enclosed the original warrant of commutation but told the warden not to deliver it until the immigration authorities called to take charge of Garvey for deportation.¹⁶² The warrant of commutation, of course, made no mention of deportation. Garvey meanwhile remained in jail totally ignorant of the fact that his sentence had several days previously expired "at once," and indeed several months after his release he seems to have believed that it was commuted on November 24, even though he claimed not to have been notified until even after that date.¹⁶³

While Garvey was being held in jail despite his commutation of sentence, his wife and lawyers were making feverish attempts to obtain at least a temporary respite for him to settle his affairs in New York. Armin Kohn, Garvey's lawyer, recalled his efforts in a long letter to Mrs. Amy Jacques Garvey.¹⁶⁴ On February 24, 1927 Kohn and Mrs. Garvey had journeyed to Washington, D. C. where

on February 25 Kohn, in the presence of Mrs. Garvey, presented arguments before Attorney-General Sargent for the commutation of Garvey's sentence. From 9 a.m. to 12 noon and from 2 p.m. to 3 p.m. were taken up with these arguments. This was followed by a long conference with Mr. Finch, the Pardon Attorney. A supplemental brief was submitted to Finch on behalf of Garvey. The following day Kohn submitted yet a third brief to Finch. Yet Kohn's first intimation of the President's commutation of November 18 came on November 23 when evening papers carried the story.

Kohn thereupon despatched a telegram to Atlanta penitentiary asking for further information. He was referred to the Immigration Department, to which he despatched a telegram which remained unanswered. He nevertheless presented himself a few days later at a hearing of the Board of Review of the Department of Labor, Immigration Division. There he was able to peruse the files on the Garvey case. Among the material in the files was a telegram from the Commissioner of Immigration at New York advising that Garvey's port of departure be changed from New York to New Orleans. The files showed also that on November 25 (a day or two previously) the Immigration Department had reconsidered a previous decision to release Garvey on \$1,000.00 bail. Instead they would detain him for immediate deportation.

Later that same day Kohn presented his arguments to the Board of Review. The chairman of the board, in replying stated that he could not release Garvey on bail because the President's commutation was dependent on immediate deportation. (Kohn did not yet know that the warrant of commutation did not in fact bear any such proviso.) Kohn's letter continued, "After a lengthy pro and con, in which it appeared that the Chairman of the Board was the attorney arguing in opposition to the application, a decision upon the application was reserved." This appeared to be a delaying tactic and Kohn objected, apparently in vain. He therefore hurried to New Orleans hoping to lodge a writ of habeas corpus and argue against the government's right to deport Garvey. His argument would be based on the fact that Garvey's residence in the United States should date from 1917 [sic] rather than 1921 (the year of his re-entry after his enforced stay in the Caribbean) as the government alleged. He would argue that Garvey in 1921 had been issued a green tax clearance receipt stating that he would be returning soon. This, Kohn would argue, was tantamount to acceptance as a resident alien and thus Garvey's return did not constitute re-entry within the meaning of s. 4298 1/3 of the United States Revised Statutes which provided, inter alia, that an alien resident of five years or less was deportable upon commission of a crime. He would argue that since

Garvey arrived in 1917 [sic] and was convicted six years later in 1923, he was not within the provisions of this law. (He does not seem to have addressed himself to the fact, which may have defeated his argument, that Garvey's alleged crime was in fact committed in 1920, well within the five year period based on 1917, even though the conviction came in 1923; or, for that matter, the contrary consideration which may have reduced the government's case to an absurdity, namely that if, as they alleged, Garvey's entry into the country could only date from 1921, and if the five year period began with that date, then he could hardly be deported for a crime committed before entry.)

Presumably on his way to Louisiana, Kohn stopped in Atlanta and visited Garvey where he was held at a United States Immigration station. For some strange reason Garvey decided against the habeas corpus attempt because he did not want to obstruct the Immigration Department. Garvey's action may possibly be explainable by the fact that both he and Kohn still thought that the warrant of commutation was explicitly contingent upon deportation. For immediately prior to his deportation he did despatch telegrams of protest to the President and the Secretary of Labor.¹⁶⁵ He may possibly already have boarded the ship at New Orleans when he despatched these telegrams, for he explained a few months later that it was only then

that he learned the true conditions of his commutation.¹⁶⁶

With Garvey against the habeas corpus procedure, therefore, Kohn decided that his last chance lay in persuading the "authorities at Washington to voluntarily and without court order give Garvey a reasonable respite" to visit New York and settle his affairs. So he left Atlanta immediately for Washington. Here he argued his case before a Judge Smeltzer at the Department of Labor. The judge refused a short release on bail, citing the alleged presidential deportation stipulation. Kohn next headed for the Department of Justice where he met with no success. What happened next is best related in his own words:

However, at this office, the writer saw the copy of the commutation of the President and not a single word is set out in that commutation for deportation. In other words, the commutation of sentence is a clear-cut unconditional commutation and is not, as was stated repeatedly by various officials in the Immigration Department, subject to immediate deportation. [Emphasis in original.]

The authorities, of course, were fully aware of their deception. A "Memorandum In Re Marcus Garvey" lodged in the files of the office of the Pardon Attorney and dated December 14, 1927, explains that the commutation was indeed unconditional but points out that Garvey in an application for clemency had expressed his desire to leave voluntarily after some time to arrange his affairs in New

York. The memorandum concluded, however, that the deportation was effected "by operation of law" rather than through the President or the Department of Justice.¹⁶⁷ Presumably this was a reference to deportation for crime committed within the five year period.

The question remains as to why the Immigration Department lied to Kohn if the "operation of law" would have secured Garvey's deportation in any event. The answer may be that they were not unaware of possible flaws in the "operation of law" argument, based as it was on the possibly unsound premise that Garvey had entered the United States in 1921, rather than in 1916. Had Kohn seen the warrant of commutation in time there might well have ensued a lengthy legal battle during all of which time Garvey would have been free. Such freedom may have been in time to arrest the splits which were beginning to develop within the U.N.I.A. Certainly, in view of the mantle of martyrdom (which Garvey knew to exploit so well) and in view of the broadly-based support for his release, he might have pushed the U.N.I.A. in America on to deeds rivalling its early years.

One point worth making, however, from the point of view of officialdom, is that the presidential commutation, though devoid of any reference to deportation, was probably not necessarily any indication of presidential opposition to deportation. It may even have been an

oversight, since the President had been advised by the Attorney-General that commutation plus immediate deportation was the best course. Still, it would appear that by taking no chances and lying about the warrant of commutation the authorities bought barely enough time to get Garvey out without what would have been a much more formidable fight. So that in 1927 the United States succeeded as narrowly in deporting Garvey as he himself had narrowly succeeded in worming his way back into the country in 1921.

Attempts to enable Garvey to re-enter the country were made throughout the rest of his life, up to shortly before his death.¹⁶⁸ These attempts were made both by U.N.I.A. members and white segregationists such as Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi. A report of 1929 stated that black Chicago congressman Oscar de Priest and Robert L. Ephriam, president of the Chicago U.N.I.A. had met together with others to discuss the possibility of bringing Garvey back to the United States. Garvey at about the same time, said that he would not want to return to the United States except as a private citizen, since rotten United States politics had been a source of great trouble to him.¹⁶⁹ In 1931 the Negro World started a campaign for 100,000 signatures to support a petition for Garvey's return.¹⁷⁰ The move was opposed by veteran black anti-Garveyist George S. Schuyler and the conservative New

York Age which thought that Garvey's return would be a calamity.¹⁷¹ In January of 1935 Garvey himself wrote the Secretary of State and the Attorney-General informing them that he wished to spend thirty-five days in transit in New York on his way to England. He wished to obtain medical treatment for diabetes and see friends while there.¹⁷² For several months in 1934 and 1935 the secretary of the Philadelphia U.N.I.A. sent a steady stream of letters to President F. D. Roosevelt, the Department of Justice and the Department of Labor's Immigration and Naturalization Service asking for Garvey's return in spite of his conviction, or failing that then that his conviction be set aside to facilitate his return. He was met by stony official assurances that Garvey's conviction for a crime involving "moral turpitude" made him mandatorily excludable. He therefore found it necessary to remind the Assistant Attorney-General who was answering his correspondence that "Regardless of whether Mr. Garvey be allowed to return, the programme will still go on, for Africa shall still be redeemed even if the Divine Creator has to raise up supermen in our stead; or use the elements in our behalf as in the days of Pharoah. . . ." However, neither his assurances that Garvey had been framed nor the reminder that black people had voted Democrat nor anything else could make any impression on official stoniness.¹⁷³

Other elements within the U.N.I.A. kept up the effort, however, and in 1937 consideration was even given to having a special bill introduced if all else failed.¹⁷⁴ Out of these attempts in 1937 and 1938 arose the Second Regional Conference Committee on Mr. Marcus Garvey's Visit to America, chaired by Thomas W. Harvey. This committee wanted a temporary permit which would allow Garvey to remain in the United States from June 1 to August 31 in order to hold an International Convention from August 1 to 17. These efforts also failed, despite the assistance of Senator Bilbo and some of his fellow segregationists, and despite the blessings of Garvey himself.¹⁷⁵ Representations were still being made to government officials in the latter part of 1939, but by this time Garvey was less than a year away from his grave. Only death could extinguish the hopes of his faithful followers in the United States that he might yet one day return to rescue them from their misery.

NOTES

U.S.A. vs U.N.I.A.

¹R.G. 60, 198940, J. E. Hoover, "Memorandum for Mr. Ridgely," October 11, 1919.

²Daily Worker, August 18, 1924, p. 3.

³Marcus Garvey, Conspiracy of the East St. Louis Riots (New York, U.N.I.A., 1917).

⁴Ibid., p. 2.

⁵E.g., National Civic Federation papers, Box 152, memo on black radicals dated August 1920.

⁶R.G. 59, 882.5511/10, Memo of September 6, 1924, in Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State to President.

⁷"Radicalism and Sedition Among the Negroes . . .," pp. 161-162.

⁸Ibid., p. 163.

⁹Revolutionary Radicalism, Report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, Filed April 24, 1920, In the Senate of the State of New York (Albany, N.Y., J. B. Lyon, 1920), p. 1476.

¹⁰R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/24, Consul Latham to Secretary of State, August 24, 1921.

¹¹East St. Louis Riots, pp. 2-3.

¹²Revolutionary Radicalism, p. 1514.

- ¹³Negro World, February 2, 1924, p. 3.
- ¹⁴Daily Worker, July 30, 1924, p. 1.
- ¹⁵Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 110-117.
- ¹⁶R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/28, Garvey to Hughes, May 3, 1922; William H. Beck, private secretary to Hughes to Garvey, May 13, 1922.
- ¹⁷Blackman, September 4, 1929, p. 1.
- ¹⁸Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 402-403.
- ¹⁹Negro World, September 6, 1924, p. 3.
- ²⁰Speech at Royal Albert Hall, p. 20.
- ²¹Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 406.
- ²²Speech at Royal Albert Hall, pp. 13-14.
- ²³Told to the author by Amy Jacques Garvey. This tactic was by no means unusual, and has been documented in the case of the Lusk Committee. See, J. M. Pawa, "Black Radicals and White Spies: Harlem, 1919," Negro History Bulletin, XXXV, 6, October 1972, p. 130.
- ²⁴Negro World, January 7, 1928, p. 2.
- ²⁵Prophet of Black Nationalism, pp. 112-113.
- ²⁶Negro World, June 23, 1928, p. 4; speeches by Queen Mother Moore heard by author in Youngstown, Ohio, and Flint, Michigan, 1971; also, told to author by Mrs. Amy Jacques Garvey. Each of these reports of the incident varies slightly in some details. According to Queen Mother Moore, Garvey's supporters drew their weapons when the Chief of Police interrupted Garvey's speech with threats of arrest.
- ²⁷R.G. 60, 198940, "For Payment to Woolsey W. Hall for Reporting Proceedings"--extract from "Hearings

before Subcommittee on Appropriations . . . First Deficiency Appropriation Bill for 1921," p. 630, January 10, 1921; Sims Ely, Chief Clerk and Administrative Assistant to Secretary of Treasury, February 21, 1923.

²⁸Ibid., W. H. Cowles, Chief M.I. 4, War Department, Office of the Chief of Staff, Washington, to the Secretary of the Treasury (Division of Appointments), August 29, 1922.

²⁹Ibid., A. L. Flint, Chief of Office, The Panama Canal, Washington Office to The Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, October 9, 1919.

³⁰Ibid., "Memorandum for Mr. Ridgely," op. cit.

³¹F.O. 371/4567, minute on report on Garvey, September 15, 1920; C.O. 318/358, Foreign Office to Colonial Office, October 1, 1920.

³²R.G. 32, 605-1-653, William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice to Frank Burke, Director, Bureau of Investigation, United States Shipping Board, August 31, 1921.

³³Ibid., Burke to A. J. Frey, Vice-President in Charge of Operation, Inter-office Memorandum, September 1, 1921.

³⁴R.G. 60, 198940, resume of memo from Director, Bureau of Investigation, to Assistant Attorney-General Crim [the memo is "restricted" and is not in the file], and Assistant Attorney-General, United States, to Attorney for State of New York, March 27, 1922.

³⁵Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 242-259.

³⁶R.G. 60, 198940, Director, Bureau of Investigation, to Assistant Attorney-General Luhring, November 6, 1926, enclosing report of special agent at New York City of October 26, 1926--[only a brief resume is in the file, since it is "restricted"]; H. C. Heckman, Administrative Assistant to John W. Snook, Warden, U.S. Penitentiary, Atlanta; Snook to Heckman, Assistant Superintendent of Prisons [sic], Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., November 16, 1926; Garvey to Snook, c. November 16, 1926 [date hidden by file binding].

³⁷R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/47, Robert F. Kelley, Division of Eastern European Affairs, Department of State, to J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Bureau of Investigation, July 19, 1928, confidential, enclosing memo "To Mr. Hoover, Justice," from U.S. Embassy, London, July 6, 1928.

³⁸R.G. 32, 605-1-653, statement re delivery of documents served on the U.S. Shipping Board in re John O. Garrett vs the U.S.--May 3, 1929 (in the Court of Claims).

³⁹R.G. 59, 800.00B--International Negro Improvement Association of the World/4, Hoover to Kelley, December 17, 1930.

⁴⁰R.G. 59, 811.4016/28, Telegram, American Embassy, Stockholm to Secretary of State, November 3, 1919.

⁴¹R.G. 60, 198940, "Excerpt from Despatch No. 585, 'Alleged Negro Revolutionary Organization in Paris' from Ambassador Walter E. Edge, Paris, May 29, 1930."

⁴²R.G. 59, 811.4016/27, Secret document "Unrest Among the Negroes," Special Report No. 10, Directorate of Intelligence (Home Office), Circulated by the Home Secretary--October 7, 1919.

⁴³Ibid., William Phillips, for the Secretary of State to John W. Davis, American Ambassador, London, November 14, 1919.

⁴⁴R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/-, Telegram, "Davis," London, to Secretary of State, July 24, 1920; "Colby," Department of State, to American Embassy, London, July 27, 1920.

⁴⁵R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/3, Telegram, U.S. Embassy, London, to Secretary of State, April 6, 1921; Secretary of State Hughes to U.S. Embassy, London, April 8, 1921; R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/4, Embassy to Secretary of State, April 9, 1921. Ali was allowed in later that year. See, Crusader, V, 3, November 1921, p. 16.

⁴⁶R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/51, Secret memorandum to State Department from U.S. Embassy, London, June 16, 1928.

⁴⁷R.G. 59, 882.00/703A, Robert Woods Bliss for Secretary of State to Joseph L. Johnson, Minister Resident and Consul General, Liberia, May 25, 1921; also R.G. 84, American Legation, Monrovia--Diplomatic Correspondence, 1921, Vol. II, file no. 840.

⁴⁸R.G. 59, 882.00/705, Johnson to Secretary of State, July 16, 1921.

⁴⁹R.G. 59, 648p. 00 2/1, C. C. Roberts, Port Superintendent Engineer, U.S. Shipping Board, Freetown, Sierra Leone, to State Department, September 15, 1924.

⁵⁰C.O. 318/399/76634, Memorandum, [1930]; New York Times, November 1, 1928, p. 31, November 8, 1928, p. 26; Negro Champion, I, 19, November 3, 1928, p. 8; Negro World, November 10, 1928, p. 2.

⁵¹Negro World, November 17, 1928, editorial.

⁵²R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/50, Wesley Frost, American Consul General, Montreal to Secretary of State, November 8, 1928.

⁵³E.g., R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/1, Charles L. Latham, American Consul, Kingston to Secretary of State, September 12, 1920; R.G. 60, 198940, José de Olivares, American Consul, Jamaica, to Secretary of State, September 27, 1929; ibid., Paul C. Squire, American Consul, Jamaica, confidential, "Subject: Garvey, Marcus: Whereabouts and Activities" to Secretary of State, [1932?].

⁵⁴R.G. 59, 811 G.00/37, Henry H. Hough, Governor, U.S. Virgin Is. to Secretary of State, February 23, 1923; Hough to President of U.S., February 24, 1923.

⁵⁵R.G. 84, American Consulate, Port-of-Spain, 1920 Correspondence, 840.1/2052, American Consul Henry D. Baker to Inspector Costello, Constabulary headquarters, February 16, 1920, enclosing clipping from Argos of February 13; see also, 840.1/2053, Costello to Baker, February 18, and 840.1/2054 Sgt. Sylvester to Detective Inspector, February 18.

⁵⁶R.G. 59, 811.108/929, Baker to Secretary of State, February 7, 1920.

⁵⁷E.g., R.G. 59, 818.4016/orig., American Consul, Port Limon to Secretary of State, August 24, 1919.

⁵⁸E.g., R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/24, American Minister, Panama to Secretary of State, May 18, 1921.

⁵⁹R.G. 59, 837.504/218, Philander C. Cable, American Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, Havana to Secretary of State, September 30, 1921.

⁶⁰Cyril V. Briggs, "Lessons in Tactics," Crudader, V, 3, November 1921, p. 16.

⁶¹Bruce papers, Ms 189, Etta [Marie Duchatellier] to Bruce, Panama City, January 12, 1920.

⁶²R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/27, American Consul, Guatemala City to Secretary of State, March 9, 1922.

⁶³National Civic Federation papers, Box 152.

⁶⁴Negro World, June 14, 1919, p. 1.

⁶⁵Negro World, June 28, 1919, p. 3; New York Times, August 11, 1920, p. 9; New York Amsterdam News, May 23, 1923, p. 6.

⁶⁶Negro World, December 8, 1923, pp. 1, 10; Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 130, 197.

⁶⁷Garvey and Garveyism, p. 58.

⁶⁸R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/2, Charles L. Latham, American Consul, Kingston to Secretary of State, March 1, 1921.

⁶⁹Ibid., Wilbur J. Carr for Secretary of State to Latham, March 25, 1921.

⁷⁰R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/8, Latham to Secretary of State, April 12, 1921.

⁷¹R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/5, "Gray," Kingston to Secretary of State, April 13, 1921.

⁷²R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/9, Hughes to American Legation, San José, April 26, 1921.

⁷³R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/11, American Legation, San José to Secretary of State, May 2, 1921.

⁷⁴Garvey and Garveyism, p. 59.

⁷⁵R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/10, Latham to Secretary of State, May 7, 1921.

⁷⁶Ibid., Hughes to Latham, Urgent, Secret, May 10, 1921.

⁷⁷R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/33, Affidavits "In the Matter of Marcus Garvey Returning to the U.S.," submitted by William C. Matthews, Assistant Counsel-General, U.N.I.A., May 9, 1921.

⁷⁸R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/12, Latham to Secretary of State, telegram, May 18, 1921.

⁷⁹Ibid., Hughes to American Consul, Kingston, telegram, May 20, 1921; Hughes to American Consul, Port Limon, telegram, May 20, 1921.

⁸⁰R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/29, William C. Matthews to State Department, June 11, 1921, attention Mr. McBride.

⁸¹R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/31, "Memorandum," Department of State, Office of the Solicitor, June 21, 1921.

⁸²R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/30, Garvey to Hughes, June 22, 1921, telegram.

⁸³R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/19, Heard [no first name given] to Secretary of State, June 23, 1921.

⁸⁴Ibid., Acting Secretary of State Fletcher to American Consul, Kingston; Heard to Secretary of State, June 28, 1921; R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/24, Latham to Secretary of State, August 24, 1921.

⁸⁵Garvey and Garveyism, p. 60; Negro World, August

23, 1924, p. 19; R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/32, Garvey, c/o Immigration Authorities, New Orleans to Hughes, July 13, 1921, telegram.

⁸⁶Negro World, August 23, 1924, p. 19.

⁸⁷R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/24, Latham to Secretary of State, August 24, 1921.

⁸⁸Negro World, August 27, 1927, p. 5.

⁸⁹Bruce papers, BL 9 Bruce to the editor of an unnamed paper, July 18, 1921; and see note 47 above.

⁹⁰Negro World, August 23, 1924, p. 2; Daily Worker, August 20, 1924, p. 1.

⁹¹Federal Court Records, New York, FRC 539461, Grand Jury Indictment 38/771, U.S. vs Marcus Garvey, filed August 4, 1924, Southern District of New York; complaint, U.S. vs Marcus Garvey, filed March 30, 1925; nolle prosequi, C 38-771, May 1932.

⁹²R.G. 204, 42-793.

⁹³Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 256.

⁹⁴Daily Worker, August 6, 1924, p. 2; August 18, 1924, p. 1.

⁹⁵Negro World, January 14, 1928, p. 4.

⁹⁶Ibid., August 20, 1927, p. 2; Indianapolis Recorder, August 29, 1927, reprinted in Negro World, September 3, 1927, p. 2.

⁹⁷Afro-American, August 13, 1927, quoted in Negro World, August 20, 1927, p. 2.

⁹⁸Negro World, December 24, 1927, p. 3; March 3, 1928, p. 3.

⁹⁹R.G. 60, 198940, J. W. Ross to Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State, January 8, 1925.

2. ¹⁰⁰New York Amsterdam News, January 24, 1923, p.

¹⁰¹New York Times, January 20, 1923, p. 6.

¹⁰²R.G. 60, 198940, Garvey to Hon. Harry M. Daughterty, U.S. Attorney-General, telegram, January 22, 1923; ibid., Garvey to Daughterty, January 24, 1923; New York Times, January 21, 1923, p. 5.

¹⁰³Negro World, March 10, 1923, p. 7.

¹⁰⁴Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 253.

¹⁰⁵R.G. 60, 198940, Anonymous to Department of Justice [August 1919?].

¹⁰⁶R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/24, Latham to Secretary of State, August 24, 1921.

¹⁰⁷R.G. 59, 811.108 G 191/21, William Smith, New York to Secretary of State, July 1, 1921.

¹⁰⁸Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 255.

¹⁰⁹R.G. 28, File No. 398, Box 53, Unarranged, "Unrest Among the Negroes," enclosure in Assistant Secretary, Department of State, to Postmaster-General, November 17, 1919.

¹¹⁰New York Times, December 29, 1928, p. 6.

¹¹¹R.G. 60, 198940, "Sufferers" to U.S. Attorney-General, c. January 17, 1929.

¹¹²R.G. 28, Fraud Order Jacket 5929, John W. Geraty, Postmaster, Yonges Island, S.C. to F. A. Ricky, Inspector, Post Office Department, Charleston, S.C., May 28, 1932; Ricky to Geraty, May 28, 1932; Geraty to Chief Post Office Inspector, Washington, D.C., May 1932.

¹¹³Ibid., Fraud order of Postmaster General, Walter F. Brown, June 2, 1932; fraud order to solicitor, Horace J. Donnelly, June 3, 1932.

114. Ibid., Garvey to Karl A. Crowley, Solicitor, Post Office Department, Washington, D.C., March 28, 1934, and enclosed memorandum, Harlee Branch, Acting Postmaster General, April 23, 1934; R.G. 60, 198940, Nugent Dodds, Assistant Attorney-General to Postmaster General, January 16, 1933; R.G. 60, 39-51=821, Benjamin W. Jones, Secretary of U.N.I.A., Philadelphia to President F. D. Roosevelt, September 17, 1934.

115 This has been noted before (Ch. 7). See, e.g., R.G. 59, 818.4016/-, Secretary of State to Postmaster General, September 20, 1919; R.G. 59, 818/4016/1, Postmaster General to Secretary of State, October 8, 1919; R.G. 28, Box 56, Unarranged #500, U.S. Post Office, New York, New York, Bureau of Translations and Radical Publications to William H. Lamar, Solicitor, Post Office Department, Washington, personal, October 31, 1919; R.G. 28, Box 53, #398, John H. Edwards, Solicitor to R. C. Bannerman, Chief Special Agent, Department of State, August 5, 1921.

116 For more on these cases, see, e.g., Federal Court Records, New York, FRC 536150, FRC 536137; New York Amsterdam News, January 24, 1923, p. 2; March 14, 1923, p. 1; March 21, 1923, p. 3; July 11, 1923, p. 1; October 17, 1923, p. 1; February 4, 1925, p. 1.

117 Most of the following information on the trial and appeal, except where otherwise stated, is taken from "United States of America vs. Marcus Garvey: Was Justice Defeated?," Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 144-179.

118 Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 293-309.

119 Ibid., p. 147.

120 Ibid., p. 169.

121 Negro World, August 27, 1927, p. 5.

122 Ibid., September 3, 1927, p. 2.

123 R.G. 204, 42-793, Garvey's application for executive clemency, June 5, 1925; Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 257.

124 Negro World, June 30, 1923, p. 2.

¹²⁵R.G. 60, 198940, D. E. Tobias of the Marcus Garvey Committee on Justice to Augustus T. Seymour, Assistant Attorney-General, July 27, 1923.

¹²⁶Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 255.

¹²⁷Negro World, August 27, 1927, p. 5.

¹²⁸Garvey and Garveyism, p. 118.

¹²⁹New York Times, February 6, 1925, p. 20.

¹³⁰Garvey and Garveyism, p. 154.

¹³¹Ibid., p. 155.

¹³²New York Times, March 24, 1925, p. 40.

¹³³Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 150.

¹³⁴R.G. 60, 198940, William Hayward, U.S. Attorney, New York to Attorney-General, Washington, D.C., June 22, 1923; Mabel Walker Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney-General to Hayward, June 28, 1923; Hayward to Attorney-General, July 10, 1923.

¹³⁵Negro World, May 1, 1926, p. 2.

¹³⁶Ibid., September 3, 1927, p. 2.

¹³⁷New York Amsterdam News, March 18, 1925, p. 1; Negro World, March 28, 1925, p. 4.

¹³⁸R.G. 204, 42-793, affidavit, George Featherstone, January 14, 1927, and attached statement.

¹³⁹Evening World, June 29, 1923.

¹⁴⁰E.g., Negro World, October 27, 1928, p. 7.

¹⁴¹R.G. 60, 198940, Garvey to Senator James E. Watson, February 28, 1925; H. C. Heckman, Acting Superintendent of Prisons, "Memorandum for Colonel Donovan,"

March 13, 1925; William J. Donovan, Assistant Attorney-General to Watson, March 14, 1925.

¹⁴²R.G. 204, 42-793, application for executive clemency, June 5, 1925; Garvey to President Coolidge, January 17, 1927; Garvey to Attorney-General John G. Sargent, January 17, 1927; Negro World, February 6, 1926, p. 2.

¹⁴³R.G. 60, 198940, A. H. Shannon to Superintendent of Prisons, October 20, 1926; W. T. Hammack, First Assistant Superintendent to Shannon, October 21, 1926; Shannon to Hammack, October 25, 1926; Perry W. Howard, Department of Justice to Attorney-General, February 16, 1925; H. C. Heckman, Acting Superintendent of Prisons, "Memorandum for Mr. Martin," February 20, 1925; Eugene J. Sartorius, attorney to Attorney-General, June 23, 1927; A. H. Connor, Superintendent of Prisons to Sartorius, July 1, 1927.

¹⁴⁴R.G. 60, 198940, Assistant Attorney-General, R. P. Stewart to Secretary of Labor, August 15, 1919 and reply from Louis Post, Assistant Secretary, Department of Labor to Attorney-General.

¹⁴⁵R.G. 60, 198940.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., Stewart to Secretary of Labor, October 15, 1919.

¹⁴⁷Schomburg papers, Box 3, "Petition for Pardon of Marcus Garvey," enclosed in Amy Jacques Garvey to Schomburg.

¹⁴⁸Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 255.

¹⁴⁹Chandler Owen, "Should Marcus Garvey Be Deported?," Messenger, September 1922, p. 479.

¹⁵⁰New York Times, February 3, 1925, p. 22.

¹⁵¹Ibid., August 3, 1925, p. 3.

¹⁵²R.G. 60, 39-51-821, Edward J. Shaughnessy, Deputy Commissioner, Department of Labor, Immigration and Naturalization Service to Attorney-General, October 17, 1934.

¹⁵³R.G. 204, 42-793, Garvey to James A. Finch, Pardon Attorney, December 24, 1925.

¹⁵⁴R.G. 204, 42-793, Garvey's application for executive clemency, June 5, 1925.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., Garvey to Finch, December 24, 1925.

¹⁵⁶R.G. 60, 198940, Garvey to J. W. Snook, Warden of Atlanta jail, c. November 16, [date hidden by file binding] 1926.

¹⁵⁷R.G. 204, 42-793, John Sargent, Attorney-General to the President, "In the Matter of the Application for Commutation of Sentence of MARCUS GARVEY," January 27, 1926.

¹⁵⁸OAG/8674, summary of destroyed correspondence of March 31, 1926; F.O./ 8674, summary of destroyed correspondence of May 6, 1926, Colonial Office records, Public Record Office, London.

¹⁵⁹R.G. 204, 42-793, Sargent to the President, "In the Matter of the Application for Commutation of Sentence of Marcus Garvey," November 12, 1927.

¹⁶⁰Copy of warrant of cummutation in Amy Jacques Garvey papers.

¹⁶¹R.G. 204, 42-793, James A. Finch, "Memo for the Attorney-General," November 22, 1927.

¹⁶²Ibid., Finch to John W. Snook, Warden, U.S. Penitentiary, Atlanta, November 21, 1927.

¹⁶³Speech at Royal Albert Hall, p. 20.

¹⁶⁴Armin Kohn to Amy Jacques Garvey, December 2, 1927, copy in Amy J. Garvey papers. Also reprinted in Negro World, December 10, 1927 and Jamaica Gleaner, December 15, 1927.

¹⁶⁵R.G. 60, 198940, James L. Houghteling, Commissioner of Immigration to Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, n.d. [c. Feb. 1938].

¹⁶⁶Speech at Royal Albert Hall, p. 20.

¹⁶⁷R.G. 204, 42-793, "Memorandum In Re Marcus Garvey," December 14, 1927.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., Daniel M. Lyons, Pardon Attorney to Hon. George Gordon Battle, July 12, 1939.

¹⁶⁹Blackman, June 22, 1929, p. 12; August 16, 1929, p. 7.

¹⁷⁰Negro World, August 1, 1931, p. 3.

¹⁷¹Ibid., pp. 1, 4.

¹⁷²R.G. 60, 198940, Garvey to Secretary of State, January 7, 1935.

¹⁷³R.G. 60, 39-51-821, Benjamin W. Jones, Secretary, U.N.I.A., Philadelphia to President F. D. Roosevelt, September 17, 1934; Edward J. Shaughnessy, Deputy Commissioner, Department of Labor, Immigration and Naturalization Service to Attorney-General, October 17, 1934; Keenan to Jones, October 22, 1934; Jones to Keenan, October 27, 1934; Jones to Roosevelt, October 27, 1934; Jones to Roosevelt, January 4, 1935; Keenan to Jones, January 28, 1935; Jones to Keenan, June 3, 1935, and other letters in this correspondence.

¹⁷⁴U.N.I.A. Central Division (New York) files, Box 16, h. 10, A. L. King to Thomas Harvey, November 9, 1937.

¹⁷⁵Ibid., Garvey to Harvey, January 5, 1938; Earnest Sevier Cox to Garvey, February 17, 1938; Cox to King, February 18, 1938; Bilbo to King, February 23, 1938; Harvey to King, March 31, 1938; Harvey to King, May 11, 1928; Ethel Waddell to King, December 1, 1938. R.G. 60, 198940, Harvey to Senator George McGill, April 8, 1938.

CHAPTER IX

GARVEY AND THE COMMUNISTS

We have sympathy for the Workers Party. But we belong to the Negro party, first, last and all the time. We will support every party that supports us, and we appreciate the attention the Workers Party has given us in sending this friendly communication. But the Communists have a long time ahead of them before they can do anything for themselves in this country. When they get there we will be for them. But meantime we are for ourselves.

-- Marcus Garvey¹

We are working with the Universal Negro Improvement Association not because its President, Marcus Garvey, has improved enuf [sic] or even changed at all in the last two years to suit our view of what the American Negroes must do to win their freedom. As a matter of fact, the reason for our working with the Universal Negro Improvement Association is because we desire to win over the masses, organizationally and ideologically, following this association for the Communist program.

-- The Daily Worker²

The Russian revolution took place in 1917, one and a half years after Garvey's arrival in the United States. The Communist (or Third) International was formed in March 1919, and was followed six months later by the birth of the Communist movement in the United States. 1919 was Garvey's first year as a fully-fledged international

headache for white governments in North America and Europe. After two years of persecution and factionalism, a large portion of the American Communist movement surfaced as the Workers Party in 1921. By this time Garvey was an established leader of an unprecedented mass movement among African peoples all over the world.

The bulk of Garvey's followers in the United States, as elsewhere, were workers and peasants. For while the largest and most powerful of the U.N.I.A. divisions in America were rooted in the recently proletarianized black communities of such major cities as New York, Philadelphia, Detroit and Chicago, vast numbers of branches also existed in tiny rural areas all over the American South and West and elsewhere. These were the types of people upon whom the Communists would necessarily hope to build a mass movement. The necessity of winning over the black workers and peasants would assume even greater importance for the Communists when they belatedly awoke to the realization that the black masses, as the most exploited section of American society, would have to occupy a critical position in their thinking if they were ever to seriously entertain any hope of overthrowing American capitalism. But between the Communists and the American black masses there stood Garvey. They tried to infiltrate the U.N.I.A. by "boring from within," they attempted to woo and win over Garvey himself, they tried launching frontal assaults against him

in their press, they discussed him at their meetings from Moscow to Chicago, they even tried to plagiarize and adopt as their own, facets of his nationalistic philosophy, but they could not prevail. Garvey, displaying great tact and political cunning, would not be compromised. He usually refrained from open denunciation of the Communists, but he would not be co-opted. Long after Garvey had been deported from the United States, his followers continued to provide a formidable obstacle to Communist recruitment in black communities.

There seems to be no evidence of black participation in the founding of the American Communist movement in 1919.³ The program adopted by the Communist Party of America, one of the two founding factions, nevertheless included a paragraph on what was at that time called the Negro Question. The paragraph read, "The Negro problem is a political and economic problem. The racial oppression of the Negro is simply the expression of his economic bondage and oppression, each intensifying the other. This complicates the Negro problem, but does not alter its proletarian character."⁴ This statement, with its attempt to subordinate race to class, but with its uneasy realization that the racial factor complicated the Negro Question, contained the basic elements in the central dilemma which confused Communists in their approach to black non-Communist organizations in general, and to Garvey and the

U.N.I.A. in particular. The question was not an easy one, and the difficulty faced by the Communists in resolving it was understandable, especially since the analysis of these early American Communists was restricted by a narrow adherence to the orthodox Marxist doctrine of the primacy of class struggle. This inbuilt rigidity in American Communist analysis made difficult an objective analysis of the nationalist and racial components in a successful ideology such as Garveyism. The solution to the race problem was seen as an automatic by-product of a socialist revolution, and that was all. In 1920 the United Communist Party (representing a merger between one of the 1919 factions, the Communist Labor Party, and a split-off from the other faction, the Communist Party of America),⁵ showed this tendency in its program. It recognized that the Afro-American population was a super-exploited one and declared,

The United Communist Party will actively support the negroes [sic] in their desperate struggle against these hellish conditions. It points to the only possible solution of the negro problem, namely: the abolition of wage slavery through the overthrow of the capitalist State and the erection of a Communist society.

The task of the United Communist Party is to break down the barrier of race prejudice that separates and keeps apart the white and the negro workers, and to bind them into a union of revolutionary forces for the overthrow of their common enemy.⁶

The Workers Party, the "legal" manifestation of American Communism which surfaced late in 1921, resolved in similar vein at its formation to show black people that "the

interests of the Negro workers are identical with those of the whites."⁷

Nevertheless, by this time the first feeble recognition in Communist circles that the race question affecting black people possessed a character other than a purely class one, was manifested, not in America, but in Russia. For at the second congress of the Communist International (Comintern) held in 1920 a white American delegate, journalist John Reed, volunteered some remarks on the national character of the Afro-American struggle. His remarks were prompted by a discussion of Lenin's ideas on "The Negroes in America," which formed part of his draft "Theses on the National and Colonial Question."⁸ Reed's consideration of the national question, however, was merely to repudiate it. He said, "The Negroes have no demands for national independence. All movements aiming at a separate national existence for Negroes fail, as did the 'Back to Africa Movement' of a few years ago. They consider themselves first of all Americans at home in the United States. This makes it very much simpler for the Communists."⁹ Reed therefore was here repeating the American Communist line that Afro-Americans were faced basically with a class question which was not fundamentally altered by their peculiar racial experience. It is not clear whether his "Back to Africa" reference was to Garvey (whose movement certainly had not failed, and certainly was not a thing

of the past in the summer of 1920 when Reed was speaking), or perhaps to Garvey's West African forerunner, Chief Alfred Sam (whose repatriation scheme had run into trouble around the beginning of World War I).

What is interesting about Reed's opinion is that Lenin ignored it and incorporated into his final theses a statement which was far in advance of the position then being held by American Communists. Because of the controversy which has surrounded this very brief reference it will be quoted together with the whole paragraph from which it came, as well as the paragraph which came afterwards:

Offences against the equality of nations and violations of the guaranteed rights of national minorities, repeatedly committed by all capitalist States despite their "democratic" constitution, must be inflexibly exposed in all the propaganda and agitation carried on by the communist parties, both inside and outside parliament. But that is not enough. It is also necessary: first, to make clear all the time that only the Soviet system is able to ensure real equality for the nations because it unites first the proletarians, and then all the masses of the working people, in the struggle against the bourgeoisie; secondly, communist parties must give direct support to the revolutionary movements among the dependent nations and those without equal rights (e.g., in Ireland, and among the American Negroes, etc.), and in the colonies.

Without this last particularly important condition the struggle against the oppression of the dependent nations and colonies, and the recognition of their right to secede as separate States, remains a deceitful pretence, as it is in the parties of the Second International.¹⁰ [Emphasis mine.]

It seems quite clear that Lenin was referring to the Afro-American population here, if not as a nation, then at

least as a national minority denied equal rights, and possibly having a right to secede. That he should have taken such a position concerning Afro-Americans is not surprising since he had for some time leaned in this direction in regard to national minorities in the Soviet Union. This may well explain why, as will be seen, Garvey could maintain an admiration for Lenin while simultaneously fighting the American Communists. Lenin followed up these themes with advice to his American comrades on the urgency of the need for propaganda and organizational work among Afro-Americans.¹¹

The fleeting nature of Lenin's reference to the national character of the Afro-American position and its unavailability in translation for some time ensured that there would be no immediate follow-up of this idea. During the final session of the third congress in 1921, for example, the South African delegation proposed that the Executive Committee should study "the Negro question or the proletarian movement among the Negroes as an important aspect of the Eastern problem."¹²

The Negro Question was accordingly considered by the fourth congress in 1922. The theses were introduced by Otto Huiswoud, a black member of the party in the United States, who operated under the pseudonym "Billings."¹³ They were adopted unanimously and revealed no change from the normal American approach. The Negro Question was seen

as primarily economic, though the racial question still played an important role. Huiswoud considered the "Negro problem" to be "a vital question of the world revolution" and the cooperation of black peoples to be essential for proletarian success. He suggested a world organization of the black race which sounded suspiciously like a Garveyless U.N.I.A.¹⁴ Huiswoud considered the Afro-American population to be a likely source of manpower for the counter-revolution, in the event of an uprising, not an uncommon opinion in early American Communist circles, where the phrase "reserve of capitalist reaction" was once used to describe the Afro-American population.¹⁵ An article appearing in the Soviet paper Izvestia two weeks before Huiswoud presented his theses expressed a similar view. The black race was here seen as "an obedient weapon" in the hands of international capitalism and hence a threat to the white proletariat.¹⁶

Comintern congress discussions of the Negro Question continued at the fifth congress in 1924. This time the national characteristics of the Afro-American struggle intruded into the discussions. An American delegate was reported as having argued that the problem confronting Afro-Americans was psychological as well as economic and transcended class lines. It was therefore futile, he argued, to direct the same literature towards black and white workers.¹⁷ The program commission of the congress

grappled with this problem, too, and concluded that it was impossible to define the concept of nation in such a way as to adequately cover every national situation. None of this prevented American delegate John Pepper from denouncing the Garvey movement in typically unrealistic fashion as "a Negro-Zionist movement in America which wishes to go to Africa" despite the desire of Afro-Americans for social equality.¹⁸

The most concerted attempt to clarify the Communist position on the race question came at the sixth congress of the Comintern held in Moscow in 1928. By this time Garvey had recently been deported from the United States, and the Communists, with little to show for their previous efforts, were now anxious to join the general rush as Muslims, Father Divine, and all manner of race uplift, emigrationist, and other groups scrambled for the allegiance of Garvey's followers in the United States. Much of the earlier confusion manifested itself but this time the debates culminated in the laying down of a definite policy. Stalin, as a longstanding Soviet expert on the question of national minorities and himself a member of such a minority, was largely responsible for the importance attached to the question. His interest had apparently manifested itself as early as 1925 when he explained to a group of black students from the United States that the American attitude to the question was all wrong. Afro-Americans,

he said, were a national minority with some of the characteristics of a nation.¹⁹

Preparatory work for the 1928 examination of the black race question had begun well in advance and references to the question appeared regularly from the earliest sessions. John Pepper admitted at the very beginning that American Communists had made some mistakes,²⁰ while another American retracted the idea that Southern black people were a reserve of capitalist reaction.²¹ Nevertheless, the views expressed in the debates varied widely. Weinstone of the United States thought that the question could be solved by advancing slogans of full social and political rights for Afro-Americans.²² Pravda of August 24, 1928 quoted Jones, a black United States delegate, as saying that two tendencies had been expressed in the Negro Commission of the congress. One argued that Afro-Americans in the United States were a racial minority, while another denied the national unity of the Afro-American and pointed to increasing class stratification within the race, especially since the World War. This delegate also addressed himself to the suggestion for an independent Soviet-Socialist Republic for Afro-Americans. He did not object to this idea but considered a slogan for equal rights to be more fundamental at that particular time.²³ Afro-American James W. Ford referred to United States blacks as "an economically backward national minority, having no

territory of their own." This did not prevent him from arguing that the interests of black and white workers coincided, as did those of the black and white bourgeoisie. He therefore opposed "at present any national movement among the Negroes" since it would "only be a trump in the hands of the bourgeoisie" and would "trammel the revolutionary class war of the Negro masses, and still more deepen the gulf between the whites and the oppressed groups."²⁴

Out of such debate came eventually the new Comintern line of self-determination for the black population in the "Black Belt" of the southern United States. The new line was stated at length in a resolution of the Comintern's Executive Committee shortly after the end of the congress. It pointed out that 86 per cent of the Afro-American population lived in the South and that approximately half of these lived in the "Black Belt" where they were over fifty per cent of the entire population. From this it argued that "The Various forms of oppression of the Negro masses, who are concentrated mainly in the so-called 'Black Belt,' provide the necessary conditions for a national revolutionary movement among the Negroes. . . . The great majority of Negroes in the rural districts of the South are not 'reserves of capitalist reaction,' but potential allies of the revolutionary proletariat." This belated recognition of the

national character of the Afro-American struggle was thus limited to a question of territorial autonomy in this one area. Furthermore, the slogan of "full social and political equality" would remain the "central slogan." The implications of black nationalism for those outside the Black Belt, as demonstrated by Garvey, were ignored. The resolution noted, as Garvey had long done, that due to worldwide imperialist oppression, "a common tie of interest is established for the revolutionary struggle of race and national liberation from imperialist domination of the Negroes in various parts of the world."²⁵

The adoption of this 1928 national line by the Communist International is not surprising in view of Stalin's advocacy of the idea. The decision is usually presented as having proceeded from Stalin's famous definition of a nation--"A nation is an historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture."²⁶ It is noteworthy that during the congress debates most American Communists, black and white, seem not to have advocated a national approach to the race question. George Padmore, at that time an active member of the American party, afterwards argued that the 1928 change had been motivated by the long-standing attempt to get at Garvey's followers. He wrote, "It was therefore decided that, since Marcus Garvey had rallied popular

support by promising to establish a 'National Home' for blacks in Africa, the American Communists should go one better and offer the American Negroes a state of their own in the Black Belt. . . . It was hoped by this manoeuvre to satisfy the nationalist aspirations of those Negroes who still hankered after 'Black Zionism' and turn them away from Garveyism to Communism." He continued, "With Stalin's blessing, this amazing piece of nonsense was imposed upon the American party."²⁷

The American party certainly was not tardy in accepting the new line. Indeed, the Workers Party issued a statement on self-determination simultaneously with the last stages of the congress. This was no doubt prompted by the fact that 1928 was an election year in the United States and the Workers Party had several black candidates in the field. The statement read in part,

The Workers (Communist) Party of America puts forward correctly as its central slogan: Abolition of the whole system of race discrimination. Full racial, social and political equality of the Negro people. But it is necessary to supplement the struggle for the full racial, social and political equality of the Negro with a struggle for their right of national self-determination. Self-determination means the right to establish their own state, to erect their own government, if they choose to do so. In the economic and social conditions and class relations of the Negro people there are increasing forces which serve as a basis for the development of a Negro nation (a compact mass of farmers on a contiguous territory, semi-feudal conditions, complete segregation, common traditions of slavery, the development of distinct classes and economic ties etc. etc.).

