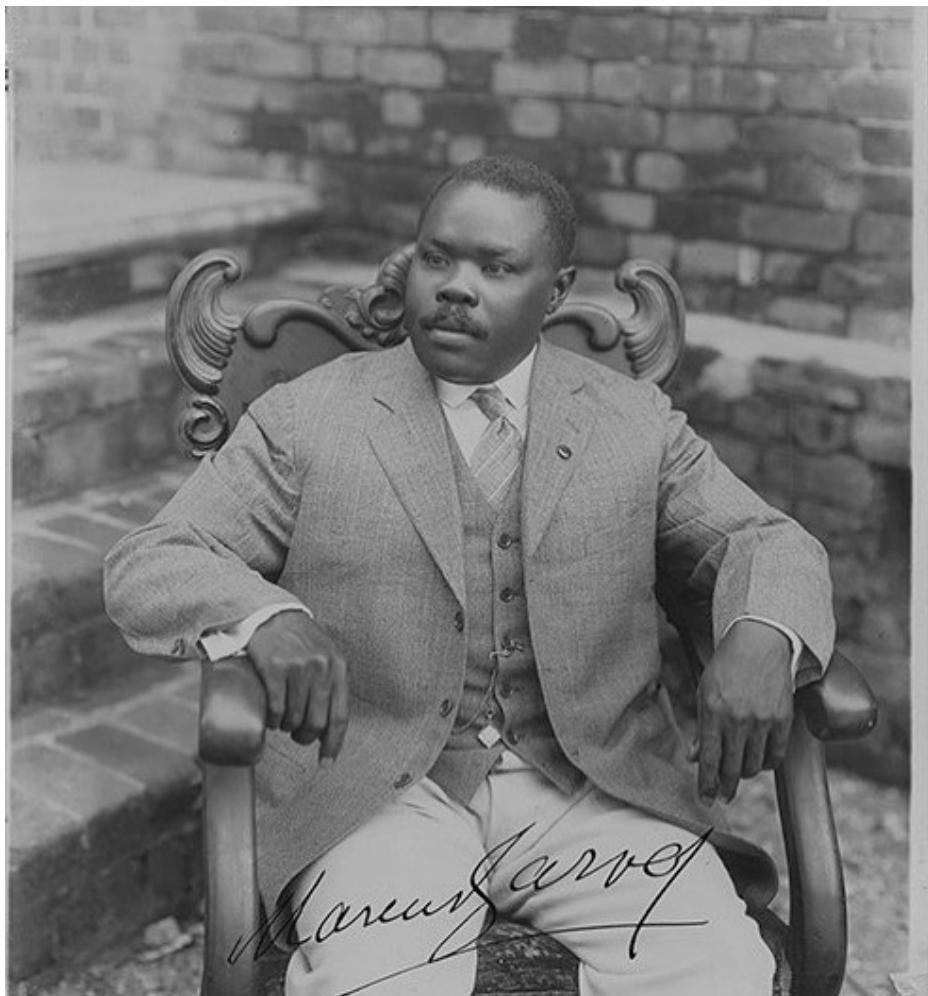


MARCUS MOSIAH
GARVEY
AND THE U.N.I.A.
TRIBUTE PAPER



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Coming in the next issue: Bantu Stephen Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement

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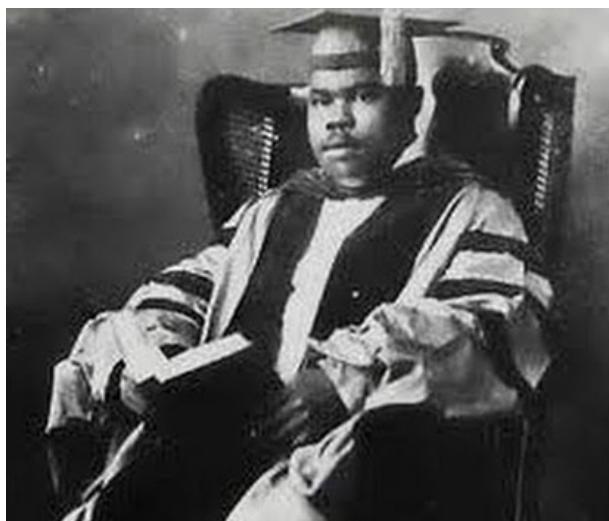
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MARCUS GARVEY SPEAKS

U.N.I.A. ANTHEM, FULL VERSION

SOURCES



‘Man’s first duty to himself is to discover himself. Who am I here? What is expected of me by my Creator? Man in our world is a supreme being, and he owes no obligation to anybody or anything but the Source that created him - a Source that does not interfere with him, but expects from him the acts of man - that source we call God. Outside of that Source he has an absolute power that cannot be successfully challenged. Yet so many of us, and particularly members of our race, fail to realize this great responsibility that goes with power. We must stand on our own two feet, and face all challenges, circumvent the evils that necessarily will beset us, overcome the obstacles, and push forward to our goal. This, my dear Friends, is the job of real men and women in a world of alien opposition, determined to hold us back. Live up to God’s expectation of us, as His children, and enjoy the fulness of this earth while we are here.’

Speech in the Blackman, June 8, 1929.

A LIFE SYNOPSIS



Marcus Mosiah Garvey – The Black Moses

I. GROWING UP JAMAICAN

Marcus Mosiah Garvey Jr. was born on August 17, 1887 in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica. He was the youngest child of Malchus Moziah Garvey and the fourth child of Sarah Richards. Garvey senior had six children from earlier marriages. He was a master stonemason whose skills were much in demand. Marcus' mother Sarah was a gentle woman. She was the daughter of peasant farmers working as a domestic servant, cooking for the neighbors.



“A generation up from slavery, Mr Garvey, as he insisted to be referred to by everyone, including his wife, was an extravagantly proud, self-educated man who had amassed an impressive collection of precious books. In later life Marcus Garvey would recall how he’d steal into his father’s library and luxuriate in the knowledge contained therein.” (Grant 2008: p.9)

Garvey Senior was a very strict and “intolerant man”, he showed young Marcus many times that he would not protect him but rather punish and challenge him. Marcus later recalled vivid a moment where he had to learn fearlessness. He helped his father build a vault for the landowner’s son who had died. Garvey Senior pulled up the ladder leaving young Marcus in the unfinished vault. Hours of tearful protest later, Marcus fell finally asleep. He remembered imagining that he saw the dead man bending over him. Later his father rescued him from the vault explaining he had just taught him an important lesson in conquering fear. Realizing early that there was no shelter and kindness to be found in his own father, he sought the company of his maternal uncle, Joseph Richards, who worked a small farm. Marcus Garvey recited that ‘Ba Joe’ was the picture of benevolence, and a major influence for him.

Marcus's father left the family with financial debt and at the age of 14, young Marcus became responsible to provide for his mother and his older sister. He later remarked on his father “My father was a man of brilliant intellect and dashing courage. He was unafraid of consequences. He took human chances in the course of life, as most bold men do, and failed at the close of his career.” (Garvey in Grant 2008: p.12)

As the financial stability of his family was in jeopardy Marcus knew that further education for him was not possible. He would need to find a job to support his mother and sister. At the tender age of 14 he started working as an apprentice at a local printer Alfred ‘Cap’ Burrows, who was a friend of the family. He was to

learn a trait that would help him later on in his life. “Garvey was a conscientious and enthusiastic student; he experienced all aspects of printing and seemed to have a special talent for the art of the compositor.” (Grant 2008: p.13)

A contemporary of Garvey recalls that Marcus was continually reading and telling his peers about worldwide news. His pockets were full of papers at all times.

After two years in the position of apprentice, Marcus Garvey had the opportunity to relocate to Port Maria. His boss Alfred Burrowes had opened another branch of his print shop there. Once Marcus had saved up enough money he moved to Kingston and promised his mother he'd bring her there once he was fully situated. Kingston was the ‘metropolis’ of Jamaica. He lived in a small room attached to the house of a befriended family. Many people were coming from the country to Kingston to find work and a better future. Work was not abundant in the city. But Marcus, who had a lot of experience in the printing business, and a written note of recommendation from ‘Cap’ Burrows, soon started working at the printing division of P.A. Benjamin Manufacturing Co. A little while later he was promoted to the position of the foreman, a post which was traditionally filled by an Englishman.

“Jamaica lacked the facilities for training artisans and engineers locally, and industry was therefore dependent on foreign technical know-how. Hence the English foremen, shipped over as prized specimens from the motherland.” (Grant 2008: p.16)

In January 1907 Jamaica was hit by a major earthquake. Garvey was 19 years old. It brought destruction, leaving many dead and towns devastated. The physical and social impacts were long-lasting. Businesses dropped workers and wages were lowered as a consequence of the near economic collapse. Grant writes that workers’ rights were jeopardized in favor of profit. Marcus Garvey acquired

a reputation of getting involved in disputes between workers and employers. He was said to be talented in solving conflicts. After his mother's death, Marcus and his sister Indiana were intensifying their foothold in Kingston. Indiana found work as a maid. Marcus leveraged his sister financial stability and ramped up his effort within his work. He soon became manager of P.A. Benjamin's printing establishment. Garvey mentioned about this period:

"I had not much difficulty in finding and holding a place for myself, for I was aggressive." The only issue Garvey had was that his sense for social justice was sometimes stronger than self-advancement. Even as the manager of a business, he kept his trade-union membership. He remained the foreman of the Kingston Typographical Union - an unlikely combination. In late 1908 the situation grew more complicated.

"Print workers' demands for better wages and working conditions were ignored by managers throughout the capital. When the workers went out on an island-wide strike on 28 November 1908, Garvey defied expectations by not only joining the strike but also taking a leading role amongst the strikers." (Grant 2008: p.18) After the strike was dissolved, leading spokespeople of the union felt the repercussions. Most lost their jobs, including Garvey. He was unable to find another job in the private sector after. The decision to join the workers in strike was a turning point in his path. Some years later, he became the leader of the biggest black movement in the United States. It was during this time that Marcus Garvey became interested with the politics of his country and the injustices done to his race. He felt the growing urge to do something about it.

Grant writes that Garvey, at the age of twenty, had risked his career and his livelihood by joining the strikers, and lost. But Marcus Garvey would not have been Marcus Garvey if he had not twisted this blow of fate in his favor. He managed to find another temporary position at the government printers. In 1910

he became the National Club's first assistant secretary. The National Club was Jamaica's first nationalist political organization which tried to defy the British governance. They were actively petitioning for the removal of the Governor Olivier.

This same year Garvey published his first weekly journal titled 'Garvey's Watchman'. The title was an homage to 'The Watchman' a militant journal by G. William Gordon, that had impact on the uprising of Morant Bay, known as the Morant Bay Rebellion*, in 1865. Due to lack of financial means, Garvey had to suspend publication after the third issue was printed. He came back to consistently publish his own magazines a few years later with the 'Negro World'.

* MORANT BAY REBELLION

The Morant Bay rebellion began with a protest march to the courthouse by hundreds of people led by preacher Paul Bogle in Morant Bay. Some were armed with sticks and stones. After seven men were shot and killed by the volunteer militia, the protesters attacked and burned the court house and nearby buildings. The colonial authorities repressed the rebellion brutally. Nearly 500 people were killed and many more were injured.

Later that year Garvey left for Costa Rica. Many other Jamaicans did too. They were trying to escape the employment shortage in a post-earthquake economy. Many went to work on banana plantations that were serving the European market. Marcus Garvey, always one step ahead, acquired a privileged position on the plantation. His uncle Henry Richard had put in a word for him.

When Garvey reached Costa Rica, a heavy conflict was boiling between the Jamaican laborers and the North American employers. There were new taxes on bananas and the employers responded by cutting workers' wages.

Marcus Garvey decided to publish a bilingual newspaper “Nation” / “La Nacion”, in which he openly criticized the United Fruit Company. He asserted that workers’ rights were lacking. Shortly after, an important piece of the printing press broke, and Garvey was unable to continue printing. He chose to leave and traveled through Panama. There he experienced the building of the Panama Canal. He also saw the situations of the West Indian workers and a parallel to what he had witnessed in Costa Rica.

