



THE
MARCUS
GARVEY
AND
UNIVERSAL NEGRO
IMPROVEMENT
ASSOCIATION
PAPERS

The Caribbean Diaspora, 1910–1920

Volume XI

ROBERT A. HILL

Editor in Chief

THE
MARCUS GARVEY
AND
UNIVERSAL NEGRO
IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION
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Caribbean Series

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Volume XI

The Caribbean Diaspora

1910-1920

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DEDICATED TO
THE PEOPLE OF THE CARIBBEAN

As one who knows the people well, I make no apology for prophesying that there will soon be a turning point in the history of the West Indies; and that the people who inhabit that portion of the Western Hemisphere will be the instruments of uniting a scattered race who, before the close of many centuries, will found an Empire on which the sun shall shine as ceaselessly as it shines on the Empire of the North to-day.

MARCUS GARVEY
October 1913

It is the duty of West Indians of light and leading who are domiciled in foreign countries to lead in the demand for a West Indian renaissance. They should not be satisfied with mere assertions of loyalty to any particular country, for they owe a higher loyalty to the islands where they were born. Therefore we suggest that men and women get together now, even as Irish, Czecho-Slovaks, Alsatians, Poles and Hindoos have done, and begin to formulate plans for the betterment of their respective islands. This is not the time to be laggards; it is the time to be up and doing. WEST INDIANS, WAKE UP!

“RECONSTRUCTION IN THE WEST INDIES”
Negro World, ca. 1 March 1919

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It was also necessary to identify and appoint a team of scholars to review and evaluate the content of contributors' annotations. Of necessity, the identity of the panel of peer reviewers must remain anonymous, both collectively and individually. Their diligence and critical eye for historical detail supplied important quality control and greatly improved the Caribbean series volumes. We wish to express the project's gratitude to all of the reviewers.

In keeping with the revised plan of the series, the project appointed a special editorial advisory board made up of distinguished Caribbeanist scholars. Their service to the project took several forms, viz., helping to identify contributing scholars and peer reviewers, finding fugitive archival documents, identifying local researchers, and, most importantly, advising on the editorial organization of the volumes. The enthusiastic support given to the project as well as their sound advice have served the project well over the past decade. We should like to acknowledge the valuable service rendered to the project by: Fitzroy Baptiste; Richard Blackett; O. Nigel Bolland; Philippe Bourgois; Bridget Brereton; Patrick Bryan; Ronald N. Harpelle; Richard Hart; Winston James; Rupert Lewis; Hollis R. Lynch; Colin Palmer; Stephan Palmié; Brenda Gayle Plummer; K. W. J. Post.

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Supervision of a large historical documentary editing project brings with it many responsibilities that place administrative demands on the academic institution and department with which it is affiliated. The Garvey project has been singularly fortunate in receiving a level of administrative support that has become all too rare in an era of academic belt-tightening. For their continuing support the project acknowledges the significant contribution made by the UCLA International Institute and the James S. Coleman African Studies Center. Without their unstinting support and understanding of the demands of the research and editorial processes, final publication of the Caribbean Series volumes would have been impossible. We should like to express the project's deep appreciation to them for their invaluable support.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Africa was clearly Garvey's ultimate objective and provided the subject of his program of African Redemption. Based on the principle of "Africa for the Africans," Garvey looked to the creation of "a government of our own" in Africa that would be the means of uniting the black race worldwide. Speaking in Toronto in August 1938, two years before his death in London in June 1940, Garvey reprised the goal of the movement. The "ultimate object," he said, was "making ourselves a nation with the hope of extending as an Empire." This African imperium would redeem Africa, emancipate the race, and, ultimately, protect it. Garvey explained to his audience that "The UNIA [Universal Negro Improvement Association] has had to struggle in America for the ultimate carrying out of that object and as it is organized in America, so it is organized in every part of the world, for the ultimate of that object."¹

It was in America that Garvey struggled and succeeded in making his lasting political mark, the effects of which were profound and would ramify throughout the black world. Here he achieved his greatest renown as a black leader and created for himself a legend as a Moses of his race. Africa was the "ultimate" goal, but it was America that supplied the platform and the organizational means. Together, it was the combination of America and Africa that raised Garvey to the level of international significance. The price of Garvey's rise in America, along with the political attraction of Africa, was paid in the coin of Caribbean independence. "My one regret now in Liberty Hall is that I was not born in slavery days," Garvey declared. "I wish I were born in slavery days. I would have taught someone a lesson then." Going further, Garvey spelled out the reason:

If I were born eighty-four years ago in the West Indies, in the island of Jamaica, where, fortunately or unfortunately, I was born, tonight Jamaica would not have been a province of England. Jamaica would be a free and independent republic in the Caribbean Islands. But since I was not born then and I am born now, and they own that land out there, and since I am born at a time when Africa is not free, then my life, my blood will be given to Africa's redemption, Africa's freedom and Africa's liberty.²

The coin of Garvey's legend has hitherto not featured prominently the West Indian side of the phenomenon, though the significance of the political renunciation implicit in his statement assumes a West Indian context. Garvey

was clearly addressing an audience made up mainly of West Indians when he spoke. In spite of this fact, Garvey's legend has been comprised of two faces: the American on one side (the one most prominently displayed) and, to a much lesser extent, the African on the other. The propagation of this version of the story has won widespread acceptance. But, as these pages will make plain, although the main crucible of the Garvey movement was situated in the U.S., the main driving force was West Indian. Furthermore, if the Garvey movement, as a mass movement, was launched in America, the ground was not only prepared in the West Indies; it was also where the movement had its greatest political impact. Just how different things look when both these phases of the movement are more fully integrated, as they should be, into the wider historical narrative of Garveyism will become clear in the following pages.

Garvey's movement did not start in America. It came to America with Garvey, who had left Jamaica in 1916, seeking support for his fledgling Jamaican organization founded in 1914. Although it attracted the patronage of local officials, it received scant support from Jamaicans. After traveling through several states, Garvey returned to New York, his port of arrival, in May 1917, and decided to remain in America to seek his destiny.

Garvey's organization, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), traveled with him from Jamaica, and he incorporated it in New York in the summer of 1918. The statement in the certificate of incorporation listing the objects of the association discloses the adventitious nature of the ideal that animated it. UNIA aimed "To promote and practice, the principles of Benevolence and for the protection and social intercourse of its members and for their mental and physical culture and developments and *to extend a friendly and constructive hand to the Negroes of the United States.*"³

Coming as he was from Jamaica to America, Garvey was joining a veritable wave of nearly one hundred thousand West Indians flooding into the United States before and after the First World War. Shortly after his arrival, Garvey had no trouble linking up with other Jamaicans who had only recently preceded him. "About three members of the old board of management are over here and helped at the lecture," Garvey was pleased to report two days after making his debut at St. Mark's Church Hall in Harlem in May 1916.⁴

America in the years leading to the First World War was the West Indian Mecca. For West Indians, migration to America became a way of life.⁵ The wave crested after the war in the 1920s, not coincidentally, the peak years of the Garvey movement in America. West Indians had been migrating to the United States since the nineteenth century, but construction of the Panama Canal starting in 1904 drew off an estimate of over a hundred thousand migrants.⁶ As canal construction tailed off and thousands of West Indians were laid off, they began to disperse and looked north again toward America.⁷

The number of migrants reaching the U.S. was astounding. Garvey's *Negro World* estimated in October 1920 that immigrants from the West Indies and South America arrived in America "at the rate of 5,000 a month," adding,

“The West Indian section of the colored population in the United States is growing by leaps and bounds. Most of them are lost to the West Indies forever.”⁸ According to the U.S. Federal Census of 1920, approximately ninety-six thousand West Indians from the British West Indies, U.S. Virgin Islands (former Danish West Indies), and the Dutch and French West Indies were living in the United States⁹ (see Appendix, table 1). More to the point, of the total number of West Indians living in the U.S., close to half (47,063) lived in New York City. The community of Harlem—consisting of fifty square blocks—was home to as many as thirty-six thousand West Indians, and approximately nine-thousand resided in Brooklyn.¹⁰ Together these two areas represented approximately 22 percent of the total black population of New York (see Appendix, table 2).¹¹

Hubert H. Harrison, the doyen of the West Indian radicals in Harlem,¹² contrasted nineteenth-century West Indian migrants with those of the early twentieth-century wave: “In the first period of West India immigration,” he observed, “when they who came here were mainly maidens and scholars seeking wider fields of usefulness, the Negroes of America drew from these samples as their first and more favorable estimates of West Indian character. It was taken for granted that every West Indian immigrant was a paragon of intelligence and a man of birth and breeding.” Harrison then detailed the social and political contours of the explosive phase of West Indian emigration that emerged before and after the First World War.

Then came the slump in West Indian sugar,¹³ caused by German and American competition and the impoverished islands began to decant upon the mainland their working population, laborers, mechanics, peasants, ambitious enough to be discontented with conditions at home and eager to improve their lot by seeking success in the land of Uncle Sam. At first they furnished the elevator operators, janitors, hall-boys, porters, maids and washerwomen of upper Manhattan almost exclusively, with a few tradesmen and skilled workers thrusting themselves forward into better positions and breaking the trail for the Negro-Americans to follow. But during the last two decades they have won their way in New York as business men, lawyers, doctors, school teachers, musicians and journalists. Besides, there is the significant fact that almost every important development originating in Negro Harlem—from the Negro Manhood Movement to political representation in public office, from collecting Negro books to speaking on the streets, from demanding Federal control over lynching to agitating for Negroes on the police force—every one of these has either been fathered by West Indians or can count them among its originators.¹⁴

Harlem emerged during these years as the symbol of cultural and intellectual freedom for West Indians, and its effects radiated to every part of the West

Indies, laying the groundwork for the beginning of a cultural revolution there. New York's black neighborhood, home to the Garvey movement specifically, and to West Indian radicalism generally, provided a place where new forms of Caribbean consciousness could be tested and explored. This was the allure of Harlem—it was a liminal space, a threshold across which important changes in personal as well as social status could be negotiated and achieved through the emigrant spirit of enterprise. Harlem became the place in America where West Indians could shed their insular differences and forge a new black *communitas*, based on their common humanity and equality as emigrants, rather than on the values of colonial hierarchy and a discredited, oppressive plantation system.

According to the West Indian journalist and historian Arnold M. Wendell Malliet, who was born in Jamaica in 1896 and emigrated to the United States in 1918, it was these West Indians who provided most of the support of the Garvey movement during its highest peak of success, from 1919 to 1923, and who acted as the transmission belt for the spread of Garveyism throughout the entire Caribbean archipelago.¹⁵ The symbiotic relationship between the America–West Indian Diaspora and its homelands represented a continuous movement, with headquarters in Harlem. This base in New York was highly significant to the spread of the movement in the West Indies, for not only did it mean access to greater resources, but, most importantly, it also meant that the guiding center was beyond the reach of the strenuous British attempts to suppress the movement. West Indians at home had very little space to develop organizations that were critical of the plantation system that controlled them, since colonial officials rushed to snuff out the potential for any sort of protest or resistance at their very first sign. It was in America that West Indians would acquire the ability to conduct mass politics. In this sense, the Garvey movement provided an indispensable school of political training, learning from the example and experience of African Americans in their struggles against racial injustice.