This Workers Party statement, much more explicitly than the Comintern statement, acknowledged (though in a grudging fashion) the part that Garvey had played in inducing this new line. The statement continued,

There are many national movements of the Negro city petit-bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. The fact that the most important mass movement, was a sort of Negro Zionism and had such reactionary, extremely harmful slogans as leaving the United States and back to Africa, should not bind us to the revolutionary possibilities of the Negro national liberation movements of the future.

The resolution endowed Garvey with a measure of unintended legitimacy when it sought authority for the new national line in a Lenin quotation to the effect that all national liberation movements are bourgeois democratic. As the movement developed, though, they presumed that it would be taken over by proletarian elements.²⁸

By 1930 in an effort to clear up once and for all the "lack of clarity on the Negro question" which they still recognized within the American party, the Political Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International drafted a further resolution "On the Negro Question in the United States." This resolution recognized more clearly than hitherto the peculiar features of the Afro-American nation. It stated,

In the interest of the utmost clarity of ideas on this question the Negro question in the United States must be viewed from the standpoint of its peculiarity, namely as the question of an oppressed nation, which is in a peculiar and extraordinarily

distressing situation of national oppression not only in view of the prominent racial distinctions (material differences in the colour of skin, etc.), but above all because of considerable social antagonism (remnants of slavery). This introduces into the American Negro question an important, peculiar trait which is absent from the national question of other oppressed peoples.

The resolution nevertheless continued to distinguish between Afro-Americans in the South and those in the North. It saw tendencies and prospects for separateness as most likely in the South. Rather than self-determination, it saw the demand for equal rights as the more important slogan in the North, where it was "under no circumstances the task of the communists to give support to bourgeois nationalism in its fight with the progressive assimilation tendencies of the Negro working masses." Yet it contradictorily admonished the party to "resist all tendencies within its own ranks to ignore the Negro question as a national question in the United States, not only in the South, but also in the North." This resolution, then, was not itself a model of clarity. The distinction between South and North meant, of course, that some way had to be found around the uncomfortable reality of Garveyism, which had flourished both North and South, and which, in 1930, three years after Garvey's deportation, still presented a formidable obstacle to Communist work in the black North. Garvey was accordingly smothered in a torrent of rhetoric which was made to substitute for

analysis. Despite the advocacy of self-determination in the Black Belt, even to the point of separation, Communists were warned that they could not "associate themselves at present, or generally speaking, during capitalism, indiscriminately and without criticism with all the separatist currents of the various bourgeois or petty-bourgeois Negro groups." For there was "not only a national-revolutionary, but also a reactionary Negro separatism, for instance, that represented by Garvey." This led up to a statement of the main objection to Garvey's nationalism, namely its racial exclusiveness. Having already stated the progressive nature of assimilation in the North it now drove home its attack on Garvey's "utopia of an isolated Negro State (regardless if in Africa or America, if it is supposed to consist of Negroes only)." Such a state would serve only the "political aim of diverting the Negro masses from the real liberation struggle against American imperialism."

So this, then, was the crux of their quarrel with Garvey. A separate black-controlled state with a white minority would be supported in the Black Belt even to the point of complete secession from the United States, and even if that state opted not to follow the Communist program. But an all-black Garvey state anywhere, even in America, would be utopian and reactionary. The point was reinforced by another parting blast at Garvey: "All

national reformist currents as, for instance, Garveyism, which are an obstacle to the revolutionization of the Negro masses, must be fought systematically and with the utmost energy."²⁹ This attempt to undo the lack of clarity in the American party thus resulted in the utterly confused position where the Communists were ready to back secession by the "compact masses" of blacks in the Black Belt, but only on condition that they carried along with them a white minority (maybe in time to constitute itself into a White Belt of "compact masses" of whites).

The Moscow-affiliated Communists apparently shifted away from emphasis on the national question in the 1930's as Garvey's American following suffered further losses due to his enforced absence and as the new united front line necessitated alliances with middle-class assimilationists.³⁰ American Trotskyists continued to give the question much attention during that decade. Trotsky himself had in 1922 impressed Harlem renaissance left-wing poet Claude McKay as viewing the race question in a more intelligent fashion than any of the other Russian leaders. He had granted McKay an interview in Moscow and among other things had proposed training some black men as Red Army officers.³¹ Discussing the national question in Mexico with American comrades in 1939 Trotsky adopted a position somewhat more amenable to self-determination than most Communists were wont to . He argued that the success of the Garvey movement

was explicable in its propensities for self-determination. And rather than attack the petty-bourgeois leadership of race organizations he preferred to see this phenomenon as a necessary stage in the emancipation of the race, necessitated by the racism manifested by white workers. He even envisaged the possibility, very unusual for a Communist at this time, that black people, through the route of self-determination, might even leap-frog over the white proletariat and assume a vanguard role. He expressed this view as follows:

It is very possible the Negroes also through the self-determination will proceed to the proletarian dictatorship in a couple of gigantic strides, ahead of the great bloc of white workers. They will then furnish the vanguard. I am absolutely sure that they will in any case fight better than the white workers. That, however, can happen only provided the Communist party carries on an uncompromising merciless struggle not against the supposed national prepossessions of the Negroes but against the colossal prejudices of the white workers and gives it no concession whatever.³²

Communists usually tended to see Garvey in simple terms as a petty-bourgeois figure preaching reactionary nationalism and diverting the black masses into utopian back-to-Africa channels. There was obviously, as has already been seen, much more to Garvey than this inaccurate picture suggested. Much of Garvey's hold on the masses was due to ideas not very different from some espoused by Communists. Despite his firm espousal of the race first principle, for example, there was a persistent

class component to Garvey's thinking. As against the white race, he saw the need for intra-racial solidarity, but within the race he demonstrated quite clearly that he identified with the oppressed masses against those with pretensions to more exalted status. Against a charge by W. E. B. DuBois that he was born in humble circumstances he declared, "Admitting that Marcus Garvey was born poor, he never encouraged a hatred for the people of his kind or class, but to the contrary devoted his life to the improvement and higher development of that class within the race which has been struggling under the disadvantage that DuBois himself portrays in his article."³³ [Emphasis mine.]

U.N.I.A. members in New Orleans on one occasion eloquently expressed this same attitude. "We are not members of the Negro 400 of New Orleans," they wrote, "composed of the class that are spending their time imitating the rich whites, . . ."³⁴ On one occasion Garvey could even consider workers' revolts in white countries as an example for the black race to follow. In a 1926 editorial he commented, "The royal and privileged classes of idlers who used to tyrannize and oppress the humble hordes of mankind are now experiencing difficulty in holding their control over the sentiment of the people." He thought that the black man should also strike against royalty and privilege.³⁵ On one exceptional occasion he went so far as to versify,

The downtrodden poor whites and blacks should join
And prevent rich whites our rights to purloin.³⁶

The class appeal of Garvey's propaganda was recognized by a State Department official who considered it more dangerous than Communism. This official wrote in 1921, "Though he [Garvey] is certainly not an intellectual his particular propaganda and agitation is considered dangerous in that it will find a more fertile field of class divergence than Bolshevism would be likely to find in the United States."³⁷

Nor was the race first aspect of Garvey's philosophy difficult to explain in class terms, for it was based on a recognition that the overwhelming majority of the black race corresponded with the workers and the peasants everywhere. Garvey analyzed this situation in relation to his native Jamaica:

Jamaica is a British Colony with a population of nearly one million people. of this number, more than 850,000 are black people. There are 15,000 white and the rest are offsprings of white and black - coloured people. In this population there is a social arrangement whereby all positions of influence are held by a minority class. The bulk of the black people are kept in conditions bordering on serfdom, they are made up generally of the labouring class who receive but a pittance of a wage, ranging from six-pence for women a day to 9 [pence], and for men from 1 [shilling] a day to 2 [shillings]. Because of this low scale of wages among the people crime is rife, our poor houses are filled, . . .

In the midst of this distress of the black majority we have a prosperous minority of white, coloured and a few black persons who have been taken under the patronage of the privileged minority.³⁸

This tendency to identify with the oppressed masses was evident in some of Garvey's earliest writings. His 1913 historical account of the West Indies described the participants in a nineteenth century Jamaica revolt as "powerless in the face of the organized military forces of the ruling class . . . The Gordon party killed fifteen of the native despots and a savage plutocrat by the name of Baron von Kestelhardt. . . ." ³⁹

The reverse side of his sentiment for the masses was, of course, an intolerance of privilege that was not too different from that of the Communists. And Garvey's attack on privilege extended to appropriate persons within the race, his race first doctrine notwithstanding. In 1924, for example, speaking against the candidacy of black Harlem Republican Charles H. Roberts, he accused him of being backed by black capitalists and grafters. He went so far as to assert that "as the white folks in the labor unions, the Socialist group and the Progressive group are keeping their eyes on that selfish group of white people who are attempting to rob and exploit, so have you to keep your eyes on those selfish Negroes who have been crushing you for the last 20 years." He clinched his argument by explaining to his audience that "You, the workingman, have nothing in common with Dr. Charles Roberts at this time." ⁴⁰ On this occasion Garvey's Negro Political Union actually backed a white candidate against Roberts.

As has already been noted, Garvey thought he discerned a tendency among rich black people to be more parasitical towards their own race than was the case for a similar class in other races. He considered rich blacks less likely to endow charitable foundations and the like.⁴¹ The U.N.I.A. would therefore have to fight not only "the white capitalist" but also "the capitalist Negro."⁴²

Such hostility towards privilege extended quite naturally towards landowners. His election platform during his 1929 campaign for the Jamaica legislative council included suggestions for land reform. Recalling the experiences of his own uncle who had been a sharecropper and subject to the caprice of a dishonest landlord, he proposed methods to compel big landowners to make surplus land available to smallholders.⁴³

In the light of all this it is not surprising that he objected to the titles bestowed by the U.N.I.A. being viewed as a hankering after aristocracy. U.N.I.A. titles, he observed, were not based on wealth, but on service to the race. They were distinctions conferred on worthy individuals by an appreciative race.⁴⁴

These class sentiments on Garvey's part were reinforced by a long history of struggle in and on behalf of workers' organizations. Communists and others who knew him only in the American context believed that his hostility towards white American labor unions was indicative of

a general hostility towards workers' organizations. Yet in his hostility to the racist practices of the American Federation of Labor, Garvey was acting no differently from practically all Afro-American leaders and indeed the Communists themselves. Where he differed from them and expressed what they considered heresy was in his advice to the black workingman in America that he should have no compunction in playing on the capitalist's greed by under-selling the white worker and thereby obtaining employment. "It seems strange and a paradox," he wrote, "but the only convenient friend the Negro worker or laborer has, in America, at the present time, is the white capitalist."⁴⁵ This position, however, was strictly in relation to the peculiar situation induced in America by racist white labor unions. In other situations, Garvey had a record of struggle in working class organizations (apart, of course, from the U.N.I.A. itself) which was undoubtedly more outstanding than that of many Communist critics. In 1908 he had participated prominently in a printers' strike in Jamaica.⁴⁶ Not long afterwards, during his early Latin American wanderings, he is said to have been arrested in Port Limon, Costa Rica, for urging workers to fight for better wages and working conditions.⁴⁷ During the early Jamaican years of the U.N.I.A. (1914-1916) he attempted unsuccessfully to implement a scheme setting up unemployed workers as small peasants on crown lands.⁴⁸ He maintained

his interest in the Jamaican labor scene after moving to the United States. In 1920, for example, during a police strike in Kingston, he upset authorities by despatching a telegram expressing sympathy with A. Bain Alves, chairman of the Jamaica Federation of Labour who had been very active in workers' struggles that year.⁵⁰ Back in the Caribbean in 1921, Garvey wrote a letter to the Jamaica Gleaner in June of that year advocating the unionization of Jamaica labor and labor sponsorship of representatives to the legislative council.⁵¹

Garvey's most sustained activity in the labor movement came during his Jamaican period of 1927-1935. His daily Blackman newspaper, launched in 1929, became an organ for the exposure of labor grievances. In May 1929, a little over a month after the launching of the Blackman he took up the case of a young banana carrier who had been kicked and cuffed on the wharf by an assistant wharfinger. He remonstrated with the other laborers on the wharf for not having thrown the culprit into the sea. When the men attempted to strike a few days later he supported them. They therefore marched to his Edelweis Park headquarters and asked him to represent them in the dispute with their employers, the United Fruit Company. Their present wage was one shilling and nine pence per hundred bunches of bananas loaded. Nor did they receive overtime for night work, Sundays or holidays. Garvey spoke to them on the

necessity of unionization and condemned the social structure in Jamaica, as a result of which, he declared, "a large number of your people, my people, our race form the unemployed." In view of the lack of an organization strong enough to sustain a strike and the easy availability of strikebreakers Garvey suggested that the laborers resume work while he negotiated on their behalf.

During his negotiations with J. G. Keifer, head of the United Fruit Company in Jamaica, Garvey extended his grievances to include the ragged and half nude condition of female laborers on the wharf, whom he said, formed a favorite subject for tourist photographers. Keifer threatened labor saving machines and boasted of his ability to break a strike. The Daily Gleaner, described by Garvey as "the mouthpiece of special privilege and cold blooded capital in the Island of Jamaica" encouraged the adoption of the suggested labor saving devices, causing Garvey to warn its editor to "keep his monstrous 'paws' off the situation," lest the Blackman "tell him where he ought to get off at," as it was "always ready to tell him without any hesitation."⁵²

The demand for a minimum wage was featured on the 1929 manifesto of Garvey's Peoples Political Party, and during his stay on the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation Council he regularly campaigned for an eight hour day.⁵³ Out of this and allied activity, including a delegation to

the governor and a petition to a visiting imperial sugar commission,⁵⁴ emerged his Jamaica Workers and Labourers Association. The association was conceptualized as a body which would pave the way for unions, rather than itself being a union. Among its executive members was at least one representative of the Jamaica Trades and Labour Union.⁵⁵ Garvey's interest in Jamaica labor continued after his departure from Jamaica, and in 1938 he approved of the entry into labor politics of Alexander Bustamente, who was for the next three decades to play a central role in Jamaica's political life.⁵⁶

Garvey's ubiquitous presence was felt in workers' organizations in other parts of the world. Much of this influence, it is worthy of note, was taking place during his American period. What this means is that Garvey was simultaneously advising black workers to beware of white labor in America, and actively encouraging the unionization of black labor in areas where black workers were forming their own organizations.

One such area was Trinidad, where the Trinidad Workingmen's Association was revived in 1919. Originally formed in the 1890's, the T.W.A. had lapsed into non-existence by World War I. The leading figures behind its resurgence in 1919 were also some of the most prominent Garveyites in the island. By mid-1919 news of the T.W.A.'s political struggles was appearing in the Negro World.⁵⁷

This organization played a central role in the 1919 workers' upheaval which temporarily wrested control of the island from the British overlords.⁵⁸ Less than a year after these violent struggles the British governor reported that quotations from Garvey's writings were being read verbatim at T.W.A. meetings.⁵⁹ Deportation was sometimes the lot of T.W.A. Garveyites who happened to be from elsewhere. One such case involved a T.W.A. assistant secretary, Ven Edward Seiler Salmon, who was deported to Jamaica for his role in the organization. He had also been a member of the African Orthodox Church.⁶⁰ The T.W.A. continued to play a central role in Trinidad politics up to the 1930's and its association with Garveyism endured. As late as 1937 Garvey's visit to Trinidad was facilitated by its leader, Capt. A. A. Cipriani.⁶¹

And at about the same time as Trinidad Garveyites were resuscitating the T.W.A., their counterparts in South Africa were playing an important role in the formation of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (I.C.U.), one of the largest in the history of the race. The president and several executive members of this union were prominent Garveyites at various times through the 1920's.⁶²

Garvey's involvement, through his subordinates, in the labor movement extended to yet other areas. In British Guiana, for example, U.N.I.A. travelling commissioners seem to have had the cooperation of pioneer labor leader

Hubert Critchlow's British Guiana Labour Union at U.N.I.A. meetings in 1920 and 1921.⁶³ Similar links between the U.N.I.A. and workers' struggles were reported from Barbados⁶⁴ and the United States Virgin Islands.⁶⁵ Indeed it has been said by one active in the movement that most of the important working class leaders who emerged onto the political scene in the 1930's in the West Indies had been influenced by involvement to a lesser or greater degree in the Garvey movement.⁶⁶

In Garvey, therefore, the Communists were faced with an adversary whose knowledge of the black working class, both from the standpoint of the U.N.I.A. and the standpoint of labor unions, was very extensive. And Garvey's field of operations was truly as universal as the Communists' was international. Theoretically, the bodies of thought represented by Garvey and the Communists were deceptively similar. Both were to a greater or lesser degree anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist. Both were to a point anti-clerical (Garvey, of course, being at one and the same time somewhat anti-clerical but very much pro-religious). They both sought to organize around the great mass of workers and peasants, and they both (all claims of the Communists to the contrary notwithstanding) had their fair share of petty-bourgeois leadership. Indeed Garvey, the nephew of a sharecropper, the son of a skilled stonemason, a printer's apprentice at fourteen,

who in his early Central American and European wanderings and his early days in the United States had known what grinding poverty was, held better claims to working class purity than many of the Communist intellectuals who glibly wrote him off as petty-bourgeois. Both bodies of thought too had, at least by 1928, come to recognize the national character of the so-called Negro Question. Between them, however, stood the vast chasm of race. Just as the Communists, in their formulation of the national question felt the need to hedge their attitude around with assimilationist requirements and thus withdraw from an acknowledgment of the primacy of the race factor, so Garvey, while recognising the class character of society, always viewed it within the constraints of the race factor, which in his opinion overrode and transcended class differences. So however near the two bodies of thought might sometimes appear to approach each other on the surface, the race/class question presented a fundamental point of disagreement. These similarities and differences manifested themselves in practice in an intricate relationship of hostility interspersed with tolerance between the U.N.I.A. and the Communists, as all the while the Communists tried to win over Garvey's following and the U.N.I.A. deftly avoided falling into Communists hands.

Some of the earliest concrete contact between Communism and the U.N.I.A. came in the persons of early

U.N.I.A. members. Such was the tenor of the U.N.I.A. that overt and latent black Communists could feel comfortable within it. Thus the first editorial writer (apart from Garvey himself) of the Negro World was W. A. Domingo, a socialist.⁶⁷ Domingo was responsible for much of the Bolshevik propaganda appearing in the paper which alarmed authorities in 1919. He was, in the words of Garvey six years later, "dismissed from my employ as editor of one of my newspapers because of his dangerous communistic principles."⁶⁸ Another U.N.I.A. hanger-on in this category was Cyril Briggs, who through his African Blood Brotherhood provided the American Communists with some of their first black cadres. The career of Otto Hall, an A.B.B. member, is instructive. A veteran of World War I, he sympathised with the militant Industrial Workers of the World, joined the U.N.I.A. in Chicago not long after the end of the war and became a member of the Universal African Legions. From there he went into the A.B.B. and later followed Briggs into the Communist party.⁶⁹ In the 1930's during the scramble for Garvey's followers in the United States the Communists picked up a few more ex-Garveyites, though hardly enough to repay their efforts.⁷⁰

Communist attempts at capturing the U.N.I.A. commenced practically from the inception of the Communist movement in the United States. The program of the United Communist Party in 1920 urged black Communists to enter

black unions, lodges, clubs, and churches "to expose the reactionary leaders, who, for the purpose of betraying their race, infest these institutions." Communists were urged, on the other hand, to support all radical black organizations.⁷¹ The U.N.I.A. was not specifically mentioned here but could not fail to have been considered under one of the two headings. In subsequent years similar pronouncements encouraged infiltration into black organizations. The fourth congress of the Communist International in Moscow in 1922, for example, urged support for "every form of Negro Movement which tends to undermine capitalism and Imperialism or to impede their further progress."⁷² In similar vein the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1928 laid down the line of "united front tactics for specific demands" in dealing with "existing Negro petty bourgeois organizations." The purpose of such tactics, it was clearly stated, should be to mobilize the black masses under Communist leadership and expose and undermine their "treacherous petty bourgeois leadership."⁷³

Nor were they reluctant to consider utilizing bits and pieces of Garvey's program and tactics. In 1921 an article on "The Party and the Negro Struggle" suggested, "The Negro has a great love of display, show, pomp, ostentation, brass bands, mysticism, decorations, buttons, social frivolities and military display. (In this regard

it is only fair to say that he is not alone.) These contraptions catch his imagination and act as an inducement for organization as nothing else can at the present time."⁷⁴ This article suggested that such Afro-American aspirations as a free Africa, race equality and the like should not be opposed but directed into "effective channels." At the fifth Comintern congress in 1924, Israel Amter, an American delegate, even suggested linking Africa and Afro-America by sending pamphlets for distribution by Africa bound sailors.⁷⁵

One of the earliest attempts at infiltration of the U.N.I.A. came through the use of Cyril Briggs's African Blood Brotherhood. Though this attempt failed, Briggs and the Brotherhood were to continue to be a source of harassment for the U.N.I.A. up to Garvey's death. The A.B.B. was organized in New York in 1919 by Briggs, who became its "paramount chief." Briggs, an immigrant from Nevis in the West Indies, had previously been an editor of the New York Amsterdam News before having been fired for the militant nationalism expressed in his editorials. During his sojourn at the Amsterdam News he had toyed with various nationalistic solutions to the race problem, such as a separate state for Afro-Americans in the West, or in Africa, South America or the West Indies. His Crusader magazine, established in 1919 after his expulsion from the Amsterdam News, originally proclaimed itself the publicity organ of the Hamitic League of the World. The

A.B.B. was organized around this magazine, and though never a large organization (3,000 at its height), it established branches in such places as Trinidad, British Guiana and Santo Domingo, in addition to several locations in the United States. In 1921, Briggs also claimed the affiliation of 153 organizations, such as churches, in the United States, the West Indies, Africa, and elsewhere. The organization saw itself in the beginning as radical, though not Communist.⁷⁶

Perhaps in early 1921, if not before, Briggs was approached by American Communists who thereby succeeded in obtaining a handful of recruits from the A.B.B. These A.B.B. recruits were some of the earliest black Communists in the United States and continued for long to be among the most prominent. They included, apart from Briggs himself, Richard B. Moore, Otto Hall, Lovett Fort-Whiteman and Harry Haywood. Another outstanding Harlem socialist within the A.B.B. was ex-Negro World editor W. A. Domingo. Domingo did not enter the Communist party. Otto Huiswoud, another outstanding black Communist figure of the 1920's and beyond, joined the A.B.B. from the party.⁷⁷

The A.B.B. cadre proved a boon to the American Communists at a time when the powers that be in Moscow were wondering at the absence of black representation in the American movement. By 1922 we find the Harlem West Side Branch of the Workers Party being run by A.B.B.

members: Huiswoud, organizer; Briggs, recording and financial secretary; and persons described as comrades Moore, Campbell and McKay, members of the propaganda and educational committee.⁷⁸ By November 28, 1922, Huiswoud, masquerading as Comrade Billings, was praising the A.B.B. at a session of the Commission on the Negro Question at the fourth Comintern congress in Moscow. He distinguished the A.B.B. from Garveyism, to the detriment of the latter.⁷⁹ Back in the United States, the Communist Worker saw in the A.B.B. a great help in building a united front of black and white workers.⁸⁰

The first important task for the A.B.B. in building this desired united front was to infiltrate the U.N.I.A. This they attempted to do during Garvey's 1921 International Convention. Before the convention, possibly for tactical reasons, Briggs had taken a position moderately favorable towards Garvey.⁸¹ With the convention in progress Briggs on August 15 despatched a letter to Garvey. Assuming for the occasion an attitude of due deference, he addressed Garvey as "His Excellency, the Provisional President of Africa." Briggs offered Garvey a proposition--that Garvey (with his international mass movement, perhaps millions strong) should enter into a program of joint action with the A.B.B. (an obscure organization of a thousand or two) for African liberation. "But think of what we might be able to do for the race," he cajoled, "through conscious

co-operation were we to adopt a program which would jointly represent us, without any serious compromise on either side of important tactical points or principles."⁸² Briggs then took the opportunity provided by Garvey's assembled hosts to do a little recruiting for himself and passed around copies of the A.B.B. program. The next ploy in Briggs' attempt to impose a Communist united front on Garvey was to have his white Communist friend Rose Pastor Stokes address the convention. She treated the convention to an explanation of Russia's treatment of minorities and asked for an endorsement of Communism. The final stroke in Briggs' strategy was to have A.B.B. delegates introduce a motion for such an endorsement. The motion was debated and tabled, and followed by adoption of a resolution expelling the A.B.B.⁸³ It is difficult to imagine how Briggs could seriously have expected Garvey to compromise his massive power base for the sake of cooperation with the A.B.B. Such a blunt and in many ways insulting power play could only have been due to political ineptitude on Briggs' part, or a great disdain for Garvey's great knowledge of political infighting. George Padmore must have been thinking of blunders such as this when he wrote many years later that the Communists erred fundamentally in attacking Garvey prematurely and in so obvious a fashion.⁸⁴

In any event, Garvey used the Bolshevism of the

A.B.B. to justify his case against them, even though he praised Lenin and Trotsky during the same convention in a speech which urged his hearers to do for Africa what Lenin and Trotsky had done for Russia in overthrowing Czarist despotism.⁸⁵ This distinction between Lenin and Trotsky, whom he usually endorsed, and American Communists, whom he avoided, represented Garvey's normal position. Some time later, for example, he said, "I am against the brand of Communism that is taught in America. . . . In America it constitutes a group of liars, plotters and artful deceivers who twist--a one third truth to a whole big lie, and give it out to the unthinking clientele for consumption. Communism among Negroes in 1920-1921 was represented in New York by such Negroes as Cyril Briggs and W. A. Domingo, and my contact with, and experience of them, and their methods are enough to keep me shy of that kind of communism for the balance of my natural life."⁸⁶

Briggs, for his part, after his defeat at the 1921 convention, consoled himself by arguing that his expulsion had been engineered by Garvey to prevent the A.B.B. program from being officially represented to the delegates, whom, he said, were favorably disposed towards it.⁸⁷

This turn of events meant that if even the Communist desire for an A.B.B.-engineered united front with the U.N.I.A. had failed, the Communists were assured of the next best thing, the cooperation of what were now some of

Garvey's most vitriolic enemies. The Briggs-Garvey feud descended to its most acrimonious less than two months after the abortive A.B.B. coup when the Negro World carried an advertisement entitled "WHITE MAN NEGRO FOR CONVENIENCE." It read, "A White Man in New York by the name of CYRIL BRIGGS has started the 'AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD' to catch Negroes, no doubt. To make it succeed he claims to be a Negro, and continuously attacks the Universal Negro Improvement Association and its founder, Marcus Garvey. Negroes, take notice and govern yourselves accordingly."⁸⁸ For this indiscretion Briggs (who was indeed light of hue) had Garvey arrested and tried for criminal libel, and Garvey reacted by showing Briggs' letter of cooperation to the judge.⁸⁹ Briggs remained unmollified by a favorable decision, for the next month's Crusader was a veritable Garvey special. At least ten of the sixteen editorials dealt with Garvey, as did several other articles. Readers were informed that Garvey had left his wife, that his father had died in a poor house (a point which was also utilized by DuBois and the British government in anti-Garvey campaigns), that a Briggs letter to the Bureau of Navigation had met with a response suggesting that there was no record of two ships claimed by the Black Star Line, and more. He also quoted a Garvey statement acknowledging favorable comment on the U.N.I.A. from some European socialist publications to show that Garvey might have changed his

mind since repudiating the A.B.B. position on linking up with white workers for the liberation of Africa. One editorial even claimed that Garvey had raped a "little white girl in a friend's office" in England.⁹⁰ For this last indiscretion Briggs was in his turn arrested on a criminal libel charge brought by Garvey.⁹¹

In 1923 Garvey accused the A.B.B. of being implicated in the police raid on the New Orleans U.N.I.A.⁹² Yet in 1924 Briggs acted as an agent for Garvey's Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company in helping it procure a ship.⁹³ Garvey later attacked one of his own subordinates, William L. Sherrill, for having been responsible for this.⁹⁴ In 1924, too, Briggs was responsible for the theft from a safe in a U.N.I.A. office of confidential papers relating to the U.N.I.A. negotiations with Liberia. They were in turn stolen from him as he was about to publish them.⁹⁵

Briggs' relationship with Garvey took another strange twist when in 1926 Briggs wrote a letter to the Negro World. This letter stated that Briggs was no friend of Garvey and had attacked him often. Nevertheless, he still had a letter from Garvey thanking him for supporting the First International Convention. He also indicated that he and A.B.B. members W. A. Domingo and Richard B. Moore had attacked the "Marcus Garvey Must Go" campaign of Chandler Owen and his associates. Briggs even expressed sympathy for Garvey, now that he had seen, he said, the

incompetent help Garvey had in the management of his most recent steamship line. The main point of the letter seemed to be contained in Briggs' assertion that "To me it is evident that the U.N.I.A. will soon be on the rocks unless some drastic change of control and policy can be effected quickly. And I believe it would be a great disaster to the race to have the U.N.I.A. disintegrate."⁹⁶ [Emphasis mine.] This letter was published just two weeks after Garvey's attack on Sherrill for employing Briggs had appeared. It may have represented a genuine attempt at rapprochement on the part of Briggs but more plausibly must be seen as part of the Communist tactic of alternating hostility and (usually transparent) overtures of friendship. Garvey at this time was of course in jail, and the italicized portion of the quotation above indicates that Briggs was making yet another play for U.N.I.A. co-option by Communist leadership.

Briggs' interest in the U.N.I.A. followed Garvey to Jamaica. In 1930 we find Garvey showing that Briggs' latest allegations concerning a Blackman editorial were based on alleged facts supposedly in the editorial, but in fact invented by Briggs.⁹⁷ Early in 1931 we find Briggs issuing what was by now a familiar call to Garveyites to join the Communist League of Struggle for Negro Rights.⁹⁸

Later that year Briggs kept up his attempt to win over United States Garveyites with a lengthy analysis of

the Garvey movement. Garvey was pictured as the usual Communist petty-bourgeois bogey man who diverted revolutionary black nationalist sentiment into "utopian, reactionary, 'Back to Africa' channels." The leadership of the U.N.I.A., he wrote, "consisted of the poorest stratum of the Negro intellectuals--declassed elements, struggling business men and preachers, lawyers without a brief, etc.--who stood more or less close to the Negro masses and felt sharply the effects of the crisis." The undeniable mass following built up by Garvey was contrasted with "the small advanced industrial proletariat, who were experienced in the class struggle," (presumably the A.B.B.) for whom the U.N.I.A. had little appeal. Briggs also put forward here what has become something of a standard Communist argument, namely that Garvey had been progressive and willing to struggle in the United States in the beginning, but that after his exclusion from the United States in 1921 he had taken fright and become party to an abject capitulation to the imperialists. In concluding he recognized "certain progressive achievements" of the U.N.I.A., one being the fact that it "undoubtedly helped to crystallize the national aspirations of the Negro masses."⁹⁹

Shortly afterwards the Negro World poked some fun at the Communists' new found position on the national question by suggesting that, in adopting this position, Briggs was in fact preaching "unadulterated Garveyism." Briggs

hotly denied this, claiming, among other things, that "unconditional equality of the Negro people" was alien to Garveyism.¹⁰⁰ Similar exchanges between Briggs and the Negro World were repeated later.¹⁰¹

Briggs repeated many of his former charges against Garvey in an article published in 1932.¹⁰² Garvey replied immediately from the pages of his New Jamaican, which editorialized, "As usual, we have been made the object of ridicule by the official organ 'The Negro Worker' of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers. In their August issue they have published an article, below the name of one Cyril Briggs under the caption, 'How Garvey Betrayed the Negroes.'" The editorial continued, "Briggs has been a stubborn opponent of our rational method of the solution of the Negro problem in America. He and others have always tried to rope us in with communism."¹⁰³ Briggs' antagonism remained unbridled in the face of Garvey's death. A premature obituary under the caption "Marcus Garvey Dies in London" put out by Briggs' Crusader News Agency announced, in typically distorted vein, that "during his stay in Jamaica, he made peace with the British imperialists and joined white employers in their attacks on Jamaican unions."¹⁰⁴ This obituary was based on wrong information concerning Garvey's death. Garvey in fact died the following month.

The pattern of hostility interspersed with apparently

friendly gestures exhibited by the A.B.B. in its relationship with Garvey was typical of Communists generally, and particularly those in the United States. He was frequently described as a "charlatan."¹⁰⁵ But perhaps the most frequent term of abuse used to describe Garvey was the term "Zionist." Most Communist critics alleged that Garvey advocated abandoning the struggle in America in return for a pipe dream in Africa. Claude McKay had described Garvey as Zionist in an interview published in the Russian Izvestia in 1922.¹⁰⁶ Trotskyist C. L. R. James in the 1930's considered Garvey's program "essentially Back to Africa" and therefore "pitiable rubbish."¹⁰⁷ A host of others said basically the same thing.¹⁰⁸ The most convincing argument against this "Negro Zionism" charge came, strange to say, from the pen of another Communist, Robert Minor. Minor, covering Garvey's 1924 International Convention for the Communist Daily Worker, reported a speech in which assistant president-general William Sherrill had advocated autonomy for the black man in Africa. At this point, said Minor, a reporter for "a Hebrew Zionist newspaper" whispered across the press table, "This is Negro Zionism." Minor considered this, "despite all the superficial resemblance, the wildest folly." He considered the two different for several reasons,

1. The Great Powers and the League of Nations can cheerfully give a few thousand Jews a chance to settle in Palestine.

2. The great imperialist governments of the world can smile happily over Jewish nationalist propaganda which takes Jewish workers' minds away from proletarian revolution.

But:

1. The Great Powers, Britain, France, Belgium--and now the United States--cannot smile over any suggestions of surrendering Rhodesia and the Rand, the Kamerun, the Congo and the Nile and Morocco and Tunis and Algeria--to any movement for independent Negro nationalism, no matter how fantastic Garvey's red and green robes may be, nor how unseaworthy his ships.

2. The Great Powers cannot tolerate for one instant the propaganda for Negro independent nationalism in any quarter of Africa--not even in the Negro states of Abyssinia and Liberia, especially not in the 'fanatical' form in which alone this movement is found.

3. No, the Negro nationalist movement is more readily to be compared to the Turkish nationalism of recent years, than to Jewish Zionism.¹⁰⁹

Another staple in Communist anti-Garvey fare was his summit conference with the Ku Klux Klan. In answer to the Communist insistence that he unequivocally denounce the Klan Garvey replied by stating that pogroms perpetrated by white workers in the north killed more black people than the alleged atrocities of the Klan in the south. Garvey was attacked on many other points. These attacks were typically characterized by lies and distortions and often reduced Garvey to some kind of a tool of imperialism. A 1921 article in The Communist was typical. It claimed that "the kings of finance hold Mr. Garvey in great esteem for the work he has done in keeping the Negro's mind off the real problems before him and busying him with such tomfoolery as knighthoods and court receptions."¹¹⁰ Communist attacks were also often opportunistic to the point where they could accuse Garvey of lack of racial solidarity in

not supporting black Communist candidates at election time.¹¹¹

Praise from Communist circles, though often part of a cheap manoeuvre to lull Garvey into complacency, was nevertheless sometimes based on an appreciation of the anti-imperialist implications of Garvey's ideas and career. This was possibly the reason for a statement issued in 1925 by the praesidium of the International Peasants Council (Krestintern) in Moscow expressing solidarity with Garvey after his imprisonment in the United States. The statement read in part, "The capitalists realized that the movement led by Garvey, the movement for Negro independence, even under the modest slogan of 'Back-to-Africa' contained the embryo of the future revolutionary movement which, in alliance with the workers and the peasants, is to threaten the reign of capital." Garvey's trial was described as "an orgy of revengeful capitalism."¹¹²

One of the most interesting attempts at an objective, and on occasion even favorable Communist analysis of the Garvey movement came in Robert Minor's coverage of Garvey's 1924 convention for the Daily Worker. The convention was the occasion for a major Communist attempt to smother Garvey with overtures of friendship, and Minor's articles must be seen in this light. Prior to 1924 the Daily Worker and its predecessors (The Worker, The Toiler and The Ohio Socialist) were largely devoid of any references to the

race question. From the beginning of 1924, however, a program of extensive coverage of race affairs was launched. This coverage was orchestrated to provide a supportive role for an equally intense Workers Party effort of that year to "bore from within" the major black organizations.

The year began with a series of articles on the race question by Lovett Fort-Whiteman, Communist and African Blood Brotherhood member. In February the paper announced that the African Blood Brotherhood and the Workers Party would be attending the imminent Sanhedrin in Chicago. The Sanhedrin, organized by Kelly Miller, was a black convention in which over fifty race groups participated. The opening of the conference was greeted on February 11 by a laudatory article by Fort-Whiteman who announced that the A.B.B.'s two delegates would work closely with the Workers Party's five (of whom Fort-Whiteman was one) since both organizations were "wholly class conscious."¹¹³ It was pointedly noted that the U.N.I.A. would be a conspicuous absentee from the conference, no doubt because the Sanhedrin was "concerned primarily for winning rights for Negroes where they live" while the U.N.I.A. was purportedly concerned primarily with a return to Africa.¹¹⁴ One week later, after having apparently emerged somewhat less than victorious from several clashes with the Sanhedrin's organizers during the convention, the Daily Worker expressed utter disenchantment with Kelly

Miller and the "capitalist Negroes" who helped run the affair. So great was their disenchantment that they now grudgingly agreed with Garvey's decision to remain aloof from the convention. The paper lamented, "the hope of the oppressed Negro workers does not lie in the present set of Negro leaders. Marcus Garvey says they are too old. The workers say they are too bourgeois."¹¹⁵ Nevertheless the real intention of the Communists here, and later at the U.N.I.A. convention, was revealed about four months later at the fifth Comintern congress in Moscow, where an American delegate boasted that despite the domination of this assembly by ecclesiastical and petty-bourgeois types, the Communists "were successful in the last two days of the congress in provoking a split."¹¹⁶ The next dress rehearsal for the U.N.I.A. convention came in July when Minor, a staff writer and cartoonist for the paper, covered the N.A.A.C.P. conference in Philadelphia.¹¹⁷ Then on July 28 the paper noted the forthcoming pre-convention meeting of the Chicago U.N.I.A. This item was unusually free of anti-U.N.I.A. rhetoric.

The pre-convention overtures to Garvey continued on July 29 with a remarkable reversal of the traditional Communist distortion of Garvey's program. For a front page article noted that "Altho [sic] the ultimate program of the Garvey organization calls for the establishment of a Negro Nation in Africa, with the gradual migration of the Negroes

to that country, the convention realizes the necessity of dealing with American conditions until their final ideals are realized." The same issue stated, in very explicit language, the respect which Garvey's powerful position compelled, even of his opponents. "Garvey," it declared, "altho [sic] his organization declares for an independent Negro nation, has succeeded in banding almost half a million Negroes together in the largest mass movement the American Negroes have ever had. The Universal Negro Improvement Association must therefore be reckoned with as a force in the problems which confront the Negro as a part of American society."¹¹⁸ An editorial of July 29, though reverting to the normal phraseology of the "Utopianism that characterizes the fantastic projects of reclaiming Africa as the home of the Negro race," nevertheless relegated this to the status of a "surface phenomenon" of Garveyism. "The real social content of the movement," it asserted, "is the awakening of millions of exploited workers to the fact of their exploitation, of their subjection, social and economic, by sinister forces that rule society." The editorial, while upholding the primacy and ultimate triumph of class struggle for black workers, nevertheless went so far as to recognize as "inevitable" the "racial tendency, rather than a class one" induced by the peculiar oppression of Afro-Americans.¹¹⁹

The pre-convention build-up continued with cautious

approval on July 30 for a Garvey speech denouncing United States imperialism in Brazil and Haiti. Yet another editorial in this issue considered Garvey's African program "a curious mixture of error and sound insight," a partial about turn from the editorial of only one day previously. On July 31, in the last article of the massive pre-convention build-up, a mass meeting of the Chicago U.N.I.A. was reported. Two thousand persons had assembled at a farewell meeting for the Chicago delegates to the 1924 International Convention of Negro Peoples of the World. J. J. Peters, president of Chicago division no. 23, was quoted as saying, "My Communist white friends who are sitting on my left disagree with the nationalism of our association." He continued, "I have argued this point with them for several years, frequently coming to theoretical swordpoints with them; but still we are the best of friends."

The first reports from Garvey's August convention were from a special correspondent but on August 5 the Daily Worker announced that its own Robert Minor had left for New York to cover the rest of the proceedings. Minor's articles were clearly to spearhead the Workers Party effort to influence Garvey's convention, for readers were asked to circulate Minor's forthcoming convention articles among black workers, as well as the issue of August 5, which contained the Workers Party salutation "To the Fourth International Convention of the Universal Negro Improvement

Association Meeting at Liberty Hall, New York, August, 1924." "Its value depends on wide distribution," readers were urged, "Do your Communist duty."

By this time the attention given by the Daily Worker (and hence, of course, the Workers Party) to Garvey's convention had already far exceeded that given to Kelly Miller's Sanhedrin and the N.A.A.C.P. Philadelphia conference. The front page preamble to the official salutation read, "Realizing that the only hope of emancipation for Colored and White workers is universal solidarity of labor, the Workers Party sends its ardent greetings to the representatives of the oppressed Negro Race who are gathered together in Liberty Hall, New York, under the banner of the Universal Negro Improvement Association."

The statement itself was signed on behalf of the Workers Party of America by William Z. Foster, National Chairman, and C. E. Ruthenberg, National Executive Secretary. It was a lengthy one and deserving of close scrutiny. It began by expressing the hope that "this historic convention" might be "fruitful for the liberation of your Race." The U.N.I.A. was reminded that capitalist profit is the basis of all colonial and domestic oppression. The times were characterized as troubled ones for imperialism. The fall of the old regime in Russia was seen as symptomatic of this. Garveyites were informed that these struggles would spread to the colonies and that Africa's opportunity was

approaching. Thus far the statement revealed a common characteristic of Garvey's enemies and rivals, namely a stubborn reluctance to acknowledge (or a lack of knowledge of) the reality of Garvey's accomplishments. Whereas in 1919, two years before the founding of the Workers Party, Garveyites had been in the vanguard of major anti-colonial struggles in such places as British Honduras, Trinidad and South Africa, here was the party in 1924 informing Garvey that such ferment was imminent. Similarly, Garvey hardly needed the Workers Party to tell him that Africa's opportunity was approaching at a time when he had already expended many years and much money and energy trying to seize that opportunity.

The statement then advised Garvey to struggle against the imperialists in Africa without sacrificing rights in the United States and agreed with a convention proposal for independent educational material for black people. Garvey's Negro Political Union, the agency which would coordinate the U.N.I.A. excursion into domestic politics, was enthusiastically supported, as was his third world solidarity, which also antedated the formation of the Workers Party. "Your militant solidarity with the oppressed colonial peoples internationally is an honor to your organization," the statement read. Also receiving Workers Party commendation was the class composition of the U.N.I.A., and its advocacy to black people of not fighting

in future imperialistic wars. The convention's intention to petition presidents, kings and the like of imperialist countries was dismissed as a waste of time, as was the intention to petition the League of Nations. Garvey was advised that the Communist International was a much more worthwhile body to appeal to than the League. At the Communist International the U.N.I.A. would be "honored guests." Furthermore Communists were the enemies of Garvey's enemies, and therefore should be his friends. Communist parties, like the U.N.I.A., were in all countries organized against the ruling classes and against colonialism. And there was the example of Russia, which had freed its subject nationalities.

The statement continued its systematic evaluation of Garvey's past performance and the convention program. Thus the convention intention to discuss a solution to the southern race problem "to the satisfaction of all concerned" was disapproved on the ground that all concerned could not be pleased. (Garvey, of course, would see separation of the races as such a mutually acceptable solution). On Garvey's denunciation of discrimination in American labor unions the statement was especially enthusiastic. On this point Garvey was issued an invitation to joint struggle-- "We should especially like to co-ordinate our efforts with yours in a drive to open the doors of all labor unions (or such of them as now discriminate) to the full and equal

admission of Negro workers. It was acknowledged that this would require the re-education of white workers. Finally, Garvey's quotations denouncing preachers and missionaries as capitalist agents was used to hope that the convention would move away from religion to 'modern, scientific thot' [sic]."120

At the convention itself Minor interviewed Garvey, gave vivid descriptions of the pomp and ceremony, the "music of exceptionally fine quality," blamed the Republican party for having Garvey arrested during the convention and puzzled over what struck him as paradoxes inherent in Garvey's anti-clerical stance versus his religiousness, his anti-imperialism versus his attitude to the Ku Klux Klan.121

This August offensive, for all its obvious preparation and its large scale, was not without its stupid blunders of the magnitude of the A.B.B.'s 1921 offensive. For one thing, the favorable tenor of Minor's articles from New York were from time to time offset by editorials from the Chicago headquarters which were hostile enough to make any intelligent reader wonder at the sincerity of the newfound friendliness towards the U.N.I.A. On August 9, for example, in the same issue bearing an effusive story of a black woman peering over the shoulder of a Daily Worker reader in a streetcar and being won over to the paper's readership, there appeared an article captioned "Daily Worker Seeks to Win Marcus Garvey's Followers to the

Communist Program." The item consisted of a letter from one Israel Zimmerman expressing shock at the paper's friendly attitude towards Garvey a mere two years after Comrades Briggs, Owen and Randolph had campaigned against him. He demanded an explanation. The paper explained,

We have not changed our fundamental attitude towards Marcus Garvey. We are today as much opposed to his schemes for a Negro promised land in Africa as we ever were. We not only do not endorse but totally repudiate all schemes like Garvey's 'Black Star Line' as means of liberating the oppressed and exploited Negro masses.