His travels lead him to Honduras, Ecuador, Colombia, Chile, Peru and Venezuela. He continued to see the same inequities. In all these places, he focused on uniting the West Indian immigrants. He called on the British Consul to protect them. After two years on the road and with limited success, he “felt sick at heart and worn out with Malaria” and decided to return to Kingston. Back home he headed a delegation to bring the workers’ problems overseas to the governor, advocating for an implementation of protective measurements. His request was rejected. He was told that if the conditions were that bad, they are all free to come back to the island. When Garvey addressed the lack of employment possibilities in Jamaica, the Governor had no suggestions to add. Garvey concluded that the Jamaicans working outside the country were assets, as they were sending money home. There was no one in authority trying to change their unprotected and vulnerable position.

These experiences were the stones that built Garvey’s conceptual house. He added data through experience, through keen comparisons. He made connections in his mind and he knew more and more that his mission in life was elevating a people that had not yet gotten the amount of safety and recognition they deserved.

“These people [the West Indian working class] formed the nucleus of the soon-to-be-organized Universal Negro Improvement Association” (Amy J. Garvey in Hill 2011 [1974]: p.35)

Garvey decided to go to England to find financiers to help the West Indian workers in foreign lands. His sister Indiana was working in London as a children’s nurse. She helped pay for his trip to England.



A family of the famous Windrush Generation

II. GREAT BRITAIN – THE EMPIRE

When reaching Great Britain, Garvey worked around the docks of London, Cardiff and Liverpool. There he met seamen from all over the world - from Africa to West India. He enjoyed a rich flow of information from the seamen. As he learned more about the situation of black people around the world, it became clear that the hardship was their common experience.



The Port of Liverpool, around 1890

In a stroke of luck or perhaps divine intervention, the seamen told Marcus Garvey where to find Duse Mohammed Ali. Ali was an Egyptian Nationalist who would influence Garvey's path. Duse Mohammed Ali didn't limit his nationalism to Egypt, his scope included the whole of Africa. His place was a meeting ground for Africans and Asians alike.

Robert A. Hill describes in his chapter on Garvey ‘*The first England Years and After 1912-1916*’ Duse Mohammed Ali as “the central figure of Pan-African thought and expression of the pre- 1914 period”. (Hill in Clarke 2011 [1974]: p.42)

DUSÉ MOHAMED ALI born on November 21, 1866 in Alexandria, Egypt was a Sudanese-Egyptian actor and political activist. His gifts were manifold, but he became mainly known for his African nationalism. He reached prominence in the political circles with his publication of ‘*In the Land of the Pharaohs*’, the first history of Egypt written by an Egyptian. He lived and worked mostly in England and the United States. In 1912 he started publishing the *African Times and Orient Review*, where many important black intellectuals of the time joined together. His house was a melting pot of ideas and activism. Moving to Lagos, Nigeria later in life, he published ‘*The Comet*’ in 1933, which shortly after became one of the best-selling newspapers of the time in Nigeria. Dusé Ali died on June 25, 1945 in Lagos.



Read more here: <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/ali-duse-mohamad-1866-1945/>

Young Garvey and Duse Mohammed Ali created a close bond and Garvey was soon employed as a messenger. Ali's Journal *African Times and Orient Review*, first published in July 1912, adopted a radical pan-Afro-Asian perspective. It was a cooperation of many like-minded writers of the time. Hill describes the *Review* as ‘the vehicle of Pan-African thought’ putting to paper and distributing the intellectual foundation for a whole new generation of Pan-African struggle. “Duse Mohammed Ali’s journal provided an indispensable forum for the articulation of their anticolonial protest, and was undoubtedly the central source from which emanated most of the ideological currents regarding politics, culture, and economics in Pan-African consciousness.” (Hill in Clarke 2001 [1974]: p.42)

In late 1913 Garvey Jr. got the chance to write an article in one edition.

“For Garvey though, Ali was the real thing: The embodiment of culture and commerce. He looked on in admiration as his employer managed the extraordinary trick of irritating the authorities with his thinly veiled attacks, and, at the same time, securing patronage from senior establishment figures.” (Hill in Clarke 2001 [1974]: p.42)

As World War I blazed through Europe, Garvey made plans to go back home to Jamaica. He boarded ship on June 17, 1914 and reached the Island about a month later. During his passage the idea of the Universal Negro Improvement Association was born.

III. U.N.I.A. – UP YOU MIGHTY RACE

“Where did the name of the organization come from? It was while speaking to a West Indian Negro who was a passenger on the ship with me from Southhampton, who was returning home to the West Indies from Basutoland with his Basuto wife, that I further learned the horrors of native life in Africa. He related to me in conversation such horrible and pitiable tales that my heart bled within me. Retiring from the conversation to my cabin, all day and the following night I pondered over the subject matter of that conversation, and at midnight, lying flat on my back the vision and thought came to me that I should name the organization the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities (Imperial) League. Such a name I thought would embrace the purpose of all black humanity.”

Marcus Garvey

Back in Jamaica, Marcus Garvey, together with his wife Amy Ashwood, launched the organization *The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League* on August 1. Its motto: ONE GOD! ONE AIM! ONE DESTINY!



Marcus Garvey served as President and Travelling Commissioner. T.A. Mc Cormack served as Secretary General, and J.W. Milburn as Treasurer. Garvey created cultural programs and help elocution contests. He worked to develop and bring out the hidden talents of the less fortunate black peoples in Jamaica. The people who Marcus Garvey was livicated to help had no money to finance programs. He tried to solve the riddle of funding the programs. He established a trade school where his followers would be able to acquire skills that would help them to earn better wages in the future. His challenge arose in dealing with the classism in Jamaica, which's intensity may have caught him by surprise. "I believe Garvey's moment of authentic radicalization occurred in the context of his struggle to cope with and overcome the rejection of the *colored Jamaican middle-class.*" Hill writes.

“It was the repressive exclusion of the Jamaican “browns,” as they were sometimes described, to keep Garvey in his social place and thereby maintain their *monopoly of influence as spokesmen for society to the Colonial Establishment*; this fact triggered in him the beginning of a genuine radicalization.”(Hill in Clarke 2001 [1974]: p.45)

AMY ASHWOOD GARVEY (1897 - 1969)

was born in Jamaica, in 1914 she met Marcus Garvey. Both shared the common interest in African history and empowerment of black people. Secretly engaged in 1916, they met again in New York when Garvey settled there in 1918, where she played an important part in building up the UNIA branches and became a Pan-Africanist campaigner on Garvey's side. They got married in Dec 1919 but separated soon after. She left the UNIA but continued to work with African leaders,

calling
for



African independence. She was co-founder of the Nigerian Progress Union and she helped establish the International African Service Bureau (IASB). Amy Ashwood lived some time in England and returned to New York from 1924-1929 producing musicals. Back in London in 1934-8 she opened the Florence Mills Social Club, a jazz club in Carnaby Street which became a meeting point for Pan-Africanists. She helped organize the 5th Pan-African Congress in England in 1945. She returned to her birth home Jamaica and died there in 1969.

More on Amy Ashwood Garvey: <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/garvey-amy-ashwood-1897-1969/>

Marcus Garvey describes this in his own words: “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. I decided to do the latter, hence my offence against “colored-black-white” society in the colonies and America. I was openly hated and persecuted by some of these colored men of the island who did not want to be classified as Negroes, but as white. They hated me worse than poison. (...) furthermore, I was a black man and therefore had absolutely no right to lead; in the opinion of the “colored” element, leadership should have been in the hands of a yellow or very light man. (...) This is the grinding system that keeps the blackman down, hence I personally, have very little in common with the educated class of our people for they are the bitterest enemies of their own race. Our people have no respect for one another, and all the respect is shown to the white and colored people.” (Garvey 1923: p. 66f) As Robert Hill analyzes further, Garvey transformed from *racial altruism** to *racial patriotism**.

*ALTRUISM noun

altruism | \ 'al-trü-,i-zəm \

Definition of altruism

1: unselfish regard for or devotion to the welfare of others charitable acts motivated purely by altruism

*PATRIOTISM noun

patriotism | \ 'pā-trē-ə-,ti-zəm , chiefly British 'pa-\

Definition of patriotism

: love for or devotion to one's country

Garvey describes in his own words: “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) hence the entire world is prone to look down on him as an inferior or degraded being.” (Garvey 1923: p. 67) Hill concludes “Once having embarked, however, on the new program of racial patriotism, the outcome of his struggle with the Jamaican colored middle-class, Garvey would rapidly, as the circumstances changed, apply this racial patriotism to his ultimate vision of “Africa for the Africans, at home and abroad.”



“Sons and daughters of Africa, I say to you arise, take on the toga of race pride, and throw off the brand of ignominy* which has kept you back for so many centuries.”

(Garvey 1923: p.69)

*IGNOMINY noun

igno·mi·ny | \ 'ig-nə-,mi-nē , -mə-nē also ig- 'nä-mə-nē \

Definition of ignominy

1: deep personal humiliation and disgrace

2: disgraceful or dishonorable conduct, quality, or action

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE U.N.I.A.

1. To establish a universal confraternity among the race.
2. To prompt the spirit of pride and love.
3. To reclaim the fallen.
4. To administer and assist the needy.
5. To assist in civilizing the backward tribes of Africa.
6. To assist in the development of independent Negro nations and communities.
7. To establish commissioners or agencies in the principal countries and cities of the world for the representation and protection of all Negroes, irrespective of nationality.
8. To promote a conscientious spiritual worship among the native tribes of Africa.
9. To establish universities, colleges, academies and schools for the racial education and culture of the people.
10. To conduct a world-wide commercial and industrial intercourse for the good of the people.
11. To work for better conditions in all Negro communities.

Garvey: Message to the people p.33

Garvey had a very clear vision of what the U.N.I.A.'s work ought to be: Economic self-reliance that leads to political and social power.

“The culmination of all the efforts of the U.N.I.A. must end in Negro independent nationalism on the continent of Africa. That is to say, everything must contribute toward the final objective of having a powerful nation for the Negro race. Negro nationalism is necessary. It is political power and control. No race is free until it has a strong nation of its own; its own system of government and its own order of society. Never give up this idea. Let no one persuade you against it. It is the only

protection for your generation and your race. Hold on to the idea of an independent government and nation as long as other men have them. Visualize for yourself and your children and generations unborn your own king, emperor, president, your own government officials and administrators, who look like you. (...) You must always seek and work for a government absolutely your own, where you and your children will have a chance like anybody else in the state; to have a chance to rise from the lowest to the highest position (...). While you are under alien governments get the best out of them as the rights of citizenship; but always have in view doing something to make it possible for your race to have a nation and a government of its own. Speak of this, dream of this, work unceasingly for this and never forget this, for this is the great task of the U.N.I.A." (Garvey in Message to the People: p.33f)

"Make songs about your nation and sing them. Write poetry about your nation and read it; recite it. Glorify your nation in music and songs. (...) see only yourself in everything. Make your nation the highest expression of human idealism. Then live up to it." (Garvey in Message to the People: p.37)

"There should always be a charitable fund in every division of the U.N.I.A. and a certain amount placed at the disposal of responsible representatives of the Association for the dispensing of charity to the neighborhood in which they live. (...) Let the tender touch of kindness be everywhere; going from the U.N.I.A. to the people in the community. When men will remember you for nothing else, they will remember you for the kindly deed, the touch of sympathy that seldom comes from others, which is the duty of every representative of the U.N.I.A. (Garvey in Message to the People: p.153)

“I succeeded to a great extent in establishing the association in Jamaica with the assistance of a Catholic Bishop, the Governor, Sir John Pringle and Rev. William Graham, a Scottish clergyman and several other white friends. I got in touch with Booker T. Washington and told him what I wanted to do. He invited me to America and promised to speak with me in the Southern and other States to help my work. Although he died in the fall of 1915, I made my arrangements and arrived in the United States on March 23, 1916. (Garvey in Message to the People: p.76)

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON (1856 – 1915) was an educator, author, first president and principal developer of the TUSKEGEE NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE (now Tuskegee University).

He was the most influential spokesman for black Americans between 1895 and 1915. Washington, still being born into slavery became an important voice for the former enslaved population and the generations after.

In 1895 Washington's speech the “Atlanta Compromise” brought



him further recognition. He thought for Black progress through education and entrepreneurship as a tool to liberation, instead of fighting against segregation under the Jim Crow laws directly. He was in favor of building and manifesting as a means to fight the status quo.