Thus, although the Garvey movement was founded and developed within the West Indian milieu, it was never exclusively the product of West Indians. African Americans were also deeply involved, and increasingly so after 1922–1923, when the UNIA's following expanded steadily into the U.S. South and Midwest. A compilation based on the available evidence of the names of UNIA subscribers, speakers or participants at meetings, officeholders, and signers of petitions and other documents during what is considered by many the high point of the movement, from July 1918 (when the UNIA was formally organized in New York) to August 1920 (when its first convention was held), allows for a comparison of these individuals' ethnic backgrounds, thus providing a general breakdown of the ethnic composition of the movement. When organized by gender, the data show that 66 percent of the males were West Indian and 34 percent were African Americans. The figures for UNIA females are almost completely reversed: 61 percent were African American, and 39 percent were West Indian (see Appendix, tables 3 and 4).¹⁶ When both sets of figures

are aggregated, the breakdown is 59 percent West Indian versus 41 percent African American.¹⁷

These figures will be subject to change as additional sources are uncovered and more information is collected and tabulated. But for now they give a provisional sense of the relative proportions of West Indians and Africans during the three formative years of the UNIA in America. In addition, the data serve as a useful prosopographical tool by identifying individuals, many of whom are otherwise completely unknown. The information also points to deeper connections beneath the political rhetoric, permitting an examination of common characteristics as well as an assessment of the changing roles of particular status groups within the movement.

Garvey would later describe what he found when he arrived in New York and why he needed to serve as a cultural broker between West Indians and African Americans. “On arriving in the city of New York, in the little district of Harlem where, then, about 100,000 Negroes lived,” Garvey explained, “I met a few of my countrymen and a few West Indians who had been living there for some time. They thought that I had come specially to advocate the cause of West Indians.” He described the popular misconception about West Indians that was spread about: “At that time, the West Indians who were living in America made the American Negroes understand that they were not Negroes, but Indians, and the American Negroes, who were very ignorant of the geography and history of their own race, believed that the West Indians were a branch of the Indian race, so that the West Indians were getting by as Indians.” Garvey claimed that when he arrived in Harlem, his fellow Jamaicans there thought that:

I had come to speak to them especially. But I disappointed them and I spoke to the Negro people, and I told the Negro people of Harlem, including Americans, West Indians—Negroes all—the truth of their history. I told them that we were one—the same branch of one human family. I told them in Harlem that it was my duty to re-unite the Negroes of the Western world with the Negroes of Africa, to make a great nation of black men.¹⁸

Earlier, Garvey also claimed that such was the seriousness of the split that he felt obliged to remain in America in order to try to address it. Speaking in Liberty Hall in March 1920, Garvey explained:

When I came to New York two and a half years ago, I found a disorganized state among my race here. I found the Americans were against the West Indians and the West Indians were against the Americans—that one side was saying “I am better than you,” and the other side was saying the same thing. . . . [F]rom my knowledge of the history of the Negro in the Western hemisphere, I saw that the American Negro was no better than

the West Indian Negro nor the West Indian Negro any better than the American Negro—we were all fighting and struggling toward one common destiny. Because I saw that, I took the opportunity to organize a branch of the Association in New York.¹⁹

From his description, the split must have been full of rancor, with Garvey and the UNIA doing their utmost to steer a middle course between the rival camps. The rivalry had degenerated into a public scandal, as soap-box orators, brought out by the warm weather, appeared along Lenox Avenue in Harlem in 1919. “Obviously the new tactics of discussing the West Indian and American questions along purely nationalistic lines must be taken as eloquent testimony of the intellectual impoverishment of those speakers, who in order to attract a crowd resort to the most disgusting and vulgar form of billingsgate and abuse imaginable,” admonished the *Negro World* in an editorial entitled appropriately “Divide and Rule.” “Perhaps the Negro speakers who indulge in this race-disrupting pastime,” the paper continued, “are merely rendering service for wages already received, or perhaps (and this is a charitable view) they are merely imitating a certain white man who started out along that line on Lenox avenue this season.”²⁰

Notwithstanding these claims, however, the strategic importance of the Harlem-based West Indian constituency for the UNIA’s very viability was something that African Americans in the movement’s leadership spoke openly about, but more defensively over time. In a keynote address before the fourth international convention of the UNIA, held in August 1924, William Sherrill, the assistant president-general, acknowledged the reason that he thought West Indians possessed an advantage over African Americans. He emphasized the adventitious character of the movement, stating that “the American Negro had done little or no traveling, while of the West Indian the opposite was true. To this was perhaps due the fact that when the movement was started West Indians resident in New York were the first to follow.”²¹

In the face of attacks from critics directed against the foreign character of the UNIA membership, West Indians, Garvey included, became defensive when discussing the West Indian make-up of the movement. Thus, in a letter of March 1920 to the governors of West Indian territories attempting to refute the accusation that the UNIA was subversive and that its members were disloyal to Britain, Garvey stated that “the majority of the Members of this Association are British subjects who have been loyal to their Government in all crises”²² (“British subjects” was a term commonly used to refer to West Indians in the United States). Significantly, it was stated in Garvey’s own *Negro World* that, at a meeting of the August 1920 convention, his “reference to England evoked the greatest applause.” According to the report of the meeting, the statement by Garvey that drew such great response was—“[T]hough England had ruled Ireland now for seven hundred years that has nothing to do with the fact that Ireland belongs to the Irish.”²³ That a statement denouncing British rule and oppres-

sion of Ireland could evoke such a strong response says a great deal about the background of Garvey's listeners.

Inevitably, attacks against Garvey and the movement increased as its growing strength became all too apparent, and the attacks increasingly took on nativist overtones aimed at discrediting the UNIA's legitimacy because of its large foreign membership. The UNIA's response grew necessarily defensive in the face of such attacks. "More and more it is clear that the Universal Negro Improvement Association is acting for the entire Negro people of the world," declared the *Negro World*, "and that the race will en masse rally whole-heartedly to its support. To say that it is a West Indian movement merely because the leader is a West Indian as are also some of those associated with him at the council table, or that it is dominated by a particular class or element of Negroes, is unjust—certainly not true. For it is representative in character, embracing Negroes of every country and clime and of every complexion; in fact, its very object is the union of colored people everywhere, irrespective of the place of their birth or residence, and the intelligent pooling of their resources—intellectual and material—for the common good."²⁴ If this was the ideal behind the movement, the stubborn reality was that ethnic distinctions would continue to be made, not least by the UNIA and its own supporters. Thus, in a report of speeches delivered at the opening of the second UNIA convention, in August 1921, it was said:

. . . Rev. Dr. Duvall, a new speaker in Liberty Hall, showed that he, too, possessed in marked degree the powers of an orator. He is not a West Indian, and deprecated the fact that the American Negro is inclined to hold aloof from the movement. It was the West Indian who, as a teacher, came to this country, he said, in the early years after the emancipation of the Negro and helped educate the Negroes in the South.²⁵

Surveying the history of West Indian emigration to the United States, A. M. Wendell Malliet took up the subject of "The Garvey movement, that most amazing mass movement of Negroes in all parts of the world, which threatened the stability of empires and challenged the statesmen of Europe, Africa and the Americas," which he claimed "was due largely to the West Indian in Harlem." He went further:

Undoubtedly, the spearhead of Garveyism was the West Indian leadership and following. It expressed all the arrogance, the spirit of challenge and defiance, and the enthusiastic fury of the West Indian . . . In fact Marcus Garvey's movement was really sponsored by West Indians, who had become 'emancipated' in the so-called free republics of Central America and Cuba, and whose experiences in the World War had stiffened their resistance against the white man's rule and shown them the weaknesses of the inner structure of the white man's civilization.²⁶

The publication of the present volume initiates a new series in the edition of *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers* that documents the Garvey movement in its historical relationship with the people of the Caribbean, at home and abroad, which developed under colonial rule following the War of 1914–1918. It follows previous volumes that documented the Garvey movement in its American and African incarnations. Three volumes, of which this is the first, will constitute the first half of the Caribbean Series (Part One), covering the islands and territories of the Greater Caribbean, with the exception of Jamaica. The Garvey movement in Jamaica forms the subject of the second half of the Caribbean Series (Part Two) and will comprise two volumes. Together these five volumes will conclude the overall edition. When completed, the three series—American, African, and Caribbean—should be read together as parts of a coherent whole, each series informing as well as illuminating the events narrated in each of the others that, in spite of their diversity, demonstrate throughout a close interrelationship spanning continents and colonial empires. Nowhere was this truer than in the case of the ancient colonies of the Caribbean, comprising the Antilles islands of the inner archipelago, in addition to the islands of the North Atlantic, and the coastal territories along the mainland of Middle America.²⁷

Garvey attained celebrity in America, and the movement that bore his name possessed all the features of a modern American revival. The documents in this and succeeding volumes, however, show that the movement's greatest political impact was felt, ultimately, among the English-speaking people of the West Indies and its far-flung, overlapping diasporas in the Americas. "Indeed it would be true to say of Jamaica, and to a lesser extent of the other British West Indies," observed Jamaica's *Sunday Gleaner* a decade after Garvey's death in 1940, "that national consciousness received its main impetus, if it was not actually born, from the racial movement associated with the still revered Marcus Garvey." In paying tribute to Garvey as the "Father of Nationalism," the paper concluded that "'Garveyism' lies at the heart of the modern political movements through which West Indian nationalism is seeking to express itself."²⁸ In fact, the Garvey movement provided the West Indies, in the aftermath of World War I, with a first full sense of national consciousness that helped to produce what could be described as a "West Indian Renaissance." The Garvey movement in America sent out the political call to arms, and West Indians responded as never before to the summons. "They [West Indians of light and learning who are domiciled in foreign countries] should not be satisfied with mere assertions of loyalty to any particular country," declared Garvey's *Negro World*, "for they owe a higher loyalty to the islands where they were born. Therefore we suggest that these men and women get together now, even as the Irish, Czecho-Slovaks, Alsatians, Poles and Hindoos have done, and begin to formulate plans for the betterment of the respective islands." The editorial

closed with the stern admonition: "This is not the time to be laggards; it is the time to be up and doing. WEST INDIANS, WAKE UP!"²⁹

Knit together through the diaspora framework of the large West Indian emigrant community, the Garvey movement was the beneficiary as well as begetter of a powerful long-range Caribbean nationalism.³⁰ If "exile is the nursery of nationality," as Lord Acton contended,³¹ then the West Indian transmigrants in America emerged from their encounter with America as a nationally conscious cultural group. From fragmented entities adrift in the sea, the outliers now constituted an emigrant *natio*. And they would achieve for the West Indies precisely what Irish Americans had done and were doing for Ireland and what other emigrant diasporas in America had done for their respective national causes.³²

"The Garvey Movement could only have begun in New York City," declared A. Philip Randolph, but not for the reason that he gave, namely, that the field had been prepared "for the reception of new ideas, presented through the vehicle of radicalism" in the form of the *Messenger* magazine, which he edited with Chandler Owen.³³ Garvey might well have picked up ideas from them, as Randolph contended, particularly ideas relating to the governance of Germany's African colonies that would form part of the peace settlement.³⁴ Rather, the field was prepared for Garvey and the movement by the transformation of Caribbean identity in America. Gradually at first but pouring out in a torrent following the end of the First World War, the community of West Indian outliers seemed to acquire a newly found opposition to British colonial overlordship. "We started [in Jamaica] immediately before the war," Garvey recalled, but the political impact of the war had a tremendous effect upon West Indians. Garvey explained:

The war helped a great deal in arousing the consciousness of the colored people to the reasonableness of our program, especially after the British at home had rejected a large number of West Indian colored men who wanted to be officers in the British army. When they were told that Negroes could not be officers in the British army they started their own propaganda, which supplemented the program of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. With this and other contributing agencies a few of the stiff-necked colored people began to see the reasonableness of my program . . . ³⁵

If West Indians found strength in numbers in America, they also found themselves facing perceptions by African Americans that gave rise to a new kind of interethnic tension, symbolized by the presence of the Garvey movement. David Hellwig notes that "Garveyism, in its aggressiveness and independence of native black leadership, so clearly symbolized the problem of the West Indian in the minds of many American blacks that Garvey and West Indian became synonymous."³⁶ After a period of successful political cooperation between Afri-

can Americans and West Indians, according to Edgar M. Grey, an early official of the UNIA and a fellow West Indian who fell out with Garvey, the relationship suddenly changed drastically. “[T]his effort was successful to the extent that, between the years 1915 and 1917 both groups were on a fair way of realizing their common interest,” asserted Grey. “They had nearly lost their antagonisms; they were fighting in harmony for the common rights of Harlem, civic and political.” He continues:

Then came Marcus Garvey and with him the fires of a new conflagration of intra-racial conflict in Harlem. The Garvey of 1917, without the opportunity to study the past records of the native leaders, proceeded to abuse and berate them. The man became so bombastic and his followers so obnoxious that the natives, in sheer self-defense, sought after attempts at compromise and conciliation, to fight him. The West Indian at once interpreted this behavior as being opposition to Garvey because of his birthplace: the Garvey board of strategy had the notion that the best way to demonstrate the power of the organization was to take issue with the native Americans through the N.A.A.C.P.³⁷

Whatever the truth of Grey’s account and its depiction of extreme inter-ethnic antagonism, it calls attention to what the anthropologist John Sydney-John Sydney W. Mintz, writing about the Caribbean, refers to as the “political crystallization of ethnicity.”³⁸ New York was the scene, in other words, of a process of political ethnogenesis on the part of West Indians, regardless of whether they were members of Garvey’s organization. In truth, some of Garvey’s harshest critics, such as W. A. Domingo³⁹ and other West Indian radicals, were West Indians. For most African Americans, however, despite evidence of the political opposition to Garvey arising within the West Indian community, West Indians as a whole were taken to be his supporters. At the height of the conflict between Garvey and his *Messenger* critics, A. Philip Randolph sought to explain the basis of the perception. According to Randolph, the reason for the “prejudice between the American and West Indian Negro” was obvious:

Mr. Garvey is a West Indian. As the leader of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, it is assumed that the followers endorse his policies. It is also assumed by American Negroes wrongly, of course, that all West Indians are followers of Garvey. Thus, the deduction of the American Negro is that all West Indians like Garvey are their enemy. While this is not true, it is believed to be true; and people act more strongly upon belief than they do upon fact and truth. The most prominent, intelligent West Indians are opposing Garvey. Garvey does not represent all West Indians any more than did Booker T. Washington represent all American Negroes.⁴⁰

The African American journalist, Lester A. Walton, in an appraisal of “Marcus Garvey: His Rise and Fall,” likewise argued that the popular assumption overlooked the fact that Garvey’s opposition originated within the West Indian community. “An impression prevails that Garvey had the united support of the large West Indian population in New York. This is far from the truth,” Walton declared. In the period of its greatest mobilization, “the New York division [of the UNIA] boasted of several thousand members, three-fourths of whom were of West Indian birth.” Still, it was an error all too often indulged in to conflate Garvey’s organization with the West Indian community as a whole. The reason for drawing the distinction, Walton argued, was that “Even when the New York division was much larger numerically than any in the association, the membership did not include 20 per cent of the total number of West Indians living in Harlem. Some of his own countrymen have been his most active opponents.”⁴¹

These comments point to something that subsequent commentators appear to have missed. The opposition to Garvey, whatever its ideological basis and profound though it was, denoted a deeper divide within the West Indian community, one based on social class as much as it was on ideology. The split worked to undermine unity of the West Indian community; by heightening antagonism between the working-class adherents of Garvey’s organization and members of the educated West Indian elite, the class divide grew worse. But to observers outside of the West Indian community, most of all African Americans, the social significance of the distinction was not seen. Whereas whites failed to notice that there were ethnic differences among blacks⁴² (a version of “blacks all look alike”), African Americans lumped together all West Indians into one undifferentiated group. “The American Negro failed to discriminate between the different classes of West Indians, and thus mistakenly judged the best by the worst,” observed the Jamaican Unitarian minister, Rev. E. Ethelred Brown, who himself had early on been associated with Garvey, “This mistaken judgment engendered a feeling of contemptuous superiority,” claimed Brown.⁴³

To grasp how fundamental this aspect of the Garvey movement was requires, first of all, that its West Indian composition be taken seriously and examined in depth. Hubert H. Harrison would provide a political description of the social divide in describing reaction to Garvey’s conviction in 1923. Commenting on the behavior of Garvey’s followers immediately following his conviction on mail-fraud charges, in June 1923, Harrison expressed deep disdain: “No sane person who sat in the courtroom can deny that he got a fair trial. In fact, the judge strained both his temper and the court’s rules of procedure to give him more leeway than had even been granted to any lawyer.” But that was not satisfactory in the eyes of Garvey’s followers nor the outcome that they fervently wished for, causing Harrison to warn that

that type of West Indian peasant from the hoe-handle and cow-tail brigade to whom Garvey is a god, and whose intolerant fanaticism may still compromise the thousands of intelligent and respectable West Indians in the United States; these people still believe that Garvey never did a crooked thing in his life.⁴⁴

William H. Ferris, editor of Garvey's *Negro World* from 1920 to 1923, during the most critical phase of the movement, testified to the radical change in perception that overcame members of the African American community. "It was in the summer of 1919," Ferris remembered, "when Marcus Garvey first launched The Black Star Line, that I observed the change in sentiment regarding West Indians in America. Friends and acquaintances from New York to Washington asked me 'Why are you so enthusiastic about the West Indians?'" In describing how Garvey mobilized West Indians as well as identifying the major centers of support, Ferris offers a peerless view of political ethnogenesis at work:

Then the Garvey movement organized the West Indians in Boston, New Bedford, New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Washington, Miami, Key West, New Orleans and other places. The Garvey movement did not at first line up the American Negroes and the West Indians against each other, for it aimed to unite the American, West Indian and South American and African Negro in one international federation. But the Garvey movement by marshaling the West Indians [en] masse made manifest the characteristics in which the West Indians differed from the American Negroes.⁴⁵

Ferris, who was a key figure in the hierarchy of the UNIA and who witnessed the evolution of the movement from the inside, identified the important change that altered the ethnic balance. "For the first two years, West Indians loyally carried the association forward," noted Ferris in 1925. "Now the greater majority of the membership consist[s] of native Americans. Let this fact not be forgotten, nor let it not be overlooked that the latest venture was financed with American dollars."⁴⁶ Ferris was referring to the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company, the successor enterprise to the Black Star Line venture, the launching of which caused Garvey's international fame to explode and effectively spread the reputation of the movement far and wide among blacks. This earlier endeavor, Ferris's statement confirms, which created a kind of social mania and transformed Garveyism into a mass movement, drew for its support mainly, to borrow Ferris's allusion, "West Indian dollars." It is essential to grasp the significance of this fact in assessing the relationship of West Indians and their support to the rise of the Garvey movement, particularly for the crucial period, 1919–1920.

Ferris's point about the role of West Indians in the mobilization and diffusion of the Garvey movement is borne out by the evidence. Outside the northeast, West Indians served as the key vector in spreading the message of Garveyism, introducing it into whatever communities they resided in. Moreover, Garvey employed a number of key organizers who were also West Indians. A few examples will have to suffice.

Garvey traveled to Baltimore to address a meeting on 8 December 1918. The visit was hosted and organized by two West Indians, William Rankin of St. Kitts and George D. Morris, a West Indian "ex-soldier."⁴⁷ The report of the meeting published in the Baltimore *Afro-American* noted: "The organization [Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League] is novel in that it aims to comprehend all colored peoples, Americans, West Indians, Africans[,] and Indians in its membership." Indeed, in this report appeared the very first intimation of the larger aims that Garvey had started to propound. "In addition to forming a league for political and social improvement of the Negro's condition in this country," the newspaper reported, "the aim is to establish in Africa a strong Negro Nation, which could command respect for the Negro, who resides in white countries."⁴⁸

After he left Baltimore, Garvey traveled to Newport News, Virginia, where he received an enthusiastic welcome from the large and vibrant Hampton Roads black community. There was a sizeable West Indian community residing in southeastern Virginia, attracted by the availability of wartime jobs in the naval shipyards. According to H. Vinton Plummer, director of the UNIA's "bureau of publicity," he first met Garvey in September 1918 at Newport News.

Around the month of September, 1918, while sojourning in Newport News, Virginia, where in my small way, I was "doing my bit" to help "save the world for democracy," at the port of embarkation . . . I had the pleasure of first meeting Hon. Marcus Garvey, by being introduced to him on his first visit to the southern city, for the purpose of establishing a branch or division of his then young organization in that city. Ten of us headed by Mr. R. H. Taylor, who afterwards became the first president of the Newport News division, whose charter was number 3, arranged for a dinner for Mr. Garvey.⁴⁹

In October 1920, a Bureau of Investigation undercover informant reported the presence of the UNIA in Pittsburgh and Homestead, Pennsylvania. As was true of Virginia, there was a significant West Indian presence in Pennsylvania, though it was mostly concentrated in Philadelphia, the location of one of the UNIA's earliest and largest divisions. "As is the case in New York," reported the informant, "a large percentage of the Garvey followers here [Pittsburgh] are West Indians, who are now fraternizing with American negroes, something which never was done before."⁵⁰ In New Orleans, the

UNIA division, the second one chartered in Louisiana, was founded in October 1920, at the home of Aliela and Sylvester Victor Robertson. Aliela Robertson was born in Bluefield, Nicaragua, the location of a sizeable community of West Indian migrants.⁵¹ New Orleans contained a large contingent of West Indians that had arrived from Central America, particularly after construction of the Panama Canal ended. Many worked as longshoremen and were significant enough in number to establish their own hall, at which they staged a special welcome reception for Garvey during his visit in August 1922.⁵²

In 1921, Garvey dispatched a special organizer to invigorate the New Orleans and other Louisiana branches. “Colonel” Adrian Fitzroy Johnson, a Jamaican who had served in the First World War and who on learning of Garvey’s movement was inspired to come to the United States, later recalled, “I created an organization known as the Colored Comrades of the Great War, for the purpose of bringing the cause of the idle and near starving Colored Seamen in the various parts of the U.K., whose condition was one of desperation and pity, with the only hope, the seething vengeance of race violence that ultimately created the race riots of London, Liverpool and Cardiff.” Johnson describes his first awareness of Garvey:

After lecturing in Glasgow I was handed a “Negro World” by an Arab seaman. In it I read of the launching of the Black Star Line and the clarion call of Mr. Garvey—“Negroes sharpen your sword for the battle of the survival of the fittest.” Conscious of this truth through experience that only those who are fit survive, I immediately decided to come to America to see for myself what it was all about.⁵³

Johnson was clearly a very gifted political organizer, for his successes in Louisiana and the South drew Garvey’s unstinting praise (a rare commodity, indeed). In a speech at Liberty Hall in July 1921 shortly after returning from his Caribbean and Central American sojourn, Garvey commended Johnson and his work: . . . “All of you are acquainted with Mr. Adrian Johnson during the [1920] convention here and during the time preparatory to the convention when he was around Liberty Hall and did splendid work for the cause.” Garvey reminded his audience that

I sent him to the far south—New Orleans, La. There were just about 100 or 200 members down there who were not properly organized. I sent him to organize New Orleans, La., Mississippi and Alabama. He spent a couple of months in New Orleans, in the heart of the South, and he took the 200 members to 2,500 when I arrived there. (Cheers.) Johnson did splendid work in the South . . .⁵⁴

In her memoir of Garvey, Amy Ashwood Garvey would place Johnson among the “Pillars of the Movement” for his organizing accomplishments in the

South. "It was due to his [Johnson's] forceful membership drive that the UNIA flourished in the Deep South as far as Mississippi," she wrote. "Johnson was a very brave man and risked his life in planting the banner of the Red, Black and Green in the South."⁵⁵

In the lowlands of southeast Missouri, in the area known as "the Bootheel," the UNIA spread among small-landowning as well as landless black cotton farmers. Initially, they were not the constituency in the area that first attracted the attention of the UNIA; it was mainly the black business and religious communities of Charleston, South Carolina, and New Madrid, Missouri, that mobilized support in late 1921. "Local history contends that a Jamaican dentist organized the New Madrid division, the older of the two."⁵⁶ In the summer of 1922, Garvey himself had visited and spoken in St. Louis and Kansas City, bringing the UNIA program to southeast Missouri.