The only reason for its new spirit of cooperation with the U.N.I.A., the paper explained, was to win over Garvey's followers to a "virile, class conscious" (i.e., Workers Party) leadership. Thus were the blunders of the 1921 A.B.B. offensive repeated. Once more the Communists had sought to win his friendship, steal his followers and insult his intelligence, all at the same time.

It is difficult to conceive of how the Workers Party expected to achieve its goals after this article, but the attempt continued. Minor, obviously impressed by the spectacle and the indication of power that was a U.N.I.A. convention, was moved to great feats of lyrical expression. He wrote,

I heard Garvey speak last night. He is one of the most powerful personalities that I have ever seen on the platform. He is one of the rare types that history finds rising in every unsettled period to express new currents among the masses of men. For weal or woe, Garvey is of the stuff that leaders (or very powerful

misleaders) are made of. Not the kind of leaders who rise in times of quiet and fit their environment as a fashion model fits the gowns of the day, but the kind of leaders who rise in times of storm and stress, who do not fit their environment, who look and feel and act out of place in the order of the day--who are called uncouth, who are jeered as misfits, and yet who may form the heads of the battering rams which smash down the walls of their environment.

I cannot vouch for the integrity of Marcus Garvey. But I know that the worst set of scoundrels that I know on earth hate Garvey.¹²²

The Workers Party, perhaps desiring to create a split in the U.N.I.A. convention, as they had boasted of doing at the Sanhedrin, moved after two weeks to the tactic of direct intervention in the Liberty Hall deliberations. The Daily Worker on August 14 carried a new official statement to the U.N.I.A. convention from the Workers Party. This statement was again signed by Foster and Ruthenberg. For this attack the Communists utilized the convention resolution on the Ku Klux Klan which considered the Klan attitude to black people "fairly representative" of white feelings generally, and which pointed out that alleged Klan atrocities were not very significant when compared with pogroms perpetrated by white workers in the north. The statement sought to establish the Communists' credentials, as it were, by quoting from a resolution from the fourth Comintern congress in Moscow in 1922 praising struggles of black workers. Garvey was also assured that the Communists "are engaged no less than you in the struggle against the imperialism which is enslaving Africa." They therefore

regretted the convention's Klan resolution, which they construed as a refusal to fight for equality in the United States.

This Workers Party communication was duly debated by the convention, and provided a good example of Garvey's handling of the American Communist challenge. Garvey opened the discussion by reminding the delegates that the U.N.I.A. was a very liberal organization. At a previous convention, he said, they had allowed Communist Rose Pastor Stokes to try to indoctrinate the organization and now they were going to give the Workers Party a hearing. To a motion asking that the Workers Party statement be tabled, Garvey objected, saying that it was an important question and should be answered in the same spirit of friendliness as proffered. If the Communists were so desirous of fighting the Klan, Garvey argued, let them take their proposal to the Jew and the Catholic, both of whom were in a much stronger economic position than the black man, and not dependent on Klan types for employment. "I think it is all right to let the white groups fight among themselves," he said. "The more rogues fall out, the more the other people can get their dues. And therefore I would advise the Workers Party to send their communication to the Jews and Catholics, and advise them to fight on, and fight on, and fight on."¹²³ Workers Party delegates, who attended the convention and participated in its deliberations, were

not present, for some unexplained reason, at this session.¹²⁴

As the convention wore on Minor considered that Garvey might destroy himself on the Klan question but that the organization would continue with other leaders.¹²⁵ And towards the end of the month an editorial took the white press to task for giving much coverage to the small meeting of the National Negro Business League while ignoring Garvey's massive convention. In the same editorial the large scale Communist effort during Garvey's convention was acknowledged and explained thus:

In the sessions of the Universal Negro Improvement Association there are even more working class elements represented than there were in the Sanhedrin and an even stronger attempt was made by the Communists to unify the struggles of the exploited workers regardless of their color.¹²⁶

As has already been hinted, Garvey's attitude towards Communism was complex. Though resisting the crude advances of the A.B.B. and the Workers Party, his writings and speeches are nevertheless often interspersed with non-hostile and even favorable references to Communism. His publications also frequently carried news of an anti-imperialist nature from Communist sources. Even sources actively hostile to Garvey, such as Cyril Briggs' Crusader News Service and the Negro Worker, published by the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers, were utilized for news items. Negro World columnists also occasionally wrote favorably on Communism. Garvey also seems

to have tolerated W. A. Domingo's extremely pro-Bolshevik Negro World editorials for some months in 1919 before he fired him.¹²⁷ Garvey himself was in the latter 1920's a member of the Comité de Défense de la Race Nègre, a Paris-based Pan-African organization associated with the French Communist Party and the Comintern.¹²⁸

Garvey's ambiguities concerning Communism may be partially explained by the fact that he normally distinguished between Communism in Russia, especially under Lenin, and its counterpart in America. On the occasions when he denounced Communism his denunciations were frequently qualified by some such expression as "practised in America."¹²⁹ On the other hand Garvey was deeply impressed by the Russian Revolution, and particularly by Lenin and Trotsky. He was quoted as suggesting a pact with Lenin and Trotsky to take Africa, during a Liberty Hall speech of August, 1920.¹³⁰ The New York Age took fright at this and came up with the curious analogy that since Bolshevism was the dictatorship of the proletariat (a tiny minority) Garvey might just as well ally himself with the planters of Arkansas and Mississippi (also a tiny minority).¹³¹ In 1922 we find him referring to the experiment in "social democracy" in Russia as one that would probably prove "a boon and a blessing to mankind."¹³² But Garvey's most extensive appreciation of the revolutionary experiments in Russia came in 1924, just seven months before the Workers

Party offensive of that year. The proximity of these two events highlights Garvey's different attitudes to the two Communisms. The occasion for Garvey's remarks on Lenin and Russia was Lenin's death in January, 1924. Garvey's first response was a telegram to the All Soviet Congress which said in part, "To us Lenin was one of the world's greatest benefactors. Long life to the Soviet Government of Russia."¹³³ This was followed by a lengthy speech at Liberty Hall entitled, "The Passing of Russia's Great Man."

In this speech, a remarkable tribute to Lenin and Russian Communism, Garvey called Lenin "probably the greatest man in the world between 1917 and the hour of 1924 when he breathed his last." He expressed the view also that the whole world was destined ultimately to assume Russia's form of government. He presumed that the U.N.I.A.'s message of condolence would be treated with respect, even though "unfortunately, we have not yet sent an ambassador to Russia." He explained that Lenin represented the class that comprised the majority of mankind. He continued,

Therefore Lenin stands out greater than all because he was the representative of a larger number of people. Not only the peasantry of Russia mourn for Lenin at this hour, but the peasantry of all of Europe, the peasantry of the whole world mourn for Lenin, because he was their leader. And we also, as Negroes, mourn for Lenin. Not one but the four hundred millions of us should mourn over the death of this great man, because Russia promised great hope not only to Negroes but to the weaker peoples of the world. Russia through her social democratic system promised a revolution to the world that would truly and indeed emancipate the souls of men everywhere. Negroes have not yet gotten

to realise the effect of certain world changes. We of the Universal Negro Improvement Association who lead have studied carefully and keenly the activities of Lenin and Trotsky. We have never before committed ourselves to any public opinion as touching the system of government now existing in Russia because we did not believe it wise. The social democratic soviet government of Russia is not yet recognised by all the other governments of the world. Only a few recognised governments have recognised Russia. The governments of the capitalist class, the governments of the privileged class have refused to recognise Russia as a government. They are still seeking and hoping that another revolution will be enacted in Russia that will take the power and control of government out of the hands of the peasantry and pass it back into the hands of the privileged class. At that hour all the other governments not yet recognising Russia will recognise her government. But we of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, as I said, had our own opinion and our own idea in the matter of the new government of Russia. And it is without any hesitancy, without any reserve, we could not but favor the existence of a social democratic government in Russia or in any other part of the world, because we are of the class that rules in Russia and naturally our sympathy should be with the people who feel with us, who suffer with us.¹³⁴

The same issue of the Negro World in which this speech appeared contained two other editorials on Lenin. One, by Amy Jacques Garvey, echoed her husband's sentiments.¹³⁵

The other, by T. Thomas Fortune, the paper's editor, was entitled "The Passing of the Red Terrorist." The title of the latter was indicative of the contents. Fortune obviously did not share Garvey's views on this subject.¹³⁶

Several articles similar to the 1924 speech were written by Garvey after this, and others were written by editors of his publications, particularly in Jamaica.

It was partly for sentiments such as these that

European, North American and Latin American governments often considered Garvey Communist. The fact that this was a period when radicalism was often equated with Bolshevism in official minds doubtless exaggerated this tendency. And Garvey of course was not loathe to proclaim himself a radical--"They talk about Garvey being radical," he said on one occasion. "How can a Negro be conservative? What has he to conserve? What have you but pain, suffering and hardship? It is time for the Negro to be radical and let the world know what he wants."¹³⁷ Thus he could be variously described by the British authorities as backed by the Industrial Workers of the World, by a provincial governor of Costa Rica as Bolshevik, by J. Edgar Hoover as pro-Bolshevik, by the Belgian imperialists as having Bolshevik connections, and by one United States official in September 1921 as being president of "the communist party which is affiliated with the Russian Soviet Government."¹³⁸ By 1932, however, the British Home Office had finally discovered that "available information goes to show that Marcus Garvey's organization is regarded by Moscow as 'bourgeois.'"¹³⁹

Garvey's admiration for Lenin and his Communistic experiments did not extend, as has been seen, to any love for American Communism. This was first because he considered the "American Federation of white workers or laborers," as just as racist as any other section of white

society. He was sure that in the American context white racial self-interest would override class solidarity to the continued detriment of black workers.¹⁴⁰ And white chauvinism within the American Communist movement was indeed well-documented, largely due to the complaints of black Communists themselves. Claude McKay had charged white American Communists with racism at the fourth Comintern congress in Moscow in 1922.¹⁴¹ Similar charges were made during the sixth congress in 1928,¹⁴² and were acknowledged by the highest Comintern circles, in the person of Nikolai Bukharin who warned his comrades "to adhere in the given sphere to a correct line [of conduct] mercilessly combatting the slightest manifestation of 'racial chauvinism.'" ¹⁴³ Garvey remained convinced however, that in a place like America, "the reign of executive communism would be no improvement on the reign of executive democracy."¹⁴⁴

Garvey's hostility to American Communism was also conditioned by his stubborn refusal to have his organization co-opted by anybody, whether to the right or left. Writing in 1932, Garvey recalled the repeated Communist attempts to seize his organization. He said,

Communists have been our bitter foes for the last ten years. They have done us a great deal of harm in the United States. They made attempts several times to operate an organization of four million coloured people, of which we were head, and when we stopped them and stubbornly resisted them all around, they initiated a vile and wicked propaganda against us, calling us Capitalists, Bourgeoisie, Opportunists and Uncle Toms.

Garvey extracted the inevitable lesson from this, namely that "the Negro should not allow himself to be absorbed by Communism."¹⁴⁵

Garvey was sure that in the United States the Communists would merely "use the Negro's vote and physical numbers" to elevate the position of their own kind. The black man would then discover that the majority race was still in power, "not only as communists but as whitemen."¹⁴⁶ This kind of thinking led Negro World editor H. G. Mudgal to scoff in 1932 at the selection of black James W. Ford as a Communist candidate for vice-president of the United States. He argued that Ford was chosen because the Communists knew they had no chance of winning anyhow.¹⁴⁷ Garvey's suspicions of Communist duplicity had an unusual possible corroboration in a communication from the military intelligence unit M. I. 1. c. to the British Foreign Office in January, 1920. The communication, originating in New York, dealt with radical propaganda among black people and concluded that blacks were "being used to serve the ulterior purposes of the reds" and were then to be discarded. The evidence for this assertion was provided by circulars allegedly "sent out to 'Distributors of I. W. W. literature,'" by an unnamed source. The circulars were said to contain the following information:

Extra activity in reaching the negroes [sic] is desired. We do not exactly want him in the organization, but we want him to help stir up unrest and general disorder.

The negro is rapidly rising to a high position in useful citizenship and social standing. We need to break this up. If we can disassociate him from his present tendency to what they call good citizenship and get capital down on him we can drop him out of the association later.¹⁴⁸

M. I. L. C. claimed to have received this information from "a reliable source."

Friction between Garveyites and Communists escalated rather than abated after Garvey was jailed in the United States. The Communists seized this opportunity (and later the greater opportunity provided by his deportation) to make inroads among his following. Although they made some progress they were nevertheless continually frustrated and irritated by the immense grip which Garvey's ideology continued to exercise over the black masses in the United States, even in the absence of "the chief" (as many of his followers affectionately called him). Cyril Briggs admitted this fact in 1931 when he wrote that "the Garvey movement, while in decline and on the verge of collapse, still represents a most dangerous reactionary force, exercising considerable ideological influence over large masses of Negroes."¹⁴⁹

Even in this period though, Communist tactics were characterized by the combination of open hostility and simultaneous attempts to impose "united front" alliances and offerings of friendship on the U.N.I.A. The friendly approach was articulated by James W. Ford as follows:

"How do we approach the Garveyites, and the other nationalistic elements. . . . We approach them in a friendly manner, and Negro Communists say: 'We Communists are defenders of our people, defenders of the Ethiopian people. . . .'"¹⁵⁰

Such tactics were often aimed at U.N.I.A. leaders. Thus in 1926 we find a committee including Workers Party representative C. E. Ruthenberg, Manuel Gomez, secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League and others arranging to have George Weston, New York U.N.I.A. leader sent on a trip to an anti-imperialist conference in Brussels. They were also considering the possibility of throwing in a trip to the U.S.S.R. after the conference.¹⁵¹ Weston was at the time leading a U.N.I.A. faction of his own in a dispute with the rest of the organization.

A more serious attempt to create strife through befriending the leaders came in 1935. Early that year a Provisional Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia (P.C.D.E.) was formed in Harlem. The founding conference was held at the New York U.N.I.A. headquarters, and Captain A. L. King, leader of the U.N.I.A. New York Central division was unanimously elected chairman. The executive-secretary was to be A. W. Berry of the Communist-organized League of Struggle for Negro Rights, while the publicity director was William Fitzgerald of another Communist organization, International Labor Defense.¹⁵² Among the members of the P.C.D.E. were James W. Ford, at this time secretary of the Harlem Branch

of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. Ford used this opportunity to cultivate King's cooperation. In November he invited King to join a delegation to Mayor LaGuardia to protest police invasion of a Harlem dance sponsored by the Communist Party at which seventy-four persons were arrested.¹⁵³ The next month he invited King to a meeting of top Harlem leaders with an Anti-Fascist Committee.¹⁵⁴

Such cooperation between King and the Communists caused dissension in U.N.I.A. ranks. A movement developed to crush King on this account. The representatives of this group, calling themselves "The Committee" reaffirmed their loyalty to Ethiopia but refused to serve on the same committee with Communists. They accused King of dictatorship and of trying to turn the New York U.N.I.A. Communist.¹⁵⁵ These dissidents apparently contacted Garvey and King was forced to write Garvey in explanation. He assured Garvey that the sole reason for his participating in the P.C.D.E. was to buy publicity which the organization could not afford. He explained that several organizations belonged to the P.C.D.E. and that the U.N.I.A. held the balance of power. This in his opinion did not amount to consorting with the Communists.¹⁵⁶ If King's explanation was honest what this meant was that the U.N.I.A. was trying to use the Communists in exactly the same way as the Communists were simultaneously trying to use the U.N.I.A. King's contact with the Communists continued a while longer, for in February 1936

he was invited by the American Friends of the Soviet Union to send a U.N.I.A. representative with an American delegation to the U.S.S.R.¹⁵⁷

Relations between the two groups were not always so cordial in this period after Garvey's imprisonment. The Communist affiliated press, headed by the Liberator regularly published appeals to Garveyites to join such Communist bodies as the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.¹⁵⁸ Such appeals were accompanied by scurrilous and otherwise hostile articles on Garvey and the U.N.I.A. Such activities were backed up by active proselytizing in black communities. Here, however, the presence of Garveyites was a constant stumbling block. A report by a member of the Young Liberators (a Communist group) in 1931 gave an indication of this. While recruiting on Chicago's South Side the group had encountered young Garveyites, who informed the Liberators that white sons of slavemasters and rapists would never help black people. The Liberators tried for three hours to establish a distinction between white capitalists and white workers. The Garveyites were not convinced, but the Liberators entertained hopes of eventually winning them over, since they were "sincere and militant."¹⁵⁹ Communist recruitment on the South Side had had a long history of frustration by Garveyites, going back at least as far as 1924.¹⁶⁰

These types of encounters were accompanied by more serious ones. In 1927, for example, the Negro World

editorially attacked the Communist American Negro Labor Congress.¹⁶¹ And in 1930 occurred the most serious clash of all, resulting in a streetfight which claimed the life of Communist Alfred Levy. This particular brawl was the culmination of a bitter feud between the two groups in the New York area in 1930. William Grant, leader of the U.N.I.A. Tiger Division had been assaulted some time before by persons he identified as Communists. He had the police arrest the black Communists whom he identified as his attackers. The Communist International Labor Defense had arranged to defend the accused.¹⁶² The Tiger Division subsequently proclaimed its hostility to "Communists and Crooks."¹⁶³ The scene of Levy's death was a street corner U.N.I.A. meeting on Harlem's Lenox Avenue. Communists attacked the meeting, according to the Garveyite version, and one of their number tried to mount the speaker's platform. The police who were on hand attempted to restrain the Communists but without success. Fighting broke out and the police "entreated" the Garveyites to provide assistance. A free for all ensued in which Levy was killed. The next day Garveyites met again at the same corner and declared their intention to break up any meeting on Lenox Avenue which spoke against the Garvey movement. Garvey's Blackman announced from Jamaica, "Their action can be readily understood for Garveyism forms one of the chief targets of communist hate and vindictiveness, the sowers of red propaganda

branding their peaceful brothers as 'imperialist agents,' 'traitors to their race' and 'bourgeois.'"¹⁶⁴ The Communists meanwhile retired to 144th and Lenox Avenue where the body of Alfred Levy lay in state under a constant Communist guard. After two days of this a mass rally was addressed at the scene by Otto Huiswoud, who utilized the opportunity to attack Garvey. Levy was finally buried to the strains of the "Internationale."¹⁶⁵

Relations were particularly strained for the two years or so after this. The Negro World carried the occasional letter alleging Communist practice of jim crow or, like one from Farrell, Pennsylvania, reporting that Communists were telling people that they were working together with the U.N.I.A. and that Garveyites should therefore join the Communists.¹⁶⁶ In 1931 a Chicago Liberty Hall refused permission to August E. Poansjoe, a Communist Party candidate for city treasurer who desired to speak there.¹⁶⁷ And the Communists in 1931 brought their biggest propaganda guns, as represented by the Scottsboro case, to bear on the U.N.I.A. In the Scottsboro case nine innocent black youths had been framed on charges of raping two white ladies of ill repute and had been sentenced to death in Alabama. The I.L.D. had captured the defense from the N.A.A.C.P. and had reaped a windfall from the international indignation felt at this travesty of justice. The Scottsboro windfall became a powerful propaganda weapon. A Negro World editorial of

1931 expressed an often-voiced view that the Communists would never have supported the accused were it not for the publicity. Their sincerity was doubted in view of their hostility to U.N.I.A. divisions and other race groups trying to help.¹⁶⁸

Mrs. Ada Wright, mother of the two of the accused, was utilized to attack Tiger Division leader William Grant in a speech to Garveyites in New York.¹⁶⁹

The Liberator published an open letter attacking Grant and inviting U.N.I.A. members to join the Scottsboro fight.¹⁷⁰

The U.N.I.A. attitude was summed up as follows: "Let Communists agitate, congregate, and propagate--if they must; but let us remain on the 'side lines' until something is started that will provide us the opportunity that we need for making our grand 'getaway.'"¹⁷¹ Garvey's followers had absorbed his teachings well indeed.

The Liberator kept up its intensive campaign against Garvey in this period. A successor to the Negro Champion, its contributing editors contained such well-known A.B.B. and black Communist names as Otto Hall, Otto Huiswoud and J. W. Ford. The stridency of its attacks doubtless owed something to the fact that Cyril Briggs was editor. Its attacks were frequently comprised of wild exaggerations and distortions. On Garvey being barred from Cuba the Liberator commented in 1930 that Garvey was nevertheless still an imperialist tool but was being treated in this manner by the imperialists because they were now "served by

other interests" and no longer needed Garvey "as a peddler of his particular illusions."¹⁷² In 1931 the paper editorialized that the League of Struggle for Negro Rights (successor to the American Negro Labor Congress as a black Communist alternative to other race organizations, especially the U.N.I.A.) "must expose this outrageous attempt [Garveyism] to hoodwink the Negro masses." It continued, "meetings must be held, leaflets distributed, contacts made with the Garvey masses, and a smashing attack carried out against these peddlers of illusions, and apologists for imperialism, and to win the workers in the Garvey organizations for real struggle."¹⁷³

The Liberator was ably supported on the international level by a constant anti-Garvey barrage emanating from the Negro Worker. This journal, published initially in Hamburg, Germany, and later at other locations, was the organ of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers (ITUC-NW) a creation of the Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern).¹⁷⁴ The Profintern had set the tone for Negro Worker attacks on Garvey by declaring in its "Special Resolution on Work among Negroes in the United States and the Colonies" of 1931 that, "Of all forms of ideological deceit, the most dangerous is 'Garveyism,' denying the class struggle, and the possibility of the revolutionary struggle of the Negro masses for self-determination."¹⁷⁵ Even before this a statement of the ITUC-NW coming out of

its founding conference in Hamburg in 1930 had declared war on "Negro capitalist misleaders" such as Garvey, DuBois and a host of others, as well as on "the white trade union faker, Captain Cipriani, in the West Indies," and more.¹⁷⁶ In 1933 Garvey was moved to comment on the Negro Worker campaign. He wrote, "The Communists, through their Negro section, are publishing a Monthly Magazine from Germany, called 'THE NEGRO WORKER.' We recognize members of the editorial staff as Negroes we have met at different places. We think these Negroes are doing their race a great deal of harm at the present time, by trying to influence them toward assuming the responsibility of propagating Communism."¹⁷⁷ Garvey argued here that Communism had "a great chance in influencing a change in the political systems of the world," but black people should still not be "sacrificed at the early stages of the battle" by the Communists.

The Negro Worker and other ITUC-NW material were read by black people who while admiring the militancy of these publications, did not always appreciate their denunciations of Garvey. A letter from such a reader in British Guiana was published in 1932 together with a reply from the editor.¹⁷⁸ An extensive exchange took place in 1936 and 1937¹⁷⁹ between the editor, at this time Charles Woodson (in fact Otto Huiswoud, according to a United States intelligence source)¹⁸⁰ and a veteran U.N.I.A. leader from

Dominica, J. R. Ralph Casimir. Casimir at this time was the Dominica agent for the Negro Worker and threatened to quit performing this service due to the misleading attacks on Garvey. He particularly disliked the journal's tendency to play down the role of the imperialists in thwarting Garvey's Liberian plans. The journal devoted several pages to Casimir's letters and the editorial responses. Several anti-Casimir letters were also published, including one from Garvey's veteran foe W. A. Domingo.

The Trotskyist wing of the Communist movement also contemplated ways of getting around Garvey's influence in the 1930's. Towards the end of the decade their black spokesman, C. L. R. James (hiding under the pseudonym J. R. Johnson) suggested a black united front organization for mass struggle which would show that it was "fighting as a Negro organization, but has nothing to do with Garveyism."¹⁸¹

Nowhere is the unusual blend of tolerance and rabid hostility which characterized the Garveyism/Communism relationship better seen than in the series of formal debates which took place between the two groups in this period. Such exchanges had a long history. The Negro World of September 20, 1919 had contained an exchange of letters between Harlem literary figure Claude McKay and William H. Ferris, literary editor of Garvey's paper. McKay had argued in favor of Bolshevism, suggesting that black

toilers would automatically be freed in the wake of a white proletarian revolution.¹⁸² Informal debates between Workers Party members and U.N.I.A. members in Chicago have already been briefly referred to. At Garvey's International Convention held in Jamaica in 1929 a formal debate took place between Garvey himself and Otto Huiswoud, this time representing the American Negro Labor Congress. In the tradition of the A.B.B. convention offensive of 1921 and the Workers Party attempt of 1924, the A.N.L.C. was once again trying to attack Garvey in his own stronghold. Garvey, as always, was willing to let the Communist representative have a hearing. The debate took place during the convention. The topic resolved that "The Negro Problem Can Only Be Solved by International Labour Co-operation between White and Black Labour." Garvey obviously argued against and obviously won. The audience was judge.¹⁸³ In February 1931 the editor of the Negro World, H. G. Mudgal engaged a Mr. Welch, described as associate editor of the Revolutionary Age in a formal debate. A large crowd of Communists and Garveyites turned up at the Frederick Douglass International Forum in Brooklyn to hear them debate the topic, "Garveyism vs. Communism: Which Will Best Solve the Negro Problem?" Mudgal won, probably because there must have been more Garveyites in the audience than Communists. Welch argued that the Negro problem was essentially a class problem, while Mudgal argued that "No Non-Negro could pretend

to give a philosophy to just suit the needs and moods of the black masses."¹⁸⁴ Mudgal won a similar debate later that year against Albert Weisbord, editor of the left-wing Communist Class Struggle.¹⁸⁵ In December of that year the Cleveland division reported a similar debate, with both sides argued by Garveyites.¹⁸⁶ In 1932 the Liberator reported that U.N.I.A. organizer Mme. De Mena had refused a Communist challenge for a debate while on tour due to lack of time.¹⁸⁷

Garvey's attitude towards the Communists was to some extent vindicated in the 1930's and 1940's when several prominent black Communists became disenchanted and dropped out of the movement over such issues as Stalin's downgrading of work among black people, the U.S.S.R.'s sale of oil to the Italian fascists, which was used during their invasion of Ethiopia, and the hostility of American Communists to black civil rights activity during World War II. The common problem in such cases was the question of what to do when black nationalism ran counter to party interest. Many of these persons had been attracted to Communism in the first place because of the potential they perceived in it for oppressed black peoples, as stressed in Communist propaganda concerning Russia's favorable treatment of minorities, self-determination in the Black Belt, and so on. A very excellent example of all this, and one which shows the appeal that Garvey continued

to exert over race-conscious black people, even in the Communist hierarchy, was the case of George Padmore.

Padmore, as a youth in Trinidad, had probably been a reader of the Negro World and impressed by the uprising there in 1919 which was led by Garveyites. C. L. R. James thinks that Padmore was "profoundly influenced by Garvey" at this time.¹⁸⁸ Certainly by the time Padmore migrated to the United States in 1924 Trinidad was the second most U.N.I.A.-organized island in the Caribbean, after Cuba.¹⁸⁹ In the United States Padmore became a Communist in 1927.¹⁹⁰ Yet in 1928 we find him engaged in leading a protest at Howard University against the presence of British ambassador Sir Esme Howard on campus because the latter had played an important role in Garvey's deportation from the United States and Canada. Lengthy mimeographed sheets were distributed to this effect, bearing Padmore's name as secretary of the International Anti-Imperialistic Youths' League.¹⁹¹ Padmore soon afterwards journeyed to Moscow where he became head of the Negro Bureau of the Profintern. During the early 1930's he edited the Negro Worker and churned out several pamphlets and other matter presenting Communist views on various matters relevant to black workers. Whatever lingering affinities to Garvey which may still have existed in 1928 were not visible in most of these writings (mostly published in 1931). Garvey was denounced with monotonous regularity. The language of

denunciation was standard Communist rhetoric--"The struggle against Garveyism," he wrote, by way of example, "represents one of the major tasks of the Negro toilers in America and the African and West Indian colonies."¹⁹² Or again, "Like Zionism and Gandhism, it [Garveyism] is merely out to utilize racial and national consciousness for the purpose of promoting the class interests of the black bourgeoisie and landlords."¹⁹³ Another typical piece of abuse during this period explained that Garvey was "the greatest fraud and racketeer who has ever imposed himself upon an oppressed people."¹⁹⁴

Yet in the same year that Padmore was parroting these stock Communist expressions of abuse he gave an inkling of a lingering sympathy with Garvey in a pamphlet entitled American Imperialism Enslaves Liberia. Here he fleetingly departed from his distortions to admit that Garvey's Liberian scheme "was defeated through the intervention of the U.S. Government." He also repeated the "rumour" that W. E. B. DuBois was used by President Coolidge to help defeat the scheme.¹⁹⁵

Padmore discontinued his various Communist affiliations in 1933 and was then formally expelled from the movement amidst much strident comment from his successors in the Negro Worker. He had departed due to the conviction that the partial phasing out of the Comintern's anti-colonial program in Asia and Africa was a "betrayal of the

fundamental interests of my people."¹⁹⁶ In expelling him, therefore, his ex-colleagues accused him of many of the things that he had accused Garvey of. The ITUC-NW published a lengthy statement of "very serious charges" summed up in the following extract--"At a meeting on February 23, 1934, the International Control Commission [of the ITUC-NW] decided to expel Padmore from the Communist Party for contacts with a provocateur, for contacts with bourgeois organizations on the question of Liberia, for an incorrect attitude to the national question (instead of class unity striving towards race unity)."¹⁹⁷ A later Negro Worker statement showed how the Garveyite race first position had affected Padmore. It charged, "In a most feeble effort to justify his position and a profound lack of confidence in the revolutionary white workers, he claims, 'what you white comrades have never understood and will never be able to understand, is the psychology of the Negro.'"¹⁹⁸ The same statement, in criticizing his fundraising activities on behalf of Liberia lumped him together with Garvey "the father of such an idea, who introduced the 'back to Africa movement' in the same manner."¹⁹⁹ Yet a later article on "The Rise and Fall of George Padmore As a Revolutionary Fighter" again compared him with Garvey. This article in order to seal its case against Padmore declared, in what was intended as abuse, that he had "two souls, that of the anti-imperialist and that of the Negro

nationalist."²⁰⁰ Padmore would have considered this a compliment, as would most black revolutionaries, Garvey included.

Once the Communist movement had become a thing of Padmore's past, his attitude to Garvey once more underwent a fundamental change. As a contributor to Afro-American papers from 1938 on his articles sometimes assumed a Garveyite tone.²⁰¹ In 1947 he was actually listed as "our European correspondent on Colonial questions" by the Garveyite journal The African.²⁰² 1952 found him paying homage to Garvey as the inspirer of Jomo Kenyatta's "Africa for the Africans."²⁰³ Shortly afterwards in his major work Pan-Africanism or Communism?, Padmore called Garvey "the greatest black prophet and visionary since Negro Emancipation."²⁰⁴ In this same work he apparently admitted Garvey's influence on his departure from Communism in what may have been a veiled reference to himself when he said, "Garvey's anti-Communist tirades had a demoralizing effect upon neophyte Negro party members, some of whom were expelled for 'black nationalist deviations.'"²⁰⁵ He also repeated here Garvey's often expressed view that Communists regarded black workers and peasants as "revolutionary expendables."²⁰⁶

Although the greatest battles between Garveyism and Communism were waged in the United States the struggle between these two ideologies was, of course, worldwide.

And the place which most closely approximated the United States in its objective racial situation was South Africa. Here too there was jim crow (apartheid), a small Communist party led by white radicals, and massive black nationalist and workers' movements in the African Nationalist Congress (A.N.C.) and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (I.C.U.) led by Clements Kadalie. Both the A.N.C. and the I.C.U. had close links with the Garvey movement in South Africa, where the U.N.I.A. maintained one of its securest footholds in the African continent. South African Communists, boring from within the I.C.U. encountered the hostility of Garveyites. Kadalie has written that the Garveyites, led by James G. Gumbs, who was also president of the I.C.U., succeeded in having the Communists expelled from the union.²⁰⁷

And South Africa, too, was affected by the 1928 Comintern decision to adopt a nationalist line on the race question. Together with the imposition of the slogan for self-determination in the Black Belt in the United States, the 1928 congress sought to impose on the South African comrades the slogan of an "independent native South African republic based on the organization of the laborers and peasants guaranteeing (at the same time) the rights of the [white] national minorities." S. P. Bunting, the South African party's white spokesman (mistakenly thought to be black by United States officials monitoring the congress) resisted this slogan. He stuck stubbornly to a preference

for class struggle over racial struggle and claimed that South Africa had no effective national movement. He claimed that of the party's 1,750 members 1,600 were black (up from only 200 the previous year).²⁰⁸ The majority of the South African Central Committee shared this view and were attacked by the Comintern's executive committee for their "stubborn opposition to the correct slogan proposed by the Comintern."²⁰⁹ Bunting and his colleagues seem nevertheless to have made some attempt to implement the Comintern's desires for in 1930 they were in turn attacked within the party for preaching "Native Republicanism" which was seen as "Marcus Garveyism" under a different name. The black editor of the Cape Town Communist weekly Umsebenzi, replying to this attack, argued that any white socialist who could not "acknowledge the right of the exploited and sjambokked Natives to complete national autonomy" must be considered a white chauvinist, "however many lectures he may have delivered before Native audiences."²¹⁰ The editor of the Negro World expressed the wish that black United States Communists could be similarly independent of spirit and added, "We are glad to see Garveyism triumph not only over imperialism of the capitalists but also over the imperialism of the Communists."²¹¹

On occasion the purely American aspect of the struggle between the two ideologies spilled over into South Africa, as in 1931 when the Negro World poked fun at Cyril

Briggs' article published in a South African Communist paper. Briggs had in that article attacked a Negro World editorial. The Negro World taunted Briggs with preaching "unadulterated Garveyism" by advocating "Negro rights" worldwide. "But the only difference," the editorial suggested, "is that Briggs is willing to take orders from Moscow and Garvey is not willing to take orders from anyone whatsoever." The editorial continued with a taunt the like of which was to cause people like George Padmore to leave the Communist ranks. It said, "We hope this expose of Cyril Briggs would not cost him his place as a betrayer of the orthodox Communist philosophy which denounces Briggs' idea as jim-crow nationalism. Wish you luck, Cyril, and hope those Communist bosses of yours will not notice this item."²¹²

Like so much else about Garvey's movement, the scale of his struggle against the Communist movement must surely be unrivalled among race organizations. George Padmore, addressing himself to this phenomenon wrote, "The biggest mistake that the white Communists made was to attack Garvey openly and try to disrupt his movement before they had won confidence among the Negroes. . . . By fighting the Communists with their own weapons of half-truths, villification and thuggery, Marcus Garvey was the first black leader to force them to keep their hands off Negro organizations."²¹³

NOTES

GARVEY AND THE COMMUNISTS

¹Daily Worker, August 23, 1924, p. 3.

²Ibid., August 9, 1924, p. 3.

³Theodore Draper, American Communism and Soviet Russia (New York, The Viking Press, 1960), p. 320.

⁴Ibid.; William Z. Foster, The Negro People in American History (New York, International Publishers, 1954), p. 455.

⁵American Communism, p. 21.

⁶The Communist, no. 13 [1920], p. 4.

⁷The Negro People, p. 455.

⁸American Communism, p. 320.

⁹Ibid., pp. 320, 321.

¹⁰"Theses on the National and Colonial Question Adopted By The Second Comintern Congress, 28 July 1920," in Jane Degras, ed., The Communist International, 1919-1943, Vol. I (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 142. The "etc." after "Negroes" does not appear in this version but is incorporated from a shorter quotation in American Communism, p. 337.

¹¹Claude McKay, "Soviet Russia and the Negro," Crisis, XXVII, 2, Dec. 1923, p. 64; American Communism, p. 321; Claude McKay, A Long Way From Home (New York, Harcourt Brace and World, 1970), p. 206.

¹²American Communism, p. 326; Communist International, pp. 398, 399.

¹³Communist International, I, p. 458.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 398-401.

¹⁵The Negro People, p. 457.

¹⁶R. G. 59, 861.00 - Congress, Communist International, IV/2, U. Steklov, "The Awakening Race," Izvestia, November 16, 1922.

¹⁷Communist International, II, p. 97.

¹⁸American Communism, pp. 328, 329.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 334.

²⁰R. G. 59, 861.00 - Congress, Communist International VI/13, summary from Moscow Pravda, July 17, 1928.

²¹R. G. 59, 861.00 - Congress, Communist International VI/19, Pravda, July 26, 1928, speech by Dunne.

²²R. G. 59, 861.00 - Congress, Communist International IV/13, summary based on Pravda, August 18, 1928.

²³Ibid., summary from Pravda, August 24, 1928.

²⁴Ibid., Pravda, August 25, 1928.

²⁵Communist International, II, pp. 552-557.

²⁶The Negro People, p. 463, a slightly different wording is suggested in American Communism, p. 344.

²⁷George Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism? (New York, Roy Publishers, 1956?), pp. 305, 306.

²⁸Negro Champion, I, 17, August 27, 1928, p. 8.

²⁹This and preceding quotations from, Communist International, III, pp. 124-135.

³⁰Wilson Record, The Negro and the Communist Party (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1951), p. 120.

³¹A Long Way From Home, p. 208.

³²George Breitman, ed., Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination (New York, Merit Publishers, 1967), pp. 14, 18, 25, 54.

³³Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 315.

³⁴Negro World, March 24, 1923, p. 8.

³⁵Ibid., September 4, 1926, p. 1.

³⁶The Tragedy of White Injustice, p. 14.

³⁷R. G. 59, 811.108 G 191/24, Charles Latham to Secretary of State, August 24, 1921.

³⁸C. O. 318/399/76634, Garvey to Rt. Hon. Phillip Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer, February 27, 1930.

³⁹Africa Times and Orient Review, October, 1913, p. 159.

⁴⁰Negro World, November 1, 1924, p. 2.

⁴¹Blackman, September 5, 1929, p. 1; and see Chapter 3.

⁴²Daily Worker, August 12, 1924, pp. 1, 5.

⁴³Blackman, September 12, 1929, p. 1.

⁴⁴Negro World, December 1, 1923, p. 3.

⁴⁵Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 69.

⁴⁶African Studies Association of the West Indies, International Seminar on Marcus Garvey, 2-6 January, 1973 (Mona, Jamaica, 1973), p. 1.

⁴⁷J. A. Rogers, World's Great Men of Color (New York, J. A. Rogers, 1947), p. 599.

⁴⁸Prophet of Black Nationalism, p. 73.

⁴⁹Theodore G. Vincent, Black Power and the Garvey Movement (Berkeley, Ramparts Press, 1971), p. 98.

⁵⁰R. G. 59, 811.108 G 191/1, Charles L. Latham to Secretary of State, September 12, 1920.

⁵¹Gleaner, June 2, 1921, p. 6, quoted in Adolph Edwards, Marcus Garvey (London, New Beacon Publications, 1967), p. 15.

⁵²Blackman, May 14, 1929, pp. 1, 2; May 27, 1929, p. 1; May 28, pp. 1, 7; May 29, pp. 1, 7; May 30, pp. 1, 2.

⁵³Ibid., December 31, 1929, p. 2; March 10, 1930, p. 2; March 17, p. 4.

⁵⁴Ibid., January 11, 1930, p. 2; April 12, 1930, p. 6; April 12, 1930, p. 6.

⁵⁵Ibid., April 26, 1930, p. 3; A Garvey message on behalf of Jamaica's workers and labourers received scant attention from the British Colonial Office - C. O. 318/399/76634, E. B. Boyd to Rt. Hon. Lord Stamfordham, September 20, 1930.

⁵⁶Black Man, III, 10, July 1938, p. 6. In 1941 the National Negro Voice (July 19, 1941, p. 5) considered Garvey together with Bustamente, Ken Hill and S. Kerr Coombs (publisher of the Jamaica Labour Weekly) as outstanding labour figures of the period. This paper also said that Garvey had created a Jamaica Labour Union in 1935 (August 9, 1941, p. 3).

⁵⁷Negro World, June 14, 1919, p. 4, memorial of the TWA to the British Government.

⁵⁸See Tony Martin, "Revolutionary Upheaval in Trinidad, 1919: Gleanings from London and Washington."

⁵⁹C. O. 318/358, Governor J. R. Chancellor to Viscount Milner, November 30, 1920.

⁶⁰F. O. 371/9633, Edwin Urban Lewis to H. M. Consul, New York, September 24, 1924.

⁶¹C. O. 323/1518, minute of July 21, 1937.

⁶²My Life and the ICU, p. 220.

⁶³C. O. 318/356, Governor Wilfred Collet of British Guiana to Viscount Milner, October 8, 1920; Collet to Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, June 7, 1921. Critchlow himself mentions workers turning to Garveyism during hard times in the 1920's. See Hubert Critchlow, "History of the Trade Union Movement in British Guiana," in George Padmore, ed., Voice of Coloured Labour (Manchester, PANAF Service Ltd. [1945]), p. 51.

⁶⁴F. O. 371/8450, Governor Charles Bain of Barbados to Secretary of State, Colonial Office, January 16, 1923.

⁶⁵R. G. 59, 811 G. 00/37, C. E. Rappolee, Governor, U. S. Virgin Islands, "Report on activities of one D. Hamilton Jackson," February 10, 1923.

⁶⁶Basil Brentnol Blackman, Secretary-Treasurer, Caribbean Congress of Labour, lecture at St. Ann's Community Workshop, Trinidad, July 7, 1969 - notes taken by author.

⁶⁷Prophet of Black Nationalism, p. 197.

⁶⁸Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 244.

⁶⁹American Communism, p. 333.

⁷⁰Negro World, June 11, 1932, p. 3.

⁷¹The Communist, no. 13 [1920], p. 4.

⁷²Rose Pastor Stokes, "The Communist International and the Negro," The Worker, March 10, 1923, pp. 1, 4.

⁷³Communist International, II, p. 557.

⁷⁴Robert Bruce and J. P. Collins, "The Party and the Negro Struggle," The Communist, I, 5, November 1921, p. 15.

⁷⁵American Communism, p. 329.

⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 323-325; Crusader, III, 5, January 1921, p. 31; V, 3, November, 1921, p. 22; New York Amsterdam News, November 16, 1921; The Worker, August 11, 1923, p. 5.

⁷⁷Cyril Briggs, "The Decline of the Garvey Movement," Communist, June 1931, p. 550; American Communism, pp. 325, 326.

⁷⁸The Worker, August 5, 1922, p. 5.

⁷⁹R. G. 59, 861.00 - Congress, Communist International IV/5, minutes of "Session of the Commission on the Negro Question," November 28, 1922, enclosed in F. W. B. Coleman, U. S. Legation, Riga, Latvia, to Secretary of State, December 22, 1922.

⁸⁰The Worker, August 18, 1923, p. 6.

⁸¹Crusader, IV, 6, February 1921, p. 9.

⁸²Ibid., V, 3, November 1921, p. 5.

⁸³Black Power, p. 81; Garvey and Garveyism, p. 65; Crusader, V, 3, November 1921, p. 5.

⁸⁴Pan-Africanism or Communism?, pp. 304, 305.

⁸⁵Philosophy and Opinions, I, p. 73.

⁸⁶Ibid., II, pp. 333, 334.

⁸⁷Crusader, V, 3, November 1921, p. 8.

- ⁸⁸ Negro World, October 8, 1921, p. 3.
- ⁸⁹ New York Herald, October 21, 1921; Crusader, V, 3, November 1921, p. 5.
- ⁹⁰ Crusader, V, 3, November 1921, passim.
- ⁹¹ New York Times, December 3, 1921.
- ⁹² R. G. 60, 198940, Garvey to Harry M. Daugherty, U. S. Attorney-General, Jan. 22, 1923; Garvey to Daugherty, January 24, 1923.
- ⁹³ Black Power, p. 84.
- ⁹⁴ Negro World, March 20, 1926, p. 6.
- ⁹⁵ New York Amsterdam News, September 10, 1924, pp. 1, 7.
- ⁹⁶ Negro World, April 3, 1926, p. 3.
- ⁹⁷ Blackman, August 2, 1930, p. 1.
- ⁹⁸ Liberator, April 25, 1931, p. 7.
- ⁹⁹ Communist, June 1931, pp. 547-552.
- ¹⁰⁰ Negro World, August 29, 1931, p. 4.
- ¹⁰¹ Ibid., February 27, 1932, p. 3.
- ¹⁰² Negro Worker, II, 8, August 1932, p. 14.
- ¹⁰³ New Jamaican, September 20, 1932, p. 2.
- ¹⁰⁴ Crusader News Agency, week of May 20, 1940.
- ¹⁰⁵ Daily Worker, September 13, 1924, p. 4; A Long Way From Home, p. 354.

¹⁰⁶R. G. 59, 861.00 Congress, Communist International IV/4, summary from Izvestia, November 18, 1922.

¹⁰⁷C. L. R. James, A History of Pan-African Revolt (Washington, D. C., Drum and Spear Press, 1969, first pub. 1938), p. 79.

¹⁰⁸E.g., Harry Haywood, Negro Liberation (New York, International Publishers, 1948), pp. 201, 202; American Communism, p. 328; Daily Worker, February 11, 1924, p. 1, August 21, 1924, p. 6; "Programme of the Communist International," The Communist International, II, p. 519; The Negro People, p. 448.

¹⁰⁹Daily Worker, August 18, 1924, p. 3.