IV. HARLEM - THE NEGRO WORLD & THE BLACK STAR LINE

“Harlem in 1916 was the logical place to begin any organization of American Negroes. (...) A compact black ghetto, Harlem boasted more publications than any other Negro community and could rightfully claim to be the seat of Negro urban society. Here were to be found representatives of all elements in the colored world, a sable mélange of sensitive artists, successful businessmen, self-anointed preachers, poorly paid day laborers, and ignorant sidewalk loafers.” (Cronon 1960: p.39)



A Street in Harlem, around 1920

Over the next few years, the already packed Harlem community was joined by many thousand immigrants more from the West Indies and the America South. Henry Clarke writes that the Garvey Movement began to take effective roots in an America. Millions of black Americans started to realize they will never know full citizenship in a society, where there was no reparation for what their ancestors had to endured. While building the wealth of American society. “Against this background of broken promises and fading hope, Marcus Garvey began to build a worldwide Black movement. This, the first Black mass protest crusade in

the history of the United States, began to pose serious problems for white America. This movement also posed serious problems for the then existing Black leadership, especially for Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois." (Clarke 2011 [1974]: p.96)

Garvey made a tour of the country to see the condition of black America. He visited 38 states to get a picture of what was structurally going on all over the country. He went to see Negro leaders, such as W.E.B Du Bois and alike and was not in favor of their lack of program.

WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS (1868- 1963) was an American sociologist, historian, author, editor, and activist who founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. He was editor of *The Crisis*, the NAACP magazine, from 1910 to 1934.

He published his book *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). Marcus Garvey and Du Bois views on the way to liberate Black people in

the diaspora were opposing, while Du Bois wanted freedom and equality by integration, Garvey aimed at freedom by segregation. In 1961, at the age of 93 he moved to Ghana on the invite of Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah. He died there in 1963, after becoming citizen of Ghana.



"In Harlem Garvey found not only a mass of Negroes overshadowed by the larger white world but also a large number of West Indians isolated from the native American Negro population." (Cronon 1960: p.41f) Shortly after, Garvey established the New York division of the U.N.I.A. Not so commonly known, his first attempt failed. Politicians tried to hijack the association. Internal discrepancies and the ensuing controversy lead to the breakup of the organization. Marcus Garvey went ahead and started anew. Within only two

months he managed to recruit over 1,500 members for his organization. Garvey served as an organizing element of the branch organization in New York and as president of the mother organization in Jamaica. At one point Garvey was asked to step into the role of the president to avoid further turmoil within the association. "He consented to this request and was immediately elected president general of the New York U.N.I.A. A quick reorganization was effected, and the Universal Negro Improvement Association was incorporated as a membership corporation under New York law to prevent rival groups from using its name." (Cronon 1960: p.43)

Garvey realized once more that it was important to keep the U.N.I.A. away from political entanglement, to serve its best purpose – African Redemption.

THE NEGRO WORLD



In January 1918, Garvey founded the *Negro World*, the U.N.I.A.'s New York newspaper. The *Negro World* had a significant share in the fast growth and organization of the movement. It was said to be one of the most successful if not the most successful black weekly in the States, which at that time numbered up to 400 different black owned newspapers and magazines.

With the financial support of the self-made millionaire Madame C.J. Walker, it became an effective instrument in spreading Garvey's message. With a circulation of estimated 60,000 to 200,000 during its best times, the ripples the paper created were vast. The *Negro World* covered a wide variety of subjects. From telling about the glory of Africa's past and present, or simply promoting the organization and its enterprises.

‘Africa must be redeemed’ was a regular call and its’ readers were encouraged to take stance, write and speak on behalf of race equality and unity, as well as African liberation.



Amy Jacques Garvey, C.J. Walker and Marcus Garvey

111

Travis Hudson Taylor

using a total yearly budget that runs into millions. There are thirty churches and fifty missions. Our particular church, St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal in Lapham street, stands as a challenge to every church of the white community for enterprise, for, with a building costing \$200,000 and a membership of 4,000, this corporate congregation has gone into thermal establishment and has holdings said to be worth \$1,000,000. There is a N. W. C. A. building in the heart of the section that represents an investment of \$50,000, and a Y. W. C. A. of about an equal value. There are four successful newspapers, until a short time ago when a fifth appeared. There are numberless theaters, restaurants, saloons, and other places of business operated solely by Negroes and yielding large incomes. A Negro was recently elected to the House who, beginning, he is a business man, he spent a fair proportion of his patrimonial and inheritance, and as a result became immensely wealthy. She built a magnificent country place on the Madison that cost \$200,000 and a sum house in Lapham, and when she died, her will disposed of a large estate including, among other things, a large and valuable collection of art treasures. Upon the streets of Negro Hillmen one will find at all times an ever changing parade of well-dressed, well-dressed, businesslike, enterprising Negroes going about their daily affairs in the best of clothing, while the cars are lined with and the streets marked by automobiles owned and operated by the colored residents. A road

Mapa Sobre las Bases Mexicanas

300

GREAT WORLD CONVENTION OF NEGROES

Members of the Race From All Parts of the World to Assemble at Liberty Hall, New York, Sunday, August 1, at 10 A. M.—Biggest and Most Representative Assemblage in History of the Race

CONSTITUTION OF NEGRO LIBERTY IS TO BE WRITTEN

MARION CAREY'S DEBUT IN NEW YORK CITY
Starting the headlines on the front page when the newspaper arrived for most New Yorkers last night was the name

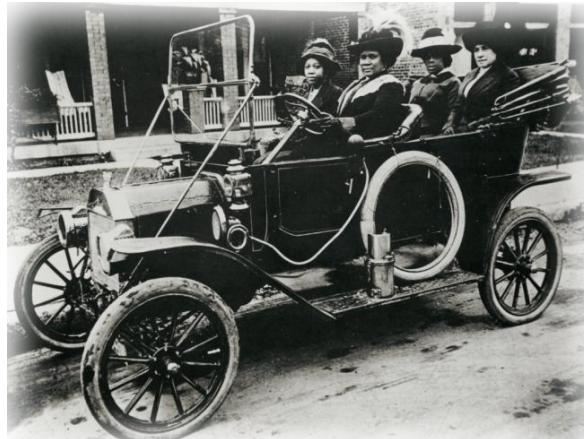
sonal pursuit as bankers, lawyers, physicians, and other less than farming. They own more than a hundred banks." To-day throughout the nation Negroes own 20,000 houses. There are five hundred college and higher institutions of learning worth in equipment and endowment \$200,000,000. There are 1,000,000 Negroes in public schools. There are 2,000 churches with a value of \$100,000,000 and a total membership of 4,000,000. In one Georgia county there are three times as many Negroes owning farms as whites, and this is not excepted. In North Carolina alone, the 1910 tax lists show Negro property worth \$200,000,000. Throughout the year Negroes bought \$10,000,000 worth of Liberty Bonds. The sum in its half century of freedom has produced orators, writers, painters, sculptors, poets, lawyers, physicians, dentists, bankers, and all manner of professional and occupational geniuses in a country where the highest possible remunerative reward is available. The Negroes have here their own major inter-city baseball league, patterned after the big white leagues, to say nothing of their minor and smaller circuits. And it is baseball in the accepted high-financial sense, with thousands invested and productive of baseball income returns.

Confident of the material with which he could build a great *house* back of his plan, once he obtained access to it, Guyon cast about to find the detainees that might stand in his way. As he had long felt, he did not have to look far. The main motion of his intention to some of his race brought down the condemnation of "radicalism," while with others it left others cold, at least indifferent. The first attempts to speak in public meetings and to write in the Negro press brought forth opposition from all sides. This antagonism he soon found fit in three general groups. One group he found personified in Dr. Robert E. Moton, successor of Dr. Booker T. Washington as the principal of Tuskegee Institute and also president of the National Negro Business League; another group had at its head Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the third group was the Negro church.

The Moton wing, Garvey based, bends its energies toward the industrial development of the Negro, while the Dulles wing seeks his political advancement, the two working more or less in concert in posture, acceptance of the belief that continued industrial and political development comes as the best available guarantee of Negro progress.

“The years of triumph and tragedy were building years, searching years and years of magnificent dreaming. Marcus Garvey’s vision of Africa had lifted the spirit of Black Americans out of the Depression that followed the First World War. The UNIA’s African Legions and Black Cross Nurses became a familiar sight on the streets of Harlem. The UNIA grew in membership and in support of all kinds. Garvey was the beating heart of the Movement. His persuasive voice and prolific writings and his effective use of pageantry struck a responsive chord throughout the Black communities of America and abroad. Branches of the Movement were established in Latin America, wherever there were large Caribbean communities. An African Orthodox Church was founded in America. Now the Black man was searching for a new God as well as a new land.” (Clarke 2011 [1974]: p.96)

MADAME C.J. WALKER (December 23, 1867 - May 25, 1919) was considered the wealthiest African American businesswoman and wealthiest self-made woman in America at the time of her death. She was an entrepreneur, a patron of the arts, philanthropist and a political activist. Besides many other organizations and causes, she supported Marcus Garvey’s newspaper *Negro World* financially. Her 34-room mansion on the Hudson



River served as a social gathering place for the African American community.



WOMEN OF THE U.N.I.A.

The U.N.I.A. had launched the Black Cross Nurses and the Universal Motor Corps, where women could actively partake within the organization and develop leadership and organizational skills.

The Black Cross nurses were

organized on a local level. Henrietta V. Davis, one of the key national leaders of



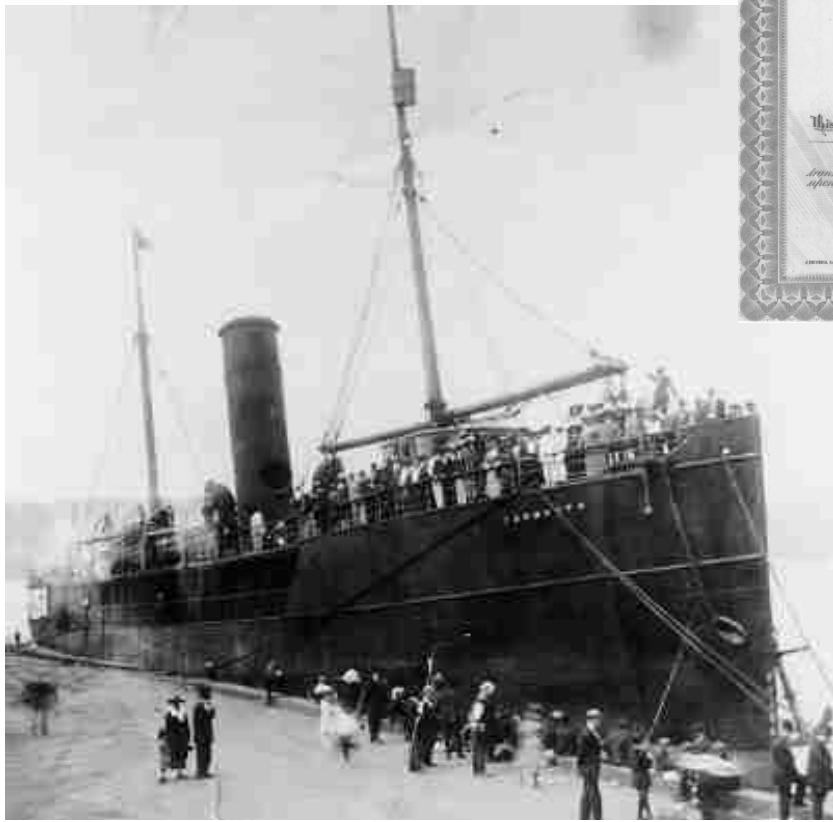
HENRIETTA VINTON DAVIS.

the U.N.I.A., recruited women to local Black Cross Nurse groups in the early 1920s. Further local units were formed in cities in the United States, Central America, and the Caribbean. Garvey once referred to Davis as “the greatest woman of the Negro race today.” With only some members medically trained, the Black Cross nurses provided community work and public health services to black neighborhoods, specializing in infant health and home care.

In some places they worked in conjunction with established social services agencies. The Universal African Motor Corps was a female auxiliary whose units were affiliated with the paramilitary African Legion. Members of the Corps were trained in military discipline and automobile driving and repair.