In Los Angeles, West Indians were also active in the affairs of the UNIA. Division 156 "boasted of the largest body of enthusiastic Garvey followers of any unit west of Chicago." However, in late 1921, "a split and secession movement [developed] in the Local U.N.I.A., composed principally of West Indian negroes and the radical element, who objected to the conservative and patriotic stand of [Noah D.] THOMPSON," according to a Bureau of Investigation report. "The better element of the negro population, including church people, Federal, County and City employees, and those who are seeking to avoid any racial trouble or clashes, have always and do yet support THOMPSON."⁵⁷

As did the *Negro World* editor William H. Ferris, W. E. B. Du Bois, Garvey's symbolic archrival, noted that the movement underwent a change, though he made a special point of noting that "when the rank and file of ignorant West-Indian negroes were going wild over Garvey, the American negroes sat cool and calm, and were neither betrayed into wild and unjust attacks upon Garvey nor into uncritical acceptance." Du Bois then detailed the development of Garvey's following from his own perspective, writing of its ebb and flow:

Its main and moving nucleus has been a knot of black Jamaica peasants resident in America as laborers and servants, mostly unlettered, poor and ignorant, who worship Garvey as their ideal incarnate . . . It is this blind and dangerous nucleus that explains Garvey's success in holding his power. Around these are a mass of West-Indians, resident in the islands and in the United States, who have honestly supported Garvey in the hope that this new leader would direct them out of the West-Indian *impasse* of low wages, little education opportunity, no industrial openings, and caste. Especially they seized upon the Black Star Line, as isolated islanders would, as a plan of real practical hope. This group reached sixty or seventy thousand in number during Garvey's heyday, but with the failure of his enterprises it is rapidly falling away.

With these groups have always been a number of American Negroes: the ignorant, drawn by eloquence and sound; the grafters who saw a chance of sharing spoils; and with these some honest, thinking folk who paused and inquired, "Who is Garvey, and what is his program?" This American following, though always small, grew here and there, and in centers like Norfolk, Chicago, and Pittsburgh reached for a time into the thousands. But, on the whole, American Negroes stood the test well.⁵⁸

With a few minor quibbles, Du Bois's account stands up remarkably well to scrutiny. It would be difficult to challenge its narration of the facts, even if one would question the interpretation that Du Bois gives to those facts. That Garvey's "following had ebbed and flowed," with important consequences for the character and make-up of the movement, would be hard to deny. What explains the shift?

The shift can be traced to early 1921. At that juncture, the Black Star Line started to advertise the sale of passages to Africa aboard the ship it was proposing to launch after concluding negotiations for its acquisition—the putative S.S. *Phyllis Wheatley*. Garvey intended the ship to be used on the BSL's proposed African route. Negotiations with the U.S. Shipping Board, however, would stretch out for almost a year and eventually came to naught, except for the fact that it would prove to be the source of Garvey's undoing at the hands of federal prosecutors. As the futile negotiations dragged on, the failure to produce a ship meant that the departure for Africa had to be continually postponed. Advertisements in the *Negro World* of sailings of the *Phyllis Wheatley*, put off month by month, appeared from January to November 1921. In spite of the postponements and the chimera of the ship, the promise of passage to Africa set off a wave of inquiries and bookings.

The interest appears to have come mainly from African Americans who had a long history of African emigrationist sentiments and experiments, going back to the late eighteenth-century with people like Paul Cuffee and continuing throughout the nineteenth-century, particularly in the period before the Civil War, followed later with the collapse of Reconstruction and Jim Crow's tightening grip on the freed people throughout the South.⁵⁹ Garvey's revival of the idea of African emigration did arouse African American curiosity, creating the opening that would now motivate interest in the UNIA where there had been very little before.

That this new focus was a departure from the normal evolution of Garveyism was clearly spelled out by William Ferris in his critique of Kelly Miller's essay on the Garvey movement, "After Marcus Garvey, What?" Miller's essay appeared in the April 1927 issue of the *British Contemporary Review*, which Ferris thought was "brilliant." Despite his praise of Miller, however, Ferris contended that the author "falls into the error that every other appraiser of the

Garvey Movement falls into.” Ferris made explicit the nature of the misconception that led to the misunderstanding of the Garvey phenomenon:

It is generally believed that, “Back to Africa,” was the core and essence of the Garvey Movement. But let us examine the facts. Between the summer of 1919 and the spring of 1920 when Garvey cried out, “Let us buy ships to enter the commercial world and trade with our brethren across the seas,” he sold about \$600,000.00 worth of stock and bought three ships and three buildings.

But between the summer of 1920 and the spring of 1921, he sang another song. He said, “Let us buy ships to carry Americans and West Indian Negroes back to Africa.” He had three times as many branch divisions, twice as many members, twice as many brilliant speakers, twice as many big Mass Meetings, and twice as much publicity in the Negro, American and Foreign Press than the year before when the Black Star Line in the terse and trenchant words of Marcus Garvey “everlastingly wrote its name on the pages of human history” . . . The only generalization from these facts is that the “Black Star Line” as a commercial venture was a better selling proposition than “The Black Star Line” as repatriation ship.⁶⁰

Ferris fervently believed that the change wrought by the strategic shift toward repatriation would in time come to cost the movement dearly. “This is how Garvey and most of his lieutenants fell into a trap,” opined Ferris. “Back to Africa” was only one of Garvey’s ideas. It was the idea that white newspapers and reporters exploited. It was easy to get big headlines on the front pages by talking about the “African Empire” and “Repatriation to Africa,” and Garvey and most of his lieutenants followed the line of least resistance.⁶¹

Whether one accepts Ferris’s evaluation is not as important as noting the fact that, in his mind, qualitative change occurred. The question at issue is whether that change was accompanied by a corresponding change in the gradual reconfiguration of the UNIA’s composition from a West Indian to an increasingly African American base. Such an occurrence would point to the emergence of a parallel social movement—two movements operating in tandem, but with different tempos: the first one made up mainly of West Indian emigrants, focused on commerce and economic emancipation; the second one made up of a growing body of African American supporters, focused on African repatriation. Both movements claimed political allegiance to Garvey, but, ultimately, possessed distinct aims and interests.⁶²

While the BSL was pushing the purchase of passages to Africa, Garvey was also embarking on his initial colonization scheme in Liberia. Initiated when he was setting out on his Caribbean and Central American tour in February 1921, the plan of African colonization generated considerable interest. By the sum-

mer of 1921, however, the initial negotiations and preparations in Liberia, for which Garvey had sent a delegation of official representatives, were halted. Noteworthy is the fact that the aborted attempt was seen by Liberians as an effort on the part of West Indians. This was revealed in one of the extended reports written by the “Resident Commissioner,” Cyril A. Crichlow, who believed the directing force in the Liberian plan was West Indian. Following his return to the United States after several harrowing months in Liberia, Crichlow wrote that Liberians suggested that West Indians

should not forget that at best they have made a very unsavory record in Africa, being in the past the tools of the British capitalistic and military interests to despoil them of their rights, their liberties, their lands and their lives. They are glad, however, that there has been an awakening on the part of West Indians which is now manifest in their newly found sense of responsibility towards Africa; but in the very nature of things, West Indians—and for that matter Americans—cannot now expect to force matters: they are bound to meet serious opposition if they do.⁶³

Colonization would have to wait for another two and a half years (from July 1921 to December 1923), during which time nothing at all was heard about Liberia. When the idea was revived, it accompanied the launch of Garvey’s latest shipping venture, the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company. This second Liberian initiative would also fail, collapsing in July–August 1924, and this failure was far more dramatic and costlier still. The death knell was sounded when the Liberian government first declared supporters of Garvey *persona non grata* and then arrested and detained the team of technicians dispatched by Garvey in late June 1924 to set in motion arrangements for colonists to follow. A consignment of farm equipment that Garvey had also sent was seized and confiscated and later sold by the Liberian government.⁶⁴

Although interconnected, these two phases of Garvey’s Liberian venture were distinct. They did have in common the promotion of Garvey’s two successive shipping ventures, for which the Liberian plans were basically expedients. Politically, they were also expedient in another sense, since they allowed Garvey to claim with some justification that his organization was moving toward establishing a black vanguard on the African continent. And in the movement to set up a Garveyite colony in Liberia, African Americans would now provide the main body of support.

The allure of African repatriation was clearly strong and worked to draw African Americans toward the Garvey movement. Even so, it was not the only factor explaining the change. It was the indictment and arrest of Garvey by the U.S. government in January 1922 that in reality cemented the growing bond between Garvey and his American constituents and allowed the UNIA to push into areas, particularly in the South, where it had previously been absent.⁶⁵ E. Franklin Frazier, writing shortly after Garvey’s release from prison in Atlanta,

was of the opinion that “Garvey, himself could not have planned a more strategic climax to his career in America than his imprisonment in Atlanta.” In Frazier’s view, “The technical legal reason for his incarceration is obscured by the halo that shines about the head of the martyr.”⁶⁶ Benjamin E. Mays wrote in his autobiography, *Born to Rebel*, “Garvey’s arrest made a martyr of him and black people from many places came to his rescue . . . while Garvey was out on bail, and during his trial, when he acted as his own attorney, he became a greater hero than ever.” Perhaps this was a factor in Mays’s estimation of Garvey. “No other black leader, in my time, had attracted the masses as did Garvey,” he declared.⁶⁷

Paradoxical as it might appear, it was the government’s prosecution of Garvey that ultimately paved the way for his elevation to the status of an American black leader. In the eyes of African Americans, when the government arrested and tried him for mail fraud, it was not just Garvey who was being persecuted; it was African Americans who were being attacked. Garvey must have represented something significant to bring out the full legal weight of the federal government against him, and they rushed to his defense. The government’s intervention, in other words, not only rescued Garvey; it nationalized him and made him a sympathetic figure, a hero of African Americans.