¹¹⁰John Bruce and J. P. Collins, "The Party and the Negro Struggle," The Communist, I, 4, October 1921, p. 19.

¹¹¹Negro Champion, I, 17, October 27, 1928,, p. 5.

¹¹²Negro World, November 7, 1925, p. 10, from typewritten copy in Amy Jacques Garvey papers.

¹¹³Daily Worker, February 11, 1924, p. 2.

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 1.

¹¹⁵Ibid., February 18, 1924, pp. 1, 3.

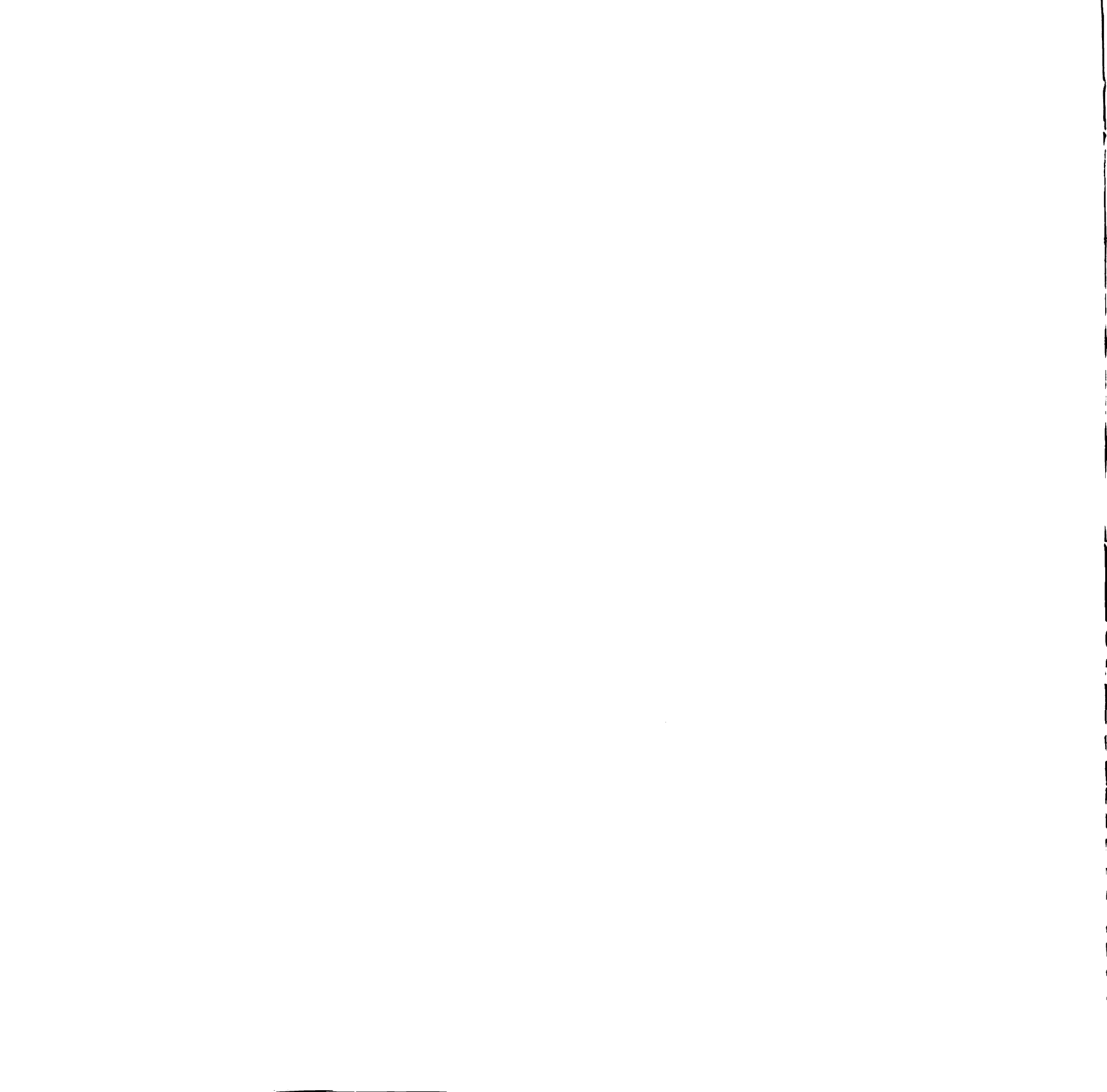
¹¹⁶Communist International, II, p. 97. Degras says here that there were ten Communists at the convention. She does not refer to the Sanhedrin by name but describes it as having taken place in Chicago in February of 1924.

¹¹⁷Daily Worker, July 3, 1924.

¹¹⁸Ibid., July 29, 1924, p. 3.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 6.

¹²⁰Ibid., August 5, 1924, pp. 1, 4.



¹²¹Ibid., August 6, 1924, p. 2; August 13, 1924, p. 3; August 18, 1924, p. 3.

¹²²Ibid., August 13, 1924, p. 3.

¹²³Ibid., August 23, 1924, p. 3; Negro World, August 30, 1924, p. 3.

¹²⁴Daily Worker, August 23, 1924, p. 3; references to a black Workers Party delegate Mrs. Olivia Whiteman, are in reports of August 15, 1924, p. 2 and August 19, 1924, p. 2.

¹²⁵Ibid., August 29, 1924, p. 6.

¹²⁶Ibid., August 25, 1924, p. 6.

¹²⁷The following provide random examples of such favorable comment - Negro World, June 7, 1919, p. 2; June 25, 1927, p. 9; July 25, 1931, p. 5; April 12, 1932, p. 3; Blackman, February 17, 1929, p. 1, March 7, 1930, p. 3.

¹²⁸Theodore Vincent reports having seen Garvey's membership card in the C.D.R.N. in the Amy Jacques Garvey papers - Black Power and the Garvey Movement, p. 283.

¹²⁹E.g., Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 69, 333; Garvey and Garveyism, p. 90.

¹³⁰New York Age, September 4, 1920, p. 4; New York Tribune, August 20, 1920, clipping in N. C. F. papers, Box 152.

¹³¹New York Age, September 4, 1920, p. 4.

¹³²Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 94.

¹³³Negro World, February 2, 1924.

¹³⁴Ibid., February 2, 1924, p. 3.

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 10.

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 4.

¹³⁷Ibid., August 23, 1924, p. 19.

¹³⁸F. O. 371/4567 minute of September 15, 1920; R. G. 28, Box 53 Unarranged, File 398, "Unrest Among the Negroes," October 7, 1919; R. G. 59, 818.4016/orig., American Consul, Port Limon, Costa Rica to Secretary of State, August 24, 1919; R. G. 60, 198940, J. Edgar Hoover, "Memorandum for Mr. Ridgley," October 11, 1919; F. O. 371/16355, Home Office to Secretary of State, Foreign Office, July 20, 1932; R. G. 32, 605-1-653, Frank Burke to A. J. Frey, September 1, 1921.

¹³⁹F. O. 371/16355 Home Office to Secretary of State, Foreign Office, July 20, 1932.

¹⁴⁰Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 69, 70, 334.

¹⁴¹American Communism, p. 327.

¹⁴²R. G. 59, 861.00 Congress, Communist International VI/9, Pravda, July 25, 1928, and July 27, 1928.

¹⁴³Ibid., Pravda, August 4, 1928.

¹⁴⁴Black Man, II, 2, July-August 1936, p. 8.

¹⁴⁵New Jamaican, September 5, 1932, p. 2.

¹⁴⁶Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 69.

¹⁴⁷Negro World, June 11, 1932, p. 3.

¹⁴⁸F. O. 371/4567, M, I. 1. c. New York, "Special" General Report, January 6, 1920, "Negro Agitation."

¹⁴⁹Communist, June 1931, p. 551.

¹⁵⁰Quoted in Wilson Record, The Negro and the Communist Party (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1951), p. 135.

¹⁵¹Pickens Papers, Box 1, Lovett Fort-Whiteman to Pickens, September 11, 1926.

¹⁵²U.N.I.A. Central Division (New York) files, Box 15, G.

¹⁵³Ibid., Box 13, e. 149, James W. Ford to Capt. A. L. King, November 28, 1935.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., Box 13, e. 149, Ford to King, December 8, 1935.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., handbill in Box 9, d. 41 (no date).

¹⁵⁶Ibid., Box 8, d. 23, King to Garvey, December 19, 1935.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., Box 13, e. 149, Mary Dalton, Executive Secretary, New York District, American Friends of The Soviet Union to King, February 19, 1936.

¹⁵⁸E.g., Liberator, April 25, 1931, pp. 7, 8.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁶⁰Daily Worker, September 12, 1924, p. 3.

¹⁶¹Negro World, July 16, 1927, p. 4.

¹⁶²Liberator, April 25, 1931, p. 2.

¹⁶³Negro World, August 9, 1930, p. 3.

¹⁶⁴Blackman, July 12, 1930, p. 1.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., July 19, 1930, p. 1.

¹⁶⁶Negro World, November 22, 1930, p. 4; May 23, 1931, p. 4.

¹⁶⁷Liberator, April 25, 1931, p. 6.

¹⁶⁸Negro World, May 23, 1931, p. 4.

- ¹⁶⁹Liberator, July 4, 1931, p. 1.
- ¹⁷⁰Ibid., June 13, 1931, pp. 4, 5.
- ¹⁷¹Negro World, January 30, 1932, p. 3.
- ¹⁷²Liberator, February 8, 1930, p. 1.
- ¹⁷³Ibid., March 28, 1931, p. 8.
- ¹⁷⁴James R. Hooker, Black Revolutionary (London, Pall Mall, 1967), p. 18.
- ¹⁷⁵Negro Worker, I, 2, February 1931, p. 19.
- ¹⁷⁶George Padmore, Negro Workers and the Imperialist War (Hamburg, ITUC-NW, 1931), p. 16.
- ¹⁷⁷Black Man, I, 1, December 1933, pp. 4, 5.
- ¹⁷⁸Negro Worker, II, 8, August 1932, pp. 22-24.
- ¹⁷⁹Ibid., VI, 10, December 1936; VII, 4, April 1937.
- ¹⁸⁰R. G. 59, 844 g. 00/27, Purport Book.
- ¹⁸¹Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism, p. 40.
- ¹⁸²Quoted in "Radicalism and Sedition Among the Negroes as Reflected in their Publications," pp. 163, 164.
- ¹⁸³The Gleaner, August 15, 1929; Negro World, September 14, 1929, p. 4; Trials and Triumphs of Marcus Garvey, p. 140.
- ¹⁸⁴Negro World, February 14, 1931, p. 2; February 21, 1931, p. 2; February 28, 1931, p. 4.
- ¹⁸⁵Ibid., October 17, 1931, p. 1; October 24, 1931, p. 2.
- ¹⁸⁶Ibid., December 12, 1931, p. 3.

- ¹⁸⁷Liberator, July 15, 1932, p. 3.
- ¹⁸⁸C. L. R. James, "Document: C. L. R. On the Origins," Radical America, II, 4, July-August 1968, p. 24.
- ¹⁸⁹U.N.I.A. Central Division (N.Y.) files, Box 2, a. 16.
- ¹⁹⁰Black Revolutionary, p. 6.
- ¹⁹¹Negro World, December 22, 1928, p. 2; Black Revolutionary, p. 7.
- ¹⁹²George Padmore, The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers (London, ITUC-NW, 1931), p. 125.
- ¹⁹³Ibid., p. 126.
- ¹⁹⁴Negro Worker, I, 12, December 1931, p. 7.
- ¹⁹⁵George Padmore, American Imperialism Enslaves Liberia (Moscow, Centrizdat, 1931), pp. 6n., 33, 34.
- ¹⁹⁶Black Revolutionary, p. 31.
- ¹⁹⁷Negro Worker, IV, 2, June 1934, p. 14.
- ¹⁹⁸Ibid., IV, 3, July 1934, p. 6.
- ¹⁹⁹Ibid., p. 9.
- ²⁰⁰Ibid., IV, 4, August 1934, p. 17.
- ²⁰¹James R. Hooker, "Africa for Afro-Americans: Padmore and the Black Press," Radical America, II, 4, July-August, 1968, pp. 14-19.
- ²⁰²The African, V, 6, June-July 1947.
- ²⁰³Gleaner, October 23, 1952, quoted in Black Power in America, p. 33.
- ²⁰⁴Pan-Africanism or Communism?, p. 87.

²⁰⁵Ibid., p. 304.

²⁰⁶Ibid., p. 289.

²⁰⁷My Life and the ICU, pp. 99-101.

²⁰⁸R. G. 59, 861.00 - Congress, Communist International VI/13, summary from Pravda, August 24, 1928.

²⁰⁹The Communist International, II, p. 553; R. G. 59, 861.00 - Congress, Communist International VI/13, speech by Kuusinen, Pravda, September 1, 1928.

²¹⁰Umsebenzi, September 26, 1930, quoted in Negro World, November 8, 1930, p. 4.

²¹¹Negro World, November 8, 1930, p. 4.

²¹²Ibid., August 1, 1931, p. 4.

²¹³Pan-Africanism or Communism?, pp. 304, 305.

CHAPTER X

OF THE N.A.A.C.P. AND INTEGRATIONISTS, AND
GARVEY AND SEPARATISTS, OR, THE
INTEGRATIONIST ONSLAUGHT

Marcus Garvey is, without doubt, the most dangerous enemy of the Negro race in America and in the world. He is either a lunatic or a traitor.

-- W.E.B. DuBois¹

I had promised not to waste much more of the space of the Negro World on the cross-breed Dutch-French-Negro editor of the Crisis, the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of 'Certain' People, because it was like washing powder on blackbirds, but this one-third Dutchman, who assumes the right to dictate to the Negro people what they should do and should not do, has become so brazen and impertinent that it leaves me no other course than to deal with him as he deserves. In certain society, when we meet individuals of this kind, we do not waste time arguing with them, but give them a good horse whipping . . .

DuBois is speculating as to whether Garvey is a lunatic or a traitor. Garvey has no such speculation about DuBois. He is positive that he is a traitor.

-- Marcus Garvey²

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, founded in 1909, was, by the time of Garvey's advent into the United States, the most powerful

of the large number of civil rights and race uplift organizations in the field. This reason alone would have given it sufficient cause to feel threatened by the rapid rise of the U.N.I.A. But the rivalry and hostility which developed between these two organizations were fed by other considerations as well. There were fundamental ideological disagreements on the race question in America and the world, on the need for Pan-African versus Afro-American struggle, on the significance of Booker T. Washington in black history, and on the style of leadership appropriate to a race organization, among other things. Much of this disagreement was embodied in the acrimonious feud which was waged throughout Garvey's American period and afterwards, between Garvey and W. E. B. DuBois, major black spokesman for the N.A.A.C.P.

The major point of disagreement between the two organizations was undoubtedly the race question. The N.A.A.C.P. had been formed largely through the exertions of white Socialists and liberals and DuBois had been the sole black member of its initial national executive committee. Its national hierarchy in Garvey's time continued to be dominated by whites. Not unnaturally the N.A.A.C.P. therefore believed in joint inter-racial cooperation, rather than in exclusively black organization such as was represented by the U.N.I.A., as the correct means of combating racial oppression. N.A.A.C.P. integrationism

was not very different in this respect from the "progressive assimilationist tendencies" of the Communists, and to both Garvey was equally opposed. He was particularly opposed to the position of control exercised by the whites of the N.A.A.C.P. In a 1928 interview he described this state of affairs as an insult and thought that the N.A.A.C.P.'s white leaders "wish Negroes to go only so far and no further." He considered them "spies for the rest of the white race."³ He saw them as a brake on the black man's self-reliance and a hindrance in the quest for black nationalism. In 1923 he expressed these ideas in one of his bitterest speeches. In this speech, entitled "Beware of Greeks Bearing Gifts," he said:

The greatest enemies of the Negro are among those who hypocritically profess love and fellowship for him, when, in truth, and deep down in their hearts, they despise and hate him. Pseudo-philanthropists and their organizations are killing the Negro. White men and women of the Moorfield Storey, Joel Spingarn, Julius Rosenwald, Oswald Garrison Villard, Congressman Dyer and Mary White Ovington type, in conjunction with the above mentioned agencies, are disarming, dis-visioning, dis-ambitioning and fooling the Negro to death. They teach the Negro to look to the whites in a false direction. . . . at the same time distracting the Negro from the real solution and objective of securing nationalism.⁴

Two years before this bitter statement Mary White Ovington, Chairman of the N.A.A.C.P.'s Board of Directors, had expressed herself privately (perhaps in jest) in a way which seemed to go along with Garvey's accusations. In a letter to Arthur B. Spingarn, at the time an

N.A.A.C.P. vice-president, she said, "Only black people ought to live in these soft coal cities anyway! My lungs are daily growing as grey as the dingy curtains at my window."⁵

N.A.A.C.P. principles deviated from Garvey's not only on the question of white hegemony over race uplift organizations but also over the question of attitudes to light-skinned black people. Whereas Garvey welcomed anyone with one-sixteenth or more black blood, as he put it on one occasion, provided they consented to work for the unity of the race,⁶ he nevertheless often accused lighter hued Afro-Americans of trying to emulate their West Indian counterparts by forming themselves into a distinct buffer group. James Weldon Johnson, during Garvey's American period one of the handful of important national black N.A.A.C.P. officers, considered Garvey's major blunders to have included his distinctions "between people of colour and blacks" and his black God, which, in Johnson's view, helped drive a wedge between blacks and lights.⁷ This is not surprising, since in 1924 Garvey had published some of Johnson's Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man in his daily newspaper to show that Johnson wanted to be white.⁸

Despite Garvey's general distrust of white people there was one group he could admire and, to a point, even work with, and that was the segregationist group as

represented primarily by the Ku Klux Klan. And despite the N.A.A.C.P.'s advocacy of integration there was one element in white society which they abhorred above most else, and this was the Ku Klux Klan. Garvey said, "Between the Ku Klux Klan and the Moorfield Storey National Association for the Advancement of 'Certain' People group, give me the Klan for their honesty of purpose towards the Negro." He explained, "They are better friends to my race, for telling us what they are, and what they mean, thereby giving us a chance to stir for ourselves, than all the hypocrites put together. . . ." ⁹ The Communists were, it will be remembered, as hostile towards the K.K.K. as was the N.A.A.C.P. Neither group could buy white exclusivism any more than it could tolerate Garvey's black separatism. On at least one important occasion, therefore, the K.K.K. question brought about collaboration between a top Communist and a top N.A.A.C.P. official. For in August 1924 Walter White, N.A.A.C.P. Assistant Secretary, wrote a letter of introduction for Mrs. Robert Minor to one Louis R. Glavis in New York City. White explained that Mr. and Mrs. Minor were covering the U.N.I.A. convention and that Mr. Minor desired "authoritative data" on Garvey's dealings with the Klan. (Among Minor's despatches to the Daily Worker from the convention were some severely critical of Garvey's attitude towards the Klan.) Glavis apparently had access to, among other things, a

memorandum of an interview between Garvey and Edward Young Clarke of the Klan in which an agreement had allegedly been made whereby Garvey would be "allowed" to sell stock in the South "with the protection and sanction" of the Klan in return for breaking up anti-Klan organizations in the North, especially the N.A.A.C.P.¹⁰

The N.A.A.C.P. differed ideologically from Garvey too on the question of Garvey's Pan-African thrust. Despite the well-known interest of DuBois in the larger black world, the association more typically saw itself as a specialist in the Afro-American field. James Weldon Johnson, writing during Garvey's 1920 convention, disagreed with the idea of Afro-American involvement in African liberation. He argued that Africans should be allowed to wage their own struggles. The best way that Afro-Americans could help, he thought, would be to take care of their own business at home.¹¹ Ten years later he argued that "The main reason for Garvey's failure with thoughtful American Negroes was his African scheme." He found it "difficult to give the man credit for either honesty or sanity in those imperialistic designs" unless his intention had been to stage a coup in Liberia.¹² This N.A.A.C.P. preoccupation with Afro-America led to some imbibing of the general attitudes of nativism which characterized America at large in the post-war years. DuBois the Pan-Africanist was, strangely, one of the greatest

offenders in this respect, at least in his attacks on Garvey, but other black N.A.A.C.P. leaders shared his pique at Garvey's foreignness. They never forgave Garvey for being first a foreigner, second bold enough to presume to lead an Afro-American movement, and third possessed of the temerity to assail James Weldon Johnson's "Thoughtful American Negroes," represented mainly, it may be presumed, by N.A.A.C.P. types. Much of this feeling was expressed in a Johnson press release of 1924. He said:

Mr. Garvey, who is not an American citizen, has taken it upon himself to go before the white people of this country advocating that the American Negro abdicate his constitutional rights, quit this country and go to Africa. Mr. Garvey apparently does not know that the American Negro considers himself, and is, as much an American as anyone. . . .¹³

Garvey's ideological differences with the N.A.A.C.P. were translated into a continuous succession of running battles between the two. There was little that either side did that did not result in condemnation by the other side. One such contentious issue was the Dyer anti-lynching bill. The widespread public mutilation and execution of black people by lawless white mobs, with the connivance of law enforcement personnel, was a subject which exercised the minds of all black leaders in America. There were, nevertheless, different approaches to solving the problem. In June 1919 a Negro World editorial had attacked an N.A.A.C.P. resolution to fight

lynching by contributing to an anti-lynching fund. The editorial, in a possible reference to the African Blood Brotherhood, promised a U.N.I.A. force that would resist lynching by physical means, rather than relying on white philanthropy. With the appearance of the Dyer bill, however, the U.N.I.A. decided at first on a policy of co-operation despite the fact that the N.A.A.C.P. was spearheading the campaign for the bill's passage, and even though it came at a time of escalating conflict between the two organizations. The issue was obviously considered too important to allow considerations of organizational rivalry.

U.N.I.A. support was maintained throughout 1922, the year in which the bill made it through the House of Representatives only to be stifled afterwards in the Senate. Thus in January Garvey despatched a telegram to Congress urging the bill's passage. In February he took some of the credit for the bill's passage in the House of Representatives. In March a Negro World editorial by William H. Ferris praised the N.A.A.C.P. for its work on the bill. About the same time a mixed audience meeting in support of the bill in Wilmington, Delaware was surprised to see a large U.N.I.A. contingent in attendance, complete with seventy-five uniformed Black Cross Nurses wearing their red, black and green buttons. They were there on the invitation of the N.A.A.C.P., whose William

Pickens was the principal speaker. S. A. Haynes, U.N.I.A. Commissioner for Delaware, also spoke. In May the Negro World viewed favorably the visit to Washington, D.C. of a delegation led by William Monroe Trotter. Trotter hoped to dig the bill out of committee, where it had become bogged down. In June the U.N.I.A. joined the N.A.A.C.P., Y.M.C.A. and several other organizations in a parade from Harlem downtown into white Manhattan in support of the bill. And in November William H. Lewis, a black ex-Assistant Attorney-General spoke at Liberty Hall on the anti-lynching issue. A few months later Lewis was to engineer a visit by W. E. B. DuBois to Liberia. On this occasion, however, he was effusive in his praise for Garvey.¹⁴

Even in the midst of this cooperation, though, occasional misgivings could be heard in the U.N.I.A. ranks. Garvey, ever suspicious of temporary palliatives where more lasting measures should be applied, declared in April that only at such time as the black man obtained a powerful government in Africa would lynching be eradicated. In May, John Edward Bruce, considering the lynching of a fifteen year old black youth in Texas by a crazed white mob of two thousand, exploded in disgust, saying that "A thousand Dyer Anti-Lynching Bills cannot change the murderous instinct of these cattle." Soon afterwards, Garvey began to criticize the N.A.A.C.P.'s handling of the

campaign, especially their attacks on the Republican administration while simultaneously trying to have the Republicans support the bill, and their tendency to claim too much credit for whatever successes the bill did have.¹⁵

It was not until 1923, however, that Garvey became totally hostile to the anti-lynching campaign. By this time the N.A.A.C.P. and allied campaign to effect Garvey's imprisonment and deportation was at its height. He had also received further evidences of white hypocrisy. He wrote:

If Dyer does not know, let me tell him that I was in his Congressional District in St. Louis two weeks ago and could not get a soda served even by a dirty Greek, who kept his so-called white soda fountain in a Negro section, the section represented by the 'famous' anti-lynching advocate. Oh! The hypocrisy of this world!

Garvey's pique here was increased by the fact that Dyer, in speeches for the N.A.A.C.P., had expressed satisfaction at Garvey's conviction.¹⁶

Garvey now argued that Dyer's bill duplicated laws already on the books that could be enforced if the authorities so wished. Furthermore any laws proposed by Dyer would still have to be enforced by white friends of the lynchers. He repeated his preference for the straightforward Klan over the more hypocritical Dyer types. Some of Garvey's arguments here received an unusual vindication from a source which would have been generally unknown at

the time. For Mary White Ovington, Chairman of the N.A.A.C.P. Board of Directors, in 1921 privately expressed the view that the Dyer Bill would fail. It was too punitive. Whites, she wrote in a private letter, would not pass a bill to punish whites for lynching blacks.¹⁷

Garvey saw the sinister hand of the N.A.A.C.P. behind most of his problems, from the 1921 attempt to exclude him from the country to the thwarting of his Liberia scheme, to his trial and imprisonment. One such Garvey accusation blamed the Black Star Line's problems on sabotage by certain "organizations calling themselves Negro Advancement Associations." James Weldon Johnson, for the N.A.A.C.P., asked for a retraction of this statement and issued a press release on the matter. Garvey replied, no doubt tongue in cheek, that he did not refer specifically to the N.A.A.C.P. "Those who have clear consciences," he admonished, "are not disturbed when anything not relating to them is said or published."¹⁸

Some of Garvey's most bitter accusations concerned his 1923 trial. The presiding judge, Julian Mack, did indeed, as has been seen, admit his membership in the N.A.A.C.P. He nevertheless refused to disqualify himself on this ground of apparent bias. Special agent Amos of the Department of Justice, a constant thorn in Garvey's side before, during and after the trial, was also identified by Garvey as a member, or at least under N.A.A.C.P.

influence. Garvey also charged that "a powerful banana and citrus fruit trust engaged in tropical trade" (apparently a reference to the United Fruit Company) had contributed to his trial and conviction. This trust employed large numbers of Black Star Line stockholders and he identified the N.A.A.C.P. President, Moorfield Storey, as an "attorney or stockholder" of the company.¹⁹ The N.A.A.C.P. at one stage issued a press release denying a Negro World charge that Storey had visited the district attorney's office the same day that Garvey's case was called, in order to secure a conviction.²⁰

One of the more unusual of the N.A.A.C.P.-U.N.I.A. squabbles developed out of the visit to the United States in 1924 and 1925 of Prince Kojo Tovalou-Houénou of Dahomey. Kojo, as he was often referred to, was a longtime associate of the U.N.I.A. and was feted at Liberty Hall. This caused him, according to some reports, to run the risk of forfeiting a tour of the country arranged for him by the N.A.A.C.P. He therefore said uncomplimentary things about the U.N.I.A., which had the effect of reinstating him in the good graces of the N.A.A.C.P. In 1925 the prince lost two teeth while being forcibly ejected from a white Chicago restaurant whither he had been taken by white N.A.A.C.P. members, in whose company he was at the time. The Negro World commented drily that it hoped he would now appreciate the slogan Africa for the Africans.²¹

In the midst of their feud with Garvey the N.A.A.C.P. was occasionally chagrined by instances in which unknowing persons confused the two organizations. As early as 1919 DuBois had run into this problem in Europe. When early in 1922 the New York Times and several other papers were misled by a news agency into calling Garvey "President of the Association for the Advancement of the Colored Race," some N.A.A.C.P. officials counselled suit against them and much energy was expended extracting retractions from the errant papers. The association explained to these editors that it comprised "white and colored people of the finest sort" and was not connected with Garvey.²²

To add to the N.A.A.C.P.'s discomfiture it received a steady stream of letters for and against Garvey. Many were from people who wanted to know whether Garvey was honest. One such writer wanted to know whether the N.A.A.C.P. endorsed the U.N.I.A. Students at Howard University wanted material for a debate, "That the Marcus Garvey Movement is the best solution to the Negro Problem." The student body was said to be split between the two organizations. The editor of the Nation, another such correspondent, wanted confidential information on Garvey. Some, on the other hand, wrote abusive letters such as one man who returned his N.A.A.C.P. membership card, declaring "I am for Marcus Garvey." Another informed the

association that it was a damned shame that their bunch of white men had nothing better to do than harass Garvey, the greatest black man of the age.²³ Most of the correspondents were referred by N.A.A.C.P. officials to anti-Garvey articles in the Crisis, Crusader and Messenger.

Yet some other rank and file members of the organizations were quite happy to tolerate both. In 1924, for example, Garvey spoke at Howard University under the auspices of the University's N.A.A.C.P. and Caribbean Clubs, both of which, it so happened, were led by the same individual.²⁴ Again, in 1921 Herbert J. Seligman of the N.A.A.C.P. received a sharp rebuke from a black lady in Boston for an article he had written on Garvey. The lady professed membership in the Boston N.A.A.C.P., the National Equal Rights League, and the U.N.I.A., since they were all working for race uplift. She presumed that Seligman was white and expressed agreement with Garvey's views on the insincerity of white motives. "If Garvey fails and we all lose our money, it is our business," she fumed, "and we have sense enough to know and to realise that there is a possibility of failure in everything in life save death." Seligman could manage only a weak reply about his right to criticize black as well as white and the "facts" upon which his article was based.²⁵ Dual membership in the rival organizations may have become more difficult after 1924, for at that U.N.I.A. convention a

resolution moved by a delegate from Hamtramck, Michigan, was unanimously passed, to the effect that any person joining the U.N.I.A. found to be an N.A.A.C.P. member would have to withdraw from one of the two.²⁶

The struggle between the N.A.A.C.P. and the U.N.I.A. achieved its highest embodiment in the personal feud between DuBois and Garvey. Prior to Garvey's arrival in the United States DuBois had for many years been engaged in a celebrated ideological altercation with Booker T. Washington, undisputedly the most powerful black man in America for the two decades or so prior to his death in 1915. Apart from the very real ideological differences between the two men, DuBois' initiatives against Washington were definitely an attempt to wrest the mantle of unofficial supreme race leader from him. With Washington's death it may have seemed for a season that DuBois was now free of serious competition. Yet, within four months of Washington's burial Garvey had arrived obscurely in America, and by 1920 he had established beyond all reasonable doubt, the fact that America once more had a race leader of sufficient stature to clearly overshadow his contemporaries. He had appeared from nowhere, he had overtaken the incumbent Afro-American leadership with lightning strides, and he was less reluctant than Washington to sit back and wait for DuBois to attack. The battle which developed between the two far surpassed in

acrimoniousness the earlier Washington-DuBois debate. The latter had, at least externally, been a rather genteel affair. The DuBois-Garvey battle soon degenerated into a no-holds-barred contest in which DuBois, for once in his career, was prepared to abandon his scholarly regard for facts and deal on occasion on the level of lies, distortions and unprincipled mud-slinging.

What was most fascinating about the Garvey-DuBois struggle was that it was in a most real sense a continuation of the Washington-DuBois debate. The ideological questions raised were largely the same. Furthermore Garvey was very self-consciously a disciple of Washington, having been in correspondence with his hero up to a few months before Washington's death. Along with his admiration for Washington, Garvey had early imbibed a dislike for DuBois. He therefore expressly saw himself as the heir to Washington's fight against DuBois and never missed an opportunity to compare the two, to the detriment of DuBois.

It is impossible to pinpoint the exact date on which Garvey first became aware of Washington's ideas. The West Indies of Garvey's childhood had long been exposed to debates on the question of industrial education, the type popularized by Washington. Such debates in the West Indies had ante-dated Washington by many years. Yet, in the West Indies, as in America, Washington's influence

provided a source of increased interest in industrial and agricultural schools. As a boy Garvey lived in St. Ann's Parish on Jamaica's north coast where in 1909 pioneer Barbadian Pan-Africanist Dr. Albert Thorne started an industrial school.²⁷ By this time interest in Washington's educational experiments was widespread in Jamaica and the other islands and West Indian students were attending Washington's Tuskegee Institute. Several delegates from the islands attended Washington's International Conference on the Negro held at Tuskegee in 1912. Among them were a group of Jamaican educators including the island's director of education. A resolution presented to the conference by British West Indian delegates, among them teachers and students at Tuskegee, called for the erection of a Tuskegee in the West Indies and for a visit to the islands by Booker T. Washington.²⁸ It was not long after this conference (reported in the London based Africa Times and Orient Review for which Garvey worked) that Garvey read Washington's autobiography, Up From Slavery. This had a profound effect on him and it is from this event that, as he put it, his "doom" of being a race leader dawned on him.²⁹ Back in Jamaica in 1914 he investigated the possibility of setting up a U.N.I.A. farming scheme³⁰ and entered into correspondence with Washington.

A Garvey letter to Washington in 1915 referred to

a previous letter of 1914 and to Washington's reply inviting Garvey to Tuskegee. Garvey expressed his intention of leaving Jamaica in May or June 1915 for a speaking tour which would be confined mostly to race audiences in the south. This was to be a fund-raising tour to provide the wherewithal for alleviating suffering in Jamaica. He wrote, "I need not reacquaint you of the horrible condition prevailing among our people in the West Indies as you are so well informed of happenings over Negrodom." He enclosed a U.N.I.A. manifesto which stated among its "local objects" (as opposed to international objectives) the establishment of industrial colleges.³¹ Washington replied two weeks later promising to do whatever he could to make Garvey's stay in the United States as profitable as possible.³² Less than seven months later, however, Washington was dead.

Garvey therefore postponed his visit to the United States and held a memorial meeting for Washington at Kingston's Collegiate Hall. He also busied himself lecturing throughout the island bringing the life and work of Washington to the attention of, in his words, "the sleeping Jamaica Negro public." He informed Washington's associate Emmett J. Scott that he would soon be undertaking his tour to raise funds for his "Industrial Farm and Institute Scheme."³³ By now Garvey was fully immersed in Washington's ideas. By February 1916 the letterhead

on his stationery bore a Washington quotation to the effect that the man on top could not hold down the man below without keeping himself down too. He reiterated, in a letter to Washington's successor, R. R. Moton, his desire to set up an Industrial Farm and Institute in Jamaica along Tuskegee lines to teach "race pride, race development, and other useful subjects." He even referred in Washingtonian terms, to minor assistance obtained from "cultured white people."³⁴ When Moton visited Jamaica briefly shortly after this letter Garvey managed a few fleeting words with him despite efforts to prevent any such contact on the part of persons who by now considered Garvey an unsavory agitator.³⁵

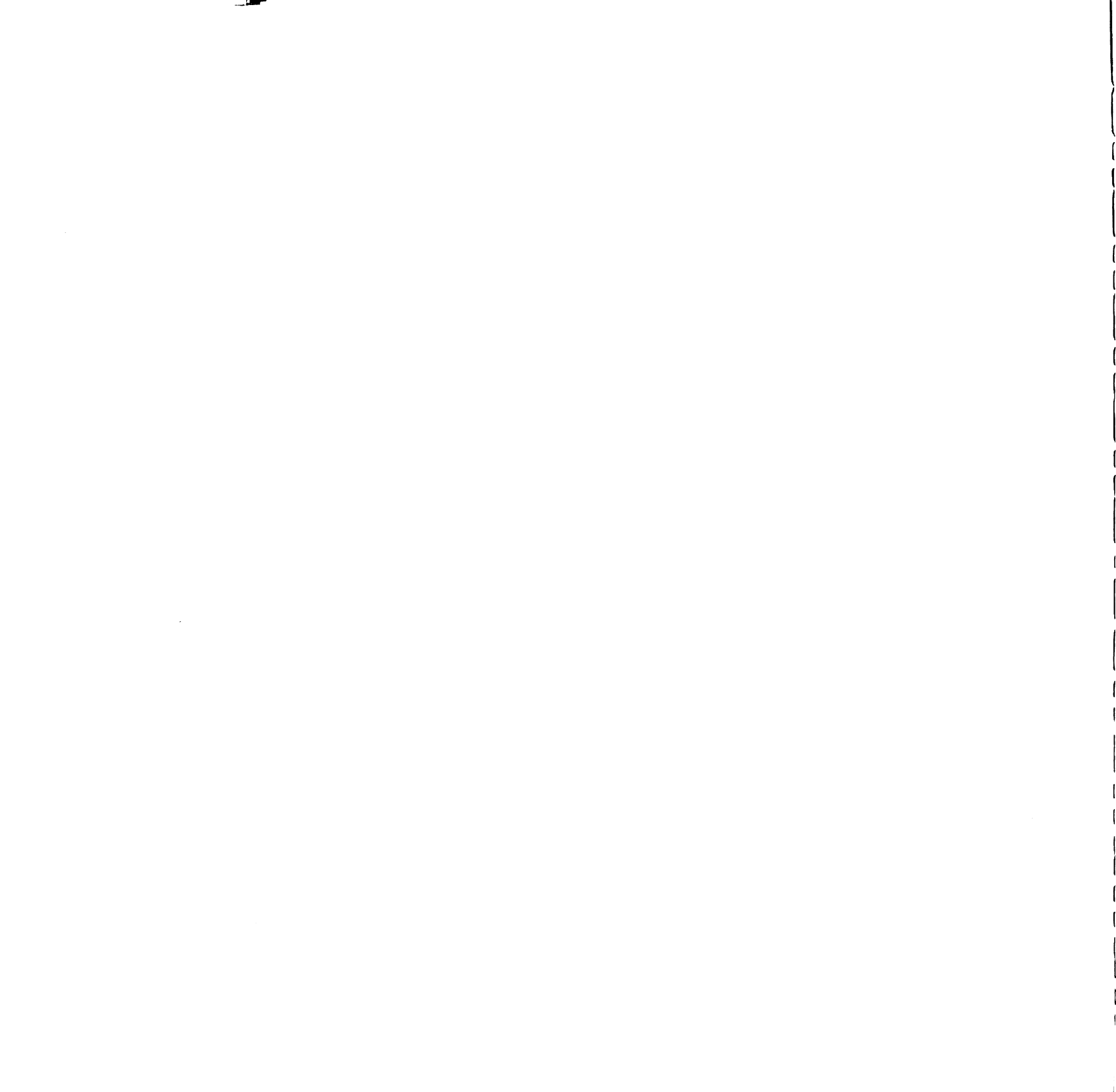
This brief encounter with Moton was in March 1916, the same month in which Garvey left Jamaica for the United States. During his first tour of the United States Garvey went to Tuskegee and met Emmett J. Scott, who provided him with introductions to influential persons.³⁶ Garvey returned to Tuskegee late in 1923. This time he remained a few days, addressed the students and left what the student newspaper called a "substantial contribution" of \$50 to the scholarship fund. He made a promise of an annual gift. "Language fails me," he wrote at the end of his visit, "to express my high appreciation for the service Dr. Washington has rendered to us as a people."³⁷

Washington was, of course, and continues to be, a

controversial figure in Afro-American history. Many have seen him primarily as a great accommodator willing to compromise with racism to buy time for the black man in his struggle for survival. Garvey was not oblivious of this aspect of Washington's career. He believed that Washington's reluctance to indulge in open agitation for political rights and his dependence on white philanthropy may have been inevitable during Washington's lifetime. In the new reality of the post-war world, however, "The industrially educated Negro would himself evolve a new ideal, after having been trained by the Sage of Tuskegee." Rather than attack Washington on these points he preferred to argue that Washington himself would have made these kinds of adjustments if he had lived.³⁸

Of Washington's successor, R. R. Moton, Garvey became increasingly intolerant when it became clear that he would not make the required adjustments to the new age. By the late 1920's Garvey was willing to openly denounce Moton and in 1929 he wrote, "Dr. Moton is kept by white philanthropists, therefore, such a black man has absolutely no right talking on behalf of the Negro race."³⁹

Garvey, therefore, was aware of and did not necessarily approve those elements in Washington's program which have caused him to be labelled an accommodator. But these were not the aspects of Washington's program that Garvey stressed. What Garvey more typically saw in



Washington's career were self-reliance and race pride, both qualities that he professed not to see in DuBois. For whereas Washington was "an originator and builder who, out of nothing, constructed the greatest educational and industrial institution of the race in modern times," DuBois was "a bombast and iconoclast" full of "vicious and malicious criticisms of other men." Washington was therefore worth more than two million DuBoises.⁴⁰ Similarly, Garvey saw in the U.N.I.A. a continuation of Washington's hostility to social equality.⁴¹ Another aspect of Washington's career which Garvey also admired was the worldwide scope of his influence.⁴²

If Garvey became disenchanted with R. R. Moton, in T. Thomas Fortune, editor of the Negro World, he had a close associate who had been for many years a close aide to Washington. Indeed Fortune thought that he must have known Washington more intimately than anyone else during the eighteen years of their relationship. Hardly a day passed during that period, he said, without the two being in direct contact, either personally or by letter or telegram.⁴³ On Fortune's death in 1928 the Negro World sketched the links between Washington, Fortune, and Garvey. The paper said:

. . . Mr. Fortune was for many years guide, philosopher and friend to the greatest industrial educator, whom white men delighted to praise and black men idolized. Then a happy fate decreed that he should be helpmeet to the only man who either here or abroad

surpassed in girth Washington's greatness--who, starting where Washington left off, carried fast and high the torch of true emancipation for the Negro race. . . .⁴⁴

Contact between DuBois and Garvey began innocently enough. DuBois recalled in his last autobiography, "I heard of him first when I was in Jamaica, in 1915 when he sent a letter 'presenting his compliments' and giving me 'a hearty welcome to Jamaica, on the part of the United Improvement and Conservation Association [sic].'"⁴⁵ In a pamphlet published around the same time or shortly before. Garvey included DuBois in a long list of race heroes that included the Pharoahs, Simon of Cyrene, Hannibal of Carthage, L'Ouverture and Dessalines of Haiti, Edward Wilmot Blyden, Frederick Douglass, Samuel Lewis of Sierra Leone and others.⁴⁶ Garvey's esteem for DuBois was to be short lived, however. DuBois said many years afterwards that on this trip to Jamaica he was "surprisingly well-received by colored people and white."⁴⁷ Possibly because of this, and possibly because of the apparent absence in Jamaica of the more blatant aspects of American racism, he may have been temporarily fooled, as has many an unwary North American visitor, into thinking that the Jamaican race problem had been solved. For in February 1916 Garvey, now disenchanted with DuBois, wrote in a letter to Moton at Tuskegee, "Don't you believe like coloured Dr. DuBois that the 'race problem is at an end here' except you want to admit the utter insignificance of the black man."

Garvey continued, significantly, "I personally would like to solve the situation on the broadest humanitarian lines. I would like to solve it on the platform of Dr. Booker T. Washington."⁴⁸ Garvey later attributed DuBois' misreading of the Jamaican race situation on this occasion to the fact that he had associated on this visit mostly with the local light-skinned caste.⁴⁹

The N.A.A.C.P.'s official organ, the Crisis, of which DuBois was editor for the whole of Garvey's American period, acknowledged Garvey's presence shortly after his arrival in the United States. A brief, innocuous statement in the May 1916 issue stated, "Mr. Marcus Garvey, founder and president of the Universal Negro Improvement Association of Jamaica, B.W.I., is now on a visit to America. He will deliver a series of lectures on Jamaica in an effort to raise funds for the establishment of an industrial and educational institution for Negroes in Jamaica."⁵⁰

In an article published in January 1917, Garvey declared that he had detected some false, self-seeking leaders in Afro-America, as well as some worthy ones. The name of DuBois did not figure among the good ones he listed.⁵¹ This article was written not long before Garvey's famous visit to DuBois at the N.A.A.C.P. office. He was "dumbfounded" by what he saw and professed to be almost unable to tell "whether it was a white show or a

colored vaudeville he was running at Fifth avenue."⁵²

By 1919 Garvey had already emerged as one of the more important of Harlem's militant New Negroes, and even though, as DuBois himself admitted, he tried for as long as he could to "explain away the Garvey movement and ignore it,"⁵³ he could not totally pretend that Garvey did not exist. For one thing, the occasional reference to Garvey, sometimes explicit, sometimes veiled, intruded itself into the Crisis. During DuBois' absence in France, for example, a long editorial considered favorably the new demand of Africa for the Africans and even advocated limited Afro-American migration to Africa, though not at the expense of the struggle at home.⁵⁴ A brief Crisis report later that year carried news of Garvey's conflict with the District Attorney in New York.⁵⁵ In 1919, too, a U.N.I.A. commissioner in France crossed the path of DuBois and actually attended the latter's hastily organized Pan-African Congress in Paris.⁵⁶ And in December of that year the Crisis felt obliged to affirm the right of the Negro World and other radical black papers to publish, in the face of an onslaught against the black press by Southerners in Congress, backed by the Attorney-General.⁵⁷

By 1920 Garvey was very near, if not at the peak of his career, so that even though DuBois continued to try, it was now becoming very difficult indeed to ignore

Garvey. For one thing, two former associates of DuBois were now among Garvey's closest colleagues. One of these was John Edward Bruce, a veteran Afro-American journalist and Pan-Africanist who had been among the fifty-nine who issued the call to the founding meeting of DuBois' well-known Niagara Movement in 1905. Another was William H. Ferris, graduate of Harvard and Yale and author, and also one of the fifty-nine.⁵⁸ Both these men were members, during their U.N.I.A. years, of the editorial board of the Negro World and Bruce served also on Garvey's daily Negro Times. Both were knighted by Garvey. Bruce's wife, in addition, served as a confidential secretary in Garvey's employ. Bruce also had been president of the Negro Society for Historical Research, founded in Yonkers, New York, in 1911. DuBois had been a corresponding member of that society. So was Mrs. Marie DuChatellier of Bocas del Toro, Panama, by 1920 a U.N.I.A. organizer, and Duse Mohamed Ali, Garvey's former employer in England and himself connected for a time with the U.N.I.A. Garvey's staunchest Liberian supporter, Chief Justice James J. Dossen, a former vice-president of Liberia, was an honorary member.⁵⁹ DuBois could not have been unaware of the Garveyite connections of at least some of this impressive list of the highly educated element whom he called the "talented tenth." He usually preferred, however, to see the U.N.I.A. as the near exclusive domain of persons

he characterized as ignorant.

