

Marcus Garvey - I

Sex: Male | **Born:** St. Anne's Bay, Jamaica, 17 August 1887 | **Died:** London, England, United Kingdom, 10 June 1940 | **Activity/Profession:** Black Nationalist

Jamaican-born political activist. A charismatic black nationalist whose political activism, impassioned rhetoric, and disciplined pursuit of individual greatness inspired women and men from various parts of the world, Marcus Mosiah Garvey contributed mightily to the black liberation struggle in the years between the end of World War I and the onset of the Great Depression. Suspicious of integrationist solutions to the problem of global white supremacy, Garvey preached a message of race pride, Pan-African unity, and economic self-reliance. "It is of no use for the Negro," Garvey once asserted, "to continue to depend on the good graces of the other races of the world, because we are living in a selfish, material age, when each and every race is looking out for itself" (Hill, vol. 3, p. 55). To facilitate his people's struggle for independence, Garvey formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), created economic cooperatives, organized international conventions, and started a newspaper with a wide readership. Nowhere were his efforts more appreciated than in the United States. Sharing this West Indian's belief in the ability of African-descended people to liberate themselves from the shackles of white supremacy, thousands of black women and men across the nation championed his program with an evangelical fervor rooted in years of political struggle.

Marcus Garvey was a complicated individual blessed with extraordinary talents but also burdened by glaring contradictions. Over the course of his nine-year stay in the United States, Garvey unified women and men from diverse backgrounds, but he also antagonized many activists committed to the African American freedom struggle. Sharp in his criticism of others, Garvey proved unable to engage in critical reflection about his own shortcomings. Much harder to digest for many was his inability to see the ways in which his actions occasionally contradicted his theoretical positions. Consider his stance on interracial alliances: Garvey frequently derided liberal integrationists and black leftists for working with whites, yet he unflinchingly cooperated with white supremacists in seeking government funding for African American emigration to Liberia. Understanding Garvey's contradictions, achievements, and struggles requires an examination of his Jamaican background and his political experiences prior to his arrival in the United States.

Early Years and Founding of the UNIA

Situated on the northern coast of Jamaica, Saint Ann's Bay was the birthplace of Marcus Garvey. Naming her son after his father, Sarah Jane Richards gave birth to Malchus Mosiah Garvey on 17 August 1887. Sarah's only son later changed his name to Marcus, but during his early years his relatives and friends called him "Mosiah." Young Mosiah matured in a household made up of his eccentric father, his loving mother, and an older sister named

Indiana. Feeling as if the world was his to conquer, Garvey excelled as a student at the local Anglican church school and distinguished himself as a leader among his white and black playmates. At the age of fourteen Mosiah began learning the printer's trade from Alfred E. Burrowes, who eventually hired him as a compositor for his printing company in nearby Port Maria.

Seventeen years old when he departed his hometown, Garvey remained in Port Maria for approximately two years before moving to Kingston in 1906. Over the next four years he gained invaluable political experience as vice president of the Kingston Typographical Union, publisher of Garvey's *Watchman*, and assistant secretary of the National Club. These activities not only deepened Garvey's racial consciousness but fueled his desire to learn more about the world. The budding political activist who now called himself Marcus headed for Latin America in 1910.

Details are rather hazy, but according to many accounts he spent most of his time in Costa Rica, where he worked as a timekeeper on a banana plantation, and Panama. "Eye-opening" best describes his experiences in these countries. "What black people had to brave sickened him," Garvey's second wife, Amy Jacques, remarked in *Garvey and Garveyism*. "Daily they had to encounter snakes, swamps and wild tigercats. Mutilated black bodies in the rivers and bushes were common sights" (Garvey, p. 6). A brief return to Jamaica in 1911 was followed by a two-year stay in London, where Garvey enrolled at Birkbeck College, developed a relationship with the noted Pan-Africanist Duse Muhammad Ali, and befriended several West African students.