BLACK STAR LINE



Black Star Line's First Steamship: The S.S. Yarmouth



BSL Capital Stock Certificate

It is said that the beginning of the Black Star Line (BSL) was the end of Marcus Garvey and the U.N.I.A. Part of Marcus Garvey's vision was a shipping line owned by the organization. The ships would be used to encourage and strengthen black trade. They would transport passengers between America, the Caribbean, and Africa. It should be a symbol of black progress and entrepreneurship. As Colin Grant writes "Garvey's track record included the launching of a newspaper, a restaurant and a laundry. To then go on, almost overnight, to establish a shipping company could not be said to be a natural progression." (Grant 2008: p.185) Stirred by the overwhelming support and euphoria of black people Garvey followed his daring dreams. Early on, Marcus Garvey made clear that it is through economic independence that real emancipation can happen. In 1919 the first ship the S.S. Yarmouth was incorporated into the U.N.I.A. It was financed by U.N.I.A.



members and BSL stockholders. The purchase of two more ships followed in the next year. The ships (three in total) reached South American and Caribbean ports such as Panama, Costa Rica, Jamaica, Cuba. No BSL ship ever reached Africa. The 'African Redemption' Liberia program started soon after acquiring the first ship. The idea was to establish a nation in Liberia for African Americans, those born into slavery and their descendants.

By 1920 the U.N.I.A. had hundreds of chapters worldwide and counted around 4 Million members. The movement was at its peak, becoming the biggest black movement in United States history.



U.N.I.A Panama Chapter



The *First Great Convention* in 1920 was held at Madison Square Garden in Harlem, New York. 25,000 people attended the parade.



First U.N.I.A Convention

Marcus Garvey addressed the crowd: “We are assembled here tonight as the descendants of a suffering people and we are determined to suffer no longer, (...) Wheresoever I go, whether it is England, France or Germany, I am told, “This is a white man’s country.” Wheresoever I travel throughout the United States of America, I am made to understand that I am a “nigger”. If the Englishman claims England as his native habitat, and the Frenchman claims time has come for 400 million Negroes to claim Africa as their native land. (...) If you believe that the Negro should have a place in the sun; if you believe that Africa should be one vast empire, controlled by the Negro, then arise.” The masses cheered and began singing the National Anthem* of the U.N.I.A. [*full Anthem see appendix] Two more conventions took place in Harlem over the years of 1921 and 1922.

In 1921 Marcus Garvey undertook a tour to South America, Cuba and Jamaica to boost the sales of Black Star Line stocks. Reaching America with a small delay because his re-entry was refused, he started to prepare the second U.N.I.A. Convention. There were open rumors about mismanagement of the Black Star Line. No efforts were made to silence them. On the contrary, they rumors seemed to be proven right when in January 1922 Garvey and three other main officials of the BSL were arrested and accused of mail fraud. Once released on bail, the investigations into the Black Star Line continued. Garvey focused on organizing the third U.N.I.A. Convention.



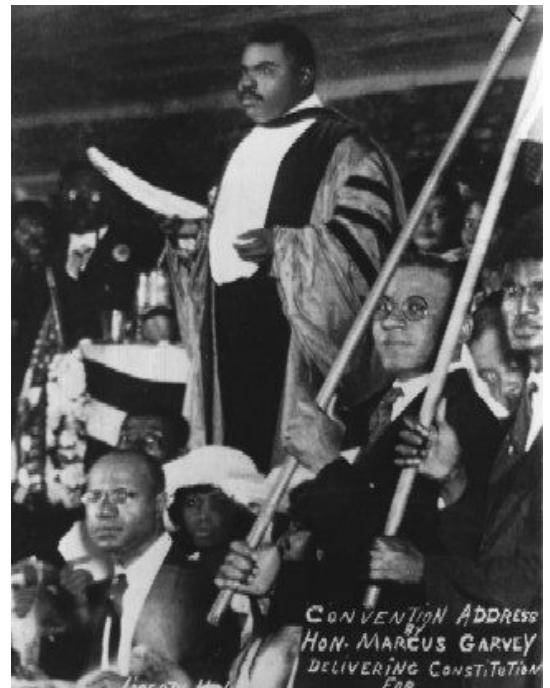
U.N.I.A Parade

There he stated that “There is a great deal of commotion at this time over the activities of the U.N.I.A. We have been hearing a great deal said against the U.N.I.A. and against me personally. Some members are disposed to take the takers seriously. We who lead the U.N.I.A. in all seriousness have laid down a policy long ago and that policy we have maintained.” (Garvey 1922: Liberty Hall NY City)

Meanwhile his opponents and enemies worked effortlessly to publicly show their distaste for Garvey, organizing anti-Garvey rallies and a “Garvey Must Go” movement. “The BOI [Bureau of Investigation] agents witnessed how Garvey had become a vessel for the emotional needs of the people, but they didn’t understand what was going on. The attraction of Marcus Garvey seemed beyond reason.” (Grant 2008: p.248)

The more prominent Garvey’s message became, the more evidence appeared that Garvey was monitored and infiltrated. By the British secret service, by the French - concerned about the effects Garvey’s message may have in the colonies, and -leading the pack- the American Government’s secret service under J. Edgar Hoover. The latter did not favor Garvey’s call for black empowerment and liberation within the American society.

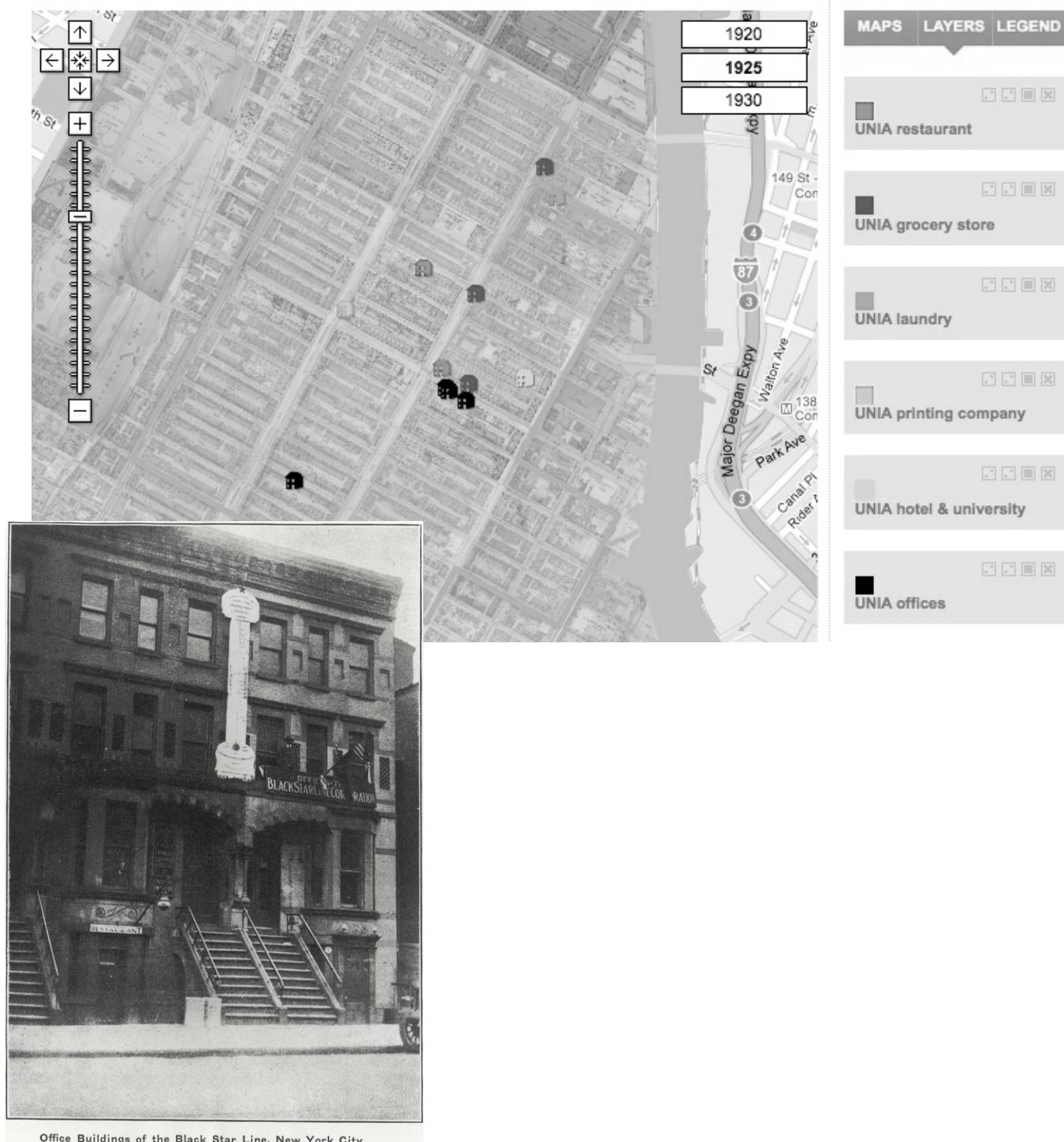
“Never be satisfied to always live under the government of other people because you shall ever be in their mercy. (...) you must always seek and work for a government of your own absolutely where you and your children will have a chance like anybody else in the state, to rise from the lowest to the highest position, which you may not attain under other governments (...).” (Garvey 1977 [1929]: p.211)



Convention Address at Liberty Hall



Within only a short period of time, Marcus Garvey and the U.N.I.A. created a set of U.N.I.A. owned businesses in Harlem. It included a few restaurants, grocery stores, a laundry, the black star line office, a hotel and a university. The progress and growth of the U.N.I.A.'s activities showed results.



Patronize Your Own Industries!

Fellow Members of the Negro Race:

Why not support your own industries and help to find employment for your Race?

Every penny or every dollar you spend with the Universal Negro Improvement Association helps to strengthen the financial standing of the Race. The more you patronize your own enterprises the more will we be able to employ more members of our Race. Already we employ about five thousand Negroes all over America and about four thousand abroad. In New York alone, we employ over two hundred.

If you expect the race to grow financially; if you expect the race to become economically independent; if you expect the race to be respected generally; if you expect us to run more factories and operate more enterprises; if you expect us to employ more Negroes; then you must support the enterprises we have already started.

The following enterprises are now operated by the Universal Negro Improvement Association through the African Communities' League and the Negro Factories' Corporation:

UNIVERSAL STEAM LAUNDRY

62 West 142nd Street

Wet and finished laundry work done by competent hands. Send or take all your clothes to this laundry and help the race to develop strength in the laundry industry. Call Harlem 2877 for orders.

UNIVERSAL TAILORING AND DRESSMAKING DEPARTMENT

62 West 142nd Street

Ladies' and Gents' suits and dresses made to order. Also pressing and dry cleaning. Every Negro should have his or her suit tailored by the Universal Negro Improvement Association; by doing this you will help the race to develop strength in the tailoring industry. Call Harlem 2877 for orders.

UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION'S PUBLISHING AND PRINTING HOUSE

2305 SEVENTH AVE., NEW YORK Telephone: Mornin-side 2831

Printing and Publishing of every description. Whatever you have to print, take your orders to the above address. Help us to build up the race as a tower of strength in the printing industry. All orders for out-of-town printing must be addressed to Printing Dept., Universal Negro Improvement Association, 56 West 135th Street, New York.

UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION'S GROCERY GROCERY STORE NO. 1—47 WEST 136th STREET, NEW YORK

Groceries of every description. You can get everything you want at our grocery stores.

GROCERY STORE NO. 2—646 LENOX AVENUE, NEW YORK
Groceries of all descriptions. You should, by duty, buy your groceries from these stores and help the race to develop strength in the Grocery industry.

GROCERY STORE NO. 3—552 LENOX AVE. Phone Harlem 2883
It pays to patronize your own.

UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION'S RESTAURANT RESTAURANT NO. 2—73 WEST 136th STREET, NEW YORK

Everything tasty and palatable can be obtained at our restaurant.

RESTAURANT NO. 1—LIBERTY HALL, 120 W. 138th, NEW YORK
Everything you want to eat and drink can be obtained from this restaurant.

And now for the sacrifice to build a race. Will you not walk a little further than where you used to deal so as to patronize your own industries? Will you not make the sacrifice of going a block, two or three so as to deal with your own race enterprise, which through its success may employ you some day? A real race patriot would go a mile if need be to help his race develop. Please make up in your mind to help the Universal Negro Improvement Association employ more Negroes by patronizing these industries. Do it and let the race grow. Look up the colors, the Red, Black and Green.