From the beginning of 1920, then, DuBois began to direct some Crisis editorials towards Garvey. Even at this point, however, he was still possessed of the desire to ignore his new rival, and confined himself to thinly veiled references to Garvey without actually naming him. In January 1920 he editorialized favorably on the new mood of separatism and race consciousness expressed in such slogans as "Asia for the Asians" and "Africa for the Africans" (Garvey's slogan). He suggested that the white man should get out of black communities all over the world or provide "utter justice for all." "Here is the choice," he wrote, "Which will you have, my masters?"⁶⁰ In March, though, in response to criticisms of the N.A.A.C.P.'s inter-racial character from an unnamed source, a Crisis editorial withdrew from the earlier hint of support for separatism. The editorial argued that black people could not strive for equality in white society and separation at the same time, and vigorously defended white participation in the N.A.A.C.P.⁶¹ Shortly thereafter Garvey sneered at DuBois' receipt of the Spingarn Medal for founding the Pan-African Congress. He considered William Monroe Trotter (who had broken with DuBois) to have performed a worthier task in presenting a petition of his National Equal Rights League to the Paris peace conference. Trotter, he pointed out, had been too radical for the

N.A.A.C.P.'s white point of view.⁶²

With the start of Garvey's epochal First International Convention in August things took a turn for the worst. On August 3rd it was announced to the convention that DuBois had attended an earlier session. This brought forth a Garvey denunciation of DuBois which, it was reported, was responsible for the day's most enthusiastic applause.⁶³ To add to his discomfiture, DuBois had been mistakenly blamed by the Chicago Tribune for the "Back to Africa" riot in that city, in which Garvey had been supposedly implicated.⁶⁴ Halfway through the convention Garvey informed an interviewer for the National Civic Federation that DuBois represented the "ante-bellum Negro" as opposed to the militant post-war New Negro.⁶⁵ Four days later DuBois informed the same interviewer that Garvey was not sincere. He also said here what was to become something of an obsession with him, namely that Garvey's followers were "the lowest type of Negroes, mostly from the Indies" and that the U.N.I.A. could in no way be considered an Afro-American movement. He also denounced Garvey as an ally of Bolsheviks and Sinn Feiners.⁶⁶

Despite this forthright denunciation of Garvey made in private DuBois continued his policy of veiled public attack in the Crisis, the September issue of which carried an editorial on West Indians directed, on DuBois'

own admission, at Garvey and the U.N.I.A.⁶⁷ By this time DuBois' efforts at ignoring Garvey had come to the attention of Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph of the Messenger. For the September Messenger in an editorial entitled "A Record of the Darker Races" (a takeoff on the sub-title of the Crisis) pointed out that the Crisis did not live up to its sub-title. To illustrate this contention the Messenger showed that although the Crisis had mentioned minor race events, it had allowed Garvey's spectacular happenings in New York City to go unreported.⁶⁸ Perhaps in response to this criticism the November Crisis finally took cognizance of Garvey's August convention. The report consisted of a few brief lines hidden away in the midst of several brief and relatively unimportant news items.⁶⁹ This same issue carried yet another DuBois editorial against attacks from unnamed sources on his advocacy of social equality. This time DuBois attempted to use Booker T. Washington against the Garveyite neo-Washington camp by suggesting that Washington himself, the great opponent of social equality, had participated in functions with white people.⁷⁰ The usual Garveyite response to this kind of argument was, of course, that Washington took the white people's money but built himself an independent black power base with it. Furthermore, the typical Garveyite argument went, with black resources at a low ebb after slavery he had little alternative but to

obtain funds from white folks. DuBois, on the other hand, was seen as a man dependent on whites almost for his very existence. Indeed his whole career was seen as the work of white philanthropy, and Garvey liked to refer to DuBois' education as an "experiment" by white people to see whether black people could profit by instruction.⁷¹ Garvey probably did not know it, but his contempt for DuBois' history of dependence on white philanthropy was shared by at least one of the most influential of the white N.A.A.C.P. leaders. Mary White Ovington, Chairman of the N.A.A.C.P. Board of Directors, privately contrasted DuBois' influence among white people with his lesser influence among black people, even within the N.A.A.C.P. She then remarked, with a contempt no less than Garvey's, "His career has been made by the whites; first Dr. Bumstead [the Atlanta University president who hired DuBois], next various members of the N.A.A.C.P."⁷²

His attempt to publicly pretend that Garvey was not there having failed to secure Garvey's disappearance, DuBois in November 1920 decided that the time had come to call off the pretense. He wrote W. A. Domingo, by now a known enemy of Garvey: "May I ask if you have any information concerning Mr. Marcus Garvey and his organizations which you would be willing to give me?" He inquired also after the address of Eliezer Cadet, the Haitian U.N.I.A. commissioner who had attended the 1919 Pan-African



Congress in Paris. The letter was returned to him and he sent it off to historian Arthur A. Schomburg in the hope that Schomburg could locate Domingo and forward it.⁷³

The letter seems to have gotten no further than Schomburg but the December Crisis nevertheless featured a DuBois article entitled "Marcus Garvey." He could ignore Garvey no longer, so he had now embarked on the next best thing, open confrontation. The battle was now irrevocably joined.

In this article, as in most but by no means all of his published comments on Garvey, DuBois affected the pose of the impartial scholarly observer. This posture never prevented his analyses of Garvey from being to varying degrees distorted and inaccurate. It did, however, mislead many commentators on the DuBois-Garvey conflict for the next half century into thinking that DuBois was in fact always fair and detached. Whereas in August DuBois had privately denounced Garvey as an insincere Bolshevik sympathizer leading a bunch of ignorant West Indians, now his public pose was somewhat more mellow. Garvey was characterized as "essentially an honest and sincere man" but possessed of a long list of character defects. Several of his major objections to Garvey were stated. Inveterate snob that he was, he scoffed at what he considered Garvey's defects of training, much as he had long flayed all those, including Washington, who

would not acknowledge the near-divine right of the "talented tenth" to lead the race. Again, as always, Garvey was described as a leader of Jamaica's black peasantry but not as a leader of Afro-Americans. The continuing conflict between the Pan-African Congress and the U.N.I.A. also got a preview. DuBois denied a Garvey allegation of 1919 to the effect that DuBois had humbugged the U.N.I.A. commissioner in France that year by repudiating Garvey's statements on lynching and racial intolerance in the United States. In attempting to establish that Garvey could not get along with his fellow workers he overreached himself. He adduced as proof the fact that none of the fifteen names of Garvey's officers in 1914 appeared on a similar list for 1918.⁷⁴ The truth of the matter was, of course, that the 1914 list comprised Garvey's earliest Jamaican executive, while the 1918 list represented Garvey's American organization. John Edward Bruce attacked DuBois on this point.⁷⁵

DuBois published a second installment of this critique in January. Here he attacked Garvey on the black versus light-skinned question, accusing Garvey of raising this question in a land where, according to DuBois, it was a non-question. He also objected to Garvey's antagonism of the British imperialists and released the information that in July 1920 he had sent "a courteous letter of inquiry" to Garvey asking for financial data on the

U.N.I.A. and Black Star Line. For some inexplicable reason he had expected Garvey to furnish him with this information and was upset because his letter remained unacknowledged and unanswered. He again overreached himself, this time describing the Black Star Line's Yarmouth as a wooden rather than a steel vessel.⁷⁶ He later published a retraction of this statement at the suggestion of Arthur B. Spingarn, head of the N.A.A.C.P.'s legal committee and a vice-president of the organization.⁷⁷ By this time the controversy between the two men had elicited enough interest for a "debate" to be arranged at the Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church in Philadelphia. DuBois presented his views on April 4, 1921. Garvey, scheduled to speak the following week, could not do so, being still stranded in the West Indies.⁷⁸

After these two articles DuBois returned to his policy of attacking Garvey without naming him. In one such attack in May 1921 he stated what, together with the miscegenationist, West Indian and talented tenth questions was to be a major point of ideological difference between himself, as an N.A.A.C.P. representative, and Garvey. This was the question of a concentration on purely Afro-American struggle versus a move to immediate linkages among African communities worldwide. DuBois, after blowing away the "hoard of scoundrels and bubble-blowers, ready to conquer Africa, join the Russian revolution, and

vote in the Kingdom of God tomorrow" came out in favor of "a program which says: the battle of Negro rights is to be fought right here in America." He expressed the sanguine expectation, which he himself was to repudiate in the next decade, that twenty-five more years of "intelligent fighting" such as the N.A.A.C.P. was engaged in, would free the race in America.⁷⁹ Such isolationist sentiments from the founder of the Pan-African Congress were not as unusual as may appear at first glance. For DuBois at this time seems to have conceived of this organization more as an international social club for the talented tenth, rather than a body engaging in real worldwide grass roots struggle such as was the purpose of the U.N.I.A. He himself said as much in a letter to Secretary of State Charles Hughes one month after the appearance of this article. He told Hughes, "The Pan-African Congress is for conference, acquaintanceship and general organization. It has nothing to do with the so called Garvey movement and contemplates neither force nor revolution in its program." He continued, "We have had the cordial cooperation of the French, Belgium [sic] and Portuguese governments and we hope to get the attention and sympathy of all colonial powers."⁸⁰ What is interesting about this letter, apart from its evidence of DuBois' very non-militant conception of Pan-Africanism, is that it was written at the time when Hughes and the State Department were trying to keep Garvey out of the

United States. It may possibly have reinforced Hughes' conviction of Garvey's undesirability. Garvey, for his part, was quite convinced that DuBois had a hand in his exclusion. DuBois wrote a similar letter to the British Ambassador in Washington.⁸¹ The purpose of these letters was to obtain support for the 1921 Pan-African Congress in London.

The Pan-African Congress was scheduled for August and September and may have represented an attempt to distract some attention from Garvey's annual August convention. On the eve of the U.N.I.A. convention Garvey, only recently back from his ordeal in the Caribbean, issued a call for unity and invited DuBois, R. R. Moton, Kelly Miller and Emmett J. Scott to attend.⁸² Yet the convention all but commenced with a resolution denouncing the Pan-African Congress. This was passed amidst loud cheers.⁸³ During the convention the Negro World published an account of the U.N.I.A. finances. This information, long sought by DuBois, was diligently transcribed from the paper at the N.A.A.C.P. headquarters.⁸⁴ And Garvey's convention once more rated a fleeting mention among the Crisis news briefs.⁸⁵

In Europe meanwhile the Pan-African Congress was widely mistaken, despite DuBois' efforts, for a Garveyite affair, much to the chagrin of its founder and to the joy of Garvey, who exulted in the free publicity accruing to

the U.N.I.A. from DuBois' hapless predicament. Every second word said at DuBois' congress had been "Marcus Garvey" he boasted, and cited a large collection of clippings from European papers to support his contentions.⁸⁶ DuBois had not considered it necessary to invite any U.N.I.A. participation because he considered the Garvey program too "dangerous" and "impracticable."⁸⁷ Garvey's ideas and influence nevertheless continued to haunt the proceedings. At the London session, for example, a Nigerian student read a paper proposing "An African Program" which was nothing but warmed over Garveyism, complete with New World African migration to the mother continent, a Liberian Loan, and establishment of a beachhead in Liberia to lead eventually to a United States of West Africa.⁸⁸ But the "most unkindest cut of all" came when the person left in charge of the permanent secretariat set up in Paris after the conference became infected with Garveyite ideas. DuBois himself thusly explained this episode:

Just as the Garvey movement made its thesis industrial cooperation, so the new young secretary of the Pan-African movement, a coloured Paris public school teacher, wanted to combine investment and profit with the idea of Pan-Africa. He wanted American Negro capital for this end. We had other ideas.⁸⁹

DuBois added here that this Garveyite influence almost wrecked his organization.

The problems of DuBois' 1921 Pan-African Congress were not made any less worrisome by a stream of hostile

comments, emanating from the Negro World editorials of William H. Ferris. DuBois, he argued, must surely be indulging in poetic license when he dared call his gathering a Pan-African Congress even though such people as British colonial official and Africanist scholar Sir Harry Johnston were among the sponsors. Johnston it was, Ferris reminded his readers, who in his arrogance had said that not a single Afro-American knew anything about Africa. DuBois' misnomer was also emphasized by a long list of African territories (the vast majority on the continent) unrepresented at DuBois' congress. "There has been no 'Pan-African' Congress in Europe this year," this editorial concluded, "because ALL AFRICA didn't respond to the DuBois call." Ferris wrote off DuBois' gathering as a joke, a "racial adulteration," an "exclusive college function," comprising thirty delegates and two thousand white so-called "audiences."

Furthermore, Ferris saw in this latest DuBois endeavor merely the most recent example of DuBois' longstanding tendency towards plagiarism. He argued that DuBois had incorporated Ida Wells-Barnett's anti-lynching program without giving her credit for it. Eight years after William Monroe Trotter's Guardian and race organization had appeared, Ferris continued, DuBois had started a magazine and organization along similar lines. The only credit he gave Trotter for his idea was to call him

a fanatic. DuBois' short history of the Negro, was but a shorter version of one published nine years prior to that by a black man whom DuBois had referred to as an upstart. Ten years previously Duse Mohamed Ali had written Booker T. Washington, Dr. W. S. Scarborough and DuBois informing them of the impending appearance of his magazine designed to draw closer together the darker races of the world. The first two sent encouraging replies. DuBois' reply had been characterized by Mohamed as pointless and disappointing. Yet DuBois later copied Mohamed's idea. Now, after having found fault with Garvey's 1920 convention, he was busy discussing the same things at his congress and trying to set up a permanent organization.⁹⁰

Back in America after the congress DuBois ran into a storm of criticism from Garvey and others, including Garvey's adversary Cyril Briggs, over a widely circulated Associated Press report. This report had quoted DuBois as having said during the congress that not only did Afro-Americans have no desire to oust the colonialists from Africa, but they could hardly migrate there since they could not stand the climate. Garvey naturally seized the opportunity to embarrass his rival, commenting, "One editor and leader went so far as to say at his so-called Pan-African Congress that American Negroes could not live in Africa, because the climate was too hot."⁹¹ Since the statement attributed to DuBois had been made as part of a

general refutation of Garvey's African program, Garvey despatched a reply to a New York paper which had published it.⁹² DuBois later attempted to extricate himself from this statement. He denied it but diluted his denial somewhat by adding that because one's great grandfather might have been African it did not follow that the African climate would hold no terrors.⁹³

Apart from this criticism DuBois on his return had to face continuing embarrassing disclosures in the pages of the Negro World concerning his Pan-African Congress. One such report, translated from a Portuguese paper recalled DuBois' invitation to the Portuguese colonialists to attend his conference. The article claimed that handpicked Africans, members of the Liga Africana (African League) had been allowed to attend. These delegates had then returned to Portuguese controlled Africa. At a meeting of the league in Africa two of these delegates, Nicolan Santos Pinto and Jose de Magalhanes [sic] were heckled and forced to stop speaking when they tried to extol the virtues of the Pan-African Congress. They were confronted by shouts of "Long live Marcus Garvey and the African National Party (U.N.I.A.)" The audience denounced Blaise Diagne (conservative Senegalese president of the congress) in particular and the congress in general.

Another such article translated from a French magazine, was by a Paris attorney, a Mr. Alcandre, who had

attended the Paris session of the congress. The article reproduced a resolution introduced at the congress calling upon the body to invite Garvey to its next meeting instead of attacking him unjustly in his absence. Diagne, presiding over the meeting, had at first refused to read it. When he did read it, it was in a semi-understandable fashion at the very end of the session. Alcandre, the resolution's sponsor, was not sure whether it passed or not.⁹⁴

The end of 1921 found DuBois vainly attempting to persuade the N.A.A.C.P. hierarchy to move their headquarters uptown into Harlem.⁹⁵ The dispute with Garvey may well have heightened the disadvantages of a downtown location on the white side of New York City. Thus ended the first full year of increased hostility between the two leaders. During the year their followers and supporters had increasingly joined in the fray. One Garveyite had actually published a book attacking DuBois because he thought that Garvey had not been firm enough with him. The book bore the self-explanatory title, Mistakes of W. E. B. DuBois, Being an Answer to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois' Attack upon the Honourable Marcus Garvey.⁹⁶ The author described himself as a "Voluntary Field Speaker of the U.N.I.A." and emphasized that DuBois was "dubious," and an adept at "scientific lying," an apparent reference to DuBois' tactic of framing distortions in apparently

scholarly, dispassionate language.

DuBois accelerated his campaign against Garvey's philosophy and personality in 1922. The beginning of the year found Garvey on his annual list of "debits" "In Account With The American Negro" for the preceding year. Garvey shared DuBois' list of debits together with President Harding's Birmingham speech and the lynching of fifty-nine black people during the year. Among the "credits" were the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill and, naturally, the second Pan-African Congress.⁹⁷ Garvey's response was to call his adversary a "crazy lunatic or a soulless employee" in the pay of an alien race for suggesting that his ships were liabilities rather than assets.⁹⁸ A few pages after the list of debits and credits DuBois slipped in another attack on Garvey in the midst of a eulogy of Afro-American Colonel Charles Young, who had died in West Africa. DuBois here articulated his intellectual's disdain for Garvey's style. He wrote of Young, "But Africa needed him. He did not yell and collect money and advertise great schemes and parade in crimson--he just went quietly, ignoring appeal and protest."⁹⁹

As if this was not enough, DuBois included yet another camouflaged anti-Garvey editorial on the same page. This one was entitled "Africa for the Africans." DuBois, at this period in his life was a fairly moderate character, and, compared with Garvey, might even have been described

as conservative. His conception of the Pan-African Congress as a benign body that would seek the cooperation of the European colonizers of Africa has already been noted. Garvey, to be sure, also on occasion spoke in terms of such cooperation. But Garvey's radical actions in the colonized world spoke louder than his attempts to disarm the colonialists. This editorial shows clearly DuBois' limited Pan-African outlook at this period. He suggested that "Africa should be administered for the Africans and, as soon as may be, by the Africans." He emphasized that he did "not mean by this that Africa should be administered by West Indians or American Negroes."¹⁰⁰ Thus whereas Garvey was clamouring for immediate African government with West Indians and Afro-Americans to provide a supply of extra skilled personnel, DuBois in 1922 seemed content to go along with the colonialist lie that they were gradually training presently incompetent Africans for eventual self-government. Several Africans protested this and other similar statements emanating from DuBois and Blaise Diagne.¹⁰¹

On the domestic scene, Garvey's criticisms seem to have brought about a sharpening of DuBois' analysis of the Afro-American reality. For whereas in 1921 he had argued that Garvey had all but introduced intra-racial color antagonism onto the American scene where it practically did not exist,¹⁰² now Garvey's success made him

think again. In yet another lengthy attack on Garvey without expressly naming him, he referred to his adversary as "The Demagog." "From now on in our new awakening," he declared, "our self-criticism, our impatience and passion, we must expect the Demagog among Negroes more and more. He will come to lead, inflame, lie and steal. He will gather large followings and then burst and disappear. Loss and despair will follow his fall until new false prophets arise." Yet he acknowledged that his supposedly hypothetical demagog would in 1922 find a fertile field of growing cleavage "between our incipient social classes." White oppression, he argued, had artificially restrained class differences among black people. But these differences, though not as great as they would be in the absence of such discrimination, were there all the same. "Nevertheless," he argued, "the ties between our privileged and exploited, our educated and ignorant, our rich and poor, our light and dark, are not what they should be and what we can and must make them."¹⁰³ This admission by DuBois of the antagonisms existing in Afro-American society between "light and dark" is important because prior to this, and indeed afterwards too, he preferred to treat it as a taboo subject not to be discussed, except to blame Garvey for introducing it.

After this spate of sniping attacks during the first half of 1922 DuBois decided that the time had come

for another article openly directed at Garvey. He therefore set about from July gathering information for an article on the Black Star Line. On July 27 he wrote the chairman of the United States Shipping Board for information on Garvey's attempts to buy ships from the board. He explained to the chairman that Garvey had collected perhaps half a million dollars in connection with his shipping line and hinted at the possibility of fraud. The chairman declined to divulge any information but suggested he try Joseph P. Nolan, who had acted as attorney for the Black Star Line in some of these transactions.¹⁰⁴ Undaunted, DuBois then wrote the State Department. He was requested to furnish a statement explaining his interest in the matter before a decision could be made on whether to grant his request. He complied with this suggestion, explaining that "The Black Star Line was promoted by a West Indian agitator named Marcus Garvey. He collected from the colored people in America and the West Indies nearly \$800,000." Many persons, he suggested, lost money in the process. Among these were Crisis readers. He therefore now wanted to publish the truth and warn readers against such schemes. Once more, however, the information was refused. He was informed that the files were confidential.¹⁰⁵ While awaiting these replies DuBois went ahead and wrote the article anyway, and obtained legal advice before sending it to press, to ensure that

it was not libellous.¹⁰⁶

Much of this activity was going on during August, the month of Garvey's convention. An earlier Garvey invitation to DuBois to attend and let "the real leadership" lead the race was apparently not taken up. Nor was Garvey's invitation to the N.A.A.C.P. to participate in the convention parade together with a banner bearing the association's name.¹⁰⁷

The Black Star Line article appeared in the September Crisis. It was carefully documented to avoid the possibility of libel proceedings, with most of the important information in the form of direct quotations from the Negro World and the Orr case (where a stockholder had sued the Black Star Line, resulting in public exposure of the line's great financial losses). Many of DuBois' arguments here were later repeated by the prosecution in the 1923 trial. Here for once in his dealings with Garvey DuBois was able to harness his rage long enough to effectively employ his considerable scholarly talents. And coming as it did in the midst of the "Marcus Garvey Must Go" campaign and at a time when Garvey had already been arrested and indicted for alleged fraud in connection with the shipping line, the result was the most devastating of DuBois' attacks.¹⁰⁸ DuBois in effect presumed guilt and passed judgement on a matter which was sub judice. This, together with his letters to government officials and his

friendship with the judge who was soon to preside over Garvey's trial, must certainly have prejudiced Garvey's chances of an impartial hearing. Garvey considered this particular DuBois attack to be particularly unfortunate since, he explained, the Black Star Line represented not a venture in the interest of individuals but an effort to lift up a struggling race. "If," he therefore lamented, "DuBois were a constructive leader, since he possesses all the knowledge in the world, he would help Marcus Garvey, the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and the Black Star Line to make good."¹⁰⁹

The Black Star Line article marked the beginning of an escalated series of open attacks on Garvey. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that these articles were deliberately timed to lend support to the campaign for Garvey's imprisonment and deportation then being waged by a coalition of black Socialists, N.A.A.C.P. officials and other black integrationists. They were also quite obviously a deliberate attempt to create a climate favorable to Garvey's conviction in his forthcoming trial.

One of these articles appeared in November and concerned the defection from the N.A.A.C.P. to the U.N.I.A. of Dr. Leroy Bundy. Bundy had been arrested during the 1917 massacre of black people in East St. Louis for encouraging the black community to arm in self-defense and charged with alleged murder and incitement to riot. He



collaborated for a while with the N.A.A.C.P., who organized a defense fund and prepared to defend him. Somewhere along the line Bundy fell out with the N.A.A.C.P. and defected to the U.N.I.A. camp. During the 1922 convention he was knighted by Garvey and the convention elected him First Assistant President-General of the U.N.I.A. In response to the incessant N.A.A.C.P. accusations of financial mismanagement Garvey had countered with an accusation of his own. What, the Negro World enquired, had become of the \$50,000 collected by the N.A.A.C.P. for Bundy's defense? Only \$150 had been spent on Bundy, the paper charged. The N.A.A.C.P.'s legal director Arthur Spingarn had thought it not worth the while to institute legal proceedings against Garvey for this statement but suggested that DuBois publish a "very brief resume of the disbursements and expenditures in the Bondy [sic] matter."¹¹⁰ DuBois published a six-page article on the affair, which was duly repudiated by two Ferris editorials in the Negro World.¹¹¹

1923 was greeted by a DuBois attempt to prove that the U.N.I.A. had less than 18,000 members.¹¹² To do this he published a U.N.I.A. financial report which he claimed had been suppressed up to that time. The figure for subscriptions was relatively small and DuBois presumed from this that all branches had sent in all their subscriptions and that paid up members and active members were



necessarily the same. When he discovered that only around two hundred delegates had voted at the 1922 convention he seemed to conclude that this was an indication of the small number of delegates present, not realizing that votes were cast by delegation rather than by individual. DuBois' conclusions concerning membership here were obviously a gross understatement. When white papers could conservatively estimate 20,000 to 25,000 persons attending the first session of Garvey's 1920 convention, or 3,000 people at one meeting of the Chicago branch alone, or 100,000 people parading and jamming the sidewalks of Harlem in 1926 demanding Garvey's release, then the enormity of DuBois' underestimate becomes clear.¹¹³

Garvey at this stage issued An Answer to His Many Critics¹¹⁴ refuting, among other things, the charge that his following represented "The ignorant and gullible." To prove the erroneousness of this charge he informed the public that he had challenged DuBois, James Weldon Johnson and anyone else who might be willing to a debate over their differences. He had had no takers.

This Garvey statement appeared about the same time as an N.A.A.C.P. press release of January 25¹¹⁵ giving advance publicity to DuBois' most elaborate onslaught against Garvey, a ten page article appearing in the February issue of the white Century magazine.¹¹⁶ The article portrayed Garvey as a semi-comic figure. It began:

There was a long, low, unfinished church basement, roofed over. A little, fat black man, ugly, but with intelligent eyes and big head, was seated on a plank platform beside a "throne," dressed in a military uniform of the gayest mid-Victorian type, . . . Among the lucky recipients of titles was the former private secretary of Booker T. Washington!

In this article DuBois restated most of his ideological and other differences with Garvey. There was first the question of race. DuBois reverted here to the argument that Garvey had introduced a peculiarly West Indian phenomenon of intra-racial color conflict into America. Even so, he could not completely deny, as he had seemed to on occasion before, the existence of similar phenomena in Afro-America. He insisted contradictorily that intra-racial color lines were essentially a West Indian phenomenon, "despite the near-white aristocracies of cities like Charleston and New Orleans, and despite the fact that the proportion of mulattoes who were free and who gained some wealth and education was greater than that of blacks because of the favor of their white parents." He even admitted that after emancipation in America "color caste tended to arise again" and that in his own time it was fashionable for light-skinned Afro-Americans to pose as Spanish or Portuguese. In the face of all this voluntary evidence he stubbornly insisted that intra-racial color antagonism was practically unknown in Afro-America because all-prevailing white racism forced light-skinned folk

(those, presumably, who did not pass for Spanish and Portuguese) to refer to themselves as Negroes. That this position was due largely to his own feeling of vulnerability as a person of very light hue was apparently unconsciously admitted when he stated, "Colored folk as white as the whitest came to describe themselves as negroes [sic]. Imagine, then, the surprise and disgust of these Americans when Garvey launched his Jamaican color scheme." For someone as sensitive about his color as DuBois was the intra-racial color question was best treated by silence. He said so in this article, though he foisted his idea upon the bulk of Afro-Americans. He said, "it came to be generally regarded as the poorest possible taste for a negro even to refer to differences of color."

Coupled with his refusal to admit of a home grown color question within the race, DuBois came very near in this article to a condescending, amused and even offensive treatment of Garvey's blackness. References to Garvey as a "little, fat black man, ugly, but with intelligent eyes and a big head," and "this black peasant of Jamaica," and in a white magazine at that, were, at the very least, disconcerting. Garvey, of course, often accused DuBois of hating the black blood within him and of hankering after white society. This facet of DuBois' experience was later given scholarly treatment by the eminent Afro-American sociologist E. Franklin Frazier. Frazier's analysis came

close to that of Garvey. He defined DuBois as a "marginal man." He wrote:

He was born in New England, where his mulatto characteristics permitted him a large degree of participation in the life of the white world. During his short sojourn in the South as an undergraduate at Fisk University, where he was under New England white teachers, he never was thoroughly assimilated into Negro life. His return to New England afforded him a more congenial environment where he thoroughly absorbed the genteel intellectual tradition of Harvard. . . .

But DuBois, aristocrat in bearing and in sympathies, was in fact a cultural hybrid or what sociologists call a 'marginal man.' Once back in America and Atlanta, he was just a 'nigger.' Fine flower of western culture, he had here the same status as the crudest semi-barbarous Negro in the South. In the Souls of Black Folk we have a classic statement of the 'marginal man' with his double consciousness: on the one hand sensitive to every slight concerning the Negro, and feeling on the other hand little kinship or real sympathy for the great mass of crude, uncouth black peasants with whom he was identified. For, in spite of the way in which DuBois has written concerning the masses, he has no real sympathetic understanding of them. The Souls of Black Folk is a masterly portrayal of DuBois' soul and not a real picture of the black masses. When he takes his pen to write of the black masses we are sure to get a dazzlingly romantic picture. Someone has remarked aptly that the Negroes in The Quest of the Silver Fleece are gypsies. The voice of DuBois is genuine only when he speaks as the representative of The Talented Tenth. . . .117

In the Century article DuBois restated his contention that Garvey was essentially a leader of West Indian peasants who was uninterested in and little knowledgeable about Afro-American struggles. Recurring here also was his typical disdain for Garvey and all others who had not been educated at Harvard and Berlin. "Garvey," he said, "had no thorough education and a very hazy idea

of the technic of civilization." He once again voiced his disapproval of Garvey's anti-imperialist attitude and accused Garvey of trying to take over Liberia. The see-saw struggle in his mind between separation and integration was now firmly on the side of integration. "Not in segregation," he pontificated, "but in closer, larger unity lies interracial peace." And with his insistence against segregation he recognized the affinity between Booker T. Washington and Garvey. He disposed of them jointly with the claim that:

The present generation of negroes [sic] has survived two grave temptations, the greater one, fathered by Booker T. Washington, which said, 'Let politics alone, keep in your place, work hard, and do not complain,' and which meant perpetual color caste for colored folk by their own cooperation and consent, and the consequent inevitable debauchery of the white world; and the lesser, fathered by Marcus Garvey, which said: 'Give up! Surrender! The struggle is useless; back to Africa and fight the white world.'

This passage showed too that DuBois' Pan-African ideas were still far from Garvey's.

In the same month of the Century article readers of the Crisis were presented with DuBois' annual list of race credits and debits. The black Star Line figured among the debits.¹¹⁸

The Century attack, the most comprehensive by DuBois, did not go unanswered. Garvey's reply was swift and bitter. He addressed himself first, not unnaturally, to the racial slurs contained in DuBois' article. The

Negro World headline proclaimed, "W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS AS A HATER OF DARK PEOPLE." A sub-title followed: "Calls His Own Race 'Black and Ugly,' Judging From the White Man's Standard of Beauty." Garvey declared,

This 'unfortunate mulatto,' who bewails every day the drop of Negro blood in his veins, being sorry that he is not Dutch or French, has taken upon himself the responsibility of criticizing and condemning other people while holding himself up as the social 'unapproachable' and the great 'I AM' of the Negro race.

Garvey, himself no mean wielder of a vitriolic pen, continued to heap scorn and abuse on DuBois' racial remarks. "How he arrives at his conclusion that Marcus Garvey is ugly, being a Negro, is impossible to determine," he raged, indulging his fondness for referring to himself in the third person, "in that if there is any ugliness in the Negro race it would be reflected more through DuBois than Marcus Garvey, in that he himself tells us that he is a little Dutch, a little French, and a little Negro. Why, in fact, the man is a monstrosity." Garvey could not see why "this professor, who sees ugliness in being black, essays to be a leader of the Negro people." He supposed that DuBois' equation of blackness with ugliness and whiteness with beauty explained "why he likes to dance with white people, and dine with them, and sometimes sleep with them." In DuBois' racial attitude he preferred to find an explanation "for the bleaching processes and the hair straightening escapades of some of

the people who are identified with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in their mad desire of approach to the white race." It was for these reasons too, no doubt, that "the erudite Doctor" kept a "French Beard" which was obviously not African but French. Garvey also took credit for having embarrassed the N.A.A.C.P. after his 1917 visit to their offices, into hiring black James Weldon Johnson and William Pickens. Pickens, he asserted, must have been ugly for DuBois, because he afterwards came to Garvey seeking employment.

Garvey also used his differences with DuBois on race to answer his rivals disparaging references to Liberty Hall as a "low, rambling basement of brick and rough stone." DuBois had contrasted this structure with several nearby ones which he considered beautiful. Garvey was able to demonstrate that every building praised by DuBois was wholly or partly white-owned. Liberty Hall, he argued, at least represented black self-reliance. DuBois, on the other hand, was a 'lazy dependent mulatto." DuBois' jeering at Garvey's knighthoods was also seen as a lack of racial consciousness, for he certainly would have exulted in a similar honor from a white potentate. (In fact, it will be remembered, DuBois had in 1920 been the recipient of a Spingarn Medal, named after a white N.A.A.C.P. leader, and certainly no less silly than a Garveyite honor.)

On DuBois' incessant harpings on the educational disabilities of his rival Garvey also had his say. He pointed out that graduates of Fisk, Harvard and Berlin did not have a monopoly on education, the value of which lay in the use made of it, rather than in the schools one had passed through. "If DuBois' education fits him for no better service than being a lackey for good white people," he commented, "then it were better that Negroes were not educated." The reason for the fuss over DuBois' educational accomplishments he saw as stemming from the fact that "he was one of the first 'experiments' made by white people on colored men along the lines of higher education." Despite the vehemence of his reply, Garvey did not address himself to some of the accusations made by DuBois. He ignored the charge that he was a black Jamaican peasant disinterested in the Afro-American struggle. He ignored, too, DuBois' assaults on his Liberian program and on his anti-imperialist attitude.¹¹⁹

Garvey repeated many of these arguments in the months that followed. During these months his trial took place and he was imprisoned awaiting bail. He was out of jail in time for DuBois' Third Pan-African Congress, however. DuBois blamed Garvey for the poor showing of this congress. He wrote later that "The unfortunate debacle of his over-advertised schemes naturally hurt and made difficult further effective development of the Pan-African

Congress idea."¹²⁰ Nevertheless both Kelly Miller in America and Casely Hayford's Gold Coast Leader came out at this time in favor of Garvey's African program as against DuBois' Pan-African Congress.¹²¹

In London meanwhile the Pan-African Congress ran into trouble and could not raise a quorum for its last session. Garvey's representative in London reported an attendance of eleven. DuBois' report of a larger representation Garvey attributed to double counting and the inclusion of a few curious people who looked in briefly. Of all the Africans in the world, Garvey lamented, DuBois could not get twenty to meet with him. Instead the principal speakers, apart from DuBois himself who was principal speaker at most sessions, were "white persons having peculiar ideas about the Negro, especially Sir Sydney Olivier and H. G. Wells." "Why a Pan-African Congress in such company?" Garvey wanted to know. "The thing is unholy and is bound to die the death of the unrighteous."¹²² Similar criticisms were voiced by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen of the Messenger which editorialized, "Dr. DuBois represented the twelve millions of American Negroes, without their consent, and Mr. H. G. Wells, together with some other white English liberals, doubtless, constituted the voice of the African section of Great Britain."¹²³ Garvey made the same point more picturesquely: "DuBois had no more right or authority to have called a Pan-African

Congress than a cat had to call together a parliament of rats."¹²⁴ And the Negro World quoted the Manchester Guardian on the unconcern shown for the congress by most of Britain's prominent Africans.¹²⁵

DuBois' London failure was followed by a session of his congress in Lisbon, Portugal, hosted by the Liga Africans. From here he journeyed to Liberia where he was to be Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary representing President Coolidge of the United States of America at the second inaugural of President King of Liberia on January 1, 1924. He had been notified of this appointment while already in Europe. DuBois was aware that the appointment had been made on the advice of William H. Lewis, a leading black Boston lawyer and sometime Assistant Attorney-General.¹²⁶ What he somewhat naively did not realize was that his appointment was a political trick by the Republicans to, as Lewis put it, "insure the support of the Crisis, the most widely read publication among the colored people, or stultify it, if it should come out against us" in the forthcoming elections.¹²⁷ Garvey was nearer the truth when he presumed that DuBois must have been bought for a few thousand dollars.¹²⁸ DuBois, for his part, misguidedly exulted in this official "gesture of courtesy . . . one so unusual that it was epochal . . . the highest rank ever given by any country to a diplomatic agent in black Africa." He

was completely carried away. He gloried in his Liberian military escort, in the fact that he was dean of the diplomatic service in Liberia, in the frock-coated Liberian President "with the star and ribbon of a Spanish order on his breast" and in the European consuls "in white, gilt with orders and swords,"¹²⁹ the two last mentioned observations in spite of his hostility to similar finery worn by U.N.I.A. members.

Garvey saw DuBois' trip to Liberia as an effort to discredit the U.N.I.A. effort there, and it is certainly conceivable that DuBois, after the intense antagonisms of 1923, and presumably still smarting from the failure of the London sessions of his Pan-African Congress, could have used his exalted position to undermine the U.N.I.A.'s Liberia plans. The Crisis had long attacked Garvey on this point and as far back as 1921 DuBois had published a statement by President King, obviously aimed at Garvey, discouraging undesirable immigrants.¹³⁰ Fearful that DuBois' influence might extend to the Gold Coast, John Edward Bruce from his sick bed (he died seven months later) advised Garvey to send the following cable to J. E. Casely Hayford, the Gold Coast nationalist and Pan-Africanist who usually favored Garvey's programs:

DuBois--Crisis--on trip to Africa, bent on mischief due to failure of his Pan-African congress scheme. Financed by Joel Spingarn a Jew, and other interests (white) inimical to African independence. Watch him. Letter follows. Make no committals.¹³¹

Garvey's fears concerning this aspect of DuBois' mission and the possible implication of President Coolidge in it were shared by some Communists. Robert Minor, for example, wrote that "Coolidge, while attempting to imprison Garvey and to destroy the mass organization, appoints DuBois as official spokesman for American capitalism before an African government that is being coerced."¹³²

George Padmore, during his Communist period also believed that "DuBois is the most bitter opponent of Garvey and because of this was used by Coolidge."¹³³

Back in the United States DuBois, in his report of his mission to the Secretary of State, suggested, among other things, that a small team of United States agricultural and industrial experts be sent to Liberia. Where possible they should be black. This was exactly what Garvey had been suggesting and was in the process of doing. The only difference was that Garvey's experts were all black. He also published further attacks on Garvey's Liberian plans.¹³⁴ Garvey also reported that DuBois was honored at a banquet at which Judge Mack, who presided over Garvey's 1923 case, was special guest.¹³⁵ And in September Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes informed President Coolidge, after reading a U.N.I.A. petition for assistance in going to Liberia, that DuBois' following was much larger and more respectable than Garvey's.¹³⁶ The Messenger, by this time well into the "Marcus Garvey

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Must Go" campaign, approved of DuBois' actions, arguing that if he had done nothing else in Liberia than thwart Garvey's plans, then his trip would have been worthwhile.¹³⁷

In May DuBois published the most venomous of all his attacks on Garvey. This notorious editorial, "A Lunatic or a Traitor," showed once again that all the differences between the two men were overshadowed by their differences on the various aspects of the race question, particularly the question of intra-racial color antagonisms and separation as opposed to integration. The editorial condemned Garvey as a lunatic or traitor who had overstayed his welcome in America and must now be "locked up or sent home." He alleged that "No Negro in America ever had a fairer and more patient trial than Marcus Garvey." Garvey, he claimed, had convicted himself by his own "swaggering monkey-shines" and threats of violence, and was for the latter reasons refused bail. He made the important admission that J. W. H. Eason (whom he did not actually name) had been responsible, after he broke with Garvey, for giving the Crisis the U.N.I.A. financial statement which DuBois had published. Eason was murdered in New Orleans two weeks later.

The immediate reason for this outburst was a symposium which Garvey had mailed to influential white people. The symposium sought to secure a favorable sentiment among

white people for racial separation and African colonization. It argued in effect that black people would never be tolerated as equals in America and hence the N.A.A.C.P. program of integration could only lead to race war. For all his occasional flirtations with the possibility of separation, the vehemence of DuBois' attack showed that he was still very deep into his integrationist phase. He relegated Garvey to a position lower than the most infamous racists. "Not even Tom Dixon or Ben Tillman," he ranted, "or the hatefulest enemies of the Negro have ever stooped to a more vicious campaign than Marcus Garvey, sane or insane."¹³⁸ DuBois was not the only integrationist driven to fury by this symposium. The Communists blasted it on the front page of the Daily Worker and the black Socialist integrationists of the Messenger group also attacked it bitterly.

It is interesting to note that DuBois was in the midst of severe internal difficulties within the N.A.A.C.P. at this time, a fact of which Garvey was aware. He had been forced out of the 1923 annual N.A.A.C.P. conference and now he was accusing James Weldon Johnson, Walter White and Mary White Ovington of trying to keep him out of the 1924 conference starting in June.¹³⁹ His conflict with these three had been going on for about three years and it has already been seen that Mary White Ovington shared some of Garvey's feelings on DuBois' relationship to white

people. (The Negro World, despite its strained relations with the N.A.A.C.P., for a long time featured a weekly column "Book Chat," by Ms. Ovington.)

This latest DuBois attack contained several factual inaccuracies and the Negro World devoted much space to counter-attacks and refutations. Garvey led off with the usual point concerning DuBois' hankering after white company and his unbearable arrogance. He took DuBois' allegation that Garvey was convicted by his monkey-shines to be an admission that the conviction was due to prejudice rather than guilt on his part. DuBois he said, had lied by suggesting that Garvey wore a long coat in court or that the U.N.I.A. accounts published in the Crisis had been "long concealed." These accounts were in fact annually presented to the U.N.I.A. convention and debated, a procedure which, he said, the N.A.A.C.P. did not follow. DuBois lied, too, he said, when he suggested that Garvey wanted to take all black Americans to Africa. For he certainly did not want "lazy philosophers" of the DuBois type on the continent. Another article refuted the "outrageous canard" broadcast in DuBois' article that a Liberian U.N.I.A. official had been convicted of murder. The man was in fact an imposter who had caused the organization trouble on both sides of the Atlantic. T. Thomas Fortune editorially described the latest DuBois effort as an "orgy of inaccurate detraction and vituperative

abuse."¹⁴⁰ But the most imaginative response came in a special editorial by Norton Thomas, Associate Editor of Garvey's paper, entitled "With Apologies to Shakespeare." This was in fact an adaptation from Shakespeare's Julius Ceasar. It commenced at "Act XCIX. Scene IX. Harlem. Seventh Avenue." It continued:

Enter William Pickens, William DuBois and Weldon Johnson.

DuBois. (Nervously)

Another general shout!
I do believe, that these applauses are
For some new honors that are heaped on Garvey.

Johnson

Why, man, he doth bestride the world of Negroes
Like a Colossus; and we petty men
Walk under his huge legs, and peep about
To find ourselves dishonourable graves,
Men at some time are masters of their fates;
The fault, dear DuBois, is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.
DuBois and Garvey: What should he in that Garvey?
Why should that name be sounded more than yours?
Write them together, yours is as fair a name;
Sound them, it doth become the mouth as well;
Weigh them, it is as heavy; conjure with them,
DuBois will start a spirit as soon as Garvey.
Now, in the names of all the Gods at once,
Upon what meat both this our Garvey feed,
That he is grown so great?

DuBois

Enough, faithful one. (Sighs) What you have said,
I will consider; what you have to say,
I will with patience hear: and find a time
Both meet to hear, and answer, such high things.
Till then, my noble friend, chew upon this:
DuBois had rather be a Nordic,
Than to repute himself a son of Ham
Under these hard conditions as this time
Is like to lay upon us.

(Exeunt DuBois and Johnson.)¹⁴¹

The editorial continued with a Pickens soliloquy.

With the "Lunatic or Traitor" editorial the controversy between these two leaders descended to a new low. Garvey, to be sure, was never sparing in abusiveness, but of outright falsehoods DuBois seems to have maintained a monopoly. And this editorial represented about the worst example of DuBois' propensity to let the truth get away from him. For this he was assailed by several race papers and individuals, not all of whom were particularly fond of Garvey. The Pittsburgh Courier called him a negative hindrance who thought he was too big to help the race and condemned him for calling Garvey a lunatic or a traitor. William H. Ferris, though now no longer associated with the U.N.I.A., nevertheless came out strongly in the pages of the Hotel Tattler against DuBois' blatant lying. The Gary Sun was similarly disapproving and said of DuBois, "A man who loses his temper in a fight is in danger of being soundly thrashed."¹⁴² Communist Robert Minor also attacked DuBois very severely on this editorial, even though he enjoyed cordial relations with some N.A.A.C.P. members. He wrote:

I would think long before I would dispute the judgment of the Negro scholar, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. But when Dr. DuBois writes that the United States Government gave Garvey 'a fair and patient trial' and that Garvey was refused bail 'because of the repeated threats and cold-blooded assaults charged against his organization,' and that 'he himself openly threatened to 'get' the district attorney,' etc., I get a different reaction from that intended by Dr. DuBois. I am obliged to look beyond the details at the apparent fact that a government which

hates the working class, and which has never been unforgiving to grafting schemes, that such a government does not find a friend in Garvey.

And above it all towers the fact that the Universal Negro Improvement Association, the largest organization of Negroes in the world, is made up almost entirely of the working class.