Increasingly, Garvey envisioned himself as the one who could lead his people toward the path of true liberation. "My doom," he wrote in 1923, "of being a race leader dawned upon me in London" (Hill, vol. 1, p. 5). Carrying the weight of the world and his race on his shoulders, Garvey returned to Jamaica in 1914. Upon his return, Garvey and his future wife Amy Ashwood organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association with the intention of contributing to the social, political, and economic uplift of blacks in Jamaica and the world over. Their most immediate goal was the creation of an industrial school in Kingston along the lines of Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute. Unsuccessful in his efforts to rally local support, Garvey departed for the United States in 1916 with hopes of raising funds for his proposed school.

Growth of the UNIA.

Two months after his arrival in New York City, Garvey began an extensive tour of black communities in various parts of the country. Nothing impressed him more than African Americans' entrepreneurial accomplishments in the face of Jim Crow segregation and economic hardships. On the road for nearly a year, Garvey returned to Harlem in May 1917. Transformed by the activists and political questions of the time, he engaged in passionate discussions and debates on World War I's implications for Africa and African-descended

peoples. Garvey in his speeches focused less on his previous plans in the educational sphere and more on the creation of an international movement with the economic and political capacity to uplift African-descended peoples the world over.

An indication of his desire to make Harlem his organizational base was Garvey's incorporation of the New York chapter of the UNIA in June 1918. Two months later the organization's official organ, the *Negro World*, was established. The *Negro World* achieved tremendous success, with subscribers in the United States, the West Indies, Latin America, and Africa. Less than a year after its incorporation, the New York UNIA claimed an impressive thirty thousand members, but Garvey wanted to extend his influence beyond New York.

Contributing significantly to the UNIA's geographical expansion was its efforts to improve blacks' economic position through the commercial endeavors of the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation (BSL). Organized to facilitate commercial trade among blacks in the United States, the West Indies, Latin America, and Africa, the BSL was created in the summer of 1919. BSL shares were sold at \$5 apiece. Strongly supported by black workers anticipating the postwar recession, the BSL acquired its first ship, *SS Yarmouth*, on 5 November 1919. Two weeks later the *Yarmouth* crew embarked on a maiden voyage to the West Indies, where hundreds of UNIA supporters enthusiastically greeted the crew. "We have entered the field of commerce," Garvey proudly noted, "not to take advantage of any race or people, but to gather our share of the wealth there is in the world, that wealth which should be equally distributed among mankind" (Hill, vol. 2, p. 151). Soon, Garvey announced, the BSL would purchase a ship to sail among the United States, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. It would not only facilitate trade among black producers, consumers, and merchants, but also provide inexpensive transportation to blacks in the West interested in migration to West Africa.

Convinced that the freedom of blacks in the West depended on their connection to an independent African nation-state with the political leverage to protect the rights of African-descended peoples regardless of their nationality, Garvey attempted to form a relationship with Liberia. Late in the spring of 1920, Garvey dispatched Elie Garcia to Monrovia, Liberia. Garcia detailed the organization's Pan-African goals to government officials, asked about the possibility of forming a UNIA colony on unsettled land, and stated the association's willingness to lend financial support to the country. Liberia's secretary of state, Edwin Barclay, informed Garcia of the government's willingness to "afford the Association every facility legally possible in effectuating in Liberia, industry, agriculture, and business projects" (Hill, vol. 2, p. 347). The news delighted Garvey.

So, too, did the organization's progress. Vibrant UNIA chapters were being formed in rural and urban communities across the United States, working women and men were purchasing Black Star Line shares, and the *Negro World* was being read by blacks all over the world. Nothing demonstrated the movement's growing popularity more than the huge turnout for the UNIA's First Annual International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World, held in New York City in August 1920. Twenty-five thousand black women and men gathered at

Madison Square Garden on 2 August to open the convention. An extremely proud Garvey welcomed the convention's delegates and participants, detailed the UNIA's progress over the past two years, and reminded those in attendance of the important work to be done.