Related to this, and as a consequence of Garvey’s elevation, was the rapprochement that developed between African Americans and West Indians. “At this time when American and West Indian Negroes truly desire to forget the strained relations of the past with all the misunderstandings and animosities, and to work together in the best interests of all,” Rev. E. Ethelred Brown wrote in 1926, expressing hope that “it would almost be a crime for any man, either by spoken or written word, to help, however remotely, to rekindle the smoldering embers of unfriendliness,” and stating his belief that “West Indians of every class are now more than ever in the mood to get together and work together with their American brethren.”⁶⁸ The transformation was all the more remarkable, coming as it did so soon after all the hostilities and barbs of previous years. Then, two years later, William Pickens of the NAACP rose to champion the cause of “Co-operation between West Indian and U.S. Negroes.” Pickens, who previously went from being somewhat sympathetic to Garvey to becoming a member of the “Garvey Must Go!” movement in 1922–1923, agitating for the government to deport Garvey, was now proposing to let bygones be bygones. “Every community of interest, therefore, between West Indian and American Negroes,” advised Pickens, “is a complete argument for their co-operation and mutual aid. We are thinking especially of the West Indian Negro groups that live in the United States.”⁶⁹

And then a curious thing happened. Following Garvey’s conviction and imprisonment from 1923 to 1925, a steady transvaluation of meaning inflected the historiography of African American nationalism and Garveyism. With the change of narrative, the Garvey movement was increasingly spoken of and viewed as a symptom of *African American* nationalism and alienation from the

American body politic, a warning of what might recur in the future, if changes were not made. Thus did the West Indian genesis of the Garvey phenomenon become displaced, particularly since the West Indian composition of the movement ceased to be a point of debate. By the time of the outbreak of the Second World War, a new narrative of the movement had become fixed, and Garveyism served as an essential placeholder in the articulation of the African American protest tradition, albeit the militant, separatist wing of that tradition, but an important component of it nonetheless. Garvey, it turned out, had been an American black leader all along. With this transvaluation and change in the narrative of Black Nationalism, Garveyism was domesticated, and with it went the erasure of the figure of the West Indian as the driving force of the Garvey movement.⁷⁰

It would be difficult to overemphasize the importance to the West Indies, the Americas, and the world of the movements of West Indians.⁷¹ The construction of the Panama Canal required the employment of more than seventy-five thousand men and women—the largest, most ambitious engineering project ever attempted. Workers were recruited from over ninety different countries, but the overwhelming majority came from the West Indies, specifically Jamaica and Barbados.⁷² Then, as construction began to taper off, in 1912–1913, West Indians began seeking an alternative to the Isthmus of Panama and to the future. Garvey would allude to the historic importance of Panama in making his case early on in America. Introducing himself by way of letters announcing his lecture debut in New York, Garvey summoned the West Indian experience of American leadership on the isthmus in Panama. “It is not necessary, to enumerate Jamaica’s service to the United States,” Garvey explained why he came to America to seek assistance for his fledgling organization in Jamaica, “as in many ways the Negro people of that country have done their share in helping American capital, American enterprise and American industries, not to mention, our Negro people have helped substantially in pushing through the Panama Canal—to be the world’s great trade route—and our people are ever willing to work under the progressive leadership of American genius.”⁷³

In the terms spelled out in the letter of introduction, Garvey was clearly promising to establish a tutelary relationship with America, in return for support of his UNIA venture. He was inspired by the epic contribution of West Indian workers to the construction of the Panama Canal (more than five thousand had perished in the process). West Indians should rightly be considered American heroes for their effort, and Garvey doubtless felt justified in expecting that their valuable contribution would count in his favor. Garvey did not sound at this point like a man looking for any sort of struggle with American racism, something that he would have observed in Panama, with, for example, the apartheid-like system of “silver employees” and “gold employees” and other discriminatory employment practices enforced by the canal administration. In spite of this, Garvey was disposed to be guided by America’s leadership. As he

envisioned the future in 1913, a year after the conclusion of his sojourn in Central America, Garvey boldly declared:

As one who knows the people well, I make no apology for prophesying that there will soon be a turning point in the history of the West Indies; and that the people who inhabit a portion of the Western Hemisphere will be the instruments of uniting a scattered race who, before the close of many centuries, will found an Empire on which the sun shall shine as ceaselessly as it shines on the Empire of the North to-day.⁷⁴

It is important to appreciate that Garvey embraced the “Empire of the North” even before his arrival in America. In addition to the experience acquired in his travel through Central America, Garvey had known Americans who were frequent visitors to Jamaica. Indeed, he had made it known that he and other Jamaican blacks were accustomed to being treated by white Americans with cordiality and respect—quite unlike the situation for American blacks. “Unlike the American negro, the Jamaican lives in an atmosphere of equality and comradeship, hence the outrages that are characteristic of America are quite unheard of in the island,” Garvey pointed out. In contrast, “White Americans, both Northerners and Southerners, have come to realise that all negroes are not pugnacious and vicious, for when they go over to Jamaica to spend their winter holidays they befriend and associate with the black natives just the same as they do with people of their own race.”⁷⁵

To no one in America did Garvey wish to extend the hand of friendship and heap greater praise on than the man who orchestrated America’s control and construction of the Panama Canal, Theodore Roosevelt. In Garvey’s eyes, Roosevelt was clearly the most formidable man that America had produced. Thus, in July 1917, when he was still referring to himself as “Negro Traveller and Lecturer,” Garvey wrote a lengthy letter to the *New York Tribune*, praising the Rough Rider’s confrontation with Samuel Gompers, the leader of the American Federation of Labor, during a meeting at Carnegie Hall, in which Roosevelt was reported to have denounced Gompers. Garvey concluded his letter, titled “Men of Vision—The Need of Races, Black or White, the World Over,” with the extraordinary statement:

Mr. Roosevelt is a genius, and though I am not of his race I admire him in the same way he admires the Negro and would do service for him. If the Negro and darker races had leaders of the vision of Theodore Roosevelt, then the situation of the world would have been different and mankind at large would be happier, but some day our men of vision will appear to meet the Roosevelts of the white race and to join hands together like brothers and make the world safe for true democracy.⁷⁶

Garvey looked to Roosevelt to reciprocate the feeling in some way, making repeated attempts to win some sort of endorsement from Roosevelt for his nascent movement. Perhaps thinking of Booker T. Washington, with whom Roosevelt had forged a well-known political bond even to the point of risking his own political capital,⁷⁷ Garvey invited Roosevelt to deliver a special address at a meeting of the UNIA, on the subject of “The Whiteman’s Relationship to the Blackman in the Development and Preservation of Civilization.” In his letter of invitation, Garvey asserted that the purpose of the meeting was “To foster the spirit of race cooperation between the White and Black peoples of the world” and explained that

Our Association, being representative of the educated and thoughtful of our race, desires a complete understanding between the two opposite races—the White and Black. We of the Association believe that ultimately the two races that have been so closely associated for all these centuries in the best of friendly relations will be forced to stand together in the preservation of those human rights that are every day being threatened from sources not quite friendly to the White or Black race.”⁷⁸

The bonds of friendship with white leaders in America sought by Garvey were no doubt intended to be translated into political capital. The feeling was not inspired by racial sentiment in the first instance; fundamentally, it was colonial in inspiration. Garvey, the Jamaican emigrant, was seeking to capitalize on his identity as a colonial, which, at this point, denoted political partnership. To confirm the fact that race was not uppermost in Garvey’s mind in proffering an alliance with Roosevelt and America, it should be noted that Garvey contemplated the same kind of tutelary relationship with African Americans. In an essay entitled “The West Indies in the Mirror of Truth,” written for *Champion Magazine* during his visit to Chicago in late 1916, Garvey sharply criticized West Indians, chastising them for their indolence. “The Negroes of the West Indies have been sleeping for seventy-eight years and are still under the spell of Rip Van Winkle,” Garvey declared. “These people want a terrific sensation to awaken them to their racial consciousness. We are throwing away good business opportunities in the beautiful islands of the West. We have no banks of our own, no big stores and commercial undertakings, we depend on others as dealers while we remain as consumers. The file is there open and ready for anyone who has the training and ability to become a pioneer.”⁷⁹

This judgment was harsh and unbalanced, especially as Garvey ignored the responsibility of the centuries-old stranglehold of sugar and the plantation system for the impoverishment of the West Indies. Garvey felt assured that a mercantile relationship with African American capitalists would energize West Indians. He declared that “If enterprising Negro Americans would get hold of some of the wealthy Negroes of the West Indies and teach them how to trade and to do things in the interest of their people, a great good would be accom-

plished for the advancement of the race.” The essay concluded with a list of what was needed: “The Negro masses in the West Indies want enterprises that will help them to dress as well as the Negroes in the North of the United States; to help them to live in good homes and to provide them with furniture on the installment plan; to insure them in sickness and death and to prevent a pauper’s grave.”⁸⁰

The economically inequitable distribution of resources in Jamaica was the subject of a conversation Garvey had in Chicago in 1916 with Ida B. Wells, the outstanding black political leader and former crusading journalist against lynching in the South. In her autobiography, Wells described their Chicago encounter: “Mr. Garvey was travelling from place to place to arouse the interest of other West Indians who were living in the United States to assist him in establishing an industrial school in Jamaica. He visited my husband’s law office, and Mr. Barnett brought him home to dinner.” She also remembered their lively conversation:

In the course of his conversation he said that ninety thousand of the people of the island of Jamaica were colored, and only fifteen thousand of them were white; yet the fifteen thousand white people possessed all the land, ruled the island, and kept the Negroes in subjection. I asked him what those ninety thousand Negroes were thinking about to be dominated in this way, and he said it was because they had no educational facilities outside of grammar-school work. He wanted to return to his native home to see if he could not help to change the situation there.⁸¹

Instead of returning to Jamaica, however, as appears to have been his original plan, Garvey would decide to change course and remain in America. He explained to an audience in Jamaica, in March 1921, how he made his decision:

He went there [America] primarily for the purpose of seeking aid for the Jamaica Division of the U.N.I.A. to build an industrial school after the pattern of Tuskegee in the southern part of the U.S.A., but on arriving in America he received an unwelcome response from the Jamaicans and West Indians who lived in the city of New York. He left the city of New York and travelled through 5 or 6 of the States for the same object. He met other West Indians who discouraged him in the idea of receiving help in the U.S.A. to build an industrial institution for Negroes in Jamaica. He was forced, therefore, to change his object. Nevertheless, he was deeply interested in the development of the Negro.⁸²

Then came the decisive turning-point, according to Garvey, one that he felt required him to remain in the United States:

He saw before him in America then a grave problem, and immediately went into a sociological study of conditions of the Negro in the United States, which caused him to travel through thirty-eight of the States. He lectured in some of the churches, passed on from place to place, returning to New York in the latter part of 1917 [*sic*] with the intention of coming back to Jamaica. But just at that time something happened that caused him to render certain assistance and he gladly gave it. Immediately after that assistance was rendered, he found out that the people there desired of him a longer stay in New York. He was, therefore, encouraged to start the U.N.I.A. and he assembled 13 men and women in 1917 and founded the New York Division of this Association.⁸³

Garvey's strategy of seeking American tutelage for the West Indies was now almost exhausted. It had produced little. Soon it would end with Garvey exchanging it for the goal of "Africa for the Africans." In that sense, it was Africa that rescued Garvey, not the other way around. At the same time, the new consciousness of Africa unleashed and symbolized by "Africa for the Africans" would inspire in West Indians, both in the Diaspora of the north and all across the archipelago, a new and radicalizing vision of their own liberation.