THE ABOVE INDUSTRIES ARE RUN UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE Department of Labor and Industry of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, 56 West 135th Street, New York

When Garvey met the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, on their invite, in 1922 the event was severely misinterpreted. Garvey believed he and the KKK shared similar views on segregation. He sought a separate state for African Americans, detached from white society.

V. MARCUS M. GARVEY AND J. EDGAR HOOVER

Due to his message, his outspoken personality and his fast success, Garvey became a threat and therefore a target of J. Edgar Hoover at the Bureau of Investigation (which later became the FBI).

“He [Garvey] has (...) been particularly active among radical elements in New York City in agitating the Negro movement. Unfortunately, however, he has not yet violated any federal law whereby he could be proceeded against on the grounds of being an undesirable alien.” These are Hoover's written words to a special agent in late 1919. The BOI began investigating Garvey for mail fraud in connection with a brochure for the Black Star Line that included a photo of a ship before the company actually owned one.

In June 1923, after a controversial trial, where Garvey was counsel for his own defense, he was found guilty as charged and sentenced to five years in prison. His co-defendants were found not guilty. His attorney gave notice of appeal, but bail was denied for many months. “My imprisonment of three months has but steeled me for greater service to the people I love so much and who love me. (...) They stuck by me and paid for my defense and subscribed for my bail. These are the people whom my enemies accuse me of defrauding. (...) I feel sure that white America will, when properly informed, agree with us that the only solution of the Negro problem is to give the Negro a country of his own in Africa and for this I am

working without apologies.' (Garvey 1923: p.149) Only after several attempts, the bond was set to an amount of \$15,000. As Amy Jacques Garvey writes, it took them a while to gather the money, as many well-situated people did not want to be connected with Garvey at this point, being fearful of the consequences that may have for them or their businesses. They managed after all, most of the money was borrowed from U.N.I.A. members.

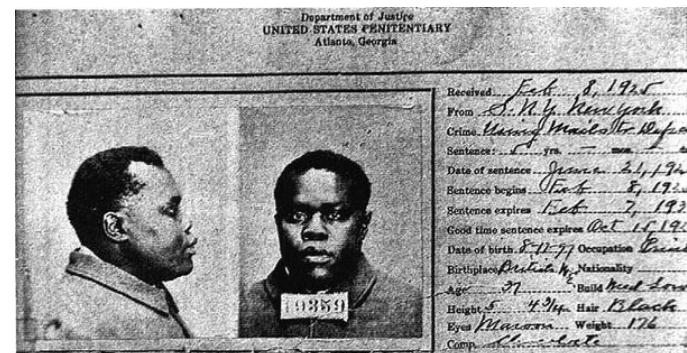
"I was convicted, not because anyone was defrauded in the temporary failure of the Black Star Line brought about by others, but because I represented, even as I do now, a movement for the real emancipation of my race." (Garvey 1923: p.150)



Marcus Garvey at Liberty Hall, 1924

Once the bond was paid, Garvey was released and went straight back to work. As Garvey's second wife Amy Jacques recalls "In 1924, Marcus Garvey had completed plans for a large settlement of American Blacks to Africa. He intended to make Liberia the African headquarters of the U.N.I.A. The European powers who were occupying Africa brought pressure on Liberia to deny Garvey the right to start a settlement there. They feared that the spirit of nationalism would spread throughout Africa and put an end to colonial rule. The President of Liberia

eventually reversed the decision to permit settlement, and Garvey suffered another defeat. The party of U.N.I.A. engineers assigned to construct housing [in Liberia] was arrested and deported the moment their ship reached Monrovia, and the police seized \$50,000 worth of construction material that was to be used by the black settlers. Marcus Garvey never cried over defeats or wasted any time between them. While waiting for a hearing on the request for appeal in his case he started another maritime venture - Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company to replace the defunct Black Star Line." (A. Garvey in Clarke 2011 [1977]: p.104) Early in 1925 the Court of Appeal affirmed the earlier judgement and Garvey was sent to federal prison. He began serving his sentence at Atlanta Prison on February 5, 1925.



FIRST MESSAGE TO THE NEGROES OF THE WORLD FROM ATLANTA PRISON FEBRUARY 10, 1925

Fellow Men of the Negro Race, Greeting:

I am delighted to inform you, that your humble servant is as happy in suffering for you and our cause as is possible under the circumstances of being viciously outraged by a group of plotters who have connived to do their worst to humiliate you through me, in the fight for real emancipation and African Redemption.

I do trust that you have given no credence to the vicious lies of white and enemy newspapers and those who have spoken in reference to my surrender. The liars plotted in every way to make it appear that I was not willing to surrender to the court. My attorney advised me that no mandate would have been handed down for ten or fourteen days, and is the custom of the courts, and that would have given me time to keep speaking engagements I had in Detroit, Cincinnati and Cleveland. I hadn't left the city of ten hours when the liars flashed the news that I was a fugitive. That was good news to circulate all over the world to demoralize the millions of Negroes in America, Africa, Asia, the West Indies and Central America, but the idiots ought to know by now that they can't fool all the Negroes at the same time.

I do not want at this time to write anything that would make it difficult for you to meet the opposition of the enemy without my assistance. Suffice to say that the history of the outrage shall form a splendid chapter in the history of Africa redeemed, when black men will no longer be under the heels of others, but have a civilization and country of their own.

The whole affair is a disgrace, and the whole black world knows it. We shall not forget. Our day may be fifty, a hundred or two hundred years ahead, but let us watch, work and pray, for the civilization of injustice is bound to crumble and bring destruction down upon the heads of the unjust.

The idiots thought that they could humiliate me personally, but in that they are mistaken. The minutes of suffering are counted, and when God and Africa come back and measure out retribution these minutes may multiply by thousands for the sinners. Our Arab and Riffian friends will be ever vigilant, as the rest of Africa and ourselves shall be. Be assured that I planted well the seed of Negro or black nationalism which cannot be destroyed even by the foul play that has been meted out to me.

Continue to pray for me and I shall ever be true to my trust. I want you, the black peoples of the world, to know that W.E.B. Du Bois and that vicious Negro-hating organization known as the Association for the Advancement of "Colored" People are the greatest enemies the black people have in the world. I have so much to do in the few minutes at my disposal that I cannot write exhaustively on this or any other matter, but be warned against these two enemies. Don't allow them to fool you with fine sounding press releases, speeches and books; they are the vipers who have planned with others the extinction of the "black" race. My work is just begun, and when the history of my suffering is complete, then future generations of Negroes will have in their hands the guide by which they shall know the "sins" of the twentieth century. I, and I know you, too, believe in time, and we shall wait patiently for two hundred years, if need be, to face our enemies through our posterity.

You will cheer me much if you will now do even more for the organization than when I was among you. Hold up the hands of those who are carrying on. Help them to make good, so that the work may continue to spread from pole to pole.

I am also making a last minute appeal for support to the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company. Please send in and make your loans so as to enable the directors to successfully carry on the work.

All I have I have given to you. I have sacrificed my home and my loving wife for you. I entrust her to your charge, to protect and defend her in my absence. She is the bravest little woman I know. She has suffered and scarified with me for you; therefore, please do not desert her at this dismal hour, when she stands alone. I have left her penniless and helpless to face the world, because I gave you all, but her courage is great, and I know she will hold up for you and me.

After my enemies are satisfied, in life or death I shall come back to you to serve even as I have served before. In life I shall be the same; in death I shall be a terror to the foes of Negro liberty. If death has power, then count on me in death to be the real Marcus Garvey I would like to be. If I may come in an earthquake, or a cyclone, or plague, or pestilence, or as God would have me, then be assured that I shall never desert you and make your enemies triumph over you. Would I not go to hell a million times for you? Would I not like Macbeth's ghost, walk the earth forever for you? Would I not lose the whole world and eternity for you? Would I not cry forever before the footstool of the Lord Omnipotent for you? Would I not die a million deaths for you? Then, why be sad? Cheer up, and be assured that if it takes a million years the sins of our enemies shall visit the millionth generation of these that hinder and oppress us.

Remember that I have sworn by you and my God to serve to the end of all time, the wreck of matter and the crash of worlds. The enemies think that I am defeated. Did the Germans defeat the French in 1870? Did Napoleon really conquer Europe? If so, then I am defeated, but I tell you the world shall hear from my principles even two thousand years hence. I am willing to wait on time for my satisfaction and the retribution of my enemies. Observe my enemies and their children and posterity, and one day you shall see retribution settling around them.

If I die in Atlanta my work shall then only begin, but I shall live, in the physical or spiritual to see the day of Africa's glory. When I am dead wrap the mantle of the Red, Black and Green around me, for in the new life I shall rise with God's grace and blessing to lead the millions up the heights of triumph with the colors that you well know. *Look for me in the whirlwind or the storm, look for me all around you, for, with God's grace, I shall come and bring with me countless millions of black slaves who have died in America and the West Indies and the millions in Africa to aid you in the fight for Liberty, Freedom and Life.*

The civilization of today is gone drunk and crazy with its power and by such it seeks through injustice, fraud and lies to crush the unfortunate. But if I am apparently crushed by the system of influence and misdirected power, my cause shall rise again to plague the conscience of the corrupt. For this I am satisfied, and for you, I repeat, I am glad to suffer and even die. Again, I say, cheer up, for better days are ahead. I shall write the history that will inspire the millions that are coming and leave the posterity of our enemies to reckon with the hosts for the deeds of their fathers.

With God's dearest blessings, I leave you for a while.

Marcus Garvey in: *Philosophy & Opinions of Marcus Garvey*. Vol. 2. New York: Athenaeum, 1969.

Having served two years in prison already, Marcus Garvey once again appealed to the President to free him. Garvey's plea was supported by nine of the ten

members of the jury that found him guilty, saying he had been 'sufficiently punished'. Though the support for Garvey's call for freedom was wide, the government still saw a threat in his figure and popularity. As the Pardon Attorney wrote: "Owing to his great popularity with the colored race and their unbounded confidence in him and his failure to recognize that he has done anything wrong, the chances are that if, or when, released he will again exploit these willing victims with the same result." (Grant 2008: p.408)

Surprisingly to those who thought Marcus Garvey was taking advantage of, and misleading his followers, their support for their leader did not decrease with Garvey's imprisonment. Quite the opposite was the case. One example was when Garvey's physical was admitted to the prison hospital due to a flare up of his old bronchitis, U.N.I.A. members flooded the Department of Justice with letters appealing for his release. Malcolm X's father Earl Little, was one of many U.N.I.A. branch office leaders who filed a petition suggesting Garvey's release to be a necessity for the President. If releasing Garvey, the president's name would be remembered by generations of Negroes to come. Meetings, parades, black newspaper articles, campaigns and letters, all aimed at calling for the U.N.I.A.'s president's ultimate freedom. "Towards the end of 1927, the calls for Garvey's release were binding his supporters and sympathizers into a raucous mass that caused unease in government circles." (Grant 2008: p. 409) From prison Garvey tried everything

Plead For Marcus Garvey

Washington, D. C., July 16 — A united protest from many Negroes throughout the country against the recent conviction in New York of Marcus Garvey, head of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, was voiced today in scores of telegrams addressed to the Washington office of the Associated Press

Each of the messages represented sentiments said to have been expressed at a Negro mass meeting yesterday. They came from nearly every state and were identic except for the number of persons reported as in attendance at each local meeting.

"We, local Negro citizens of the United States," said each message, "at mass meeting assembled, beg to register with our white citizens thru you, our protest against the injustice that has been done to Marcus Garvey, President General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, his frame up conviction in New York, and denial of bail pending appeal

"We sincerely hope that the white press of our great country will turn on the searchlight of justice and thereby maintain the honor and glory of our fair institutions of justice."

Various protests have been made to the White House and Department of Justice, but the department has announced that no action will be taken which will interfere with the handling of the case by the district court.

to avoid the sale of Liberty Hall as the U.N.I.A. head meeting place in NY. Liberty Hall had been remortgaged several times. Potential saviors jumped in to save the Hall, but the loss was inevitable. Liberty Hall was for sale only a few months later. With the ending of this stronghold came something unexpected, the US administration seemed to yield to the tremendous pressure put on them by the unending support for Garvey by the public.