Convention delegates remained busy for the entire month, engaging in serious discussions about the conditions of blacks globally, the similarities and differences in their political situations, and the most viable ways to advance the black freedom struggle. Garvey and the delegates also penned the historic Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World, as well as elected officers for the UNIA. Not surprising given the spectacular event, delegates returned to their homes even more committed to the UNIA.

Liberia.

Foremost on Garvey's agenda after the close of the convention was strengthening the UNIA's political and economic relationship with Liberia. "The white man," Garvey informed his followers, "will only respect your rights constitutionally as a citizen of this country, when you have some government behind you. When you can compel a nation to respect your rights because of your connection with some government that is sufficiently strong to support you, then and only then will you be respected." To realize his goals, Garvey created the Liberian Construction Loan in the fall of 1920. "The purpose of this loan," Garvey informed prospective contributors, "is to start construction work in Liberia, where colleges, universities, industrial plants, and railroad tracks will be erected; where men will be sent to make roads, and where artisans and craftsmen will be sent to develop industries." An industrially developed Liberia, Garvey insisted, would "offer great opportunities to all men and women who desire to start off independently to build fortunes for themselves and their families" (Hill, vol. 3, p. 114). Many women and men in the UNIA were interested in leaving the United States for Liberia, but several things stood in their way.

First of all, the UNIA hardly possessed the capital necessary to facilitate the migration of interested parties to Liberia. By 1921 the BSL was in serious financial trouble because of the postwar recession, its ships' constant mechanical troubles, and administrative incompetence. Second, the UNIA faced serious diplomatic barriers. Garvey's African vision included not only a more economically and politically stable Liberia but a continent loosened from England and France's colonial yoke. Predictably, France and England viewed Garvey's political agenda as antithetical to their imperialistic designs. Unwilling to antagonize these imperial powers, Liberia protected its national interest by gradually disassociating itself from Garvey and his UNIA. There was no way, Liberia's president C. D. B. King declared publicly in 1921, that the country would become the launching pad for a continent-wide rebellion against British and French imperialism. Even so, Garvey continued to place Liberia at the center of his political program, spreading his Pan-African message as he toured various sections of the United States.

Troubles.

Not everyone appreciated his activities. Wanting desperately to remove Garvey from the country, the Justice Department, under the leadership of J. Edgar Hoover, who was special assistant to the attorney general, sought to build a criminal case for Garvey's deportation. Starting in 1919 the Justice Department planted agents in the New York UNIA and in other major chapters and branches across the country in order to uncover any criminal activity committed by the leader. Eventually the federal government built a case around the promotional practices of the Black Star Line. On 12 January 1922, Garvey, along with two other BSL officials, was arrested on mail-fraud charges for allegedly advertising and selling stock in a nonexistent ship. Garvey vehemently denied cheating his people: "I have no cause to defraud anybody; for the simple reason, thank God, or whosoever gave it to me, I was endowed with strength and ability always to do something for myself, for I can handle a pick or a shovel, or handle a pen, or handle a wheelbarrow. I always feel in such form as to be able to earn a livelihood anywhere, even in a desert" (Hill, vol. 3, p. 369).

Things got progressively worse for Garvey and the UNIA in 1922. Three months after Garvey's arrest, the BSL suspended operations as a result of limited capital and chronic mechanical trouble. Then Garvey found himself subjected to even more criticism after agreeing to meet with the Assistant Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, Edward Clarke. This meeting occurred on 22 July 1922 in Atlanta, Georgia. Supposedly moved by one of Garvey's speeches advocating the segregation of the races, Clarke requested a meeting with Garvey as a person who had proudly expressed his opposition to integration and—more important for the white supremacist—to the civil rights establishment. No transcript of their meeting is available, but according to Garvey the two men discussed their organizations' purposes, their mutual support of racial segregation, and the political benefits of African American emigration to Liberia. Criticism of the meeting emerged from various corners of the black community. Such noted African American leaders as W. E. B. Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, and A. Philip Randolph, among others, were infuriated by the meeting. Even some leaders within the UNIA frowned upon Garvey's meeting with the KKK, and this resulted in serious debate and conflict at the UNIA's Fourth Annual Convention during August 1922.