Garvey's focus would change, in 1917-1918, from the earlier program of improvement to the new goal of the emancipation and redemption of Africa. It was this change in direction, plus the spontaneous support generated among West Indians, that underlay Garvey's proclamation, in December 1918, that the UNIA was "THE GREATEST MOVEMENT IN THE HISTORY OF THE NEGROES OF THE WORLD."⁸⁴

What caused Garvey and West Indians to change? As Garvey explained it, the first major contributing factor was the First World War. "We are a new people, born out of a new day and a new circumstance," Garvey announced. "We are born out of the bloody war of 1914-18."⁸⁵ The change among West Indians was all the more noteworthy after the initial outpouring of patriotic support for England following the outbreak of the war. Then came the shock of disillusion brought about by England's racist treatment of West Indian soldiers, followed by the consequent reversal of patriotic feeling. "The war helped a great deal in arousing the consciousness of the colored people to the reasonableness of our program," Garvey explained, "especially after the British at home had rejected a large number of West Indian colored men who wanted to be officers in the British army. When they were told that Negroes could not be officers in the British army they started their own propaganda, which supplemented the program of the Universal Negro Improvement Association."⁸⁶ By the end of the war, the popular disaffection felt by West Indians for the British Empire was broad and profound.

The second major factor that contributed to the transformation of Garvey's goal was the publication, on 9 November 1917, of the famous "declara-

tion” by Britain’s Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour (First Earl of Balfour), which expressed the sympathy of the British government with Jewish Zionist aspirations while pledging to use its “best endeavors” to facilitate “the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.”⁸⁷ The effect upon Garvey was immediate and profound. “A new spirit, a new courage, has come to us simultaneously as it came to the other peoples of the world,” Garvey related. He recalled, “[i]t came [to] us at the same time it came to the Jew. When the Jew said, ‘We shall have Palestine!’ the same sentiment came to us when we said, ‘We shall have Africa!’”⁸⁸ Garvey repeated the same sentiment almost verbatim the following year, when he informed an interviewer: “When the Jew said, ‘We shall have Palestine,’ we said, ‘We shall have Africa.’”⁸⁹

Garvey thus felt empowered by Britain’s support of the Jewish Zionist claim to a national home in Palestine, and on 25 November 1917, speaking at a meeting on the subject of “The Opportunities of the Young Negro,” Garvey announced that “he will leave for Boston and other points soon and will then go to Africa, where he will organize the work among the natives there.”⁹⁰ This was the first recorded mention by Garvey of his intention of moving to Africa. Earlier in 1916, Garvey had proposed that “[a] certain class of graduates from this Institute [the proposed Industrial Farm and Institute in Jamaica] will be used as missionaries to Africa with the hope of helping to bring the millions of that ‘wonderful’ Continent into the van of civilization, which will mean so much to commerce and other industries.”⁹¹ This was the voice of nineteenth-century civilizationism speaking. The announcement that he intended to move to Africa, in November 1917, however, was of a different political order altogether. Speaking in Liberty Hall in New York, in February 1920, Garvey described the change in the political landscape. Alluding to the success of the Jewish Zionist movement as well as the Irish struggle, Garvey recalled the decisive impact of both these movements. “For months and months I spoke to you from the corners of Lenox Avenue,” Garvey reminded his audience.

Near me on another corner there were other speakers talking about political, domestic and other matters, and when I started to talk about the larger matters of the race they said I was a crazy man. They called me all kinds of names . . . I made up my mind to see the matter through because just at that time other races [were] seeing their cause through—the Jews through the Zionist movement and Irish through their movement—and I decided that, cost what it might, I would make this a favorable time to see the Negro’s interest through.⁹²

From this point onward, Garvey spoke in the name of African nationhood, of Africa constituting a separate nation.

The Balfour Declaration also explains Garvey’s expectation of imperial support for his African program. “[B]y assisting his proposed Exodus to the Conquest of Africa, which he [Garvey] compared to the assistance rendered by

Great Britain to the Jews to repopulate Palestine,”⁹³ Garvey projected the transfer of colonial suzerainty in Africa. It was clearly attested, for example, when, in December 1924, Garvey compared the struggle of the UNIA against the success achieved by other nationalist movements and found it to be wanting. “Today the Negro would have had a great government for himself even as the Jews, the Egyptians and the Poles and the other people who gained their freedom between 1914 and 1918,” Garvey opined.

All Africa was going a-begging between 1914 and 1918 until the armistice was signed—begging for some organized group of Negroes to come and take it, and because we were not organized Africa remained until the war was over and France and England and Italy took possession of that which they could not hold between 1914 and 1918.⁹⁴

Fortunately for Garvey, the social capital accumulated by West Indians over decades, going back as far as the pre-Emancipation period, traveled with them to America. It would form the bedrock of the West Indian community-building experience in the United States. The organization of the UNIA was modeled on the West Indian friendly society that supplied each insular group of West Indians in America with its respective associations.⁹⁵ In Harlem, for example, there was a friendly society or benevolent association for every Caribbean island and entity—British Virgin Islands Benevolent Association, British Jamaica Benevolent Association, Bermuda Benevolent Association, The Sons and Daughters of Barbados, B.W.I., St. Vincent Benevolent Society, St. Vincent Benevolent Association, Nevis Benevolent Society, Sons and Daughters of St. Christopher, British Guiana Benevolent Association, Antigua Progressive Society, Dominica Benevolent Society, Grenada Mutual Association, Jamaica Benevolent Association, Jamaica Benevolent Society, St. Lucia United Association, Tobago Benevolent Association, Trinidad Benevolent Association of New York. These are just a few of the names of West Indian benevolent associations that were active in the 1920s and 1930s in Harlem, drawn from the *New York Amsterdam News*.

In reality, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), seen in the context of the institutional life of the America–West Indian Diaspora, was no more than the largest and best known of these proliferating West Indian bodies.⁹⁶ Indeed, at the very inception of the UNIA in Jamaica in 1914, Garvey stated that it was organized “[t]o establish a universal confraternity among the race,”⁹⁷ the same term used by fraternal bodies and organizations to define their nature and purpose.⁹⁸ Reference was made above to the statement contained in the certificate of incorporation of the UNIA in July 1918, declaring that its first goal was “[t]o promote and practice, the principles of Benevolence, and for the protection and social intercourse of its members and for their mental and physical culture and developments and *to extend a friendly and constructive hand to the Negroes of the United States*.⁹⁹ The prototype of the West Indian

friendly society would also inform the “Preamble” of the UNIA’s *Constitution and Book of Laws*: “The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities’ League is a social, friendly, humanitarian, charitable, educational, institutional, constructive and expansive society, and is founded by persons, desiring to the utmost, to work for the general uplift of the Negro peoples of the world.”¹⁰⁰

In deriving the organizational template of the UNIA from the West Indian friendly society, Garvey followed the model closely, even to the extent of employing terms like “Board of Management” and designating himself “Founder” and “Travelling Commissioner,” all of them familiar names in the lexicon of friendly societies.¹⁰¹ The UNIA functioned like other benefit societies, providing death benefits for which it collected, in addition to initiation fees and membership dues, a “death tax” from members.¹⁰² When members died, their families would be paid the death benefit to assist with the funeral, which members would attend. West Indians attached the greatest importance to these rituals. In every respect, the UNIA adhered to all the norms of mutuality, cooperation, and benevolence.

The principles would have been instantly recognizable to West Indians, who were already practicing them everywhere and relied on them as the basic support for the structure of their community. Ultimately, it was the organizational form best known to West Indians and one that they had brought to a high level of social efficiency, particularly through the practice of rotating savings and credit schemes. Indeed, in certain instances, friendly societies in the West Indies functioned as incipient trade unions, taking the place of labor organizations before such bodies were made legal.¹⁰³ Like other West Indian friendly societies, the UNIA also organized social functions for members, such as dances, religious events, cultural performances, and sporting teams and events—particularly important for emigrants from the Caribbean. The UNIA also served important ceremonial and friendship purposes for both adults and juveniles, thereby playing an important part in many people’s lives.

The documents presented in this and subsequent volumes will make clear that the UNIA spread throughout the West Indian Diaspora as well as in the West Indies and Central America principally by means of links that it successfully established with members and officials of friendly societies, benevolent associations, lodges, burial societies, and the like.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, if members moved, they could join a different division or branch of the UNIA without difficulty; ceremonies were also fairly uniform throughout the far-flung UNIA, as the documents illustrate. Ultimately, the modular form of the UNIA was what made it readily portable, allowing its message to be diffused so widely. In replicating the fundamental features of the West Indian friendly society, the UNIA conserved and built upon the social capital that West Indian emigrants brought with them to America. And without that social capital to draw on, there would have been no Garvey movement.

The Garvey movement is being conceived here as a form of cultural and political ethnogenesis.¹⁰⁵ In coming to think of and understand themselves as a group that was culturally and ethnically distinct from the wider social milieu, diasporic West Indians gravitated to the UNIA as a major vehicle of group expression. Without the emigrant base, the Garvey movement would never have arisen and flourished to the extent that it did. The two were symbiotic, each expressing the movement of Caribbean consciousness in diaspora. As has been noted above, the Garvey movement served as a marker of West Indian group identity and became, in turn, an important means of maintaining and reaffirming a strong collective West Indian identity.

The process of cultural reinvention helped to galvanize the Garvey movement wherever it moved or developed. The process in itself was not new: cultural adaptation had been occurring as far back as the planting of the original colonies in the West Indies. In the Caribbean, the process came to be known by the term *creolization*, later to become an especially fecund concept in the emergence of Caribbean studies.¹⁰⁶ “What typifies creolization,” according to Philip Morgan, agreeing with Mintz, “is not just the fragmentation of culture or its destruction but rather the creation and construction of culture out of violent and disjunct pasts.”¹⁰⁷ In moving to new geographic settings and evolving in new locations, West Indians underwent a new phase in the creolization of West Indian culture.

Indeed, the UNIA, with its panoply of public and ceremonial rituals, became the vehicle for and showcase of the whole range of expressive Caribbean cultural forms. Whether it was the street parade that opened the annual conventions of the UNIA on 1 August, the Emancipation Day holiday in the West Indies,¹⁰⁸ the speechmaking from the platform of Liberty Hall, or the music and mass choirs, all of it signified the continuing relevance of “serious” play in the public life of the West Indian Diaspora. When these events are seen within the “broader context of ‘play culture’” in the Caribbean, the presence of a distinctively Caribbean aesthetic of performance becomes easily recognizable. In the words of Richard Burton, speaking about events such as Carnival in the Caribbean, “To say that such extravaganzas are just ‘play’ is, of course to say that they are very serious, indeed.”¹⁰⁹

Illustrative of the connection between Garvey and the world of the West Indian emigrant community was a vignette that appeared in the *Negro World*, in one of the few times that the paper allowed the quotidian world to intrude. The report was headlined:

GALA DAY AT THE OVAL

SPARTAN C[RICKET] C[LUB] AND UNIVERSAL C[RICKET] C[LUB]

—FORMER WIN BY 71 RUNS—

Hon. Marcus Garvey Delivers the Opening Ball

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Just from seeing the word “Universal” in the club’s name, it becomes apparent that there was a cricket club identified with Garvey’s UNIA. Indeed, it is possible that the New York Division of the UNIA had fielded its own cricket club. Following the headlines, the report stated:

All roads led to the Oval, Harlem, New York city, last Saturday afternoon, where the Spartan Cricket Club was at home to the Universal Cricket Club, the sporting offshoot of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League. The event was a memorable one and furnished additional testimony to the popularity of the Hon. Marcus Garvey, founder and administrator of the U.N.I.A. and A.C.L.