“On 12 November, the Attorney-General John Sargent compiled a detailed brief for President Coolidge. Garvey’s case was ‘most unusual’, Sargent opined ‘notwithstanding the fact that the prosecution was designed for the protection of colored people, whom it was charged Garvey had been defrauding ... none of these people apparently believe that they have been defrauded, and manifestly retain their entire confidence in Garvey. (...) 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 discrimination against Garvey as a Negro. This is by no means a healthy condition of affairs.’” (Sargent in Grant 2008: p.410) There was only one conclusion, Garvey’s sentence had to be commuted to expire at once. President Coolidge answered this call the same week, freedom for Garvey but under a fateful condition: immediate deportation from the United States, once released out of prison.



Garvey escorted from Federal Prison to the Train

“A few days later immigration officials arrived at the penitentiary in Atlanta and Garvey was discharged into their custody. Instead of a welcome return to the UNIA fraternity, the supreme leader was escorted onto a train bound for New Orleans where the SS *Saramacca* awaited his immediate deportation.” (Grant 2008: p.411) Marcus Garvey had a hard strike to take. It was unlawful to expel an alien who has stayed five years or more on US soil. In his case it counted to be more than six, with a short trip to South America for promotional reasons. Unable to get re-entry into the States for about five months, Marcus Garvey’s residence status was interrupted and therefore not continual. The new count of his continual residency in the states stated July 1921, after coming back from his tour.



*Garvey giving a Farewell Address Minutes before Deportation,
New Orleans, 1927*

“On 3 December 1927, a snappily dressed Marcus Garvey, wearing a light brown checked suit and carrying his trademark silver-headed Malacca cane, stepped out of the police car and into the rain. Several of his followers volunteered umbrellas and they huddled around him as he crossed the wharf and made his way up the gangway to the *SS Saramacca*. Garvey’s name had travelled before him. Up to a thousand supporters assembled at the dock in the New Orleans drizzle to pay their respects to their leader before his forced departure into exile.” (Grant 2008: p.411)

For miles did people line up on levee close to the river. Garvey tried to infuse them with pride, letting them know that there is still a reason to celebrate.



Marcus Garvey on Board of the SS Saramacca with some of his main U.N.I.A. officials

“I leave America fully as happy as when I came, in that my relationship with the Negro people was most pleasant and inspiring. My entire life will be devoted to the support to the cause. I sincerely believe that it is only by nationalizing the Negro and awakening him to the possibilities of himself that his universal problem can be solved.” (Garvey in Grant 2008: p.412)

VI. COMING BACK TO THE ISLAND – JAMAICA WITH LOVE

His ship went from New Orleans to Kingston and had a long overlay in Panama. A six-men committee of U.N.I.A. officials were permitted on board and held a two-hour conference with their leader. They presented him with cash donations collected from its 2,000 U.N.I.A. members in Panama. Funds worth \$10,000 Garvey already received from the American U.N.I.A. members, to help him to get situated in Jamaica again. On the next day, Garvey's ship was headed to Kingston. So many people gathered outside the U.N.I.A. headquarters at Liberty Hall in Kingston, that the authorities were foreseeing chaos or even accidents. They convinced Garvey to postpone his speech until they found a larger venue the next day, December 10th, 1927. The streets were packed with people, the crowd was cheerful. The Daily Cleaner writes that the streets of Kingston have never been packed like that before. At the Ward Theatre, the Island's biggest venue, Garvey addressed the Jamaican crowd. Tears were running after Garvey finished his speech. "It was apparent that Marcus Garvey had returned with a grandeur and majesty never before witnessed on the island." (Grant 2008: p.415)

Garvey did not see himself trading the international stage with Jamaica and his critics in the Government as well as agents of the British Secret Service were finding solace in this fact. Being deported at such speed, Garvey did not have time to settle his personal and professional affairs properly. His wife Amy Jacques Garvey stayed in the States to organize the open affairs. Garvey had left a library of 18,000 books and hundreds of precious antiques behind. He told his wife "I do not want you to leave even a piece of paper behind for I want all my books." (Garvey in Grant 2008: p.416)

"Garvey had set his sights on a reincarnation in Jamaica. The property [that he purchased] which he named 'Somali Court', was close to the English Governor's

mansion. (...) President-General Garvey swooned over the scale of the property, which included piazzas, outhouses, a flower garden and more than an acre of land. The black American newspaper described Somali Court as 'a lovely mansion with liveried servants' and dubbed it 'Garvey's Black House'." (Grant 2008: p.417)

Garvey reinstated Liberty Hall at 76 King Street in Kingston, to serve as the base for U.N.I.A. activity. Liberty Hall was declared a national monument in 1992.



Liberty Hall, King Street 76, Kingston

His plans were to relocate to England. England did not feel like the best destination to resurrect the U.N.I.A. But Garvey's room to operate in Central America and the Caribbean had been complicated by British and American authorities, who observed his every step. He was denied entering Panama, Costa Rica, British Honduras, Trinidad and more. Mr. and Mrs. Garvey decided to leave for England in the middle of April 1928. He was hoping to be more welcome in England. The Garveyites in London, most of them seamen from the West Indies,

had, to Garvey's surprise, taken on white English wives. These showed a sincerity to the cause that made Garvey form an auxiliary to the existing clause. Until then only persons of African descent could become registered members of the U.N.I.A.

“Readers of the *Negro World* could follow Garvey’s British adventure in regular updates sent in by the president-general. On 21 May, he quivered with excitement about his plan to take over the Royal Albert Hall, a vast Victorian structure with seating for 3,901 for a landmark speech on 6 June.” (Grant 2008: p.422) He made it happen. Attendees included black Londoners, seamen, students and local members of the U.N.I.A. with their English wives and liberal intellectuals. Garvey faced a lot of empty seats that night. Garvey’s enemies had tried their best to label him as a ‘Socialist’ or similar. He had enemies in England too. When Garvey and Amy arrived in Paris later that year, they got a much warmer welcome. “It was a good time to be black in Paris. The city was gearing up to a sustained period of Negrophilia; (...) the Harlem Renaissance had transferred partially to the French capital.” (Grant 2008: p. 423) Paris felt like a great time out from the cold inter-personal climate in London. They continued travelling, to Switzerland, to Canada, to British Honduras. Amy Jacques went back to America alone to visit the U.N.I.A. divisions and boost their works. Marcus Garvey was not allowed in the States and had to abandon plans to speak in Toronto.

Back in Jamaica end of 1928 they settled in more comfortably. Garvey secured a new property ‘Edelweiss Park’ as the new HQ of the organization. He planned to



hold the next international convention in Kingston. The years till the convention in 1934 were tuff on the Garveys. The Great Depression hit Jamaica. The already impoverished society was hit hard. Amy bore two sons, Marcus Junior and Julius.

AMY JACQUES GARVEY (1885 – 1973) was born in Kingston, Jamaica. She became an international organizer and race leader in her own right. After marrying Marcus Garvey in 1920, she became the first lady of the Interim-Provisional Government of Africa - the Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) and African Communities League (ACL. She gave birth to Marcus Garvey's only children, Marcus Garvey, Jr. and Julius Garvey.

She became the Secretary General of the U.N.I.A. in 1919 and until her death her life was inseparately bound up with the national liberation struggles of African people. Besides being Marcus' Garvey's wife, she was best known as a publicist on Garvey's Pan Africanism. She edited and published Volume One of *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* (1923), and compiled and published Volume Two (1925).



She as well was one of the editors of the *Negro World* Newspaper. As a strict opposer of colonialism and neocolonialism Amy Garvey used her writings to stress her resentment and the point that imperialism has not place on the African continent. The Fifth Pan African Congress of 1945 was mainly organized by her. In her last years she had written and published various books and essays on Garvey and Garveyism.

Read more on Amy Jacques here: <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/garvey-amy-jacques-1896-1973/>

Their financial struggle became more and more difficult. Thoughts about leaving for England again became more prevalent in the Garveys' minds. The international convention held in 1934 was one last attempt to rally the organization and raise morale. It failed to do so. It also failed to uplift the person that was leading this movement stubbornly against all odds. He was demoralized.

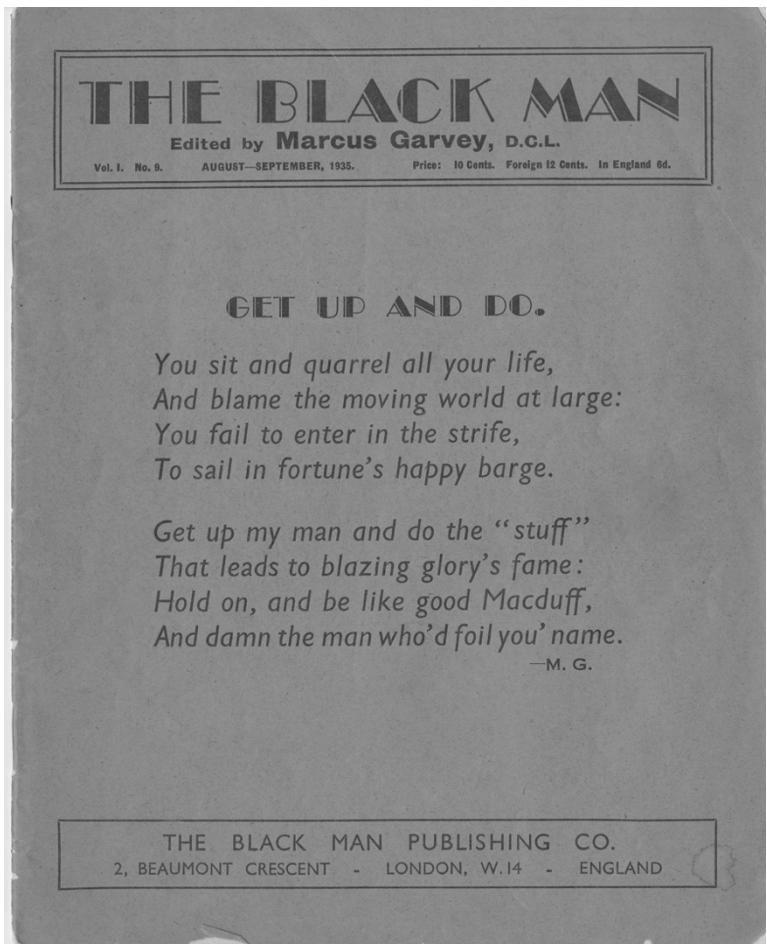
Although he still had the wide support of the poorest members of society, those who could create change with their voices rejected him. Garvey announced that he would go back to London and establish the headquarters there. He sold all his possessions. Amy was to rent out their mansion and seek a cheaper apartment until Marcus Garvey had settled in London and was able to send for her and the boys. On March 16, 1935 Marcus Garvey headed to England.



“I left Jamaica a broken man, broken in spirit, broken in health and broken in pocket ... and I will never, never, never go back.” Garvey shared with an old confidant in England. (Grant 2008: p.435)

VII. BACK IN ENGLAND – A LAST BREATH

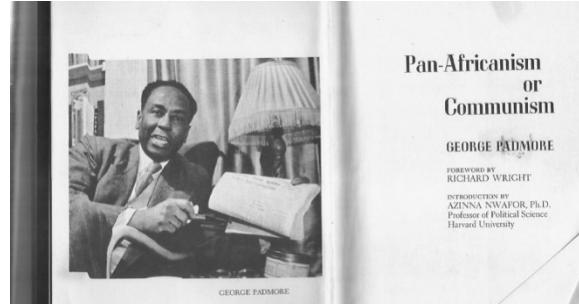
“His period in London would be marked by a vain attempt to reposition the U.N.I.A. at the forefront of black life. The organization was fractured and diminished.” (Grant 2008: p.437) He started off with a new magazine the *Black Man*, who gave readers insight into Garvey’s world in the Londoner metropole. Garvey had been becoming more and more unpopular for his criticism of Haile Selassie, and his opposition to Padmore, the black intellectual community in England had a hard time with his opinions.