The period between the 1922 convention and the next gathering in the summer of 1924 proved stressful for Garvey, who faced criticism from both outside and within the organization. Of principal concern to him during this period was his mail-fraud case. To his detractors' satisfaction, Garvey's trial commenced in New York's federal court in May 1923. A five-week trial in which Garvey unwisely decided to represent himself ended in his conviction on twelve counts of mail fraud. The only defendant convicted at the trial, on 21 June Garvey was sentenced to five years in prison. Immediately, Garvey and his lawyers petitioned for an appeal, but for three months the courts denied his request for bail. Finally, on 10 September 1923, the Parent Body of the UNIA secured his release on \$25,000 bail.

Continued Work.

Still committed to his Pan-African vision, Garvey pushed ahead with the UNIA's political goals. A few days before Christmas, Garvey dispatched Robert Lincoln Poston, Henrietta Vinton Davis, and J. Milton Van Lowe to Liberia, where they negotiated with government officials over the possibility of the acquisition of territory in Maryland County. Simultaneous with these negotiation efforts was an effort to reconstitute the Black Star Line as the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company (BCNTC). The BCNTC's first ship, Garvey announced in March 1924, would carry "the first organized group of colonists to Liberia." Other ships would also be purchased to develop "a trade relationship between Negroes of Africa, the United States of America, the West Indies and South and Central America" (Negro World, March 22, 1924).

Five months after Garvey revealed plans for the newly organized line, BCNTC officials purchased General Goethals, rechristened as Booker T. Washington, for \$100,000. Enthusiasm gripped those black workers who contributed thousands of dollars toward the line. But once again they were disappointed when the line repeated the mistakes of its predecessor. Failing to attract business, Booker T. Washington was taken out of service in the summer of 1925.

Further complicating matters for the movement, the Parent Body's African plans crumbled after Liberian State Department's 1924 decision to refuse entry to anyone associated with the UNIA. A team of UNIA technicians and representatives arriving in Liberia on 14 June with plans to prepare the projected UNIA settlement were seized, detained, and then deported. Never willing to concede defeat, Garvey vowed to take the necessary steps to improve the Liberia situation, but when on 3 February 1925 the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld his original conviction for mail fraud, Garvey found himself struggling to maintain not only his African dream but his control over the organization.

Deportation.

Taken into custody at New York City's 125th Street train station on 5 February, Garvey was transported to the federal penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia. Staying connected to his followers, Garvey continued to write his editorials in the Negro World, commenting on various political, social, and cultural developments in black America. Strongly devoted to their leader, Garveyites flooded the offices of politicians, the U.S. attorney general, the pardon attorney, and the president of the United States with petitions and requests for the release of their beloved leader. To their satisfaction, President Calvin Coolidge commuted Garvey's sentence in November 1927. Included in the pardon was an order for Garvey's immediate deportation.

Turning down Garvey's request for a brief respite in New York, the Immigration Office immediately dispatched Garvey to New Orleans for deportation. On the rainy morning of 2 December 1927, more than five hundred UNIA followers gathered at the Algiers dock to bid farewell to the man who had captured their hearts and imagination. To many of his enemies Garvey was a racist demagogue who profited from the emotions and ignorance of his people,

but for many women and men suffering under the most brutal forms of racial capitalism, Garvey was a divinely chosen leader whose racial program blazed a new path toward political freedom and self-consciousness.