The match was held under the patronage of the his Highness the Potentate, Mayor G. M. Johnson of Monrovia, Liberia, and his Excellency the Hon. Marcus Garvey, Provisional President of Africa, who graced the function with their presence, remaining on the ground the entire afternoon, interested spectators of the game. The Stars and Stripes and the Red, Black and Green floated over the main entrance to the inclosure. A section of the Black Star line Band was in attendance and entertained an enthusiastic crowd numbering about 1,000 persons . . .

According to the report, shortly after arriving, Garvey was escorted to the pitch “to toss the opening ball,” whereupon “cheering broke out afresh as, standing at the south end of the pitch, he sent the leather through the air.”¹¹⁰ The report confirms both the emblematic importance of cricket in reproducing the cultural life of the West Indian *æcumene* in the diaspora as well as the easy familiarity and understanding that Garvey brought to the relationship.

Most commentators observing the UNIA’s public spectacles utterly failed to understand their significance as enactments of Caribbean creole culture which had now taken on new meaning in America—and not just for Garvey’s West Indian followers but also for West Indians at large enjoying the performances. Instead of recognizing the culturally revivifying quality of these events, commentators were content to write them off as examples of Garvey’s alleged exoticism or his childlike fascination with pomp.¹¹¹ At the same time, according to Burton, the culture of play derived its energy from another cultural impulse: “in the Caribbean all play is oppositional and all oppositionality is ‘playful’ or contains a ‘play element’ which most definitely does not mean that it is not intensely serious at the same time.”¹¹² Viewed within the cultural context of Caribbean rhetoric of oppositionality, Garvey’s well-known pugnacious quality, conveyed primarily through his speeches, might have had a particular resonance when heard by West Indians in his audiences. The defiant, combative temper of Garvey’s verbal performances might thus have resonated in terms of fulfilling certain cultural expectations. As Roger Abrahams explains, “The more solemn oratorical and orderly marching display events, like Emancipation Day in its

various apotheoses, or the activities of the burial societies at the death of a member, all testify to stylish gravity.”¹¹³

To illustrate the point, consider excerpts drawn from two speeches by Garvey, the first delivered on the eve of his departure for the Caribbean in the winter of 1921, the second from his visit to Panama during his sojourn there in the spring of that year. In both venues, Garvey’s audiences would have been overwhelmingly West Indian, but even more so in Panama than in New York. As examples of Garvey’s oratorical style, they vividly convey the flavor of his normal combative stance.

Negroes, understand, there are 400,000,000 of you in the world, and if you are too cowardly to stand up for what belongs to you, if you are going to let 60,000,000 Anglo-Saxons take away that which God Almighty gave you, you ought to die! But here is one man (the speaker here refers to himself) who will measure arms with and meet any Anglo-Saxon anywhere, at any time. Every day and night I feel sure I will meet him and bring away what belongs to me and let him go on his way. That is the determination I want each and every one of you to make up in your minds, for it’s your last chance.¹¹⁴

This association [UNIA] consists of cultured, cultivated and educated men, who are well versed in political economy and political science and although I am alone here tonight, I challenge any man who can come on this platform and give a better discourse than I can, on either of these subjects. Lloyd George and other statesmen went to the best universities to study political science. I have been to a university and used the same textbooks that they have used. They have made plans for the development of their country and empire. I shall expect no apology from them and they shall expect none from me. Black man as I am, I shall choose my way for the building of my empire . . . The Anglo-Saxons will not beat me in the race of life. Whenever you hear Garvey is licked he is well licked.¹¹⁵

The cultural dimension of the Caribbean emigrant Diaspora makes it possible to read the documents presented in these volumes against the grain and to subject them to the cultural logic outlined above. Formal texts take on a new life and begin to breathe again. The Caribbean focus of the present volumes restores the important cultural and political aspects of the Garvey narrative that have been eclipsed.¹¹⁶

What the volumes of the present Caribbean Series reveal is the strength of the symbiosis connecting the Garvey movement in America with the movement that unfolded across the entire Caribbean. In the absence of this narrative, Garveyism loses its historical bearing, which might explain why it has been difficult to comprehend the diffuse and dispersed nature of the phenomenon. Even so knowledgeable and privileged an observer as Richard B. Moore, himself an

active participant during Harlem's radical movements of the twenties, would be careful to prefigure his discussion of the Garvey movement with a note of caution: "It is difficult and still perhaps somewhat hazardous to attempt an objective estimate of the Garvey movement . . . yet this is necessary if we are to learn from its lessons and to apply them wisely in our present endeavors."¹¹⁷

Indeed, wrapped inside the phenomenon was a West Indian movement of diasporic consciousness; a Caribbean-wide nationalist movement; a redemptive social movement; a fraternal movement and friendly society; a movement aimed at moral reformation; a racial-irredentist movement; and an African American protest movement against racial injustice in America—all of them, interacting simultaneously and sometimes in dizzying combination. The Garvey movement, in other words, was not a single movement; it was several movements that faced in multiple directions, but all of them, during the peak years of mobilization, 1919–1923, anchored in and by the West Indian Diaspora of the north.

The Caribbean Series has as its principal focus the pan-Caribbean aspects of what was an extraordinarily variegated, transnational West Indian, African American, and African phenomenon, operating in tandem, but each with its own tempo and political trajectory.

Notes

Abbreviations used in the notes are listed in the Symbols and Abbreviations section of this volume.

1. *Negro World*, 13 August 1921; "Garvey Speaking in Toronto," *Black Man*, Vol. 4, no. 1 (February 1939): 7–10.

2. Speech by Marcus Garvey, Liberty Hall, New York, 6 March 1920, *Negro World*, 13 March 1920, reprinted *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 141, 250–258, cited hereafter as *MGP*, with volume and page number(s).

3. Certificate of Incorporation of The Universal Negro Improvement Association, Inc., New York City, filed and recorded 2 July 1918, *MGP*, 1:245–246, emphasis added.

4. Marcus Garvey to T. A. McCormack, New York City, 12 May 1916, *MGP*, 1:193–194. Garvey arrived in New York, by way of Belize, on 23 March 1916.

5. See Karen Fog Olwig, *Global Culture, Island Identity: Continuity and Change in the Afro-Caribbean Community of Nevis* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993), and *Caribbean Journeys: An Ethnography of Migration and Home in Three Family Networks* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Ninna Nyberg Sorensen and Olwig, eds., *Work and Migration: Life and Livelihoods in a Globalizing World* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Jean Besson and Olwig, eds., *Caribbean Narratives of Belonging: Fields of Relations, Sites of Modernity* (Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean, 2005); and Bonham C. Richardson, *Caribbean Migrants: Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983).

6. For the history and scope of West Indian migration to Panama, see Michael L. Conniff, *Black Labor on a White Canal: West Indians in Panama, 1904–1980* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985); Velma Newton, *The Silver Men: West Indian Labour Migration to Panama 1850–1914* (Mona, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1984); and Bonham C. Richardson, *Panama Money in Barbados, 1900–1920* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985).

7. The literature on West Indian emigration to the U.S. is large and growing; the main focus of the scholarship has been concerned with that which began in the 1960s. For accounts of the earlier movement, the main sources are Harry Robinson, "The Negro Immigrant in New York," WPA Research Paper, June 1939, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture; Ira De A. Reid, *The Negro Immigrant: His Background, Characteristics and Social Adjustment, 1899–1937* (New York:

Columbia University Press, 1939; reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1968); Calvin B. Holder, "West Indian Immigrants in New York City, 1900–1952," unpublished diss., Harvard University, 1976; "The Causes and Composition of West Indian Immigration to New York City, 1900–1952," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*, Vol. 11, no. 1 (January 1987): 7–26; Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Verso, 1998); "Explaining Afro-Caribbean Social Mobility in the United States: Beyond the Sowell Thesis," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 44, no. 2 (April 2002): 218–62; Violet Showers Johnson, *The Other Black Bostonians: West Indians in Boston 1900–1950* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

8. *Negro World*, 23 October 1920. For the numbers of black emigrants arriving and departing from the U.S., 1899–1937, see Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia*, table 1.1, "Black immigrant aliens admitted and black emigrant aliens departed, United States, 1899–1937," p. 355. Extrapolating from the figures, between 1899 and 1924, when the Immigration Act of 1924 cut off the flow of West Indian emigrants, the aggregate number of black immigrant arrivals was 135,019; however, for 1911–24 alone, when black immigration peaked, the total was 101,389. Of this number, West Indians constituted the preponderant majority.

9. The Hispanic islands (Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic) are not included. "West Indian" and "Caribbean" are used synonymously and interchangeably throughout; however, when the context covers the wider Caribbean, including West Indian communities in Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and the territories of Central and South America, then "Caribbean" is used.

10. Irma Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations: Caribbean Immigrants and the Harlem Community, 1900–1930* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

11. In 1925, W. A. Domingo, the radical West Indian activist, estimated that "foreign-born Negroes," inclusive of West Indians, "formed slightly less than 20 per cent of the total Negro population of New York" (see W. A. Domingo, "The Gift of the Black Tropics," in Alain Locke, ed., *The New Negro: An Interpretation* (New York: A. and C. Boni, 1925; reprinted, New York: Atheneum, 1992), p. 341).

12. Harrison has been described as the "father of the 'New Negro' movement." For his career, see Jeffrey Babcock Perry, ed., *A Hubert Harrison Reader* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 2001); *Hubert Harrison: The Voice of Harlem Radicalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009). Garvey scored his first speaking success in New York on Harrison's platform. For an account of Harlem's stepladder orators, the majority of whom were West Indian, see Ralph L. Crowder, "The Historical Context and Political Significance of Harlem's Street Scholar Community," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*, Vol. 34, no. 1 (January 2010): 34–71.

13. For the economic collapse of West Indian sugar in the 1880s and the lack of any effective imperial or institutional response, see S. B. Saul, "The British West Indies in Depression, 1880–1914," *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, Vol. 12, no. 3 (Winter 1958): 3–25; H. A. Will, "Colonial Policy and Economic Development in the British West Indies, 1895–1903," *Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 23, no. 1 (April 1970): 129–147; R. W. Beachey, *The British West Indies Sugar Industry in the Late 19th Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957); Gisela Eisner, *Jamaica, 1830–1930: A Study in Economic Growth* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961); and J. R. Ward, *Poverty and Progress in the Caribbean 1800–1960* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers, 1985).

14. "Du Bois A West Indian . . . Prejudice Growing Less and Co-operation More, Says Student of Question," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 29 January 1927.

15. "Garvey Philosophy Becomes Guide for Negroes; Leader Called Moses of Oppressed People," *New York Amsterdam News*, 10 August 1940. Malliet wrote extensively about the history of Garvey and the UNIA in the *New York Amsterdam News*, the newspaper of the West Indian community and was the author of *The Destiny of the West Indies* (New York: Russwurm Press, 1928).