I am waiting for some Negro leader who has organized more Negroes than Marcus Garvey has organized, to criticize Garvey--and I frankly confess that if such a leader has been given a longer term in Leavenworth than Garvey received, I will listen to him more attentively.

The lickspittles of capitalism in Washington do not love Marcus Garvey. This alone ought to make one of the working class think twice before condemning the man. His enemies say the government condemns Garvey for using questionable financial methods for the purpose of fleecing the masses of uneducated Negro workers. But I don't think the Teapot Domers at Washington have any objections to the fleecing of the Negro masses.

I think their solicitude is based on something else.

The fact that Garvey is organizing many thousands of Negroes of the class that is destined to take over the earth, and makes a militant demand for a sweeping international liberation of colonial peoples, seems to me to be a more likely reason why Messrs. Coolidge, Daugherty and, yes, Mr. Hughes of the State Department have interested themselves in Garvey.¹⁴³

Shortly after the "Lunatic or Traitor" editorial DuBois and Garvey actually came face to face with each other for a brief and frightening moment. DuBois, in the company of one W. P. Dabney, was waiting to enter a hotel elevator, when out stepped a bevy of splendidly dressed ladies accompanied by "a stout dark gentleman, gorgeously costumed" in military attire. "Ye gods!" wrote Dabney, afterwards, 'Twas Garvey. He saw me, a smile of recognition, then a glance at DuBois. His eyes flew wide open. Stepping aside, he stared; turning around, he stared,

while DuBois, looking straight forward, head uplifted, nostrils quivering, marched into the elevator. . . ." In response to a Dabney inquiry DuBois claimed that he did not see Garvey. His nostrils were quivering, he explained, because he smelt food.¹⁴⁴

One result of the events of 1923 and 1924 was that both Garvey and DuBois took the irreconcilability of their views to mean that total race unity was not only an impossibility, but a goal not even worth striving for. At the Sanhedrin in February 1924 Alain Locke of Howard University and other prominent black persons had called for a rapprochement between the two rivals.¹⁴⁵ Responding to such views before the start of the Sanhedrin, Garvey had argued that he and DuBois could not come together on any constructive basis in such an all-embracing convention. For DuBois was a "modern extremist" preaching an integration ideal which might materialize in 2,000 years time when all races had achieved equal material and cultural strength. For the time being, Garvey explained, "The Negro has got to develop apart, and create his own government and industrial foundation" in order to catch up with a world that respected only political and economic strength, in both of which the black man was far behind.¹⁴⁶ DuBois in July came out equally strongly against unity, arguing that diversity, and even some "personal bickering" were "absolutely essential in the present situation of the

Negro race." The N.A.A.C.P., he argued, wanted the black man to become "a full fledged American citizen" and disagreed with contrary views. "Under such circumstances," he declared, "to talk unity and agreement is nonsense. If the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is right, these other people are wrong. If one group is walking North and the other group walking South then unity would mean an abdication of its position by one group." Only such people as were willing to accept its program were welcome to unite with the N.A.A.C.P.¹⁴⁷

The "Lunatic or Traitor" editorial was followed by a few relatively low key Crisis attacks later in 1924, but the U.N.I.A. moved on to officially ostracize DuBois from the race. This was done by a resolution, unanimously carried, at the end of the 1924 U.N.I.A. convention. News of Liberia's final frustration of U.N.I.A. colonization had been received during the convention and the delegates saw in this the consummation of DuBois' efforts. The resolution stated:

In view of the fact that W. E. B. DuBois has continually attempted to obstruct the progress of the Universal Negro Improvement Association to the loss and detriment of the Negro race and that he has on several occasions gone out of his way to try to defeat the cause of Africa's redemption, that he be proclaimed as ostracized from the Negro race as far as the Universal Negro Improvement Association is concerned, and from henceforth be regarded as an enemy of the black people of the world.¹⁴⁸

With Garvey in jail from early in 1925 the battle

subsided somewhat. Garvey continued to accuse DuBois and the N.A.A.C.P. of helping him to jail and DuBois no doubt felt that he had accomplished his purpose, since he had lent his voice to those calling for Garvey's incarceration and deportation. He planned a fourth Pan-African Congress to be held in the West Indies in 1925. This may or may not have been a move to increase his influence in the only area in which he acknowledged the existence of a powerful Garvey following. However his plans were frustrated. Strange to say, he thought the colonialists were behind this failure.¹⁴⁹ In 1921 and 1923 he had blamed Garvey for his congress setbacks.

In 1927, however, DuBois did succeed in holding a congress in that greatest of all Garveyite strongholds, Harlem. The initiative had come largely from black women's organizations. Garvey was, of course, still in jail and had decreed that there should be no U.N.I.A. convention that year. So, in the U.N.I.A. convention month of August, DuBois rushed in to fill the breach. His congress went so far as to borrow Garvey's famous slogan and pass a resolution advocating "Africa for the Africans."¹⁵⁰

It would have been strange indeed if DuBois could have held a congress, even a four day one, in Harlem without some Garveyite interest. From the pages of the Negro World Kelly Miller pointedly called Garvey a political prisoner, a greater race leader than all his predecessors

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and the greatest ever advocate of African redemption. He called on the Pan-African Congress to demand clemency for Garvey. T. Thomas Fortune dropped in on the closing session to see for himself what was going on and returned to his office to write an editorial about it. He disagreed with much of what he heard, including "The opinion of Professor Logan that it was not possible nor would it be good to hope that the Europeans could or would be driven out of Africa," and that the Africans should cooperate with the white man. "The old theory of the lion and the lamb lying down together without a row," Fortune mused, "because the lamb was inside the lion. It is the Red Indian in contact with the European whites on the Western Continent all over again."

One of the last items of business for the congress was the adoption of resolutions. DuBois had kept tight control over this phase of the business. He drew up the resolutions himself and they were approved by a committee. While he was reading them to the audience a Rev. Walker, pastor of an A.M.E. church in Cleveland, Ohio, interrupted to suggest that the congress should issue a call for clemency for Garvey. The idea was roundly applauded and put in the form of a formal motion, accompanied by an effusive and well-received eulogy of Garvey. DuBois suggested that the resolution go back to committee, where he could kill it, rather than be voted on by the whole

gathering. After a warm debate which, Fortune reported, indicated that most of the audience supported the resolution, it was maneuvered into committee from which it did not return. But this did not stop "the brazen-faced doctor" as one report put it, from proclaiming "Africa for the Africans."¹⁵¹

Garvey was nevertheless released from jail and deported three months after the congress. DuBois celebrated with a review of his controversy with Garvey "not to revive forgotten rancor but for the sake of historical accuracy." The article was in fact yet another distortion and anything but historically accurate. In claiming that the Crisis had published a mere five articles on Garvey he conveniently forgot those which were obviously devoted to Garvey but did not name him, as well as several minor Crisis articles. DuBois even forgot the date of one of his own articles, claiming that extracts from a 1924 article had appeared in 1922. His claim that "the impression that the N.A.A.C.P. has been the persistent enemy of Marcus Garvey" was "without the slightest basis of fact" was at the very least a gross exaggeration. He contrasted this sweet innocence on the N.A.A.C.P.'s part with "Garvey's attacks on the N.A.A.C.P. [which] have been continuous, preposterous and false."¹⁵² About this time it seems that DuBois took his campaign against Garvey into fiction, for Alain Locke, reviewing his Dark Princess, spotted "perhaps

a thinly varnished Garvey" among the characters.¹⁵³

DuBois lived for ninety-five years. His life was in many ways the sad and tortuous story of a man, drawn by training and upbringing to white aristocracy, yet too sensitive to ignore the racism that buffeted him and his race. During the many years of his existence he moved impatiently from one tactic to the next, from one philosophy to the next, in a frustratingly vain quest for the elusive formula that would down the formidable monster of white racism, and more especially American white racism. And so it was that DuBois came to Garveyism.

When Garvey was deported from the United States in December 1927 DuBois was already an old man. He was less than three months short of his sixtieth birthday. He had already tried intellectualizing the race problem away. He had long given that up in favor of agitating it away. He had tried Socialism, and integration, and more. Yet some time around 1930 DuBois began going the way that George Padmore was soon to follow. The major difference between the two was that Padmore was more honest about the influence of Garvey on causing black Communists to reconsider their positions than DuBois was in the case of his own switch from integration to separation.

The integration versus separation debate, together with the race question, had been central to the DuBois-Garvey struggle. Yet, no sooner was Garvey out of the way

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than DuBois was overcome by a deep disillusionment with the integration that he had defended so stubbornly. He increasingly came to realize that for all his effort, for all the effort of the N.A.A.C.P., integration was making no headway. De facto school segregation had increased in the North and lynchings, though less frequent, were no less brazen. He therefore now began to argue that since integration was an apparent impossibility for the time being at least, then black people might as well make the most of separation. He talked of a non-profit cooperative "racial economy" that would operate within American capitalism but not be of it. This racial economy would in time incorporate the West Indies. He even began, with the terrible tragedy of the depression, to voice Garvey's pessimism about the survival of the African race in America. DuBois had in the past threatened separation if America denied the black man equality but these were but fleeting glimpses of the anguish within his soul. They were quickly submerged by his striving for integration and his attacks on Garvey's separatism. Now, however, it was different.

One of the first persons to notice the change in DuBois was Garvey himself. After reading a DuBois commencement speech at Howard University, Garvey, from Jamaica, loudly accused DuBois of now preaching Garveyism. This was in 1930, and DuBois had referred in that speech

to the need for a black economic base.¹⁵⁴ In 1931 the Negro World made the same point. Page 1 headlines declared, "Dr. DuBois agrees with U.N.I.A. Leader--Takes Program Over Finally--But Does Not Openly Confess It. Emphasizes Negro-Owned INDUSTRIES, BUSINESS."¹⁵⁵ This new line of thinking led inevitably to a break between DuBois and his integrationist employers at the N.A.A.C.P. (but not for good, for he was to return in 1944, only to be fired again in 1948). DuBois, in his own words, was now "advocating new, deliberate, and purposeful segregation for economic defense."¹⁵⁶ In 1934 he and the N.A.A.C.P. parted company, leaving the Crisis in the capable integrationist hands of Roy Wilkins and George W. Streater. Garvey, alluding to DuBois' late arrival at the philosophy of racial economic self-reliance commented, "It is no wonder DuBois has resigned from the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. He can go no farther. Can he continue abusing the white man when the American Negro is at the white man's Soup Kitchen?"¹⁵⁷ DuBois meanwhile, while steadfastly refraining from giving Garvey credit for his new position, sought to make his peace with the ghost of Booker T. Washington, claiming now that he had not opposed Washington on segregation grounds.¹⁵⁸

Other observers, however, noted the Garveyite sound of DuBois' new pronouncements. George Streater, co-managing

editor of the Crisis at the time of DuBois' departure, wrote soon after, "It is significant that the Garvey idea, however much it was ridiculed by Negro intellectuals during the heyday of the movement, has not downed. On the contrary it reappears in the most unexpected quarter, for example, in the currently expounded DuBois doctrine of a black economy. . . ." ¹⁵⁹ And sociologist E. Franklin Frazier, himself no great lover of Garvey, observed, "when Garvey proposed a grandiose scheme for building a black commercial empire DuBois ridiculed his naiveté. But what could be more fantastic than his own program for a separate non-profit economy within American capitalism?" Frazier, having written DuBois off as the marginal man who could not discover his identity, prophesied, correctly as it turned out, that DuBois would not remain a separatist for too long. He wrote in scathing tones:

DuBois' racial program needs not to be taken seriously. . . . He has only an occasional romantic interest in the Negro as a distinct race. Nothing would be more unendurable for him than to live within a Black Ghetto or within a black nation--unless perhaps he were king, and then probably he would attempt to unite the whites and blacks through marriage of the royal families. When Garvey attempted his genuine racial movement no one was more critical and contemptuous than DuBois of the fantastic glorification of the black race and all things black. Garvey's movement was too close to the black ignorant masses for DuBois. On the other hand, he was more at home with the colored intellectuals who gathered at the Pan-African Congresses. ¹⁶⁰

In England, meanwhile, Garvey summed up his conflict with DuBois. He summarized DuBois' great shortcomings

in a sentence: "He has no racial self-respect, he has no independent ideas, he has nothing of self-reliance about him and that is his great trouble." Central to these defects was the fact that DuBois had no program. This was an important point for Garvey always stressed the fact that he had presented the race with a definite program leading, in clearly defined stages, to racial emancipation. This same tendency to formulate individual actions within the framework of a definite long range program had also characterized the thought of Booker T. Washington. In DuBois, however, Garvey saw no evidence of any kind of long-range plan. What he saw, on the contrary, was a haphazard "propaganda of complaint." Rather than trying to do some independent long-range thinking on strategies to emancipate the race, Garvey saw DuBois' outstanding contribution as a negative hostility to the most important programs for liberation in his time. Garvey wrote in 1935:

When DuBois dies he will go down in his grave to be remembered as the man who sabotaged the Liberian colonization scheme of the Negro, the man who opposed the American Negro launching steamships on the seas, the man who did everything to handicap the industrial and commercial propositions of the American Negro, the man who tried to wreck the industrial, educational system of Tuskegee, the man who never had a good word to say for any other Negro leader, but who tried to down every one of them.¹⁶¹

The short-range, more spontaneous nature of the DuBois-N.A.A.C.P. conception of a program of liberation was well-expressed by DuBois himself in 1921 when he explained that

"the N.A.A.C.P. is organized to agitate, to investigate, to expose, to defend, to reason, to appeal. This is our program and this is the whole of our program."¹⁶² This is exactly what Garvey meant when he said that DuBois had no program. Concerning the charge of constant hostility to the programs of Garvey and others DuBois wrote later, "In his case, as in the case of others, I have repeatedly been accused of enmity and jealousy, which have been so far from my thought that the accusations have been a rather bitter experience."¹⁶³

The DuBois-Garvey conflict dominated the conflict between the N.A.A.C.P. and Garvey. But Garvey had his occasional exchanges with other N.A.A.C.P. leaders. In the case of one of them, William Pickens, an extended controversy developed which was second in intensity only to Garvey's struggle with DuBois. The case of Pickens is important because not only was the personal animosity generated as great, but the ideological disagreements which surfaced were the same as those of the DuBois-Garvey conflict, namely the question of light-skinned and dark-skinned Afro-Americans, separation versus integration, attitudes toward the Ku Klux Klan, "talented tenth" Pan-African Congresses versus grass roots U.N.I.A. organization, and Afro-American struggle versus struggle in African communities worldwide. The coincidence of the positions of DuBois and Pickens in their separate conflicts

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with Garvey underlines the real ideological character of the differences between the N.A.A.C.P. and the U.N.I.A.

Pickens joined the N.A.A.C.P. in 1920 as associate field secretary. He was a graduate of Yale, class of 1904, and had been a member of DuBois' Niagara Movement. At the time of his switch to the N.A.A.C.P. he was a vice-president of Morgan State College.¹⁶⁴ Garvey, as already noted, often took credit for Pickens' appointment, arguing that his exposure of the whiteness of the N.A.A.C.P. in 1917 forced them to employ identifiably black people in prominent positions.

Even before he joined the N.A.A.C.P., if Pickens' very unreliable later testimony can be believed, he had received an offer or offers from the U.N.I.A.¹⁶⁵ At the time he preferred the N.A.A.C.P. After about a year with the N.A.A.C.P. Pickens began expressing dissatisfaction with the organization. He was counselled by DuBois in March 1921 to be loyal nevertheless.¹⁶⁶ DuBois was himself having problems within the organization at about this time, with, among others, Mary White Ovington, James Weldon Johnson and Walter White. Pickens nevertheless decided to explore the possibility of alternative employment with the U.N.I.A. Amy Jacques Garvey recalls that he phoned Garvey and subsequently visited his apartment twice. He told Garvey that his pay was insufficient even though he did more work than his colleagues, and he was

being discriminated against because of his color. Garvey offered him a job until the August convention, at which time he could run for office.¹⁶⁷ Pickens, however, had no real intention of joining Garvey at this juncture but was merely skillfully, and with extreme callousness, using Garvey in an attempt to exact more money and a position of greater authority from the N.A.A.C.P. He was therefore able to temporize with Garvey until safely after the August convention. On September 12, however, at a time when his conflict with the N.A.A.C.P. was reaching a head, he wrote Garvey an effusively flattering letter, which, in the light of later events, was a calculated deceit of the greatest magnitude. The letter claimed that Pickens was doing well and really did not need a change of job except for "the great feeling of the great opportunity to aid the supreme enterprise which you are undertaking, and which you have been urging me for some time to consider." Undaunted by his intended treachery he assured Garvey, "I know you have dealt with many traitors and have still traitors to meet. They infest the world. But trust me. If I never worked in the same organization with you, I should still be your brother."¹⁶⁸

A mere five days later, on September 17, Pickens submitted a resignation to the N.A.A.C.P. Board of Directors. He expressed his intention to resign not later than November 1, but preferably on October 1. He claimed that

he would continue to uphold the aims of the association, strange talk for a prospective Garveyite.¹⁶⁹ It transpired that the October 1 preference was due to his promise to speak to the "colored people of New York" on October 2.¹⁷⁰ On September 25, doubtless in response to N.A.A.C.P. attempts to settle his problems, he informed the association's treasurer that whereas he would have received substantially more had he succumbed to earlier offers, his biggest current offer (presumably from the U.N.I.A.) was only about the same as his current salary plus his earnings from occasional lectures.¹⁷¹ On September 29 he refused an invitation to attend a meeting of the N.A.A.C.P.'s executives to discuss his resignation. "The next move," he scribbled on the bottom of the invitation, "belonged to them and I let them take it."¹⁷² The executives nevertheless refused to accept the resignation and appointed a committee to investigate. The committee recommended an increase in pay and a reorganization of field work to give Pickens "a larger directional part," thus overcoming his two major grievances.¹⁷³ Pickens' ploy had thus succeeded. That he had merely used the U.N.I.A. he himself confirmed. Describing Garvey's offer of temporary employment until the 1921 convention he explained, "This I decided to try out for all it was worth, IF I should have to leave the N.A.A.C.P., which I never wanted to do, if it could be reasonably avoided."¹⁷⁴

Sometime during the course of these intrigues Pickens wrote an article for the Nation at that magazine's request. It was written before the resolution of the conflict with the N.A.A.C.P. Pickens, of course, could not afford to alienate Garvey at this time. The result was so effusively pro-Garvey that the magazine's editors suspected a hoax. On October 11, therefore, one day after the N.A.A.C.P.'s Board of Directors accepted the recommendation to increase Pickens' pay and authority, he had to assure the Nation's editors that he had not in fact taken them for a ride. He claimed that the article had been written before he began to entertain the possibility of joining Garvey and that he would write exactly the same article now that his conflict with the N.A.A.C.P. was settled.¹⁷⁵ The Nation published an expurgated version in December. The Negro World published the full article a week and a half earlier. It also appeared in the black California Voice on December 31, 1921, together with a Pickens Christmas greeting to the U.N.I.A. The California paper introduced the article with the headline "Field Secretary N.A.A.C.P. Analyzes and Endorses Garvey Movement."¹⁷⁶

The article itself praised Garvey's emphasis on race, defended his regalia while not agreeing that it was necessary, supported his business methods, his steamship line and his honesty, and saw no necessary contradiction

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between the international operations of the U.N.I.A. and the domestic emphasis of the N.A.A.C.P. Pickens even argued that there was no reason why the same person could not belong to the Urban League, the U.N.I.A., and the N.A.A.C.P. "and yet talk consistently in an 'interracial congress' in Atlanta, Georgia." The unexpurgated version even suggested that a West Indian leader and a black movement in the United States were the perfect combination for racial emancipation at that particular time. Where there was criticism, as on the light-skinned question, it was mild. In February 1922 Garvey proclaimed his "high regard" for Pickens, whom he considered "above meanness of any kind." In March a Negro World editorial came to Pickens' defense when the Cleveland Call enquired, "What Side of the Fence is Pickens On?"¹⁷⁷

Pickens seems not to have informed Garvey of his intention to remain with the N.A.A.C.P., even after receiving his increased salary and settling his dispute. For in May 1922 Garvey again extended an offer to him.¹⁷⁸ In June, Pickens privately made a fairly favorable appraisal of Garvey. He praised Garvey's international organization but this time opted for the N.A.A.C.P.'s domestic struggle as a quicker remedy for emancipation of the race in America. He opposed emigration to Africa but conceded that Garvey's program was the greatest menace of the time to the white world. His appraisal of Garvey's

program here was probably much more favorable than any important N.A.A.C.P. official could have been expected to give. His remarks are important because they came on the verge of the "Marcus Garvey Must Go" campaign, of which Pickens was shortly to become one of the leaders. Perhaps as a harbinger of things to come, he seemed to anticipate the persistence of the "Garvey idea" after the departure of Garvey himself. He wrote:

As to the Garvey Movement, it is not perfect. No movement is--but Garvey has the right idea that ALL NEGROES of all countries and especially of the Western World, should be in touch and organization with each other. I know Garvey personally, and I do not regard him as a crook. He is somewhat of a visionary; all such men are. He will not FAIL, altho he himself will not see the great success of his plans. The idea he has injected into the Negro masses will stay, even if Garvey should be jailed or hung. The whole world today, the large white world, outside of places like Shreveport and Mississippi, are more concerned over the 'Garvey idea' than over any other move the Negro has ever made for power in the modern world. They know that to effect an international organization is to reach out for REAL power, expecially thru MASSES of men.

But I am with the N.A.A.C.P., altho I have been offered as much as TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS a year to join other forces, and the offer still stands. I believe in the EARLIER FRUITION of the sowings of the N.A.A.C.P., for the good of Negroes in the U.S.A.

Colored Americans will make regrettable mistakes, if they help white Americans to fight the 'Garvey idea.' The idea is all right, if only Garvey can get rid of some of the crooks that have infested his organization, and speak plain about ORGANIZATION of the racial group, and not try to fool anybody about the 'back to Africa' myth.¹⁷⁹

On July 10 Garvey invited Pickens to accept an honor at the forthcoming August U.N.I.A. convention for his exemplary endeavors in the cause Afric. By this time,

however, the "Marcus Garvey Must Go" campaign was firing its first broadsides at Garvey and Pickens had aligned himself with it. On July 24 he replied angrily.¹⁸⁰ His reply showed quite clearly that, like DuBois, he could be driven to great rage by Garvey's more extreme separatist manifestations. Just as DuBois' "Lunatic or Traitor" editorial was prompted by Garvey's circular to influential white people pouring scorn on the N.A.A.C.P.'s integrationist objectives, so Pickens' opening attack on Garvey was prompted by Garvey's summit conference with the Ku Klux Klan. Pickens considered any deal with the Klan by which as he said, America was accepted as a white man's country in exchange for assistance in making Africa truly a black man's continent was absurd. He believed, he said, in Africa for the Africans, black and white, and in America for all colors.

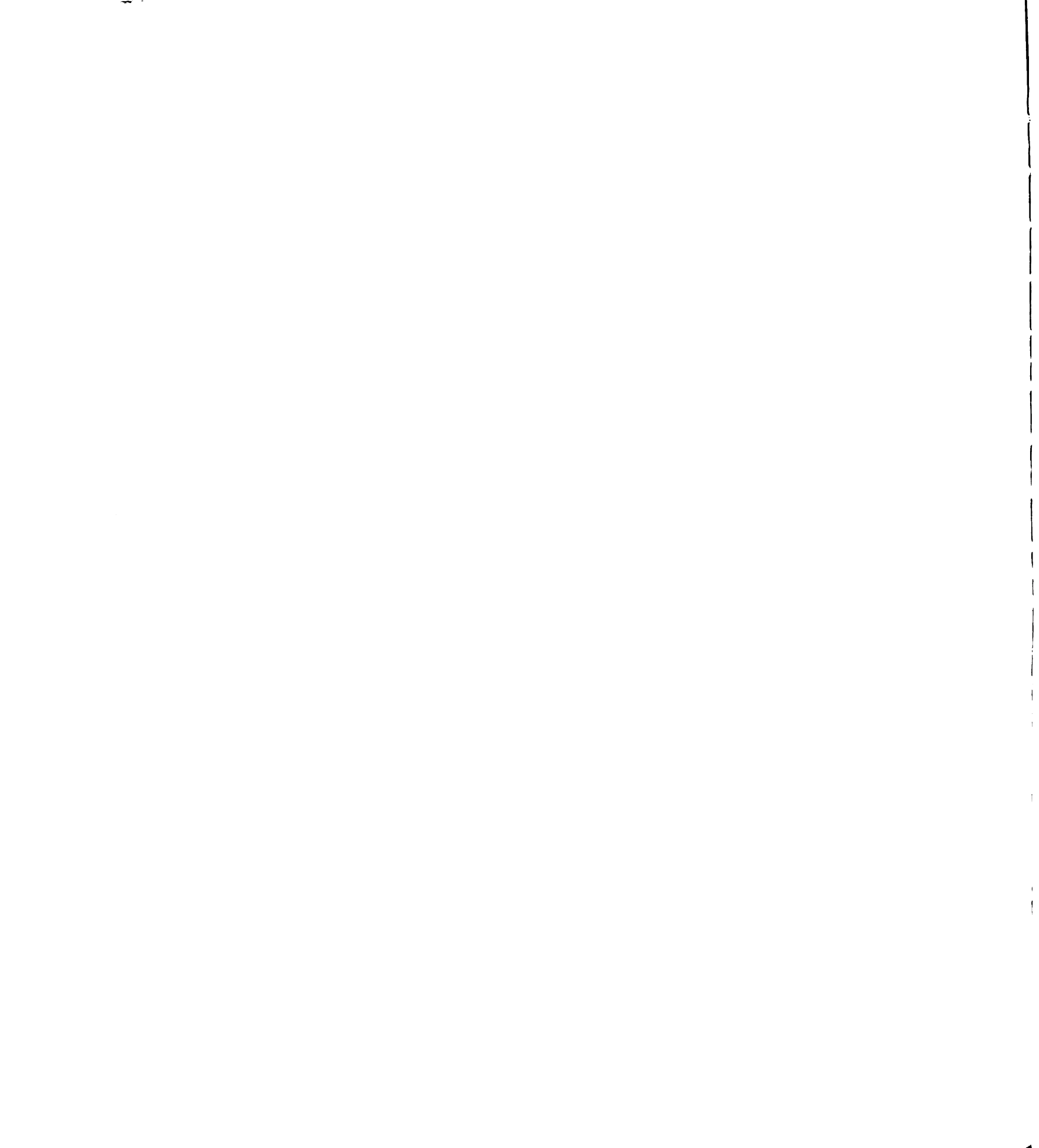
Up to this time Pickens had done nothing worse than mislead Garvey to obtain a salary increase. From now on he was to be a central figure in the most vituperative campaign ever waged by Afro-American leaders of importance against a rival major race leader.

"MARCUS GARVEY MUST GO!!!"

The "Marcus Garvey Must Go" campaign represented essentially a temporary alliance of convenience between

black Socialists, represented principally by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen of the Messenger magazine, some black Urban League officials, the N.A.A.C.P., and miscellaneous other black integrationists. It represented a formidable coalition of the most influential black integrationist leaders in the land. Many of them had previously crossed swords with one another in their competition for leadership of the Afro-American masses and many were to cross swords after the removal of Garvey, but for the moment they were willing to cooperate in the face of the Garvey steamroller which threatened to crush them all.

Among the more important personalities leading this campaign were first of all Randolph and Owen. They represented the radical wing of the non-Communist integrationists, being more prone to intemperate speech and voluble pratings concerning the class struggle and the "scientific" nature of their program. In many respects, however, they differed little from the mainstream integrationists in the N.A.A.C.P. The N.A.A.C.P.'s major representatives in this campaign were Pickens and Robert W. Bagnall, its Director of Branches. DuBois played a key supporting role, for he orchestrated his Crisis attacks on Garvey to coincide with and reinforce the campaign. The executive board of the National Urban League in New York provided two of the campaign's leaders in John E.



Nail and Harry H. Pace.¹⁸¹ The Urban League, too, was mainstream integrationist. The "League's Ideal" read, "Let us work not as colored people nor as white people for the narrow benefit of any group alone, but TOGETHER, as American citizens for the common good of our common city, our common country."¹⁸²

Many of the campaign's leaders had previously been engaged in acrimonious disputes with Garvey. Bagnall, a preacher, had almost attempted to throw Garvey out of his church in Detroit when Garvey tried to "integrate" it by sitting up front among the light-skinned folk during his early years in the United States.¹⁸³ Robert S. Abbott, Editor of the Chicago Defender and another leader of the campaign, had been sued for libel by Garvey in 1919 for attacks on what he called the "Jim Crow" Black Star Line. Abbott, as the editor of one of the leading Afro-American newspapers presumably did not appreciate the competition from the fast-growing Negro World and Garvey's attacks on his race-demeaning advertisements. In 1920 Abbott engineered Garvey's arrest on a technicality while he was on tour in Chicago.¹⁸⁴ Garvey's previous contacts with Randolph and Owen went back much further.

Owen and Randolph were among Garvey's earliest Afro-American associates as he plunged into Harlem's radical politics. A 1917 Garvey speech denouncing the East St. Louis pogrom was presided over by Chandler Owen,

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then editor of the Hotel Messenger.¹⁸⁵ Owen and Randolph were among the orators whose soap boxes shared Harlem's Lenox Avenue with Garvey's in this early period.¹⁸⁶ This cordial relationship continued into 1919. From July 1919 W. A. Domingo, himself a Socialist, was listed as a contributing editor of the Messenger while simultaneously editing the Negro World. Many of his articles appeared in the Messenger up to and beyond his resignation from the paper. In 1919 Randolph was actually chosen by Garvey as one of his representatives to the Paris Peace Conference. The trip never materialized. Randolph later claimed, at the height of the campaign against Garvey, that the first big mass meeting ever held by the U.N.I.A. was under the pretext of sending him to this conference.¹⁸⁷

Garvey's collaboration with these Socialists was doomed from the start because of the incompatibility of their advocacy of integrationist inter-racial class struggle with his own ideas of race first. His dismissal of Domingo therefore coincided with a break with the Socialists Owen and Randolph over these principles. The Messenger itself in 1920 acknowledged the ideological nature of the split. It editorialized:

At one time, the editors of the MESSENGER spoke from the same platform with the moving spirit of the organization in question. Then, the Black Star Line idea was no part of its effects. Nor were the slogans "Negro first," and "African Empire," "Back to Africa," and extreme race baiting prominent in its program.¹⁸⁸

These race first and related ideas were not new to Garvey's thought as the Messenger suggested. But before 1919 he did not have the strong organizational base from which he could now develop a concrete African program. Siding with Garvey in this schism was Hubert H. Harrison for a time one of Harlem's most prominent Socialist orators. Harrison left the Socialist party, as he explained in 1917, because as a firm believer in "the American doctrine of 'Race First,' he wished to put himself in a position to work among his people along lines of his own choosing."¹⁸⁹ (Harrison was referring to himself here in the third person.)

Increasing the ranks of these dedicated integrationists of long standing was the inevitable occasional opportunist who seized the time to grind some personal axe against Garvey. The outstanding representative of this category was J. W. H. Eason. Elected U.N.I.A. Leader of the American Negroes in 1920, Eason had maintained this position up until his expulsion during the August convention of 1922. Eason it was who in 1920 had been slated to occupy the U.N.I.A. Black House in Washington, D.C., a most un-integrationist gesture. A few months before his departure from the U.N.I.A. he had expressed a fervent desire to go to Africa. "But if I never go," he implored his U.N.I.A. audience, "I want you American Negroes, when you make your future exodus from this country, to take my

bones with you and bury them in the motherland." Four months later he was saying that he left the U.N.I.A. because there were enough problems in America without having to get involved in Africa, or anywhere else. In June he claimed to be impressed by white Mississippi segregationist Senator McCallum, whom he had interviewed. McCallum had suggested that black people should see about their own affairs. In August, on the eve of his expulsion, he was trying to counterattack by accusing Garvey of joining the K.K.K.¹⁹⁰

The truth of the matter was that Eason had been formally impeached and expelled from the U.N.I.A. for ninety-nine years in lengthy legal proceedings at the 1922 convention. His impeachment had arisen out of charges of a large number of financial and other irregularities, some of which he admitted. These matters had come to the attention of Garvey and had been substantiated by his auditor J. Charles Zampty during an extensive tour throughout the United States prior to the convention.¹⁹¹ Once expelled, he reinforced the integrationist campaign by holding anti-Garvey meetings all over the country under the nominal auspices of his hastily organized Universal Negro Alliance. He travelled through many of the same areas which he had only recently toured on behalf of the U.N.I.A., this time repudiating his former Garveyite opinions. Sometime during this period it was announced

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that he would be the star witness against Garvey in the latter's forthcoming trial.

The swiftness and comprehensiveness of his about face did not go down well with Garvey's supporters. At a Chicago meeting thirty-one of the thirty-five who turned up to hear him were loyal Garveyites keeping a wary eye on him. After this meeting shots rang out leading many to believe, in the words of the Negro World, "that Eason had paid the price of the traitor." The shots in fact were the result of some unconnected altercation. The following night he had an audience of six. In New Orleans in October he spoke to thirty-two persons where a few months previously, as Garvey's representative he had on four occasions addressed full houses. Worse was yet to come. In January 1923 he was shot dead after addressing an Emancipation Day meeting, again in New Orleans. The Negro World called his murder a "dastardly act" and suggested an illicit amorous entanglement as the probable cause. Two Garveyites were arrested and charged with the murder. The U.N.I.A. initiated a defense fund for them and they were eventually acquitted. A third suspect was almost cornered at a U.N.I.A. meeting in Detroit, but detectives inquiring after him were detained at the door by members of the Universal African Legions long enough to enable the suspect to escape through a rear exit. The U.N.I.A. meanwhile disclaimed any complicity in the

assassination.¹⁹²

As in the case of DuBois the integrationist coalition made Garvey's separation its main object of attack. And, as usual, this integration-separation debate encompassed all the related items--miscegenation, the Ku Klux Klan, Garvey's African program and the question of purely Afro-American struggle versus worldwide African struggle. There was also the very non-ideological question of what one study has called the "crisis of confidence" in the Urban League (and certainly in other organizations) when, despite white philanthropic help, they could not raise anywhere near the sums that Garvey could from his black followers.¹⁹³ (Indeed both John E. Nail and Harry H. Pace, the two major Urban League figures in the anti-Garvey campaign, were at the time members of the Urban Leagues's finance committee.)¹⁹⁴

The effect of Garvey's doctrine of racial separation in forcing these integrationists to come together is highlighted by the squabbling which went on among them prior to, and for a short while after his rise to prominence. In 1917, for example, the Messenger had attacked DuBois, Pickens and others. In 1918 it called DuBois, Pickens, James Weldon Johnson and others "a discredit to Negroes and the laughing stock among whites." Similar attacks came in 1919 when Randolph referred to these three as typical Negro reactionaries. In December 1919 Pickens,

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responding to attacks from Owen and Randolph, said that he respected Socialism, but not the cheap brand practiced by these two. He advised the white Socialists to find more suitable material for work among black people or face continued failures. And as late as December 1920 the first overt DuBois comment on Garvey charged that early in 1919 a large mass meeting in Harlem's Palace Casino had been presided over by Chandler Owen. At that meeting, DuBois charged, Garvey and Randolph addressed the audience and \$204 was collected on a claim that DuBois had obstructed Garvey's High Commissioner in France by repudiating Garvey's statements on American lynching and injustice. (The Messenger had attacked DuBois in September.)¹⁹⁵ By the time of DuBois' article, however, Pickens had begun to make his peace with Owen and Randolph.¹⁹⁶ He had also, if he is to be believed, already been approached by Garvey.

One of the earliest muffled shots in the coalition's campaign came in May 1920 when the founding meeting took place in Washington, D.C., of the Friends of Negro Freedom. This group was to play an important role, at least nominally, in the campaign. The meeting was convened at the initiative of Owen and Randolph, who were to become its joint executive secretaries. The list of invitees showed that already there had been some closing of integrationist ranks, for several N.A.A.C.P. local

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officials were among them. These included Archibald Grimke, president of the Washington, D.C. chapter, who had formerly been written off as reactionary by Owen and Randolph. Among the other invitees were Robert W. Bagnall from Detroit, Carl Murphy, editor of the Baltimore Afro-American, and historian Carter G. Woodson who, unlike most of the others, usually managed to discreetly avoid becoming involved in attacks on Garvey. Later on this Owen-Randolph inspired integrationist coalition reached out to embrace the Communist assimilationists, for the name of Cyril Briggs appeared on the Friends of Negro Freedom letterhead.¹⁹⁷ The pre-campaign hostility of Owen and Randolph to the Communists (which was reciprocated in equal measure) was as great as that towards other elements of this coalition.

The first meeting of the Friends of Negro Freedom was scheduled for less than two weeks after the 1920 national convention of the Socialist Party. Here Owen and Randolph, together with fellow black Socialists W. A. Domingo and Thomas E. A. Potter, were seen as playing the same kind of role as the African Blood Brotherhood was to play for the Communists. They were to spearhead the Socialist drive among the black masses.¹⁹⁸ The Friends of Negro Freedom were doubtless, among other things, a manifestation of this role. The new organization was also thoroughly integrationist, it being specified that it

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In the months that followed Owen and Randolph continued their attacks on Garvey's separatist program. Owen declared in August 1920, "we educated scientific-minded and higher minded Negroes do not want a Negro nation. It would forever kill our dream of world equality." The Messenger also opposed the slogan "Africa for the Africans" because, it was argued, oppression knows no color. The oppression of the Israelites by the Egyptians in ancient times was cited as proof of this.¹⁹⁹ By October 1920 the magazine had come to the conclusion that the U.N.I.A. was "not a promise but a definite menace to Negroes." Among Garvey's menacing attributes were his advocacy of a black political party in the United States.²⁰⁰ Garvey's African program especially came under repeated attack. Randolph argued that Africa was almost totally colonized and so could not be taken. Garvey, he thought, was a tool of white racists in that he diverted black aspirations into unattainable goals. On this point Randolph compared Garvey unfavorably with the Zionists, whom, he claimed, did not advocate conquest. "The keen mentality of the Jew," he pontificated, "recognises the suicidal folly of such a policy." He did recognize, however, that Garvey had made a useful contribution through his "necessary and effective criticism on Negro leadership," through his popularization of black history, in his

instilling of an attitude of resistance towards whites, and in motivating black people to follow black leadership.²⁰¹

These attacks, serious as they were, were but a prelude to the real campaign. The real campaign may be said to have gotten underway with the appearance of the Messenger for July 1922. The very first editorial screamed starkly, "Marcus Garvey!" complete with exclamation mark. Once again, and not for the last time, Garvey's separatist utterances had driven the integrationists into a frenzy. This time the casus belli was a Garvey speech in New Orleans. He was quoted as having said, in terms reminiscent of Booker T. Washington, that America was a white man's country. The black man could not insist on riding the white man's jim crow streetcar, he was quoted as saying, because he had not built any streetcar of his own. This was too much for the Messenger integrationists. Before the month was through, Randolph had commenced his anti-Garvey speeches in Harlem.²⁰²

Once the decision for all out war had been made, Owen and Randolph dropped all pretensions to propriety in their attacks. And like DuBois they exploited to the full the most vulnerable chink in Garvey's armor, namely his foreignness. As an alien Garvey could be not only jailed but deported, and his incarceration and deportation were henceforth to be the main objectives of the campaign.

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Like DuBois they were to push the argument that Garveyism was really a West Indian phenomenon and could thus be extirpated without harm to Afro-Americans. "This fool talk, too," this opening salvo declared, "emanates from a blustering West Indian demagogue who preys upon the ignorant unsuspecting poor West Indian working men and women who believe Garvey is some sort of Moses." All "ministers, editors and lecturers who have the interests of the race at heart" were urged "to gird up their courage, put on new force, and proceed with might and main to drive the menace of Garveyism out of this country." And just in case the message still had not been made clear, the following declaration of uncompromising hostility appeared in italics: "Here's notice that the MESSENGER is firing the opening gun in a campaign to drive Garvey and Garveyism in all its sinister viciousness from the American soil."²⁰³

At this point Pickens entered the campaign with an integrationist complaint of his own. He was outraged at Garvey's summit meeting with the white racist separatists in the Ku Klux Klan. The black Philadelphia Public Journal for which he was a contributing editor and the August Messenger both carried reprints of a July 1922 exchange of letters between himself and Garvey. In response to Garvey's offer of an award at the August U.N.I.A. convention he had replied that he wanted no award from the

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K.K.K. organization.²⁰⁴ By suppressing his former correspondence with Garvey he created the impression that Garvey's advances were a one-sided affair, although he later admitted to having "discussed" a job possibility.²⁰⁵ He supported his entry into the campaign with a steady flow of news releases and editorials, many of them scurrilous, against Garvey.²⁰⁶ Garvey, for his part, lamented Pickens' about face. "We believed that he was really a race patriot," he wrote, "and could have been harnessed for service to his race, but we find him, black as he is, smarting under the lash of a prejudiced crowd that has more venom than sense, more malice than race loyalty." Garvey also regretted his dishonesty in not publishing a further addition to the correspondence in which Garvey had rejected accusations of a link with the K.K.K. and had challenged Pickens to a public debate.²⁰⁷

August, the month of Pickens' anti-Garvey debut in the Messenger, was also the month of Garvey's convention. The back page of the Messenger proclaimed, as thousands of handbills were soon to do, "Marcus Garvey Must Go!!!" There followed notice of anti-Garvey meetings in Harlem for each of the four Sundays in August. The speakers would be Pickens and Bagnall of the N.A.A.C.P. and Randolph and Owen of the black Socialists. Handbills described this quartet as "Four of the most distinguished scholars, nationally noted orators, famous debaters, deep

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thinkers, faithful, unselfish, fearless, devoted and incorruptible public servants in the cause of Negro freedom." The involvement of the N.A.A.C.P. was underscored by the addition of DuBois and James Weldon Johnson to the names of the four speakers as persons who had taken the correct line while in the South, which Garvey allegedly had not. It was made clear that the attacks would largely revolve around the Black Star Line (and hence the African program) and the Ku Klux Klan question.²⁰⁸ The meetings were under the auspices of the Friends of Negro Freedom.

The U.N.I.A. convention not unnaturally opened amidst much tension. A large police contingent was on hand for the opening parade, during which a few minor skirmishes took place between marchers and bystanders who were brave enough to echo the charges of the rival camp.²⁰⁹ During the course of the month and beyond, in Harlem, all over the country and even in Canada, the anti-Garvey campaigners would often have to resort to police protection to guard their persons and their meetings from Garvey's irate followers. Interestingly enough, the offices of Randolph and Owen were situated right above Garvey's Universal Publishing House, from the steps of which Garvey and his officers reviewed the parade. In a photograph of U.N.I.A. officers on the reviewing stand published in the Philosophy and Opinions, Amy Jacques Garvey identified "A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen,

the Socialist enemies of Marcus Garvey, who are also reviewing the parade at a position immediately behind the group of officials."

During the course of the month Garvey challenged the campaigners to a public debate, Randolph was reported as having said that the Afro-American would be just as out of place in Africa as the white man, three Africans wrote the New York Times protesting Pickens' denigration of the Motherland during an anti-Garvey meeting, and Walter White, Assistant Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. sent an unnamed gentleman from the West Indies to Randolph with interesting anti-Garvey information that Randolph was glad to receive.²¹⁰

In September exploitation of Garvey's foreign birth became more intense with Owen openly calling for imprisonment and deportation on the grounds that "his deportation as an anarchist in thought and advocacy would be in accordance with a true and non-strained interpretation of the law." He reinforced this by suggesting that Garvey could legally be deported also as a potential public charge and an imbecile.²¹¹ His campaign for Garvey's deportation contrasted with the Messenger's many campaigns against the deportation and exclusion of white foreign-born radicals and Japanese immigrants.

Around this time Randolph received through the mail a packet containing a human hand. The hand had red

hair on it and was evidently that of a white person.²¹² An accompanying letter scolded Randolph for not being able to unite with his own and gave him a week to join his "nigger improvement association." It was signed K.K.K. Whether the hand came from the Klan or Garvey or was posted by Randolph to himself has not been established. In any event Randolph concluded that "the Klan has come to the rescue of its Negro leader, Marcus Garvey." He conveniently omitted from the Messenger article which drew these conclusions the fact that the hand was white.²¹³ This event was balanced by rumors that the campaigners were considering having Garvey assassinated.²¹⁴

In between the abuse the very real ideological objections to Garveyism continued to surface. The questions raised continued to be the same as those simultaneously being raised by DuBois.

Most of the non-Communist integrationists shared the same objections to Garveyism. The dependence of all their arguments on their basic integrationist position can be demonstrated in the following sequence--the main goal, the integrationist would typically argue, was to be fully accepted as Americans. This would mean total integration, social, political and otherwise into American society. This would include the right of intermarriage, hence Garvey's hostility to the "lights" was an irritant. Since the primary goal was integration into American society,

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this would necessitate a concentration on purely Afro-American struggle. (Even DuBois' relatively innocuous Pan-African Congresses found less than enthusiastic support within the N.A.A.C.P.) And purely Afro-American struggle meant that migration to Africa was out of the question. Seeking the assistance of white separatists and in any way suggesting that America was a white man's country was striking at the very root of their aspirations. Hence, at every turn, Garvey's ideology of separation and African redemption provided an antithesis to the position of the integrationists.