Not all but most UNIA chapters in the United States remained active after Garvey's deportation to Jamaica. Supporters stayed abreast of his activities in Jamaica and then London through careful reading of the *Negro World* and of Garvey's second paper, the *Blackman*. Even though Garvey enjoyed his greatest popularity during the 1920s, his impact on black Americans was felt even after his death in 1940. The charismatic nationalist's influence surfaced in the organizational structure of Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, in the political rhetoric of Malcolm X, and in the Pan-African politics of several activists of the Black Power era. Even in the twenty-first century he inspires many black women and men, young and old, who still carry and hold on to his dream of a world in which the children of Africa will enjoy their place in the sun.

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Marcus Garvey - II

Marcus Garvey (*b. 17 August 1887, St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica; d. 10 June 1940, London*) built the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA), the largest and most successful Pan-African mass movement of all time.

Garvey was born to an artisan father (stonemason) and peasant mother. He was born forty-nine years after the end of slavery in British Jamaica. Slavery in nearby Cuba ended in 1886, the year before he was born. Therefore, slavery and the collective remembrance of Africa weighed heavily on the consciousness of Garvey's Jamaican generation.

In the context of African Jamaica, where illiteracy was still widespread, secondary education was mostly denied to African youth, and tertiary education was nonexistent, Garvey's education was certainly adequate. He had an excellent grounding in the basics at elementary school, and afterward became a printer's apprentice. He moved at the age of sixteen to the capital city of Kingston, where he excelled at the printing trade, and at age eighteen he became the youngest foreman printer in Jamaica. He also read voraciously, with a particular interest in history in general and Caribbean history in particular. Toussaint L'Ouverture of Haiti and Napoleon Bonaparte were among the historical figures he admired most.

Garvey's intellectual interests led him early to public speaking and politics. He secured third prize in an all-Jamaica elocution contest in 1910. At about that time, he was also an assistant secretary of the National Club, the spawning ground for some of Jamaica's important politicians of subsequent decades.

He also read the works of important thinkers and activists from around the African world. These included Edward Wilmot Blyden of St. Thomas, Liberia, and Sierra Leone; Booker T. Washington, famed educator of Tuskegee, Alabama; and W. E. B. Du Bois, the first African American PhD from Harvard University.

Garvey also combined this intellectual activity with the practice of journalism. He published Garvey's Watchman sometime around 1910 in Jamaica, La Nacion (The Nation) in Costa Rica, and La Prensa in Panama, the latter two between 1910 and 1912.

Costa Rica was in fact Garvey's first destination after leaving Jamaica in 1910 on four years of global wanderings. These travels took him through Central and South America, the Caribbean, and several countries of Europe.

His travels helped Garvey refine the ideas that he had begun to formulate as a result of his reading and his Jamaica activism. He worked among and became an outspoken advocate for Caribbean immigrant workers in Costa Rica and Panama. He worked with African seamen on

the docks in England. In London, he worked for the leading Pan-African journal of the day, the *Africa Times and Orient Review*, edited by Sudanese-Egyptian Duse Mohamed Ali.

Garvey came to the realization that African people were suffering everywhere he encountered them and everywhere else, as far as he could discern. Toward the end of his travels, he read Booker T. Washington's autobiography, *Up From Slavery*. Washington's struggle from slavery to international fame had a tremendous impact on Garvey. Washington had, in the process, self-reliantly contributed much to his own success. Despite his reliance on white philanthropy, he maintained a deep love for his race. His main efforts were directed at uplifting that race. He was quite willing to accept the prevailing social separation of the two major races of the American South. Washington was also a hero to the African race internationally.

All of these elements would later emerge as components of Garvey's own ideology. Apart from a brief period at the beginning of his movement, he would eschew white philanthropic support. But he could understand Washington's reliance on white assistance. The race, newly out of slavery in Washington's time, simply had not had enough time to accumulate the resources for a self-funded movement.