Amy Jacques set plans to join Marcus Garvey in England in June 1937. Garvey was half on his way off to tour Canada and the Caribbean, where he would lecture and fundraise. The U.N.I.A. conference in Toronto was his first stop. He remained in Canada for a few weeks to teach a course on African Philosophy. During his good-bye speech he uttered the famous quote ‘We are going to emancipate ourselves from mental slavery because whilst others might free the body, none but ourselves can free the mind.’ From Canada he went to Trinidad, where an intense labor dispute was happening. To people’s surprise Garvey did not side with the laborers. The conflict with Padmore intensified over this incident.

GEORGE PADMORE (1903 -1959), born in Trinidad, was a leading Pan-Africanist, journalist, and author. He left Trinidad in 1924 to study medicine in the United States, where he also joined the Communist Party, he moved to the Soviet Union, where he was active in the communist party, working on African independence

movements before settling in London. Toward the end of his life he moved to Accra, Ghana, where he helped shape the politics of Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party.



On his return to London, his son Junior suffered a severe sickness. Amy and Garvey were sick with worry. The doctors suggested that the Caribbean sunshine would help heal his rheumatism, so Amy left for Jamaica. Garvey was away in Canada and did not know about their departure. He returned to an empty home. He kept letter contact with his boys and continued sending money.

In January 1940 Garvey suffered a stroke. Garvey's secretary, Daisy Whyte, took the job to nurse Garvey back to health so that Amy would not need to return to England. On Saturday May 18, Garvey opened *The Chicago Defender* and read about his own death. George Padmore had moved fast on a rumor and declared one of his opponents dead! There were memorials held for Garvey. 'Daisy Whyte tried to shield him from the worst obituaries but Garvey insisted on reading them. 'As he opened all his letters, and cables, he was faced with clippings of his obituary, pictures of himself with deep black borders,' wrote Daisy. 'He collapsed in his chair, and could hardly be understood after that.' (Grant 2008: p.450)

Marcus Mosiah Garvey died on June 10, 1940 at the age of fifty-two.

APPENDIX

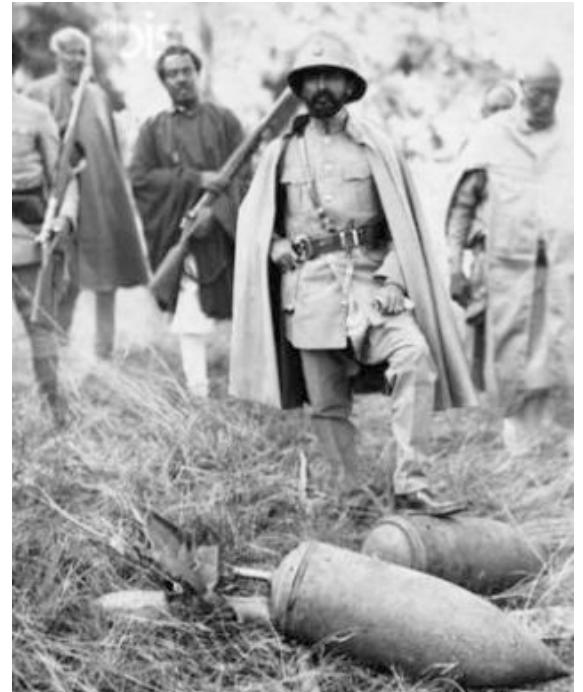
MARCUS GARVEY – WITHIN THE COSMOLOGY OF RASTAFARI

“Haile Selassie was an embodiment of a Garvey prediction. For nearly two decades Marcus Garvey had steered his listeners towards the passage in the Bible which foretold that ‘princes shall come out of Egypt’. In 1930, with Selassie’s magnificent coronation, it had come to pass. A crop of international dignitaries had been treated to the splendor of an African coronation with ancient Abyssinian exoticism and first-world modernity (...)” (Grant 2008: p.439)

Psalm 68:31 King James Version (KJV)

31 Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia
shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.

“Emperor Haile Selassie had been the beneficiary of Garvey’s advocacy, and was now even more so when in 1935 the ‘Best of Rome’ Mussolini started assembling troops on the edge of Ethiopia. In editorials in the *Black Man*, Garvey championed the petit Ethiopian, Ras Tafari, as *the messiah* the black masses had been waiting for, who was now defying the might of a militarized European power, rendered most visibly so with the news photographs of Selassie standing on an unexploded Italian bomb.” (Grant 2008: p.439)



Garvey was initially fond of Selassie but slowly began seeing the Ethiopian occupation by Italy as a humiliation for the entire black race. He felt the Ethiopian situation was a betrayal of Garveyite principles.

Garvey's criticism wasn't well received. This was a time where the unified support and fundraising were major focus of many black groups and individuals around the world, including U.N.I.A. members. Garvey criticized Haile Selassie for fleeing the country. When the Emperor reached England - which would be his place of exile until the end of Italian occupation, May 5, 1941 - he was set to meet a party of British officials. "Also awaiting Selassie at Waterloo station was Marcus Garvey and a coalition of black delegates who had assembled to welcome the monarch. But when they tried to address him, Selassie ignored them and carried on walking (...)" (Grant 2008: p.440) Marcus Garvey's account of the Emperor in the *Black Man* did show his disappointment clearly, where he wrote that the emperor was a "feudal Monarch who looks down upon his slaves and serfs with contempt". (Garvey in Grant 2008: p.440) He felt treated poorly by the monarch. In addition to the incident at the station, Selassie did not accept Garvey's invite to the international convention in Madison Square Garden in 1920. Many other African delegates joined Garvey's invite. Selassie did not only decline the invite but had the letter sent back unopened. A statement that might have hurt Garvey deeply. The tones against the Emperor in Garvey's editorial were harsh, but clear. Garvey wrote Selassie to be 'a great coward who ran away from his country to save his skin and left the millions of his countrymen to struggle through a terrible war.' (Garvey in Grant 2008: p. 441) Not only that, but calling Haile Selassie a 'dumb trickster', Garvey leaned out of the window a little too far. Followers and members of the U.N.I.A. were repelled by Garvey's statements. "Garvey had stumbled in his attack on Selassie. Where he might have been advised to pull back, he drove forward, hardening his criticisms. (...) The powerful Harlem preacher, Adam

Clayton Powell Snr believed, 'Garvey [had] signed his death warrant.'" (Grant 2008: p. 442)

Garvey died only a few months before Emperor Haile Selassie I returned to Ethiopia and defeated the Italians. He did not see the last thirty years of His Majesty's reign. He did not witness the founding of the Organization of African Union under Haile Selassie's lead, nor the modernization Selassie brought to Ethiopia.

Garvey is an important Individual in the philosophy of Rastafari. He is seen as a prophet by many. Others see him as a Pan Africanist with a vision of a unified African people, in Africa and the Diaspora. He was the one to call his people to look at God through their own spectacles and therefore was directing black people away from a white God and white Jesus, towards a black God and black Jesus. He instilled black pride in a day and age where slavery was only half a century gone. A time where segregation limited black people's outlook in the United States, where white mobs started race riots to slow down black economic progress. One example of the latter was the race riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1921. In only a few hours a highly successful black town known as the 'Black Wallstreet' was burned down to the ground. Many people lost their possessions, their enterprises and their lives. Another example is the summer of 1919, referred to as 'Red Summer' due to the blood that was shed on American soil. Hundreds lost their lives in these anti-black white terrorist attacks in over three dozen cities all over America. Lynching was happening on a daily in the southern states. Garvey knew of the importance of a central tool to unify and strengthen the voice and progress of his fellow black men and women.

When Rastafari emerged, Garvey's Afrocentrism was taken to a next level, the acknowledgement of a black King as Christ reincarnated brought back the divine black God in Man.

Besides taking a prominent role within the Rastafari Philosophy, Marcus Garvey inspired many African and African American leaders throughout the 20th century. Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of liberated Ghana said that Marcus Garvey was his hero and his biggest influence. He named Ghana's shipping line Black Star Line and added the black star to Ghana's national flag in honor of Garvey. Garvey was a main influence for Jomo Kenyatta, the first president of free Kenya and Nnamdi Azikiwe, first president of liberated Nigeria. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania was also inspired by his teachings. Patrice Lumumba,

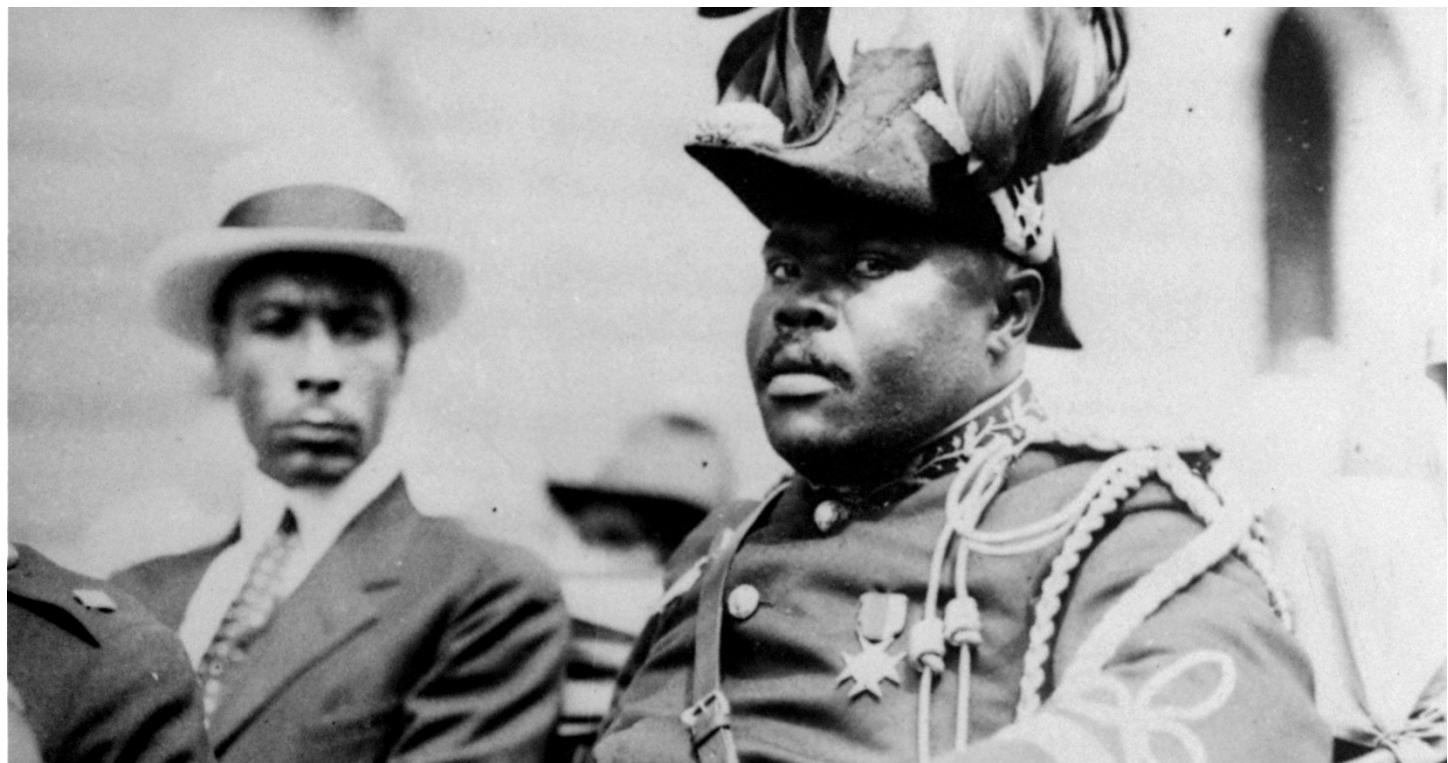


the first prime minister of the Republic of Congo, was influenced by Garvey's message. Malcolm X's parents were active members of the U.N.I.A. and both worked at the U.N.I.A. chapter in Omaha, Nebraska. Malcolm X spoke highly of Marcus Garvey. Bantu Stephen Biko's Black

Consciousness Movement was greatly inspired by Garvey's vision. Marcus Mosiah Garvey's life, personality and philosophy still inspire many today.



MARCUS GARVEY SPEAKS



Speech in the Blackman, June 8, 1929.

“Men at some times are master of their fate,
The fault dear Brutus is not in our stars
But in ourselves that we are underlings.

I want you to remember these words and apply the philosophy of them in your daily life. Most of us go through life blaming our stars, attributing our disappointments, our setbacks to someone or to some invisible cause - superstition. Brutus blamed the stars, he thought his star was one of ill-omen; so he blamed everything on his ill-luck, to the fate in his star. But we have Shakespeare’s advice - “it is not in our stars, but in ourselves”.