An outstanding feature of the integrationist attitude towards Africa was the extent to which they imbibed white propaganda about that continent. DuBois, as has been seen, had expressed reservations about the climate, though denying authorship of the form in which his remarks were reported. He had also accepted the rule of Africa for the Africans, but not necessarily immediately by the Africans. And Garvey often scored New World Africans who parroted the expression "I have lost nothing in Africa." Randolph, in a Harlem campaign speech, gave evidence of these same tendencies. "Africa for the African," he said, was "devoutly to be wished," which did "not imply that we recognize the ability of the Africans to assume the responsibilities and duties of a sovereign nation, at the present."²¹⁵

In November the Crisis came to the assistance of the campaign by attacking a U.N.I.A. handbill distributed through Harlem countering the charges of Randolph and company.²¹⁶ The same month the Messenger copied DuBois' annual "credit and debit" idea (in which Garvey appeared regularly among the debits) and published a list of the "Twelve Smallest Persons in America." Garvey naturally headed the list, followed by such persons as a Ku Klux Klan leader, Jack Johnson, and one John S. Williams of Georgia who had buried thirteen black people alive.²¹⁷

Throughout the campaign the brunt of the attack was borne by Owen and Randolph and to a lesser extent by Pickens and Bagnall. A useful indication of how little they had been able to carry prominent non-Garveyite and even anti-Garveyite Afro-American opinion with them was provided by Owen and Randolph themselves. They sent a questionnaire to twenty-five of the most prominent Afro-Americans, including some nominal members of the Friends of Negro Freedom and some of the most active campaign members. The recipients of the questionnaire included DuBois, Carter G. Woodson, Bagnall, Kelly Miller, Emmett J. Scott, Robert S. Abbott, Carl Murphy, Archibald Grimke and others. The questionnaire was accompanied by a letter of so-called "facts" stating Garvey's involvement with the Klan and implicating him in the human hand affair. Fourteen persons replied. Of this number, DuBois referred

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them to the Crisis and declined to answer further, and Woodson discreetly pleaded lack of sufficient knowledge of the Garvey movement to answer meaningfully. Of the remaining twelve no less than five were soon to be signatories of the notorious anti-Garvey letter to the attorney-general and thus were among the most strongly committed of the anti-Garvey campaigners. Yet out of a total of twenty-five questionnaires and fourteen responses resulting in twelve effective replies, heavily biased by the inclusion of anti-Garvey campaign members, only four agreed with Owen and Randolph that Garvey should be deported. Among those against deportation were Emmett J. Scott, Kelly Miller, Archibald Grimke and two campaign members, Carl Murphy and John E. Nail, who would soon be coaxed (presumably by Owen and Randolph) into changing their minds and signing the pro-deportation letter to the attorney-general. Abbott of the Chicago Defender, another signer, declined to answer that question. Those who favored deportation were Harry H. Pace of the Urban League, Bagnall of the N.A.A.C.P. (both signers of the letter to the attorney-general), Thomas W. Talley of Fisk University and J. B. Bass, editor of the California Eagle.²¹⁸

The beginning of 1923 found both Pickens and Bagnall listed as contributing editors to the Messenger.²¹⁹ This was symptomatic of the ever closer cooperation between the N.A.A.C.P. and the black Socialists Owen and Randolph.

The year opened disastrously for the anti-Garvey campaign. J. W. H. Eason, star defector from the Garvey camp and expected chief witness against Garvey in the upcoming mail fraud trial which the campaigners were trying so hard to prejudice, was shot dead in January. He had just emerged from yet another anti-Garvey meeting, this time in New Orleans, a Garveyite stronghold. At this stage the campaign was in a very precarious position indeed. For about six months the campaigners had poured forth a torrent of anti-Garvey rhetoric backed up by meetings all over the United States and in Canada. Garvey's great influence over the mass of people was evident everywhere. In New Orleans, Chicago, Toronto, Harlem, and elsewhere, they were subjected to threats, harassments and intimidations by Garveyites. Their meetings regularly had to be held under police protection. The campaigners' list of complaints was impressive. An Eason meeting in Philadelphia stopped by the police to prevent bloodshed after persons attempting to attend were knocked down and insulted by Garveyites congregating outside; a "veritable riot" in Cleveland, Ohio, led by Garvey's deputy Dr. Leroy Bundy against anti-Garvey elements; Chandler Owen narrowly saved by the police from Garveyites rushing the streetcar on which he was riding in Pittsburgh; Pickens intimidated by Garveyites in Toronto; a Chicago policeman shot by a Garveyite during a fracas after an

anti-Garvey meeting; campaign meetings in New York invaded by "scores" of Garveyites; a campaign speaker slashed after an anti-Garvey meeting in Cincinnati; and now Eason dead.²²⁰

Furthermore, as has been seen, of the twenty-five non-Garveyite and anti-Garvey Afro-Americans considered most distinguished by Randolph and Owen, only four could be found who would unequivocally advocate Garvey's deportation. It was at this stage that the anti-Garvey crusaders decided to enact one of the strangest episodes in Afro-American history. They decided to write and publicize widely a letter to the attorney-general. They decided, in effect, to openly enlist the support of the United States government in overcoming their major rival. Concerning this episode Garvey commented, "It is said that there is honor even among thieves, but it is apparent that there is no honor and self-respect among certain Negroes."²²¹

The notorious letter to Attorney-General Harry M. Daugherty signed by eight leaders of the "Marcus Garvey Must Go" campaign, was dated January 15, 1923. This seems to be the date on which the draft was composed. It was in fact posted or delivered later, although the original date was not changed. Though signed by eight, the principal drafters were four--the same four who had provided the initiative and most of the energy for the campaign so far.

They were Randolph, Owen, Pickens and Bagnall. The pre-eminent role of these four was stated by Bagnall in a letter to Arthur B. Spingarn, a national vice-president and chairman of the legal committee of the N.A.A.C.P. This letter to Spingarn proves, as if any proof were needed in light of the role of Pickens and Bagnall, that the N.A.A.C.P. was deeply implicated in the whole affair. For Bagnall enclosed the draft to the attorney-general and requested legal advice. This was before the other eventual signers had endorsed it. Bagnall's letter read:

The enclosed is an open letter to Attorney General Daugherty which we plan to have signed by influential colored people in various parts of the country. It was drawn up by a group of us, among whom Owen, Randolph, Pickens, and I were the principals. We wish to guard against any illegal statement, and we shall appreciate your advice on that point and as to the whole matter.²²²

Spingarn (or somebody else at the N.A.A.C.P. office) did examine the draft very carefully. Several over-exuberant portions were deleted. It seems quite safe to say that the version which eventually went to the attorney-general was finalized in the N.A.A.C.P. office, in all probability by Arthur B. Spingarn. It was apparently seen by other N.A.A.C.P. officials too, most probably Johnson and White, Secretary and Assistant Secretary respectively, though they later claimed that the N.A.A.C.P. "as an organization" had nothing to do with it.²²³

The letter naturally attacked Garvey's anti-integration position. It said, "there are in our midst certain

Negro criminals and potential murderers, both foreign and American born, who are moved and actuated by intense hatred against the white race. These undesirables continually proclaim that all white people are enemies of the Negro." The U.N.I.A. was described as "just as objectionable and even more dangerous" than the K.K.K., "inasmuch as it naturally attracts an even lower type of cranks, crooks and racial bigots, among whom suggestibility to violent crime is much greater."

Garvey's foreignness, a favorite target of the middle class integrationists, was once more exploited. His followers were described as mostly foreigners and voteless, the inference being that the Republican government would not have to worry about losing their votes. To make the proposition even more attractive, DuBois and Domingo were quoted as authorities on the worldwide membership of the U.N.I.A., which was put at "much less than 20,000." The letter also revealed the same type of integrationist elitism and snobbery which characterized DuBois. The integrationists just could not come to grips with the phenomenon of mass grass roots organization. The phenomenon of masses of black workers and peasants militantly organized and not afraid of violence if necessary was a spectre as terrifying to black integrationists as to white people. The letter declared, "The U.N.I.A. is composed chiefly of the most primitive and ignorant

element of West Indian and American Negroes." Much was made of the proneness to violence of this group and over half of the letter was devoted to a catalogue of U.N.I.A. violence against anti-Garveyites, especially members of the "Marcus Garvey Must Go" campaign. The U.N.I.A. constitution was quoted to show that Garvey frowned on criminals except where their crimes were committed in the interests of the organization. This provision would doubtless have covered cases such as the occasional conviction of U.N.I.A. members for resisting police attacks on their meeting places. It was presented here, however, as a positive incitement to crime.

In two cases where matters were pending before the courts, the letter attempted to impress upon the country's chief law officer the probability of Garveyite guilt. These were the Eason case, where the U.N.I.A. officers arrested had professed their innocence though rejoicing in his death, and Garvey's own pending mail fraud case. They begged the attorney-general to "vigorously and speedily push the government's case against Marcus Garvey for using the mails to defraud" since "hosts of citizen voters" of both colors "earnestly" desired it. The letter asked finally for Department of Justice surveillance of the U.N.I.A. and requested "that the Attorney-General use his full influence completely to disband and extirpate this vicious movement." The eight signatories

were Harry H. Pace of the Urban League and president of a phonograph corporation, Robert S. Abbott, publisher and editor of the Chicago Defender, John E. Nail of the Urban League and president of a real estate company, Dr. Julia P. Coleman, president of a cosmetic manufacturing company, William Pickens, field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., Chandler Owen, who described himself as co-editor of the Messenger and co-executive secretary of the Friends of Negro Freedom, Robert W. Bagnall, the N.A.A.C.P.'s director of branches and George W. Harris, editor of the New York News and a member of the Board of Aldermen of New York City.²²⁴ Conspicuously absent from the list of signatories was the name of A. Philip Randolph. Randolph was undoubtedly one of the principal figures in the campaign and had helped draft the letter.

The attorney-general was requested to address his reply to Owen, the secretary of the committee of signatories. For Owen especially, this was a most sorry turn of events. His Messenger in its early days had unashamedly proclaimed itself the only radical black journal. And in 1919 the then Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer had branded it the most radical Afro-American publication. Now the Socialist radical was begging the attorney-general to get rid of his rival Garvey.

On January 26 Owen wrote another letter to the attorney-general, this time on the letterhead of the

Friends of Negro Freedom. He suggested that the letter of the eight be not given to the press since it was planned to release it all over the country on February 1.²²⁵ On January 30 Carl Murphy, editor of the Baltimore Afro-American, inquired by telegram of the attorney-general what steps had been taken to disband the U.N.I.A. in accordance with the wishes of the eight. Murphy was a founder-member of the Friends of Negro Freedom.²²⁶ On February 4 Garvey, now aware of the letter, informed the chief law officer that there was "absolutely no truth" in the allegations contained therein. The U.N.I.A., he wrote, stood for the uplift of a downtrodden race. There was nothing disloyal about that. The Bolsheviks and Socialists among his detractors he considered the real disloyal elements.²²⁷ Then on February 20 a remarkable thing happened. The attorney-general's office drafted a detailed reply to Owen endorsing his hostile analysis of the Garvey movement and promising possible further legal action against him. The letter was apparently drafted by Assistant Attorney-General John W. H. Crim. Crim, it is interesting to note, was later accused by Garvey of remarks prejudicial to his mail fraud case while it was still sub judice. Somebody, perhaps Attorney-General Daugherty, had second thoughts about the reply and it was not sent. The unsent draft read:

The Department is in receipt of your communication

of the 15th ultimo addressed to the Attorney General by yourself and several others with particular reference to Marcus Garvey and the organization known as the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

The Department appreciates thoroughly the facts recited in your letter with regard to the activities of this alien. The Department of Justice is very well acquainted with the details of his operations and is thoroughly satisfied that his schemes were formulated and have been executed to the great detriment of thousands of colored American citizens who have fallen as dupes and turned over to him innocently their meager savings in the hope that he would accomplish the impossible. Garvey has known this impossibility from the start but, like so many other organizations that have sprung up throughout the country the propaganda has been a means of livelihood more satisfying than an honest occupation. It is unfortunate that so many of Garvey's dupes have been American citizens, a number of them the poorer Negroes [sic] who could least afford to lose their meager life savings.

It was with this knowledge that the government succeeded in having Garvey indicted in New York for the misuse of the mails in a scheme to defraud. As you are aware, this case is set for trial at a very early date and the Department has sufficient confidence to believe that the ends of justice will most certainly be satisfied before the entire matter is concluded.

The Government is thoroughly aware of the fact that Garvey does not and never has represented the American negro. For many months prior to the preparation of this joint letter, the Government has not been idle or unmindful of this colossal fraud and at all times it is anxious to receive from the substantial elements of your race any information which will assist it in enforcing the laws of the nation and the suppression of movements such as the Garvey scheme.

The details of your letter are being given very careful attention and if sufficient evidence can be obtained on the several instances recited, you may rest assured that still additional action will be taken.228

This draft was replaced by a brief, more formal note of two sentences. Even this note, however, ended, "Please keep us advised in the event additional facts come to your

attention."²²⁹

It is hardly surprising that the original draft was not sent. It would undoubtedly have found its way into the Messenger and the rest of the anti-Garvey press. And even in the context of Garvey's case, already hopelessly prejudiced by the efforts of DuBois, the Friends of Negro Freedom and others, this would have been a little too much. On February 26 Owen, the would-be Socialist radical, thanked Crim for his reply and reminded him that the eight represented "the most distinguished and responsible businessmen, educators and publicists among the colored people of the United States."²³⁰

Garvey responded at length to the charges of the eight. "My enemies," he said, "and those opposed to the liberation of the Negro to nationhood are so incompetent and incapable of meeting argument with argument and tolerance with tolerance that they have cowardly sought the power of Government to combat and destroy me." He concluded that this was proof of "their weakness and inability to stand up under the onward march of African redemption and real Negro freedom." Like the "good old darkies" that they were, "they believe they have some news to tell and they are telling it for all it is worth."

He denounced them as a bunch of assimilationists who wanted to hurdle the barrier into the white race. The U.N.I.A. was not in his opinion a hater of white people

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because it believed in the rights of all races. And he could not see how his maligners could simultaneously accuse him of stirring up ill-feeling between the races and seeking an alliance with the Ku Klux Klan. Their main problem, he thought, was their inability to tolerate any organization that did not have white members. Concerning the alleged "primitive" and "ignorant" following of the U.N.I.A. he was no less indignant. "Were it not for the ignorant element of Negroes," he retorted, "These very fellows would have starved long ago, because all of them earn their living either by selling out the race under the guise of leadership or by exploiting the race in business." He reaffirmed the ability of the U.N.I.A. to marshall more votes than all other black organizations in the United States put together and affirmed that "every second Negro you meet, if not an actual member, is one in spirit." And he warned them that by their actions "a precedent will be set for the destruction of all Negro organizations that seek in any way to improve the condition of the Negro race."

Garvey's reply included a pen portrait of the eight. One was a "business exploiter" who appealed to race patriotism while overcharging for his products. Another was "a race defamer of Chicago" whose paper loved to highlight the crime and vice of the race. "He was the man who published in his newspaper for over one year a

full page advertisement showing the pictures of two women, a black woman and a very light woman, with the advice under the photograph of the black woman to 'lighten your black skin.'" The next was a "real estate shark" who charged higher rents than white landlords. Then came "a hair straightener and face bleacher, whose loyalty to the race is to get the race to be dissatisfied with itself." On the "turn coat and lackey" who had used him to get a raise in a rival organization, he was particularly severe. Then came the "grafter Socialist" who had started sundry enterprises among black people without accounting for the funds. The seventh signer was Garvey's old adversary, the ex-pastor of a "Blue Vein Society Church in Detroit, Mich." who was relieved of his charge for alleged immorality. Finally there was the "unscrupulous politician" who had lost the respect of the masses. The response ended with an appeal to U.N.I.A. members to close ranks against this onslaught. By way of postscript Garvey noted that all the signers were octoroons or married to octoroons. The sole exception, "a mulatto and Socialist" (Owen), had tried to marry a white woman but had been dissuaded by U.N.I.A. criticism. The coincidence between the personal backgrounds and integrationist positions of his detractors was thus established.²³¹ John Edward Bruce, ever faithful to Garvey, composed a poem for the occasion entitled "Seven Little Colored Men." A typical two lines went

"Three little colored men a sitting in a row,/ Remarked one to the other dis Garvey man must go."²³²

The campaign continued unabated after the letter. Bagnall, showing that integrationist dislike for Garvey's physical features shared by DuBois, described him as "A Jamaican Negro of unmixed stock, squat, stocky, fat and sleek with protruding jaws, and heavy jowls, small bright pig-like eyes and rather bulldog-like face. Boastful, egotistic, tyrannical, intolerant, cunning, shifty, smooth and suave, avaricious . . ."²³³

Yet, due no doubt to the stress of the campaign, splits began to appear among Garvey's foes. For one thing, the progression of the campaign had been marked by a strident anti-West Indian onslaught which now began to embarrass its chief West Indian member, Jamaican Socialist W. A. Domingo. While maintaining his anti-Garvey position Domingo now openly attacked the Messenger on this score. Owen defended the Messenger's position amidst more rancorous integrationist nativism.²³⁴ Another fissure resulted in the dismissal of Floyd J. Calvin from his post as associate editor of the Messenger. Calvin's mistake had been to suggest that Randolph and Owen should not seek to bring about the destruction of the whole of Garvey's organization merely because Garvey may have erred. Mild as this criticism was, it cost him his job.²³⁵ As if to underscore their disagreement with Calvin, the Messenger

editors declared in April 1923, "Our work is bearing fruit. The Black Star Line is completely gone. Every one of his stores is closed. His Negro Times is suspended, and well-nigh all of his former employees are suing him for pay."²³⁶ The campaign had by now degenerated to the point where a Messenger cartoon could depict Garvey as a donkey and describe him as "A Well Known Jackass."²³⁷ The campaign did not let up during Garvey's trial, and during the post-trial imprisonment without bail the Messenger again demonstrated the truth of Calvin's allegation. An editorial urged the total destruction of the U.N.I.A. now that Garvey was in jail, since it represented a continuance of Garvey's spirit.²³⁸

Garvey was out of jail in time to congratulate his supporters for having contributed to George Harris' defeat in Harlem primaries. Harris, one of the eight, had some time previously been the lone objector to a U.N.I.A. sponsored "Rose Day" celebration, even though his white colleagues on the Board of Aldermen had given their approval.²³⁹ And Pickens, after publishing an article in which he reversed the good he had to say about Garvey in 1921, wrote the prosecutor expressing his impatience at the delay in disposing of Garvey's case now that he was out on bail.²⁴⁰

DuBois' "Lunatic or Traitor" attack in 1924 was warmly applauded by the Messenger which came to his

defense in the face of widespread disagreement generated by it. The editors were so pleased that they said they felt like rescinding all their previous criticisms of DuBois. DuBois, they said, was an intellectual giant. Garvey was but a "Low Grade Moron."²⁴¹

Garvey lost his appeal in February 1925 and Pickens rejoiced.²⁴² An interesting aside on the tragedy and comedy of Pickens' role in this campaign is the fact that late in 1924 he again extracted a salary increase from the N.A.A.C.P. by using the same tack as in 1921. He claimed that he had passed up a chance to get a substantial increase from a similar organization.²⁴³ In his first application for pardon in June 1925 Garvey pointed out that Pickens had acted in a provoking and unbecoming manner in the courtroom during the trial and that Abbott, another of the eight, had brought the first Mrs. Garvey back into the country and featured her pronouncements in his Chicago Defender in order to prejudice his trial.²⁴⁴ By 1926 George Harris was not above boosting the circulation of his New York News by organizing a "petition" supposedly on behalf of Garvey and publishing Garvey's "memoirs," the latter in fact written by a prosecution witness at Garvey's trial.²⁴⁵

As in the case of the Communists, who adopted a form of black nationalism once Garvey had departed America, and as in the case of DuBois, who began preaching

separatism in the 1930's, so it was with some of the eight. Amy Jacques Garvey noted in 1927 that George Harris had warned the white world that it would have to reckon with Garvey's radical ideas and stop exploiting black people. And the Negro World noted an Abbott editorial on African redemption, complete with Garvey phraseology.²⁴⁶ Of the eight, however, it was Pickens, always the most erratic and unpredictable, who came out openly for Garvey's release in 1927. He said, however, that he would have preferred deportation to prison for Garvey from the beginning.²⁴⁷

The "Marcus Garvey Must Go" campaign, as has been noted, was essentially an alliance of convenience between integrationists, many of whom had been at loggerheads with one another before Garvey's successes drove them to temporary unity. Once Garvey had gone, the basis for their unity went with him. Thus less than a year after Garvey's imprisonment the Messenger was editorially attacking Abbott. And even before that they had turned on former Attorney-General Daugherty who was now, in their opinion, "notorious for his crooked, shady political dealings." (Daugherty had in fact become implicated in such dealings.) And in 1928 Owen and Randolph launched an attack on yet another of the eight, George Harris.²⁴⁸

The relationship between the U.N.I.A. and the integrationists was one of overwhelming but not unrelieved

hostility. Occasionally, as in the case of the Dyer bill, they were willing to cooperate where the interests of black people might otherwise suffer severely. Thus in 1922 at the height of DuBois' attacks, John Edward Bruce was willing to join him on a "Fair Play League" which would visit police stations in Harlem to try and ensure the proper treatment of black prisoners.²⁴⁹ As is the case of relations with the Communists, however, this type of cooperation was more likely to take place after Garvey's deportation from the United States when the U.N.I.A. gradually receded as a threat to the integrationist establishment. Thus in 1931 the Negro World could side with the N.A.A.C.P. against Communist exploitation of the Scottsboro case and in the middle of the decade a meeting sponsored by the U.N.I.A. and the Provisional Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia could have Walter White and DuBois (now in his separatist phase) as speakers.²⁵⁰ And in 1944, the same year in which he rejoined the N.A.A.C.P., DuBois actually solicited the help of Amy Jacques Garvey in attracting delegates to the fifth Pan-African Congress.²⁵¹ When the congress convened in Manchester, England, in 1945, the Jamaica U.N.I.A. was among the delegations represented.²⁵²

These instances of cooperation were, however, relatively minor and mostly very late in the day. They in no way detract from the fact that a major portion of

the responsibility for Garvey's imprisonment and deportation must be attributed to the integrationist onslaught, especially as manifested in the campaigns of DuBois and the N.A.A.C.P., and the black Socialists Owen and Randolph.

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¹Crisis, XXVIII, 1, May 1924, p. 8.

²Negro World, May 10, 1924, p. 1.

³Ibid., October 6, 1928, p. 2.

⁴Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 70.

⁵Arthur Barnett Spingarn papers, Library of Congress, Box 2, Ovington to Spingarn, February 8, 1921.

⁶New York World, August 24, 1920, p. 9.

⁷James Weldon Johnson, Black Manhattan (New York, Atheneum, 1968, first pub. 1930), p. 257.

⁸Messenger, June 1924, p. 184.

⁹Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 71.

¹⁰N.A.A.C.P. Administrative Files, Library of Congress, Box C-304, Assistant Secretary to Louis R. Glavis, August 28, 1924.

¹¹New York Age, August 21, 1920, p. 4.

¹²Black Manhattan, p. 258.

¹³N.A.A.C.P. files, Box C-304, N.A.A.C.P. press release, March 21, 1924.

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¹⁴Negro World, June 7, 1919, p. 2; January 7, 1922, p. 3; January 14, 1922, p. 7; February 4, 1922, p. 2; March 4, 1922, pp. 4, 10; May 27, 1922, p. 2; June 10, 1922, p. 2; November 4, 1922, p. 4.

¹⁵Negro World, April 8, 1922, p. 1; May 27, 1922, p. 5; July 15, 1922, p. 7; December 16, 1922, p. 1.

¹⁶Ibid., October 27, 1923, p. 1.

¹⁷Spingarn papers, Box 2, Ovington to Spingarn, February 8, 1921.

¹⁸N.A.A.C.P. files, Box C-304, Johnson to Garvey, January 20, 1922, Garvey to Johnson, January 21, 1922.

¹⁹Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 261.

²⁰N.A.A.C.P. files, Box C-304, press release June 22, 1923.

²¹Negro World, January 3, 1925, p. 2; June 6, 1925, p. 4.

²²N.A.A.C.P. files, Box C-304, Assistant Secretary to Mr. Allen Dawson, ed., New York Tribune, February 17, 1922, and related correspondence; Spingarn papers, Box 2, Walter White to Spingarn, February 18, 1922.

²³N.A.A.C.P. files, Box C-304, A. A. Maney to James W. Johnson, December 2, 1921; Norman Thomas, associate editor of the Nation to Johnson, August 31, 1921; Edgar Collier to Johnson, March 12, 1921; J. K. Marshall to N.A.A.C.P., August 24, 1924, and many others.

²⁴Negro World, February 2, 1924, p. 2.

²⁵N.A.A.C.P. files, Box C-304, Alice Woodby McKane, M.D., to Seligman, December 21, 1921; Seligman to McKane, December 27, 1921.

²⁶Negro World, September 6, 1924, p. 19.

²⁷Graham Knox, "Political Change in Jamaica (1866-1906) and the Local Reaction to the Policies of the Crown Colony Government," p. 161; Lewis, "A Political Study of Garveyism," p. 14.

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²⁸Africa Times and Orient Review, I, 1, July 1912, pp. 10-12.

²⁹Negro World, December 8, 1923, pp. 1, 10.

³⁰Daily Chronicle, November 1914, quoted in Lewis, "A Political Study of Garveyism," p. 61.

³¹Booker T. Washington papers, Library of Congress, Container 939, Garvey to Booker T. Washington, April 12, 1915.

³²Washington Papers, container 939, Washington to Garvey, April 27, 1915.

³³Garvey to Emmett J. Scott, facsimile in Daniel T. Williams, Eight Negro Bibliographies (New York, Kraus Reprint Co., 1970), n.p.

³⁴Garvey to R. R. Moton, February 29, 1916, in Eight Negro Bibliographies, n.p.

³⁵J. J. Mills, His Own Account . . ., p. 110.

³⁶Prophet of Black Nationalism, p. 80.

³⁷Garvey to Moton, October 23, 1923, Garvey to Secretary, Tuskegee Institute, November 2, 1923, Principal, Tuskegee Institute to Garvey, November 6, 1923, all in Eight Negro Bibliographies; Negro World, November 17, 1923, p. 6; The Tuskegee Student, XXXIII, 17, December 1923, p. 2.

³⁸Philosophy and Opinions, I, p. 41; New York World, August 3, 1921, p. 12.

³⁹Blackman, April 22, 1929, p. 1; Southern Workman, LVII, 10, October 1928, p. 425.

⁴⁰Negro World, November 10, 1923, p. 1.

⁴¹Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 38.

⁴²Negro World, November 17, 1923, p. 6.

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- ⁴³Ibid., April 19, 1924, p. 4.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., June 9, 1928, p. 4.
- ⁴⁵W. E. B. DuBois, The Autobiography of W. E. B. DuBois (New York, International Publishers, 1968), p. 273.
- ⁴⁶A Talk With Afro-West Indians, p. 3.
- ⁴⁷W. E. B. DuBois, Dusk of Dawn (New York, Schocken, 1968, first pub. 1940), p. 277.
- ⁴⁸Garvey to Moton, February 29, 1916, in Eight Negro Bibliographies.
- ⁴⁹Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 60.
- ⁵⁰Crisis, XII, 1, May 1916, p. 9.
- ⁵¹Champion Magazine, I, 5, January 1917, p. 267.
- ⁵²Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 57, 311.
- ⁵³Dusk of Dawn, p. 278.
- ⁵⁴Crisis, XVII, 4, February 1919, pp. 165, 166.
- ⁵⁵Crisis, XVIII, 4, August 1919, p. 207.
- ⁵⁶C. G. Contee, "The Worley Report on the Pan-African Congress of 1919," Journal of Negro History, LV, 2, April 1970, p. 141.
- ⁵⁷Crisis, XIX, 2, December 1919, p. 46.
- ⁵⁸The List of the fifty-nine is reproduced in Herbert Aptheker, Afro-American History: The Modern Era (New York, Citadel, 1971), pp. 154-155.
- ⁵⁹The list of members is reprinted in Martin Kilson and Adelaide Hill, Apropos of Africa (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1971), pp. 203-205.

⁶⁰Crisis, XIX, 3, January 1920, p. 107.

⁶¹Crisis, XX, 1, March 1920, pp. 6-8.

⁶²Negro World, June 12, 1920, quoted in Elliott M. Rudwick, "DuBois versus Garvey: Race Propagandists at War," Journal of Negro Education, XXVIII, 1959, p. 424.

⁶³New York World, August 4, 1920, p. 8.

⁶⁴Crisis, XX, 4, August 1920, p. 189.

⁶⁵National Civic Federation papers, Box 152.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Crisis, XX, 5, September 1920, pp. 214-215; N.C.F. papers, op. cit.

⁶⁸Messenger, September 1920, pp. 84-85.

⁶⁹Crisis, XXI, 1, November 1920, p. 35.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 16.

⁷¹These arguments are forcefully stated by Amy Jacques Garvey in the Negro World, December 1, 1923, p. 5.

⁷²Spingarn papers, Box 2, Ovington to Spingarn, July 24, 1921.

⁷³Schomburg papers, Box 2, DuBois to Schomburg, November 9, 1920, enclosing DuBois to Domingo, November 6, 1920.

⁷⁴Crisis, XXI, 2, December 1920, pp. 58-60.

⁷⁵Bruce papers, Group D-9E, 14-9.

⁷⁶Crisis, XXI, 3, January 1921, pp. 112-115.

⁷⁷Crisis, XXI, 5, March 1921, p. 213; Spingarn papers, Spingarn to DuBois, February 9, 1921.

⁷⁸Negro World, April 9, 1921, p. 2.

⁷⁹Crisis, XXII, 1, May 1921, p. 8.

⁸⁰R. G. 59, 540 C2/original, DuBois to Hughes, June 23, 1921. DuBois published Hughes' cordial reply in the Crisis (XXII, 4, August 1921, p. 150.)

⁸¹F.O. 371/5708, Garvey to Sir A. Geddes, British Ambassador, Washington, June 16, 1921, quoted in Robert G. Weisbord, "Marcus Garvey, Pan-Negroist: The View from Whitehall," Race, XI, 4, 1970, p. 426.

⁸²New York Call, August 1, 1921.

⁸³New York World, August 2, 1921, p. 2.

⁸⁴N.A.A.C.P. files, Box C-304, typewritten copy.

⁸⁵Crisis, XXII, 5, September 1921, p. 225.

⁸⁶W. E. B. DuBois, The World and Africa (New York, International Publishers, 1965, first pub. 1946), p. 237; Dusk of Dawn, p. 278; Negro World, October 8, 1921, p. 2.

⁸⁷Negro World, July 2, 1921, p. 2.

⁸⁸Crisis, XXIV, 1, May 1922, p. 33.

⁸⁹W. E. B. DuBois, "The Pan-African Movement," in George Padmore, ed., History of the Pan-African Congress (London, Hammersmith Bookshop, [1945]), pp. 21, 22.

⁹⁰Negro World, July 2, 1921, p. 2; October 1, 1921, p. 4.

⁹¹Philosophy and Opinions, I, p. 50.

⁹²New York Tribune, September 15, 1921, reprinted in Crusader, V, 3, November 1921, pp. 24, 25.

⁹³Crisis, XXIII, 4, February 1922, p. 154.

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⁹⁴Negro World, October 29, 1921, p. 2; December 17, 1921, p. 6.

⁹⁵Spingarn papers, Box 37, minutes of a December 21, 1921, meeting.

⁹⁶Wheeler Sheppard, (n.p., 1921).

⁹⁷Crisis, XXIII, 4, February 1922, p. 151.

⁹⁸Negro World, February 1922, p. 1.

⁹⁹Crisis, XXIII, 4, February 1922, p. 155.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Negro World, October 1, 1921, p. 8; February 11, 1922, p. 8.

¹⁰²Crisis, XXI, 3, January 1921, p. 114.

¹⁰³Crisis, XXIII, 6, April 1922, p. 252.

¹⁰⁴R. G. 32, 605-1-653, DuBois to Chairman, U.S. Shipping Board, July 27, 1922; A. D. Lasker, Chairman, to DuBois, July 31, 1922.

¹⁰⁵R. G. 59, 195.7 Kanawha, DuBois to Department of State, August 3, 1922; Wilbur J. Carr, Director of Consular Services, to DuBois, August 18, 1922; DuBois to Carr, September 6, 1922; Carr to DuBois, October 5, 1922.

¹⁰⁶Spingarn papers, Box 52, DuBois to Charles Studin, August 8, 1922.

¹⁰⁷Negro World, February 4, 1922, quoted in Rudwick, "DuBois versus Garvey," p. 427; N.A.A.C.P. files, Box C-304, Garvey to Secretary, N.A.A.C.P., July 14, 1922.

¹⁰⁸Crisis, XXIV, 5, September 1922, pp. 210-214.

¹⁰⁹Negro World, November 4, 1922, p. 1.

¹¹⁰ Spingarn papers, Box 2, Walter White to Spingarn, August 16, 1922; Spingarn to White, August 17, 1922; White to Spingarn, August 18, 1922; Negro World, August 19, 1922, p. 4.

¹¹¹ Crisis, XXV, 1, November 1922, pp. 16-21; Negro World, October 28, 1922, p. 4; November 4, 1922, p. 4.

¹¹² Crisis, XXV, 3, January 1923, pp. 120-122.

¹¹³ The author has interviewed old men in Harlem who considered themselves Garveyites but were never paid-up members of the U.N.I.A. One such informant says that he regularly took time off from work to attend U.N.I.A. parades and functions; Ferris refuted this DuBois allegation in the Negro World, January 6, 1923, p. 4.

¹¹⁴ January 1923.

¹¹⁵ N.A.A.C.P. files, Box C-304.

¹¹⁶ Century, CV, 4, February 1923, pp. 539-548.

¹¹⁷ Race, I, 1, Winter 1935-36, pp. 11, 12.

¹¹⁸ Crisis, XXV, 4, February 1923, p. 151.

¹¹⁹ Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 310-320, reprinted from Negro World, February 13, 1920.

¹²⁰ Dusk of Dawn, p. 278.

¹²¹ Negro World, December 15, 1923, p. 2; October 6, 1923, p. 2, reprinted from the Gold Coast Leader, n.d.; Negro World, January 26, 1924, reprinting editorial from Gold Coast Leader of December 1, 1923.

¹²² Negro World, November 24, 1923, p. 1; December 1, 1923, p. 1.

¹²³ Messenger, January 1924, p. 5.

¹²⁴ Negro World, December 29, 1923, p. 1.

¹²⁵Ibid., December 15, 1923, p. 4.

¹²⁶Dusk of Dawn, p. 122.

¹²⁷Quoted in Frank Chalk, "DuBois and Garvey Confront Liberia," Canadian Journal of African Studies, I, 2, November 1967, p. 137.

¹²⁸Negro World, September 6, 1924, p. 3.

¹²⁹Dusk of Dawn, pp. 123, 124.

¹³⁰Crisis, XXII, 2, June 1921, p. 53.

¹³¹Bruce papers, Ms L 33, Bruce to Florence (his wife), January 2, 1924.

¹³²Daily Worker, August 20, 1924, p. 6.

¹³³American Imperialism Enslaves Liberia, p. 34n.

¹³⁴Crisis, XXVIII, 3, July 1924, p. 106; XXVIII, 4, August 1924, pp. 154, 155.

¹³⁵Negro World, August 27, 1927, p. 5; Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 243.

¹³⁶R. G. 59, 882. 5511/10, Memorandum of September 6, 1924, in Hughes to the President, September 6, 1924.

¹³⁷Messenger, October 1924, p. 313.

¹³⁸Crisis, XXVIII, 1, May 1924, pp. 8, 9.

¹³⁹Spingarn papers, Box 3, DuBois to Johnson, April 15, 1924. For attempts to settle this dispute see Harry E. Davis to Spingarn, June 16, 1924; DuBois to Spingarn, June 23, 1924, enclosing Johnson to DuBois, June 23, 1924 and DuBois to Johnson, June 23, 1924; Garvey referred to DuBois' N.A.A.C.P. problems in the Negro World, September 9, 1922 and November 4, 1922 - quoted in "DuBois versus Garvey," p. 427.

- 140 Negro World, May 10, 1924, pp. 1, 2, 4.
- 141 Ibid., p. 4.
- 142 Pittsburgh Courier, n.d., quoted in Negro World, May 17, 1924, p. 2; Hotel Tattler, n.d., reprinted in Negro World, May 24, 1924, p. 2; Gary Sun, n.d., reprinted in Negro World, May 24, 1924, p. 2.
- 143 Daily Worker, August 13, 1924, p. 3.
- 144 Cleveland Gazette, n.d., reprinted in Negro World, June 7, 1924, p. 2.
- 145 Daily Worker, February 14, 1924, pp. 1, 2.
- 146 Boston Chronicle, n.d., reprinted in Negro World, February 2, 1924, p. 5.
- 147 Crisis, XXVIII, 3, July 1924, pp. 103, 104.
- 148 Negro World, September 6, 1924, p. 2; New York Times, August 29, 1924, p. 4.
- 149 World and Africa, p. 242.
- 150 Ibid., p. 243.
- 151 Negro World, September 3, 1927, pp. 2, 4, 5; January 14, 1928, p. 4.
- 152 Crisis, XXXV, 2, February 1928, p. 51.
- 153 New York Herald Tribune Books, May 20, 1928.
- 154 Negro World, July 19, 1930, p. 1.
- 155 Ibid., November 7, 1931, p. 1.
- 156 Autobiography, p. 298.
- 157 Blackman, I, 6, November 1934, p. 9.

¹⁵⁸Newspaper clipping, no name, n.d., DuBois Scrapbook, Schomburg Collection.

¹⁵⁹Race, I, 1, Winter 1935-36, p. 14.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 12-14.

¹⁶¹Black Man, I, 8, late July 1935, pp. 6-8.

¹⁶²Crisis, XXII, 4, August 1921, p. 151.

¹⁶³Autobiography, p. 273.

¹⁶⁴New York Age, February 1920.

¹⁶⁵Pickens papers, Schomburg Collection, Box 1, Pickens to J. E. Spingarn, September 25, 1921.

¹⁶⁶Pickens papers, Box 1, DuBois to Pickens, March 28, 1921.

¹⁶⁷Amy Jacques Garvey papers, Amy J. Garvey to E. David Cronon, March 28, 1955; Garvey and Garveyism, p. 249; Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 307; Negro World, August 27, 1927, p. 8. Here Mrs. Garvey suggests that Pickens may have visited Garvey several times.

¹⁶⁸Pickens papers, Box 1, Pickens to Garvey, September 12, 1921, Box 1, quoted in Sheldon Avery, "Up from Washington: William Pickens and the Negro Struggle for Equality, 1900-1954" (Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1970), p. 82.

¹⁶⁹Pickens papers, Box 1, Pickens to Board of Directors, N.A.A.C.P., September 17, 1921.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., "Memorandum to Mr. Bagnall," n.d.

¹⁷¹Ibid., Pickens to J. E. Spingarn, September 25, 1921.

¹⁷²Ibid., Robert W. Bagnall, Secretary pro tem, to Pickens, September 29, 1921.

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¹⁷³ Spingarn papers, Box 37, Minutes of meeting of the Board of Directors, October 10, 1921.

¹⁷⁴ Pickens papers, Box 1, Pickens to Mr. Gruening and Mr. Thomas, editors of the Nation, October 11, 1921.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Nation, CXIII, December 28, 1921, pp. 750-751; Negro World, December 17, 1921, p. 9; California Voice, December 31, 1921, p. 1 ff.

¹⁷⁷ Negro World, February 25, 1922, p. 3; March 11, 1922, p. 4.

¹⁷⁸ Pickens papers, Box 7, Garvey to Pickens, May 5, 1922.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., Box 1, Pickens to Dr. H. Claude Hudson, June 4, 1922.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., Box 7, Garvey to Pickens, July 10, 1922; Pickens to Garvey, July 24, 1922.

¹⁸¹ Bulletin, New York Urban League, Inc., Annual Report 1921, p. 1.

¹⁸² National Urban League, Report 1920, III, 1, January 1921, p. 14.

¹⁸³ Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 58.

¹⁸⁴ Federal Court Records, New York, FRC 536137, Marcus Garvey v. Robert S. Abbott Publishing Company; Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 78, 321.

¹⁸⁵ Conspiracy of the East St. Louis Riots, p. 2.

¹⁸⁶ William H. Ferris, "Garvey and the Black Star Line," Favorite Magazine, IV, 6, July 1920, p. 397.

¹⁸⁷ Messenger, August 1922, pp. 467-471.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., December 1920, p. 170.

¹⁸⁹Hubert Harrison, The Negro and the Nation (New York, Cosmo Advocate Publishing Company, 1917), p. 3.

¹⁹⁰Negro World, May 6, 1922, p. 8; June 10, 1922, p. 2; September 20, 1922, p. 1; New York Times, September 11, 1922, p. 19.

¹⁹¹Interview with Mr. J. Charles Zampty, Highland Park, Michigan, April 17, 1973; Negro World, September 2, 1922, p. 2.

¹⁹²Interview with Mr. Zampty; Negro World, October 14, 1922, p. 5; January 13, 1923, pp. 5, 10; January 20, 1923, p. 2.

¹⁹³Guichard Parris and Lester Brooks, Blacks in the City - A History of the National Urban League (Boston, Little, Brown and Co., 1971), p. 200; Owen and Randolph expressed the same fear - N.C.F. Papers, Box 152.

¹⁹⁴Negro World, January 28, 1922, p. 7.

¹⁹⁵Messenger, November 1917, p. 31; January 1918, p. 23; May-June 1919, pp. 9, 10, 26, 27; December 1919, p. 21; September 1920, pp. 84, 85; New York Age, December 13, 1919, p. 4; Crisis, XXI, 2, December 1920, p. 60.

¹⁹⁶Messenger, December 1920, p. 178.

¹⁹⁷Messenger, April-May 1920, pp. 3, 4; R. G. 60, 198940, Chandler Owen to Hon. Harry M. Daugherty, January 26, 1923.

¹⁹⁸Revolutionary Radicalism, p. 2007.

¹⁹⁹N.C.F. papers, Box 152; Messenger, September 1920, pp. 83, 84.

²⁰⁰Messenger, October 1920, p. 114; December 1920, p. 171.

²⁰¹Ibid., September 1921, pp. 248-252; January 1922, pp. 330-335.

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- 202 Negro World, July 29, 1922, p. 2.
- 203 Messenger, July 1922, p. 437.
- 204 Ibid., August 1922, pp. 471, 472; The Public Journal, July 29, 1922; Pickens papers, Box 7, Garvey to Pickens, July 10, 1922, Pickens to Garvey, July 24, 1922; N.A.A.C.P. files, Box C-304, Pickens to Garvey, n.d., July, 1922.
- 205 The Public Journal, clipping, n.d.
- 206 Pickens papers, Box 7, undated clippings from The Public Journal.
- 207 Negro World, August 12, 1922, p. 1; August 26, 1922, page number torn off.
- 208 Messenger, August 1922, back page; "Marcus Garvey Must Go!!!" handbill, The Messenger advertisement had one exclamation mark.
- 209 New York World, August 2, 1922, p. 3.
- 210 Ibid., August 6, 1922, p. 14; New York Times, August 7, 1922, p. 7; Garvey and Garveyism, pp. 96, 97; N.A.A.C.P. files, Box C-304, Assistant Secretary to Randolph, August 7, 1922, Randolph to White, August 25, 1922.
- 211 Messenger, September 1922, p. 479.
- 212 New York Times, September 6, 1922, p. 6.
- 213 Messenger, October 1922, p. 500.
- 214 Negro World, August 19, 1922, p. 2.
- 215 Messenger, November 1922, p. 523.
- 216 Crisis, XXV, 1, November 1922, pp. 34-36.
- 217 Messenger, November 1922, p. 517.

- ²¹⁸Ibid., December 1922, pp. 550-552.
- ²¹⁹Ibid., January 1923, p. 561; February 1923, p. 591.
- ²²⁰Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 296-298.
- ²²¹Ibid., p. 294.
- ²²²Spingarn papers, Bagnall to Spingarn, January 16, 1923.
- ²²³The draft is now lodged in a file with material largely written by Johnson and White - N.A.A.C.P. files, Box C-304. See also White to Johnson, May 17, 1923; N.A.A.C.P. press release, May 18, 1923; Johnson to Hon. Julian W. Mack, May 19, 1923.
- ²²⁴R. G. 60, 198940, Chandler Owen et al. to Hon. Harry M. Daugherty, January 15, 1923; Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 293-300.
- ²²⁵R. G. 60, 198940, Owen to Daugherty, January 26, 1923.
- ²²⁶Ibid., Murphy to Daugherty, January 30, 1923.
- ²²⁷Ibid., Garvey to Daugherty, February 4, 1923; John W. H. Crim, Assistant Attorney-General to Garvey, February 7, 1923.
- ²²⁸Ibid., Assistant Attorney General to Owen, February 20, 1923.
- ²²⁹Ibid., Crim to Owen, February 23, 1923.
- ²³⁰Ibid., Owen to Crim, February 26, 1923.
- ²³¹Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 300-309.
- ²³²Bruce papers, Group D, P 3-10.
- ²³³Messenger, March 1923, p. 638.

- ²³⁴Ibid., pp. 639-645.
- ²³⁵New York Amsterdam News, March 7, 1923, p. 1; Messenger, March 1923, n.p.
- ²³⁶Messenger, April 1923, p. 748.
- ²³⁷Ibid., March 1923, p. 647.
- ²³⁸Ibid., August 1923, p. 782.
- ²³⁹Negro World, October 6, 1923, p. 3.
- ²⁴⁰Ibid., October 20, 1923, p. 6; October 27, 1923, p. 6; N.A.A.C.P. files, Box C-304, Pickens (simply "W.P." on this unsigned carbon copy) to Mattuck, December 19, 1923.
- ²⁴¹Messenger, July 1924, pp. 210, 212.
- ²⁴²New York Amsterdam News, February 11, 1925, p. 16.
- ²⁴³Spingarn papers, Pickens to Spingarn, September 16, 1924.
- ²⁴⁴Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 243, 253.
- ²⁴⁵Negro World, February 6, 1926, p. 4.
- ²⁴⁶Ibid., August 27, 1927, pp. 2, 8.
- ²⁴⁷New Republic, LII, 665, August 31, 1927, pp. 46, 47.
- ²⁴⁸Messenger, January 1926, p. 16; Negro World, August 27, 1927, p. 8; Messenger, February 1928, pp. 41, 45.
- ²⁴⁹Bruce papers, R. E. Enright, Commissioner of Police to Bruce, June 2, 1922; Negro World, June 10, 1922, p. 2.
- ²⁵⁰Negro World, May 23, 1931, p. 4; U.N.I.A. Central Division (New York) files, Box 14, f. 4, handbill, n.d.