It was Garvey's reading of *Up From Slavery* in London that forced him to confront his call to race leadership, his "doom" as he put it. This was reinforced by conversations on board a ship in the summer of 1914. A fellow Jamaican passenger returning home from Basutoland (now Lesotho) told him of the sufferings of Africans in South Africa. "He related to me such horrible and pitiable tales," Garvey recalled, "that my heart bled within me."

Upon reading Washington, he recalled in his *Philosophy and Opinions* of Marcus Garvey, he asked himself, "Where is the black man's Government? Where is his King and his Kingdom? Where is his country, and his ambassador, his army, his navy, his men of big affairs?" Garvey resolved to fill those deficiencies and emerged from a secluded period in his cabin with the name, later shortened, Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities (Imperial) League. He thought that this name "would embrace the purpose of all black humanity."

The UNIA was launched in Kingston, Jamaica, within a few days of Garvey's return home in July 1914, with the seventeen-year-old Amy Ashwood, later his first wife, as possibly the first member after Garvey. The UNIA was incorporated in Harlem, New York, in 1918, following Garvey's relocation there in 1916.

The new organization envisaged itself as a "confraternity of the race," that is, a Pan-African organization. It presented separate Pan-African and Jamaican objects. The former included diplomatic representation for Africans of whatever nationality when they traveled abroad.

Garvey was now firmly in the tradition of the Pan-African activists and thinkers who had preceded him. Since the time of slavery, many Africans, especially in the diaspora, had

emphasized the new global African reality constructed in the wake of the slave trade. They saw the new scattering of Africans as an opportunity to construct new frameworks for mutual uplift. These sentiments manifested themselves in repatriation movements from the diaspora to Africa in efforts of diasporan missionaries and teachers to take their skills to their ancestral home, and Afrocentric scholarship that stressed ancient African contributions to civilization as a reproach to European pseudoscientific anti-African racism.

The West Indian Church Association sent missionaries from Codrington College, Barbados, to the Rio Pongo in West Africa in the 1850s. African American Martin R. Delany and Jamaican Robert Campbell had undertaken a colonizing mission to Abeokuta in modern-day Nigeria in 1859. Hundreds of Barbadians in the 1860s had emigrated to Liberia. Bishop Henry McNeal Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, Edward Wilmot Blyden from his Liberian base, and many others had participated in schemes of one sort or another in furtherance of the nineteenth-century Pan-African ideal.

This activity had its nineteenth-century culmination in the Pan-African Conference of 1900, convened in London by Henry Sylvester Williams of Trinidad. Here, thirty-odd delegates from Africa and its diaspora lobbied for African redemption at the heart of the British Empire.

Garvey was well aware of this historical backdrop to his own movement. He absorbed and reformulated the ideas of many of his predecessors. He also was able to apply these ideas to the building of a mass organization in a way that none of his precursors had done and none of his successors would be able to do. By the late 1920s, the UNIA had spread to about 1,200 branches in more than forty countries. Several Latin American countries, among them Cuba, Panama, and Costa Rica, were among the most heavily organized UNIA strongholds. Anglophone Caribbean immigrants were largely responsible for the spread of Garveyism in these areas. In the 1920s and 1930s, Garvey also had his admirers among the Pan-African community in France and the French African colonies. These included Prince Kojo Tovalou Houenou of Dahomey (Benin) and the Paris-based Comité de Défense de la Race Nègre. Garvey's ideology, as he himself described it, was of black or African nationalism. It was the ideology of race, self-reliance, and nationhood.

"Race first" connoted the unapologetic determination of Africans, whether at home or in the diaspora, to pursue their own racial self-interest. The world had made being black a crime, Garvey argued, and the time had come to transform blackness into something positive. Black skin color, hair, and phenotype were aggressively marketed to the race as acceptable standards of beauty. The UNIA encouraged its male members to remove pictures of white pin-ups from their walls. Its organ, the *Negro World*, published photos of beautiful black women. Garvey frowned on skin whiteners and hair straighteners. The UNIA also manufactured black dolls for its female children.