Most of the things we attribute to causes apart from us could be remedied by knowing ourselves better. Really man is the maker of his world, the creator of his own opportunities. If we could get the Negro people all over the world to realize this - that in the individual himself lies the remedy for nearly every ill that he suffers from, that in the individual himself is that resident power that can be turned to usefulness for permanent good, what a change there would be. The realization of this makes one man great, makes the race successful and powerful; while the lack of this reasoning makes a man impotent, helpless, blaming all and sundry for his fate. It makes a race incompetent, and incapable of successfully competing with others, thus meeting the misfortunes and misery attendant upon such lack of reasoning and hasty thinking that brings about inward power, and the urge to utilize it for progress in life. I hope I can impress on you the fact that you can be a new man, a new race, if you use your God-given powers, you can excel in all things, and overcome the evils of other men, and be what God intended you to - happy, industrious, progressive and courageous.

All that you see in creation, all that you see in the Universe are but the results of man's power, when that power is fully appreciated, when that power is fully organized. The difference between people brings us to the point where one man, realizing himself and his power, will stick stubbornly to the accomplishment of the task he set out to do, until he does it or attains his objective. That is the man or the personality which has used his objective power to bring within his grasp all that he needs. He is a beacon light in our civilization and our world. He is the successful man on the hill-top, he is the prosperous man on the plains; he is the good citizen that everybody knows and to whom everybody goes, he has used his power to help himself, and in turn he helps others.

“Elocution means to speak out. That is to say, if you have a tale to tell, tell it and tell it well.”

“I do not speak carelessly or recklessly but with a definite object of helping the people, especially those of my race, to know, to understand and to realize themselves. (...) There are two classes of men in the world - those who succeed and those who do not succeed.” (Garvey 1977 [1929]: p. 13)

“Let the Negro forget almost everything else but that he is a man, and as such, has a serious duty and responsibility to perform in life. That duty and responsibility is to force himself to the creation and bringing about of all those things that are necessary for human comfort, happiness, peace and general security. (...) Each and every member of the race must fully realize his responsibility. He must make up his mind not to be subservient, not to be a suppliant, not to be a beggar, but to be a doer, an accomplisher, a creator of all that is necessary in the environment of man, whilst living a subject of the greater Creator.” (Garvey 1977 [1929]: p.145)

“The flag of a nation is the emblem that signifies the existence of that nation. Have your flag - it is the red, black and green, and be proud of it as the emblem of your race.” (Garvey 1987: p.213)

“it is the duty of man to make his knowledge so complete in life as to make it impossible for any other man to take advantage of him. (...) The man who knows walks the world a colossal success. (...) but the man who doesn’t know walks around and begs, because he doesn’t know. He doesn’t know the laws of thrift, he doesn’t know the laws of industry, commerce, state; he doesn’t know anything about the political system; he is ignorant of everything and yet God never made a fool. Man has made himself a fool. It is the duty of man to learn all of nature’s ways if he is to boss nature and be the sovereign of the world. A king must know his Empire, otherwise his Empire will rule him. We have so many fools in the world and those are the people the others feed on. You will ask why does God allow these things to go on. God only recognizes man, He doesn’t recognize rich and poor, particularly when he places him in a world that was here before he came here, knowing well that man would want things for his satisfaction and happiness. When he made man, He made him to enjoy these things, because God is intelligent and man is a part of God.”

(Garvey 1977 [1929]: p.15f.)

Ambition is the desire to go forward and improve ones condition. It is a burning flame that lights up the life of the individual and makes him see himself in another state. To be ambitious is to be great in mind and soul. To want that which is worthwhile and strive for it. To go on without looking back, reaching to that which gives satisfaction. To be humanly ambitious is to take in the world which is the province of man; to be divinely ambitious is to offend God by rivaling him in His infinite Majesty.”

“Watch two families living closely and both earning the same amount of money. One will spend everything on food while the other will spend a portion on literature for the improvement of the family. In twenty years see which family prospers more and lives longer. The glutton eats himself to death while the sensible man by virtue of his intelligence feeds his mind equally as he feeds his stomach and so instead of eating a whole pound of meat he probably eats less at half the cost and probably spends 25c. for a newspaper, magazine or other

good book. (...) There goes a man who will one day rise to be of importance in his community.” (Garvey 1977 [1929]: p.17)



Julius Winston Garvey (left) and Marcus Jacques Garvey Jr., 1940.

“To free Africa, we must first free ourselves mentally, spiritually and politically.” (Garvey, 1922)

“Life is an important function. It was given for the purpose of expression. The flower expresses itself through the beauty of its bloom. The vine expresses itself through its rambling search in settling its own peculiar nature. The tree expresses itself in its smiling green leaves, shaking branches and sometimes hanging fruit. The lark expresses itself in its laughter and song. The river expresses itself in its gentle meandering unto the sea and man expresses himself according to the idealistic visions of his nature. There is a scope for each life. Let yours find its scope and fully express itself.

Man should have a purpose and that purpose he should always keep in view, with the hope of achieving it in the fullest satisfaction to himself” (Garvey

1986 [1937]: p.154)

“The world is only part of the creation, an atom of universe. It is a complete entity of creation in relationship with other entities in the creation. Man is made up of mind and matter. Matter is manifested through nature, and mind is the connecting link with the spirit of God.” (Garvey 1987: p.270)

“God and Nature first made us first what we are, and out of our own creative Genius we make ourselves what we want to be. Follow always that great law. Let God and the sky be our limit, and eternity our measurement.” (Garvey, 1924)

THE UNIVERSAL ETHIOPIAN ANTHEM

Poem by Burrell and Ford (1920)

ETHIOPIA THOU LAND OF OUR FATHERS
THOU LAND WHERE THE GODS LOVED TO BE,
AS STORM CLOUD AT NIGHT SUDDENLY GATHERS
OUR ARMIES COME RUSHING TO THEE.

WE MUST IN FIGHT BE VICTORIOUS
WHEN SWORDS ARE THRUST OUTWARD TO GLEAM;
FOR US WILL THE VICT'RY BE GLORIOUS
WHEN LED BY THE RED, BLACK AND GREEN

CHORUS

ADVANCE, ADVANCE TO VICTORY,
LET AFRICA BE FREE
ADVANCE TO MEET THE FOE
WITH THE MIGHT
OF THE RED, THE BLACK AND THE GREEN

II

ETHIOPIA, THE TYRANT'S FALLING
WHO SMOTE THEE UPON THY KNEES,
AND THY CHILDREN ARE LUSTILY CALLING
FROM OVER THE DISTANT SEAS;
JEHOVAH THE GREAT ONE, HAS HEARD US,
HAS NOTED OUR SIGHS AND OUR TEARS,
WITH HIS SPIRIT OF LOVE HE HAS STIRRED US
TO BE THE ONE THROUGH THE COMING YEARS.

CHORUS

III

OH JEHOVAH THE GOD OF THE AGES,
GRANT UNTO OUR SONS THAT LEAD

THE WISDOM THOU GAVE TO THY SAGES,

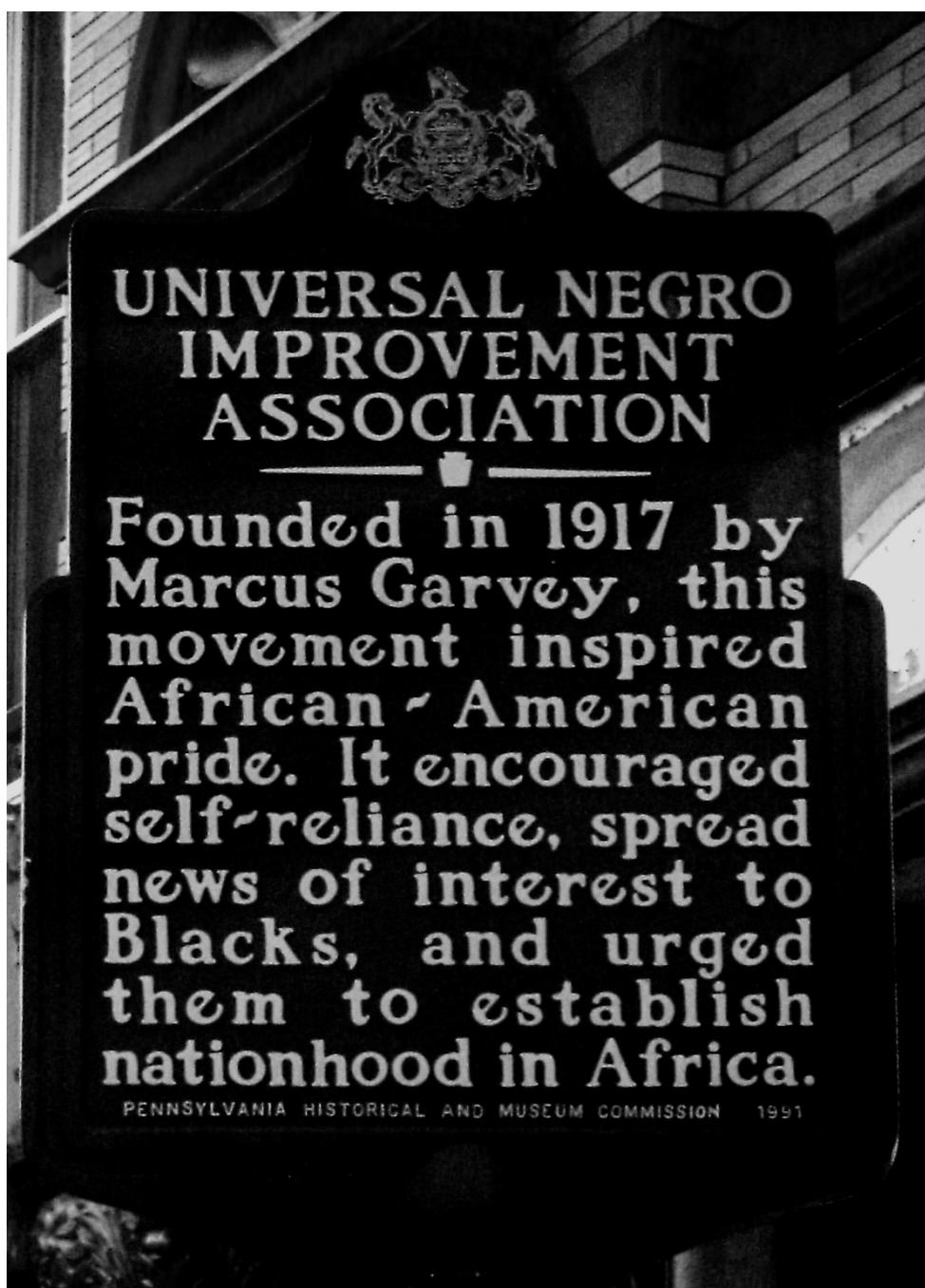
WHEN ISRAEL WAS SORE IN NEED.

THY VOICE THRO' THE DIM PAST HAS SPOKEN,
ETHIOPIA SHALL STRETCH FORTH HER HAND,

BY THEE SHALL ALL FETTERS BE BROKEN,

AND HEAV'N BLESS OUR DEAR FATHERLAND

CHORUS



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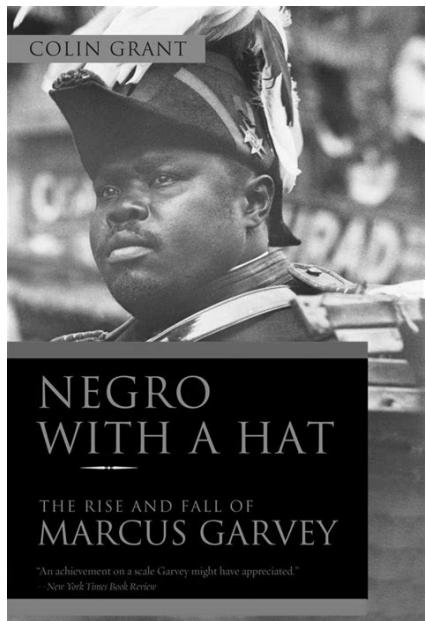
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REST IN POWER

August 17, 1887 – June 10, 1940