²⁵¹Black Power and the Garvey Movement, p. 246.
Vincent quotes here the following letters from the A. J. Garvey papers - DuBois to A. J. Garvey, April 8, 1944, and A. J. Garvey to DuBois, April 24, 1944.

²⁵²History of the Pan-African Congress, p. 62.

CHAPTER XI

THE KU KLUX KLAN, WHITE SUPREMACY AND GARVEY--

A SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP

Between the Ku Klux Klan and the Moorfield Storey National Association for the Advancement of 'Colored' People group, give me the Klan for their honesty of purpose towards the Negro. They are better friends to my race, for telling us what they are, and what they mean, thereby giving us a chance to stir for ourselves, than all the hypocrites put together with their false gods and religions, notwithstanding. Religions that they preach and will not practise; a God they talk about, whom they abuse every day--away with the farce, hypocrisy and lie. It smells, it stinks to high heaven.

-- Marcus Garvey¹

A black man who advocates racial integrity cannot be opposed by a white man who advocates racial integrity. They are drawn to each other, for they fight in a common cause.

-- Earnest Sevier Cox,
of the White America
Society.²

Garvey's doctrine of race first, as has been seen, together with its corollaries of separatism, hostility to miscegenation, and African colonization, provided a basis for limited cooperation with white segregationists who shared these doctrines, though for different reasons. Moreover, he admired white segregationists because he

considered them as merely the honest spokesmen for the attitudes of the vast majority of white people. Their forthrightness, furthermore, he saw as a blessing in disguise because it forced black people to develop along separate lines and to be on guard against the oppression which segregationists openly espoused. Garvey argued that white N.A.A.C.P.-type liberals loved black people no more than segregationists and were in fact more dangerous because they lulled the race into a sense of false security. He had expressed these views as early as 1917.³

The most widely publicized of Garvey's dealings with white segregationists and supremacists involved his summit conference with a representative of the Ku Klux Klan in 1922. As head of a black organization with branches all over the United States, Garvey continually came face to face with the racist reality of the K.K.K. and similar groups. In Key West, Florida, for example, the formation in 1920 of a U.N.I.A. division had caused whites in the area to organize a K.K.K. branch as a counter measure. The local U.N.I.A. leader, Rev. T. C. Glashen, was given twenty-four hours to leave town by the president of the local Chamber of Commerce. When he refused he was arrested and jailed. After intervention by the U.N.I.A. parent body in Harlem a judge visited him in jail and begged him to leave to avoid a racial clash between the U.N.I.A. and the white mobs. He finally left for New York via Havana, Cuba,

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Again, in 1922 R. B. Moseley, U.N.I.A. High Commissioner for Texas was jailed and fined for "vagrancy" while on an organizing tour. On his release from jail he was whipped by a gang of eight white men.⁵ At the U.N.I.A. convention that year several delegates related first-hand experiences of white racist fury, including some near escapes from lynch mobs. A Mr. Davis of Homestead, Alabama told of attempts by white mobs to intimidate and break up the U.N.I.A. in his town, these efforts culminating in the lynching of a young man selling stock in U.N.I.A. enterprises.⁶

It was because of incidents like these that Garvey initially not only supported the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, but also adopted a position of open hostility towards the Klan. He was quoted in 1920 as threatening to whup the Klan if it came north,⁷ and several Negro World editorials in 1920 and 1921 were directed against this organization.⁸ A banner at the convention parade of 1921 proclaimed "The New Negro is Ready for the Ku Klux."⁹

In June 1922, however, while on an extensive tour of the United States, Garvey stopped in Atlanta for a conference with Edward Young Clarke, acting Imperial Wizard of the Klan. The initiative had come from Clarke who relayed a request to the local U.N.I.A. to meet with the

U.N.I.A. leader. Garvey accepted this invitation because he considered it in the best interests of his organization, given the history of conflict between the two organizations, especially in the South.

The meeting lasted two hours. During this time, each side outlined its philosophy. Clarke emphasized that America was a white man's country, that his organization stood for racial purity, and denied that the Klan was responsible for all the incidents of racial intolerance attributed to it. Garvey outlined the U.N.I.A.'s philosophy. He said afterwards, "I was speaking to a man who was brutally a white man, and I was speaking to him as a man who was brutally a Negro."¹⁰ As a result of the discussions Clarke expressed sympathy for the aims of the U.N.I.A. while Garvey was reinforced in his suspicion that the Klan represented the invisible government of the United States. He became convinced that this organization represented the white American majority viewpoint and was impressed by Clarke's assertion that the Klan was stronger in the North than in the South. Both principals agreed to publish a memorandum of the meeting in their respective organs and Garvey invited Clarke to Liberty Hall to further clarify the Klan's position. In the meantime Garvey seems to have gotten an assurance from Clarke that the Klan would refrain from harassing the U.N.I.A., especially since the U.N.I.A. did not represent a threat to their phobia concerning inter-marriage. Clarke even said, according to Garvey, that he

was against white men raping black women. And Garvey approvingly cited the case in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, where U.N.I.A. members had flogged some white men they found sleeping with black ladies. For this the U.N.I.A. members were complimented by a K.K.K. judge. The end result of all this was that Garvey concluded that it would henceforth be more worthwhile to push forward with the program of the U.N.I.A. to build a strong government in Africa which would redound to the benefit of black people everywhere, rather than waste time attacking the Klan,¹¹ an idea which Garvey had been contemplating since 1921.¹²

The immediate result of this U.N.I.A.-K.K.K. summit conference was an avalanche of protest from black integrationist leaders and white ones too, the Communists in particular among the latter. The leaders of the Marcus Garvey Must Go campaign which was just getting under way, eagerly seized upon this meeting to push their effort to discredit Garvey. They proclaimed from their meetings, their publications and their handbills that Garvey had joined the Klan. A. Philip Randolph went so far as to call Garvey the Klan's "Negro leader,"¹³ a sentiment echoed by Communist Robert Minor, who declared Garvey "chief defender of the Klan."¹⁴

The Communists, for their part, made Garvey's position on the Klan the main question in their large-scale effort to influence the 1924 U.N.I.A. convention, even

addressing a communication to the assembly on the subject. After much debate the convention accepted Garvey's basic position on the matter, namely that more black people were murdered by white workers in the North than by the alleged actions of the Klan and that Jews and Catholics, the other major victims of the Klan, were in a stronger position to fight the Klan than black people were, since they did not, like large numbers of black people, have to ask Klan members for a job. The convention therefore respectfully suggested that the Communists send their anti-Klan communication to the Jews and Catholics.¹⁵

The federal government got into the act too when, during their prosecution of the mail fraud case against Garvey, they forced Clarke to appear under subpoena before a federal grand jury in New York. Garvey protested that this was an attempt to further prejudice his case, since his dealings with the Klan were irrelevant to the charges against him.¹⁶

In the face of this hue and cry, Garvey tried, largely in vain, to counter the simplistic views put forward concerning his meeting with the Klan. Less than a month after the meeting he defended it this way:

I repeat, knowing the power and influence and intention of the Klan, I interviewed them 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 happened during the days of reconstruction. Because of this, my effort to stave off an impending danger by a better understanding of the attitudes of this organization,

this unthinking bombast [George Harris] steps out in the full authority of his ignorance to accuse me of surrendering to the Wizard and forming an alliance with the Klan. This has been the attitude of a large number of Negro editors all over the country, and especially those editors who live in the North, who do not come in daily contact with the Ku Klux Klan, as the millions of our people do in the Southern States. These wiseacres and so-called race-patriots remain 1,500 and 2,000 miles away and write all kinds of stuff against the South, against the Ku Klux Klan, and against people with whom they do not come in contact, leaving the people who really come in contact with them to suffer from the result of their senseless and hypocritical propaganda. Some Negro men who talk and write up North will make a big noise as far as Washington, but whenever the conductor requests of them to change cars they become as mum as an oyster.¹⁷

Several individual segregationists got Garvey's support when their views seemed to coincide with his. A few months before his meeting with the Klan in 1922, for example, Garvey urged support for a resolution introduced into the Mississippi state senate by Senator McCallum. This resolution called upon the Mississippi legislature to memorialize the president and congress to secure by treaty, purchase or other negotiation a piece of Africa where the Afro-American could move towards independence under the tutelage of the United States government. He suggested that a European nation might be induced to part with such an area in exchange for some of the allied war debt owed to the United States.¹⁸ Garvey agreed with a similar idea put forward at about the same time by Senator Joseph I. France of Maryland. This plan envisaged the giving over to the United States of ex-German East Africa, again in

exchange for the war debt.¹⁹

Garvey cooperated also with John Powell of the Anglo-Saxon Clubs of America. Powell visited Garvey in jail shortly after his incarceration in Atlanta in 1925 and thereafter let it be known that Garvey had assured him of "the fullest support of his organization." Negro World editor T. Thomas Fortune considered this a little too much and sought to confine Garvey's support to the doctrines of race purity and Africa for the Africans. Garvey thereupon telegraphed a rebuke from Atlanta. "I know nothing of the spirit of the editorial," he fumed, "which I regard as mischievous." Fortune insisted that his editorial was written in good faith and that there was "nothing in it to modify or retract." Garvey's response was to arrange, from jail, for Powell to speak at Liberty Hall. There Powell explained, among other things, that he had introduced a resolution into the Richmond, Virginia branch of the Anglo-Saxon Clubs expressing indignation at Garvey's imprisonment.²⁰

One of Garvey's most extensive contacts with white segregationists was his relationship with Theodore G. Bilbo. By the time their paths crossed in the late 1930's Bilbo had already had a long and notorious public career in Mississippi. He had been a state senator from 1907 to 1911, lieutenant governor from 1912 to 1916 and governor from 1916 to 1920 and 1928 to 1932. He had run unsuccessfully for

congress in 1918 and for governor in 1923. By the time of his contacts with Garveyism he was serving as Democratic senator to the United States Senate from Mississippi.²¹

Bilbo had long been one of the country's most outspoken, and therefore best-known racists. He once admitted having been initiated into the Ku Klux Klan. In 1926 he declared, "Let us treat the negro [sic] fairly; give him justice; teach him that the white man is his real friend; let him know and understand once and for all that he belongs to an inferior race and that social and political equality will never be tolerated in the south." Two decades later he wrote, "Historically and scientifically, the inferiority of the Negro race when compared to the white race, is both a proved and obvious fact," though he claimed here to have "always dealt fairly and sympathetically with the Negro." As a United States senator he was active in moves to prevent black people from participating in Mississippi primaries. In 1947 the 80th Congress, acting in response to a loud clamour from civil rights and church groups, trade unions and other organizations, moved to prevent him from being sworn in for his third term. The motion was tabled because he was already stricken with a fatal illness.²²

Like Garvey, one of Bilbo's pet hates was miscegenation, or mongrelization, as he preferred to call it. To demonstrate the inequities of race mixing he was willing

to falsify history, arguing that ancient Egypt had originally been Caucasian but had subsequently declined owing to race mixture. "The desire to mix, commingle, interbreed or marry into the white race" he blamed mostly on "mulattoes or mongrels" who were "now to an alarming degree found within the Negro race in this country." Not surprisingly, he deplored the marriage of a white girl "to the corpulent, fraudulent, pot-bellied, coal-black, seventy year old Negro who calls himself Father Divine." At one point he introduced a bill to prohibit intermarriage in Washington, D.C.²³

Bilbo's links with Garvey and Garveyites revolved around the Greater Liberia Bill which he introduced in the United States senate in 1939. The bill called for the voluntary repatriation of Afro-Americans to West Africa with assistance from the United States government. Bilbo had not always considered repatriation to be feasible. In 1923 he had scoffed at "Senator T. G. McCallum's scheme to move negroes [sic] of the United States to darkest Africa" as "wonderful to contemplate, a fact to be devoutly wished for, but . . . an idle dream."²⁴

Several factors had caused him to modify his opinion. For one thing he had become impressed by Garvey, whom he considered "the most conspicuous [sic] of all the organizers of his race" and "a noted and world-renowned Negro leader."²⁵ Garvey, he said, had "definitely succeeded in establishing the fact that there is an overmastering

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impulse, a divine afflatus among the masses of Negroes in the United States for a country of their own and a government administered by themselves."²⁶

He had become impressed, too, by the activities of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia. This organization, which spearheaded the drive for Afro-American repatriation during the 1930's, was led by Mrs. Mittie Maude Lena Gordon of Chicago, a former U.N.I.A. member and an undying admirer of Marcus Garvey.²⁷ Mrs. Gordon saw emigration as the only way out from the suffering which descended on black people during the depression. In a touching letter to Bilbo she pledged her support for his bill because, she said, she was tired watching black children die.²⁸ In 1933 the Peace Movement of Ethiopia had petitioned President Roosevelt for assistance in getting to Africa. The petition pointed out that the cost of helping black people lay the foundation for a modest living in Africa would be less than the charity which they were forced to subsist upon in America through no fault of their own.²⁹ Bilbo claimed that commissioners of the movement had journeyed to Liberia and had been assured by the country's president that "millions of acres" were awaiting Afro-Americans.³⁰ Mrs. Gordon later incurred the disfavor of Bilbo and his patriotic fellow segregationists when she was arrested for allegedly collaborating with the Japanese during World War II.³¹

Bilbo changed to advocacy of repatriation too

because Africa was, or so he affected to believe, the richest continent in the world. He related in wondrous terms the story of an Afro-American emigrant from Mississippi who reaped twelve crops of sweet potatoes a year in the balmy Liberian climate.³² He added to these reasons his fear of "a mongrel race" developing in America and the fact that the Afro-American had picked up skills during his enforced sojourn in the white man's land which would increase his ability to make good in Africa. Finally, during World War II he foresaw "so much trouble with the negro [sic] race in every part of the country" at the war's end that there would surely be "a crying demand for passage of my legislation."³³

Bilbo envisaged the removal of five to eight million black people over a period of fifteen to twenty-five years. By concentrating on persons of productive age and young persons it was expected that those who remained would die out in the normal course of things.³⁴ To avoid a possible loophole, he specifically made provisions for black aliens within the United States to participate in his repatriation scheme.³⁵ And when the emigrants were settled in West Africa, he declared, he would make Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the United States president, "Queen of Greater Liberia," this presumably an indication of his dislike for the first lady's liberal tendencies.³⁶

Garvey's support for Bilbo's bill was extensive.

In August 1938 the Eighth International Convention of the U.N.I.A. meeting in Toronto, Canada passed a unanimous resolution of support. Garvey sent copies to President Roosevelt and to Bilbo.³⁷ The Virginia division of the U.N.I.A. shortly afterwards wired the president in support.³⁸ The leaders of the U.N.I.A. in New York, Philadelphia and elsewhere entered into correspondence with Bilbo, sent delegations to Washington, distributed copies of the bill, and organized mass meetings in support of it. The U.N.I.A. by April 1939 had contributed fifty thousand signatures to the two million which Bilbo said he collected. Bilbo at one stage tried to obtain funds to send some of his Harlem supporters on a speaking tour.³⁹ The U.N.I.A. even staged a public debate on the bill in Brooklyn.⁴⁰ And Garvey from England appointed a special committee to lobby in Washington during the bill's introduction.⁴¹ U.N.I.A. leaders from New York, Philadelphia and Cleveland later formed themselves into a "Lobby Committee on Greater Liberia Act."⁴²

Garvey, as usual in his dealing with segregationists, took the position that since what the senator was proposing was what he wanted, then Bilbo's motives were irrelevant. "The Senator's desire for carrying out the purpose of his Bill may not be as idealistic as Negroes may want," Garvey argued, "but that is not the point to be considered. What is wanted now is the opportunity of the Negro to establish himself, and there is no doubt that this Bill offers such an opportunity."⁴³

Bilbo's bill, after two readings in the senate was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations since it involved negotiations with a foreign power. This, for all practical purposes, was the end of it. In 1946 he expressed an intention of resuscitating it in the coming congress, but death intervened.⁴⁴

Closely related to Garvey's support of the Bilbo bill was his long-standing association with Earnest Sevier Cox, a tireless worker in the cause of the White America Society and a close friend and associate of Bilbo. Cox, a resident of Virginia, claimed to have first become interested in racial matters when he came into contact with black people while a graduate student at the University of Chicago. This interest, he said in 1931, caused him to spend \$60,000 of his own money. He claimed also to have travelled widely in Africa.⁴⁵ Perhaps for this reason, he supported Garvey's African program, even considering white colonization in that continent "impractical and . . . unfair to the Negro."⁴⁶ He had the closest contacts with the U.N.I.A. rank and file of any segregationists. Not only did he address the occasional U.N.I.A. meeting (on one occasion as far away as Berkeley, California) but claimed to be in correspondence with Garveyites in twenty-six states, as well as Jamaica, Panama, Honduras, Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo and elsewhere.⁴⁷ Garveyites in Detroit sold 17,000 copies of his book White America, mostly to white people.⁴⁸

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His association with the U.N.I.A., begun in the early 1920's, was still very much alive in 1961 when a letter of his to the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the U.N.I.A. was read at that gathering.⁴⁹

Cox dedicated his book Let My People Go to Garvey and discussed him approvingly in another, The South's Part in Mongrelizing the Nation.⁵⁰ Like Garvey, however, he resented the simplistic view which saw in the relationship between black advocates of race purity and white advocates of race purity some sort of all-embracing alliance. Thus when the Norfolk Journal and Guide suggested that there was an alliance between the two men and that Cox was Garvey's disciple, his refutation was as emphatic as Garvey's annoyance at being called a member of the Klan. He pointed out that there was an understanding between the two men on the question of race integrity, and that was all.⁵¹

Most of Cox's collaboration with the U.N.I.A. revolved around his espousal of Afro-American emigration to Africa. He saw himself as a successor to racist white American statesmen like Thomas Jefferson and Ben Tillman as well as the "great emancipator" Abraham Lincoln, all of whom had favored repatriation of the Afro-American.⁵² As a resident of Virginia he was especially aware of the state's historical antecedents to his work. For Virginia had been the home of Thomas Jefferson. The Virginia assembly had also supported the American Colonization

Society which was responsible for settling Afro-Americans in Liberia in the nineteenth century.

In 1932 Cox obtained the introduction into the Virginia state legislature of a resolution suggesting that the federal government be memorialized to assist in emigration to Liberia. The resolution was couched in language almost identical to Abraham Lincoln's second message to Congress. It engendered much opposition and died in committee.⁵³ In 1936 his efforts were more successful. The state of Virginia on this occasion did memorialize Congress for federal assistance to the Greater Liberia idea. Cox later thanked the governor of Virginia on behalf of the U.N.I.A., the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, the National Union for People of African Descent and a group of black Virginians.⁵⁴

Cox worked closely with Bilbo for the popularization of Bilbo's bill and both men tried strenuously to get Garvey back into the United States. In the case of Cox these efforts went back at least as far as 1931.⁵⁵ By 1938 the effort was intense due to Bilbo's conviction that Garvey's presence, even on a temporary permit, would greatly enhance his bill's chances of success.⁵⁶ Cox had another reason for wanting Garvey back, namely to offset the influence of the N.A.A.C.P.⁵⁷ In the effort to get Garvey back they were tirelessly assisted by U.N.I.A. officials, especially in New York.

The most bizarre episode in the story of the attraction which Garveyism exerted upon white segregationists came from novelist Thomas Dixon whose literary efforts glorifying the Ku Klux Klan and white supremacy had long earned him a notoriety that rivalled, if it did not exceed, that accruing to Bilbo. It was Dixon whose libellous novel The Clansman had called forth massive opposition from the N.A.A.C.P. and other black groups when it appeared in 1915 as the motion picture Birth of a Nation. The picture, like the book, sought to present the emancipation and granting of civil rights to Afro-Americans during reconstruction as a great mistake.

Dixon published in 1939, the year of the Bilbo bill, a novel called The Flaming Sword. The novel was wild, fast-moving, exciting after a fashion and very long (562 pages). Dixon, considering the novel to be "the most vivid and accurate form in which history can be written" presumed "to give an authoritative record of the Conflict of Color in America from 1900 to 1938."⁵⁸ The novel was essentially an epic diatribe against what the dust jacket called "the one unsolved problem of America which threatens our existence as a civilized people." This problem, of course, was race mixture. Dixon warned in his preface that he had "been compelled to use living men and women as important characters." He warned further, with remarkable aplomb, "If I have been unfair in treatment they have their

remedy under the law of libel. I hold myself responsible." Having thus cleared the air he proceeded to fill his book with all manner of vile insults against "the junta fighting for intermarriage," to wit, DuBois, James Weldon Johnson, A. Philip Randolph, Communists James W. Ford and Earl Browder, the African Blood Brotherhood, Claude McKay, Carl VanVechten, J. E. Spingarn, Moorfield Storey and others. The book's frontispiece bore a DuBois quotation from which Dixon had extracted its title. The quotation read, "Across this path stands the South with flaming sword."

Dixon did not fail to highlight the normal racist stereotypes of happy, contented slaves and lascivious black "beasts" lusting after white women. One such killed a white man and his two dogs, gagged his child, raped a white woman to death in the dead man's house and was eventually lynched. After finishing off the woman the rapist was made to say, "A nigger in Harlem sent me a little book dat say I got de right ter marry a white gal ef I kin get her. Can't marry her down here, but by God, I got her." It turned out that his inspiration had been a poem by James Weldon Johnson entitled "The White Witch" and containing the following lines:

And I have kissed her red, red lips
 And cruel face so white and fair;
 Around me she has twined her arms,
 And bound me with her yellow hair.⁵⁹

The story, such as it was, was merely an excuse into which Dixon could inject his ideas on race mixing and race relations. His basic contention was that the good work started by Booker T. Washington and continued by Garvey was in danger of being destroyed by DuBois and the integrationists. He contrasted the almost-white DuBois to Washington, who

in spite of the tinge of yellow in his darker skin, was unmistakably African in every line of his face and body. And not of the handsomer type. His hair, inclined to kink in spite of modern lotions, was coarse and plainly Negroid. His large ears were inclined to flop. His nose was large and flattened. His jaw was heavy. Every feature stamped him a Negro of Negroes. Only from his grave forceful eyes flashed the light of leadership. He was heavily built and sprawled Negro fashion when seated.⁶⁰

Garvey he considered the "logical successor" of Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson through his emigrationist efforts and also "the greatest Negro of the modern world." His heroine, on a trip to Harlem, happened to hear a Garvey speech and was won over to the idea of repatriation. She was reinforced in this opinion when she read Earnest Sevier Cox on white superiority and the necessity for black repatriation. Near the end of the book the hero died and bequeathed a ten million dollar trust fund for establishment of a Marcus Garvey Colonization Society for the "peaceful, voluntary colonization of the Negro race." The book closed with America caught off-guard in the throes of a Communist revolution. Thus ended undoubtedly the

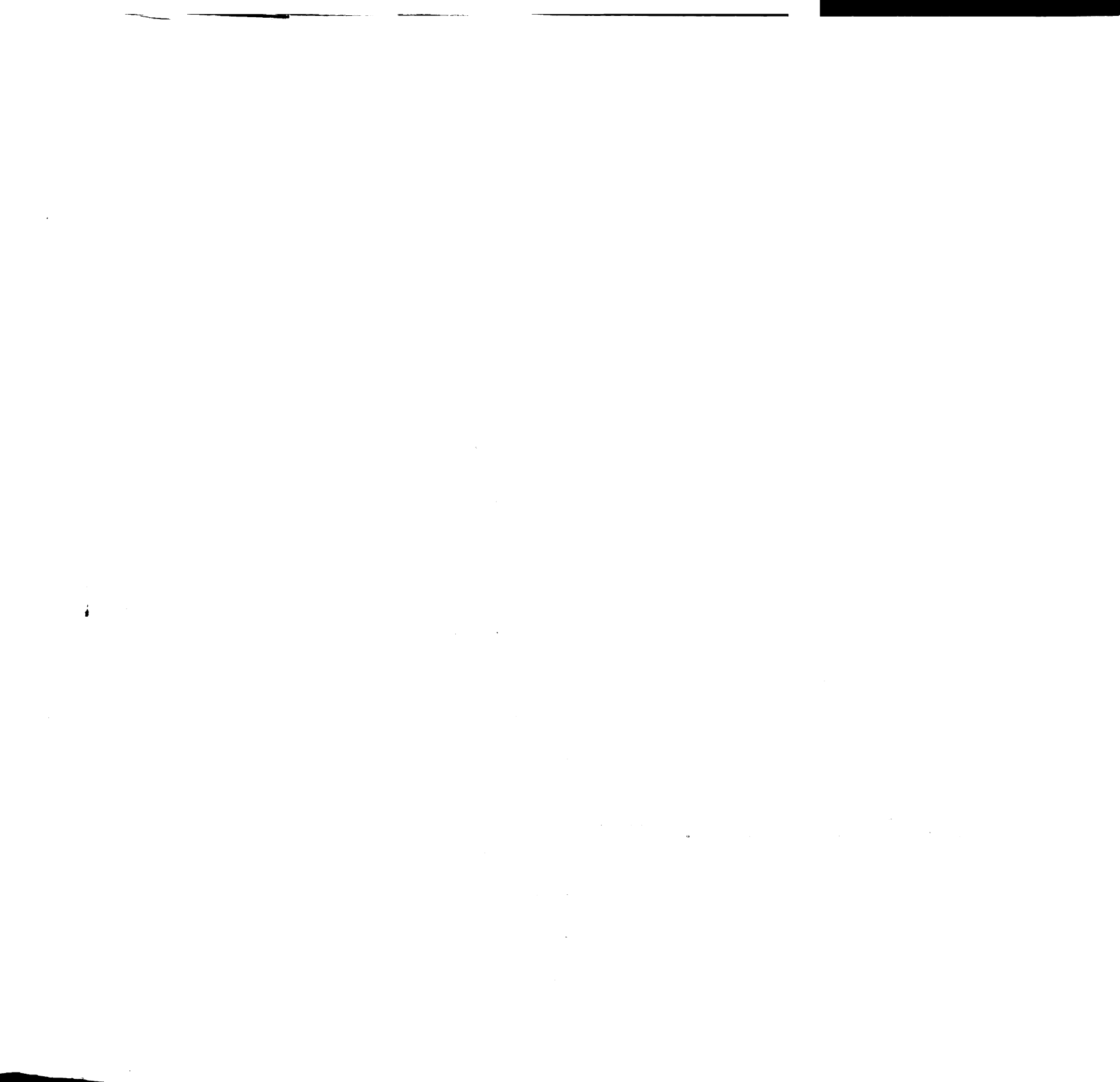
strangest tribute ever paid to Marcus Garvey. Earnest Xavier Cox considered it "the first colonizationist novel since Uncle Tom's Cabin."⁶¹

The story of Garvey and white supremacy is a most unusual one and susceptible of easy misinterpretation. What the story proves is that Garvey must surely be the most singleminded black separatist of all time. His fierce love for his own race and his burning desire to put the Atlantic Ocean between his followers and white America placed him in the unlikely position of sharing, with America's most notorious white racists, a hostility to integrationists and an advocacy of emigration. People like Bilbo and Cox continued to preach white superiority for the benefit of their kinsmen, but in their direct dealings with Garvey and his representatives there was no hint of racial arrogance. Each side was aware of the other's position and preferred to dwell as far as possible on areas of common concern. As Garvey said of his interview with the Klan's representative, "I was speaking to a man who was brutally a white man, and I was speaking to him as a man who was brutally a Negro."

NOTES

THE KU KLUX KLAN, WHITE SUPREMACY AND GARVEY-- A SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP

- ¹Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 71.
- ²Negro World, September 26, 1931, p. 3.
- ³Champion Magazine, I, 5, January 1917, p. 267.
- ⁴Negro World, July 16, 1921, p. 9.
- ⁵Ibid., June 3, 1922, p. 3.
- ⁶Ibid., September 16, 1922, p. 8.
- ⁷Afro-American, November 19, 1920, quoted in Vincent, Black Power and the Garvey Movement, p. 19.
- ⁸Negro World, September 24, 1921, p. 4.
- ⁹New York World, August 2, 1921, p. 6.
- ¹⁰Negro World, July 15, 1922, p.7.
- ¹¹Interview with Mr. J. Charles Zampty; interview with Mrs. Amy Jacques Garvey; Negro World, July 1, 1922, p. 7; July 15, 1922, p. 7; R. G. 204, 42-793, Garvey's application for executive clemency, June 5, 1925.
- ¹²Negro World, October 8, 1921, p. 1.
- ¹³Messenger, October 1922, p. 500.
- ¹⁴Daily Worker, August 23, 1924, p. 1.



- ¹⁵Ibid., p. 3.
- ¹⁶New York Times, February 8, 1923, p. 16; R. G. 204, 42-793, op. cit.
- ¹⁷Negro World, July 22, 1922, p. 1.
- ¹⁸Ibid., February 11, 1922, p. 5; February 18, 1922, p. 2; March 18, 1922, p. 11.
- ¹⁹Ibid., May 13, 1922, p. 4.
- ²⁰Ibid., August 15, 1925, p. 4; August 22, 1925, p. 4; October 24, 1925, p. 3; Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 340-342.
- ²¹Thurston E. Doler, "Theodore G. Bilbo's Rhetoric of Racial Relations," unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1968, p. 31ff.
- ²²Ibid., pp. 1, 2, 69, 135; Theodore G. Bilbo, Take Your Choice; Separation or Mongrelization (Poplarville, Miss., Dream House Publishing Co., 1947), p. 86; Living Age, CCCLVIII, 4485, June 1940, p. 333.
- ²³Living Age, op. cit., p. 334; Take Your Choice, preface (n.p.); Theodore G. Bilbo papers, University of Southern Mississippi, Bilbo to Earnest Sevier Cox, May 19, 1944.
- ²⁴Bilbo's Rhetoric, p. 107.
- ²⁵Take Your Choice, pp. 271, 254.
- ²⁶Ibid., p. 271.
- ²⁷Time, May 8, 1939, p. 14.
- ²⁸Gordon to Bilbo, October 15, 1939, quoted in Bilbo's Rhetoric, p. 247.
- ²⁹Living Age, op. cit., p. 328; Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York, Harper and Row, 1944, 1962), p. 813.

³⁰Living Age, p. 330.

³¹Bilbo papers, Earnest Sevier Cox to Gordon, September 28, 1942.

³²Living Age, p. 330.

³³Bilbo papers, Bilbo to Elzy Johnson, January 24, 1940; Bilbo to Cox, October 2, 1942; Living Age, p. 334.

³⁴Living Age, p. 330; Take Your Choice, p. 275; Bilbo papers, Cox to Bilbo, February 20, 1938.

³⁵Take Your Choice, p. 304.

³⁶Bilbo's Rhetoric, p. 115.

³⁷R. G. 59, 880.5211/21, Garvey and Ethel Collins, Secretary-General, to President, U.S.A., August 13, 1938.

³⁸U.N.I.A. Central Division (New York) files, Box 6, c. 26, minutes of meeting October 4, 1938.

³⁹Ibid., Box 8, d. 23, Capt. A. L. King to Garvey, April 28, 1939; Box 8, d. 5, King to C. Jacobs, May 9, 1939; Box 14, f. 19, handbill, n.d.; Bilbo papers, Bilbo to Cox, November 21, 1939.

⁴⁰U.N.I.A. Central Division (New York) files, Box 8, d. 8, Andronicus Jacob to King, July 19, 1939; Box 14, f. 19, handbill, n.d.

⁴¹Ibid., Box 8, d. 23, op. cit.

⁴²Ibid., Box 12, e. 95, Cox to King, January 11, 1940.

⁴³Black Man, III, 11, November 1938, p. 19.

⁴⁴Bilbo's Rhetoric, p. 108; U.N.I.A. Central Division (New York) files, Box 8, d. 5; Bilbo papers, Bilbo to Cox, August 2, 1946.

- ⁴⁵Negro World, November 28, 1931, p. 1.
- ⁴⁶Ibid., September 26, 1931, p. 3.
- ⁴⁷Earnest Sevier Cox, Lincoln's Negro Policy (Richmond, Virginia, The William Byrd Press, Inc., 1938), p. 30; Negro World, November 28, 1931, p. 1.
- ⁴⁸Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 342.
- ⁴⁹Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the U.N.I.A., August 13-20, 1961, Brooklyn, N.Y., p. 6.
- ⁵⁰Negro World, July 17, 1926, p. 5.
- ⁵¹Ibid., August 15, 1925, p. 4.
- ⁵²Bilbo papers, Cox to Bilbo, May 14, 1944.
- ⁵³Negro World, September 26, 1931, p. 3; March 5, 1932, p. 1; June 18, 1932, p. 3.
- ⁵⁴Richmond Times-Despatch, January 27, 1940; U.N.I.A. Central Division (New York) files, Box 8, d. 10, Cox to Governor James H. Price, December 29, 1939.
- ⁵⁵Negro World, September 26, 1931, p. 3.
- ⁵⁶U.N.I.A. Central Division (New York) files, Box 16, h. 10, Bilbo to King, February 23, 1938.
- ⁵⁷Bilbo papers, Cox to Bilbo, February 20, 1938.
- ⁵⁸Thomas Dixon, The Flaming Sword (Atlanta, Monarch Publishing Co., 1939), preface, n.p.
- ⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 175, 178.
- ⁶⁰Ibid., p. 248.
- ⁶¹Bilbo papers, Cox to Bilbo, December 12, 1939.

AFTERWORD

My work is just begun, and as I lay down my life for the cause of my people, so do I feel that succeeding generations shall be inspired by the sacrifice that I made for the rehabilitation of our race. Christ died to make men free, I shall die to give courage and inspiration to my race.

-- Marcus Garvey¹

If Garvey dies, Garvey lives. . . .

-- Marcus Garvey²

The career of Marcus Garvey is without parallel in the history of the race. Insofar as his program was foiled short of its ultimate realization in his own lifetime, his career represents a monumental tragedy, an epic of heroism and courage overcome by catastrophe. Yet the larger tragedy in no way detracts from the multitude of successes that were Garvey's accomplishments.

Among Garvey's greatest feats is the fact that at a time when almost every black center of population in the world was subjugated by colonialism, oppression and disfranchisement, Garvey succeeded in creating an organization with many of the attributes of a de facto provisional government to look after the interests of black people.

Whether it was U.N.I.A. commissioners negotiating directly with governments on behalf of the black population as in Cuba and Santo Domingo, or Garvey despatching a protest note to the British government at the arrest of Harry Thuku and the shooting down of unarmed Africans in Kenya, or U.N.I.A. representatives lobbying at the League of Nations, or Garvey giving to black people all over the world a flag, an anthem and an ideological direction which they could tenaciously adhere to, or any of a multitude of other circumstances, Garvey could not be ignored. The United States, British and other white rulers over black people had no illusions about the potency of Garveyism and waged a consistent struggle against Garvey and the U.N.I.A. And the Communist International, for its part, spent as much time trying to find a way around Garvey as colonial governments did trying to suppress him. The reaction of the white press, in Europe in particular, to Garvey's dramatic entry onto the world scene was often one of trepidation and alarm. Garvey bestrode the black world like no one else and all those in power there, or aspiring to influence therein, had to deal with him. In achieving this position within a mere three years of the inception of the U.N.I.A. in the United States, and on slender resources, Garvey, as is widely acknowledged, performed one of the greatest propaganda miracles of all time.

The most obvious indication of Garvey's power and success is the fact that despite years of the most concentrated and formidable opposition that any race leader in America has ever had to face, not only could he not be dislodged, but his organization was continuing to grow. Neither the "Marcus Garvey Must Go" campaign, nor the poaching of the Communists, nor the defection of former U.N.I.A. members, nor the constant harassments from the British, French, and United States governments, nor his conviction in 1923 was able to stem the onward march of the U.N.I.A. It took the full force of government, in sending him to jail on palpably flimsy evidence, and deporting him on highly questionable grounds, to finally cause the edifice he had built to totter, and then only very slowly deteriorate. And it is in his susceptibility to deportation that there lay the fatal chink in his armor and the essence of his tragedy. For his enemies could exploit, with the most dire consequences, the one weakness in his position over which he had a minimum of control, namely his nationality. As early as 1919, it will be remembered, J. Edgar Hoover had been on the lookout for a pretext to deport him, and in 1921 the State Department had narrowly failed in its attempt at de facto deportation through denying him re-entry into the United States.

The major setbacks afflicting Garvey before his

deportation were also the result of hostile governmental action. Thus it was not the impracticability of his schemes, as some are wont to say, or his robes, or his bombast, or his knighthoods, or his lack of business experience, or his dictatorial nature, that caused him not to establish a beachhead in Liberia. It was the direct intervention of the Liberian, British, French and United States governments, moving in haste when they realized that the establishment of his Liberian base was literally days away, that thwarted his Liberian scheme. The Black Star Line, similarly, received some of its most serious reverses as a result of Garvey's enforced absence at the hands of the State Department during those crucial months in 1921.

The larger tragedy of Garvey's career, let it be repeated, does not detract from the multitudinousness of his achievements. He did put ships on the seas at a time when black seamen were chronically underemployed and their qualifications treated with disdain; he did establish a string of businesses and acquire real property of considerable value; the most successful of these businesses, the Negro World, and much of the real estate, continued to be going concerns long after his deportation; local divisions of the U.N.I.A., following the example of the parent body, also started businesses and acquired considerable amounts of property some of which, here and there, have

survived in the hands of the organization to this day.

Among Garvey's greatest contributions were those in the realm of ideas. His ideas, such as race first, self reliance, nationhood, and the unity of African peoples were firmly implanted in his own time. Apart from the hundreds of U.N.I.A. branches, many other important nationalist organizations contained U.N.I.A. members or supporters among their leadership. Among these were the African National Congress and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union in South Africa, the National Congress of British West Africa led by Casely Hayford and the Workingmens' Association of Trinidad.

Later generations of black toilers in the cause of nationhood also bore direct links to Garvey. Thus Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Nation of Islam in the United States, was a member of the U.N.I.A. Malcolm X, his onetime chief lieutenant and later chief rival, was the son of a U.N.I.A. organizer. Kwame Nkrumah, stalwart fighter in the struggle for African re-independence, testified to the influence of Garvey's ideas. In the United States some of his followers after his deportation successfully entered electoral politics. And even though his deportation from the United States marked the beginning of a slow receding from a position of pre-eminence on the world stage, it was in these years that he laid the foundations for party politics in Jamaica that were to bear

fruit even before his death.

Garvey and the U.N.I.A. were also major contributors in the field of art. For Garvey was a major source of the political awakening that made possible the literary awakening of the 1920's known as the Harlem Renaissance. The U.N.I.A. was also a major patron of black music, drama and creative writing, through live performances at Liberty Halls and in the pages of the Negro World. In William H. Ferris and Eric D. Walrond the Negro World had on its editorial board, two literary figures of some importance.

And Garvey demonstrated, again, that the masses of black people everywhere are ever ready to lend their unswerving allegiance to honest, racially committed black leadership.

Perhaps the greatest vindication of Garvey's vision is the fact that today Africa is largely free of colonial rule and Black Nationalism is alive and strong everywhere. And in America, despite some undoubted gains since Garvey's time, at the price of unrelenting struggle and great sacrifice, the questions which haunted Garvey most continue to be asked with an insistence unknown since Garvey's time - Can the black man survive in America? Is his continued progress inevitable?

AFTERWORD

¹Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 218.

²Negro World, May 26, 1923, p. 1.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

A vast amount of material is available for the Garvey scholar. It is unfortunately scattered all over the world in private and public collections of all sorts. Garvey's activities reached into every area inhabited by black people and his organization was watched by all manner of governments and law enforcement bodies. There must scarcely be a newspaper or periodical published in North, Central or parts of South America, Africa or the West Indies between 1918 and 1940 that does not contain some reference to Garvey or the U.N.I.A. The newspapers and periodicals of Europe were also full of news concerning Garvey. Garvey's activities were known in such places as Japan, India and Australia. Several prominent Garveyites from Garvey's time and thousands of the rank and file who followed him are still alive, their memories often remarkably undimmed by age. And for the researcher desirous of catching an echo of the Liberty Hall meetings of Garvey's time, it is still possible to attend U.N.I.A. meetings in surviving Liberty Halls, listen to the orators, sing the Universal Ethiopian Anthem, occasionally see a

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uniformed member of the Universal African Legions and, in Harlem, watch the annual Garvey Day parade. Survivors from Garvey's hey-day, now mostly in their seventies and eighties, still demonstrate all the fierce loyalty and devotion to their leader and his ideas for which Garvey's following was legendary.

By far the single most important source of information on Garvey and the U.N.I.A. is the Negro World. Once thought to be irretrievably lost, it is now possible, by piecing together the holdings in several locations, to see practically the whole run of this U.N.I.A. organ from 1921 to 1933. The author has also seen several issues for 1920 and a few for 1919. 1918 is the only year for which this author has been so far unable to locate a single copy.

Of extreme importance also are the National Archives of the United States and the Public Record Office in London. Both these places contain large amounts of testimony to the impact which Garvey had on the most powerful governments in the world. In the former there are still occasional secret files whose contents must await a later generation of researchers. The F.B.I. files, in particular, will doubtless yield valuable new information if and when they are made available to the public. At the Public Record Office almost as many files relating to Garvey have already been officially destroyed as those

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The other primary sources used in this study have also been very useful. Among the published primary sources the Philosophy and Opinions, compiled largely from Negro World material, still occupies a place of pre-eminence.

Secondary sources proliferate. They must, however, be approached with extreme caution for they are very often to a greater or lesser degree inaccurate. Much of the material written in Garvey's own time was authored by black rivals who had a vested interest in his downfall or white journalists whose understanding of the aspirations of oppressed black people was as remote as could be. Later secondary sources fed on these inaccurate sources and compounded the mischief. This was especially true since the second round of secondary source authors all thought that the Negro World was gone forever and were unable, or unwilling, for various reasons, to utilize the wealth of primary material that is now available. E. D. Cronon's Black Moses, for long the standard biography, has now been overtaken by more recent scholarship.

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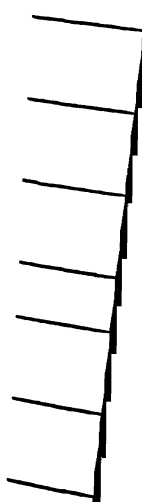
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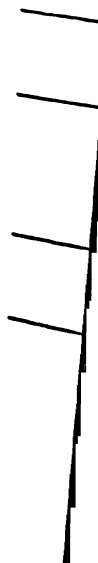
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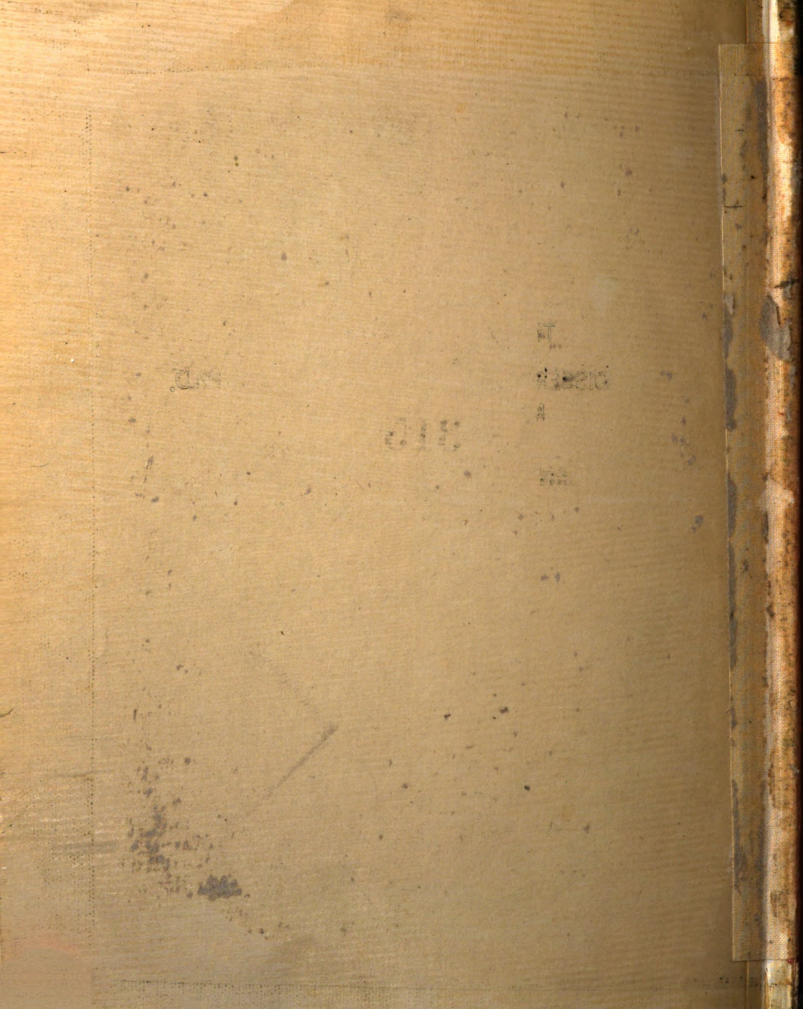
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