The concept of race first, however, extended far beyond considerations of physical appearance. Garvey insisted that Africa and its descendants must regain control of their own

reality in every sphere of life. This led to an Afrocentric view of history that stressed the African origins of civilization in the Nile Valley and elsewhere. It stressed the achievements of African descendants who had done well despite slavery and discrimination. Garvey assailed European historians such as H.G. Wells, whom he accused of unfairly representing the African historical record. He argued that no white historian had ever done justice to African history.

Race first extended also to culture. Garvey encouraged literature and the arts. His weekly *Negro World*, published in Harlem, became a virtual literary publication, with poems, short stories, book reviews, literary criticism, and the like. Garvey enunciated an aesthetic similar to that of the Black Arts Movement of the 1960s. Cultural workers, he said, must be proud of their race and must reflect that pride in their work. They must never prostitute their talent at the behest of white publishers for monetary gain. Garvey was a prolific poet and a sometime playwright.

Garvey's cultural initiatives were supported by a number of coworkers who have become important historical figures in their own right. These include Harlem intellectual Hubert H. Harrison, historian J. A. Rogers, journalist John Edward Bruce, *Negro World* editor William H. Ferris, Zora Neale Hurston (who did her apprentice writing in the *Negro World*), and his second wife, Amy Jacques Garvey. Carter G. Woodson, the second African American PhD from Harvard University, wrote a regular column in the *Negro World*. His articles formed the core of his seminal work, *The Miseducation of the Negro* (1933).

Race first in religion meant that Africans should depict their gods in their own image and likeness, that is, as Africans. Garvey grew up in the Christian tradition, and his religious terminology was derived from that experience. Yet he was not reluctant to fashion a Christianity that fit easily into his African nationalist ideas.

His was a God of self-reliance. God endowed all people equally, and it was up to them to use their God-given talents. "What man has done, man can do," said Garvey. If some men had used their God-given endowments to build battleships and skyscrapers, no fundamental reason existed for why others, even the oppressed, could not do the same. This theory led to a strain of social Darwinist thinking. The strong survived and ultimately exterminated or enslaved the weak. The weak owed it to themselves to strive to become strong. Slavery was not necessarily gone forever. Complacency in weakness invited enslavement or worse.

Garvey's God therefore favored those who helped themselves. He thought, with Napoleon, that God was on the side of the stronger battalion. Praying for temporal success would not help in the affairs of this world. God did not want to be bothered with supplications for material and temporal things. Garvey was especially skeptical of a God who had been invoked by the slave dealer and the property grabber. This was not the God Garvey admired but rather a just God, a God of Ethiopia.

Race first also emphasized control over one's own point of view. He was quite comfortable with the word "propaganda" and insisted that Africans should assert their own, as others did.

Garvey's ability to market his ideas to his people accounted in large measure for his success. His *Negro World* was the most widely circulated African newspaper in the world and the most persecuted by colonial authorities. "Garvey sold the Negro to himself," one of his followers once said.

Self-reliance was a necessary corollary to race first. If God helped those who helped themselves, then the race would have to do for self or perish. Self-reliance also brought psychological benefits to those who pulled themselves out of the mire of self-sorrow, despair, and hopelessness. Much of Garvey's organizational effort was designed to demonstrate these ideas in practice. Millions of Africans around the world understood what Garvey was trying to achieve and enthusiastically embraced his program. The Black Star Line Shipping Corporation was the flagship of Garvey's implemented ideas. It and its successor, Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company, owned four ships and paid down on a fifth, which it never acquired. Garvey thought that the Black Star Line, self-reliance made manifest, brought more people into the UNIA than anything else he ever did.

Nationhood completed the three principal planks of Garvey's African nationalist ideological platform. The UNIA was conceived as a sort of super nation, a provisional government of Africa pending the time of Africa's actual recovery of its independence. Almost the entire African race, whether at home or in the diaspora, was in Garvey's time ruled by European imperialism. The UNIA kept alive the dream of an African political resurgence. It had a potentate, a provisional president of Africa (Garvey), a parliament in its International Conventions of the Negro Peoples of the World, ambassadors, an anthem, a flag, paramilitary auxiliaries, and sundry other attributes of nationhood.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 took place one year after Garvey's arrival in the United States. World communism was in the ascendancy during Garvey's American sojourn of 1916–1927. Communists made many overtures to the UNIA, sometimes friendly but mostly hostile. Garvey was nevertheless typically careful to forge his own path between the competing ideologies of capitalism and communism.

He was against unrestrained capitalism and favored a cap on individual and corporate wealth. A cap on individual stock ownership in the Black Star Line was in place, and Garvey preferred to see it more as a cooperative racial venture than a straight capitalistic enterprise.

Garvey was sympathetic to most struggles against imperialism. He was not overtly hostile to communism, and he praised Lenin on the Soviet leader's death in 1924. He was nevertheless firm in his opposition to communist efforts, sometimes crude, to infiltrate and take over the UNIA. The communists advocated "class first." Between this and Garvey's race first, there was a chasm that Garvey was unwilling to bridge. Communism also meant white leadership, which was anathema to Garvey. Black leadership of black organizations was Garvey's first rule of race first.

Garvey's race first ideology was also easily distinguishable from the integrationism of white liberals and some sections of the African American middle class. Integrationist ideas received their most prominent organizational expression in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people (NAACP), founded in 1909 by white and Jewish liberals. Integrationists preferred to work within interracial organizations. Officialdom perceived them as less threatening to the status quo than Marcus Garvey. Although the UNIA enjoyed widespread support among both middle- and working-class African Americans, the NAACP's support was more concentrated in the middle class. The NAACP was less confrontational toward officialdom and less Pan-African oriented. They provide only lukewarm support for Du Bois's pan-African Congresses, first held in 1919. DuBois himself, from his position as editor of NAACP's *Crisis* magazine, became the major integrationist critic of Garvey.

The core of Garvey's nationalist philosophy has been a constant in the African world for hundreds of years. Sometimes, as in the case of Booker T. Washington, it has clothed itself in relatively conservative garb. Washington was, after all, much loved by the types of establishment figures who harassed and jailed Garvey, and eventually deported him from the United States. In Elijah Muhammad's post-Garvey Nation of Islam, Garveyite ideas appeared in what many may have perceived to be a more outwardly radical organization. Elements of Garvey's ideas also could be found among a wide array of pan-African leaders of the post-Garvey generations. These include Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, and several leaders of the African Nationalist Congress in South Africa. Nkrumah attended UNIA meetings in Harlem while a student in the United States. In his autobiography, *Ghana*, he credited *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* with a greater influence on his political development than any other book. Azikiwe credited a boyhood reading of Garvey's *Negro World* with initiating his interest in politics. Kenyatta considered himself a Garveyite in his youth. Among Caribbean nationalist leaders, Errol Barrow of Barbados and some of the top early associates of Alexander Bustamante in Jamaica are among the many heirs to Garvey's legacy. Barrow's father was Bishop Reginald Barrow of a Brooklyn, New York, parish of the African Orthodox Church, which had its beginnings among Garveyites. Bustamante's early lieutenants included St. William Grant, former head of the UNIA in Brooklyn. In African America, Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X, and Shirley Chisholm, the first U.S. congresswoman, all had close ties to Garveyism. Muhammad was a member of the Detroit UNIA. Malcolm's father and mother were president and secretary, respectively, of the UNIA in Milwaukee and other cities. Shirley Chisholm recalled that her earliest recollections of things political were gleaned from her childhood attendance with her father at UNIA meetings in Brooklyn.

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