16. Edgar M. Grey expressed the view that "Because of the English system of keeping women in the background, his women are, to a certain extent, unprogressive; so the West Indian and the other foreigners generally continue to resent the obtrusion of women in public activities" ("The Tropics in New York: 'The West Indian and Native Belong to Same Race,'" *New York Amsterdam News*, 23 March 1927; cf. Irma Watkins-Owens, "Early Twentieth-Century Caribbean Women: Migration and Social Networks in New York City," in Nancy Foner, ed., *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 25–51).

17. The data refutes the claim made, for example, by Robert Brisbane and Winston James—cf. "[A] significant characteristic of the Garvey movement was the fact that its leadership was made up

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almost exclusively of immigrant West Indians, while American Negroes constituted the preponderance of the dues-paying rank and file" (Robert H. Brisbane, *The Black Vanguard: Origins of the Negro Social Revolution 1900–1960* [Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1970], p. 217; "Although the leadership of the UNIA was disproportionately Caribbean in origin, the organization as a whole—and certainly the UNIA in the United States—was not a 'West Indian Movement' in any meaningful sense" (Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia*, p. 135).

18. Speech by Marcus Garvey, Ward Theatre, Kingston, Jamaica, 18 December 1927, *Negro World*, 7 January 1928; "Mr. Garvey at Ward Theatre," *Gleaner*, 20 December 1927, *MGP*, 7:47–48.

19. Speech by Marcus Garvey, Liberty Hall, New York, 6 March 1920, *Negro World*, 6 March 1920, *MGP*, 2:235.

20. "Divide and Rule," editorial, *Negro World*, 14 June 1919, reprinted in *MGP*, 1:423–424.

21. "Thousands Throng Liberty Hall," *Negro World*, 23 August 1924.

22. Marcus Garvey to the Governor, British Guiana, New York, 2 March 1920, National Archives, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, England, CO 111/630, see pp. 575–576 in the present volume.

23. *Negro World*, 14 August 1920.

24. *Negro World*, 28 August 1920.

25. *Negro World*, 13 August 1921.

26. A. M. Wendell Malliet, "British West Indians Outnumber All Other Groups in Harlem; Immigration More Than 100 Years Old," *New York Amsterdam News*, 5 March 1938.

27. Cf. "The term West Indies applies, strictly, to the group of Islands occupying the Caribbean Sea, stretching from the tip of Florida to the north-eastern hump of South America" (W. A. Domingo, "The West Indies," *Opportunity*, Vol. 4, no. 47 [November 1926]: 339).

28. E. H. J. King, "This Is Jamaica—at the Half Century Mark," *Sunday Gleaner*, 31 December 1950.

29. "Reconstruction in the West Indies," *Negro World*, reprinted in the *West Indian* (Grenada), 28 March 1919.

30. Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Long-Distance Nationalism: World Capitalism and the Rise of Identity Politics*, The Wertheim Lecture 1992 (Amsterdam: Centre for Asian Studies, 1992); Nina Glick Schiller and Georges Eugene Fouron, *Georges Woke up Laughing: Long-Distance Nationalism and the Search for Home* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); Nina Glick Schiller, "Long-Distance Nationalism," in *Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures around the World*, ed. Melvin Ember et al. (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum, 2004), 2: 570–580; see also Devesh Kapur, "The Janus Face of Diasporas," in Barbara J. Merz et al., eds., *Diasporas and Development* (Cambridge: Global Equity Initiative, Asia Center, Harvard University, 2007), 89–118; Fiona B. Anderson, "Constructing the Diaspora: Diaspora Identity Politics and Transnational Social Movements" (unpublished paper, March 2008).

31. Lord Acton, "Nationality," *Home and Foreign Review* (July 1862), reprinted in William H. McNeill, ed., *Essays in the Liberal Interpretation of History: Selected Papers by Lord Acton* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 133–166.

32. John Kenny, "Mobilizing Diasporas in Nationalist Conflicts" (unpublished paper); Thomas N. Brown, *Irish-American Nationalism, 1870–1890* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1966); David Brundage, "Recent Directions in the History of Irish American Nationalism," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 28, no. 4 (Summer 2009): 82–89; Mark I. Choate, *Emigrant Nation: The Making of Italy Abroad* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); Donna R. Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas* (London: UCL Press, 2000).

33. A. Philip Randolph, "Reply to Marcus Garvey," *Messenger*, August 1922, p. 470.

34. See A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, *Terms of Peace and the Darker Races* (New York: Poole Press Association, 1917). According to Randolph, Garvey "got his first knowledge of the African problem from a program drawn up by the writer and presented at a conference, held at the late Madam C. J. Walker's home, Irvington-on-Hudson, out of which grew the International League of Darker Peoples. Garvey was there and participated in the conference" (Randolph, "Reply to Marcus Garvey," p. 470).

35. Marcus Garvey, "The Negroes Greatest Enemy; A Chapter in Autobiography," *Current History*, Vol. 18, no. 6 (September 1923): 951–957, reprinted in Amy Jacques Garvey, ed., *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, or Africa for the Africans* (New York: Universal Publishing House, 1926; reprinted New York: Atheneum, 1992), pp. 124–134. For the story of the humiliating racist treatment of West Indians in the First World War and the deep resentment that it caused, see W. F. Elkins, "A Source of Black Nationalism in the Caribbean: The Revolt of the British West Indies Regiment at Taranto, Italy," *Science and Society*, Vol. 34, no. 1 (Spring 1970): 99–103; Glen-

ford D. Howe, *Race, War and Nationalism: A Social History of West Indians in the First World War* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002); and Richard Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers in the First World War: Race, Masculinity and the Development of National Consciousness* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

36. David J. Hellwig, "Black Meets Black: Afro-American Reactions to West Indian Immigrants in the 1920's," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 77, no. 2 (Spring 1978): 219.

37. Edgar M. Grey, "The Tropics in New York," *New York Amsterdam News*, 23 March 1927.

38. Sidney W. Mintz, "The Caribbean Region," *Daedalus*, Vol. 103, no. 2, *Slavery, Colonialism, and Racism* (Spring 1974): 59.

39. W.A. Domingo, "An Opponent of Garveyism," *World Tomorrow*, Vol. 4, no. 11 (November 1921): 347; see also "Figures Never Lie, But Liars Do Figure," *Crusader*, Vol. 5, no. 2 (October 1921): 13-14.

40. Randolph, "The Only Way To Redeem Africa," *Messenger*, Vol. V, no. 3 (February 1923): 612. Domingo agreed: "The support given Garvey by a certain type of his countrymen is partly explained by their group reaction to attacks made upon him because of his nationality" ("The Gift of the Black Tropics," in Alain Locke, ed., *The New Negro: An Interpretation* (New York: A. and C. Boni, 1925; reprinted, New York: Atheneum, 1992), p. 348).

41. Lester A. Walton, "Marcus Garvey: His Rise and Fall," *Chicago Defender*, 4 April 1925. In addition to his career as a journalist, Walton was the manager of Harlem's Lafayette Theatre and an important theater critic as well as chairman of the Coordinating Council for Negro Performers; in 1924, he was appointed director of publicity of the Colored Division of the Democratic National Campaign Committee. See Susan Curtis, *Colored Memories: A Biographer's Quest for the Elusive Lester A. Walton* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008).

42. "Often overlooked is the role of foreign-born blacks and the response of native blacks to the dark-skinned newcomers. While white Americans largely ignored the presence of West Indians as they persisted in the self-serving delusion that All Negroes were the same, blacks were alert and often hypersensitive to nationality differences" (David J. Hellwig, "Black Meets Black: Afro-American Reactions to West Indian Immigrants in the 1920's," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 77, no. 2 [Spring 1978]: 206).

43. Ethelred Brown, "West Indian-American Relations: A Symposium," *Opportunity*, Vol. 4, no. 47 (November 1926): 354-355.

44. Hubert H. Harrison, "New York Writer Analyzes Garvey Case," *Kansas City Call*, 5 July 1923.

45. William H. Ferris, "Unity between Americans and West Indians," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 4 February 1928.

46. *Ibid.*

47. "Great Mass Meeting at the Regent Theatre," *Afro-American*, 6 December 1918. For examples of Rankin's espousal of Garvey's cause, see *Afro-American*, 17 June 1921, 11 August 1922.

48. "A New Radical Organization," *Afro-American*, 13 December 1918.

49. H. Vinton Plummer, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association: As I See It—Then—Now," *Spokesman*, May-June 1927, pp. 10, 29. Plummer might have misremembered the meeting as having occurred in September instead of December 1918. Or it is also possible that Garvey traveled to Baltimore after leaving Virginia. The party of ten that met with Garvey in 1918 would most likely have included West Indian representatives. For the UNIA in Virginia in the 1920s, see Claudrena N. Harold, *The Rise and Fall of the Garvey Movement in the Urban South, 1918-1942* (New York: Routledge, 2007), chap. 4, "Virginia Garveyism, 1918-1942," pp. 91-114; and Earl Lewis, *In Their Own Interests: Race, Class, and Power in Twentieth-Century Norfolk, Virginia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 73-76, 94-95.

50. Reports by Bureau Agent A. J. Lenon, Pittsburgh, 2 September 1920, In Re: Marcus Garvey, Universal Negro Improvement Association, Black Star Steamship Line, Back to Africa Movement, *MGP*, 3:43.

51. Jahi U. Issa, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association in Louisiana: Creating a Provisional Government in Exile," unpublished diss., Howard University, May 2005, pp. 101-103; see also Claudrena N. Harold, *The Rise and Fall of the Garvey Movement in the Urban South, 1918-1942* (New York: Routledge, 2007), chap. 2, "'We Are Constantly on the Firing Line': The Garvey Movement in New Orleans, 1920-1935," pp. 29-60.

52. "Welcome Address by West Indian Colonist[s] of Metropolitan Louisiana," *Negro World*, 12 August 1922.

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53. Johnson's statement is reproduced in an unpublished memoir by Garvey's first wife, Amy Ashwood Garvey ("Portrait of a Liberator: Biographical Sketch of Marcus Garvey," edited by Lionel M. Yard, n.d., The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Project, James S. Coleman African Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles; for Amy Ashwood's career, see Tony Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey: Pan-Africanist, feminist, and Mrs. Marcus Garvey Wife no. 1, or, A Tale of Two Amies* (Dover, Mass.: Majority Press, 2007), New Marcus Garvey Library, No. 4.

54. "My Trip to the West Indies and Central America," speech by Marcus Garvey, Liberty Hall, New York, 20 July 1921, *Negro World*, 30 July 1921, *MGP*, 3:639; "Col. Adrian Johnson Speaks in New Orleans," *Negro World*, 28 February 1921. Johnson presented a report, "[An] Indictment of British Rule," at the 3rd UNIA convention, 16 August 1922, *MGP*, 4:889–890.

55. MS., Amy Ashwood, "Portrait of a Liberator: Biographical Sketch of Marcus Garvey," edited by Lionel M. Yard, n.d., The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Project, James S. Coleman African Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles; cf. Tony Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey*.

56. Jarod Heath Roll, "Road to the Promised Land: Rural Rebellion in the New Cotton South, 1890–1945," unpublished Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, December 2006, chap. 4, "'Building up a Country of Their Own': Rural Garveyism, 1920–1929," p. 144.

57. Report by Bureau Agent A. A. Hopkins, Los Angeles, California, November 17, 1921, UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION—NEGRO ACTIVITIES, *MGP*, 4:194–195; for the story of the Los Angeles UNIA, see Emory J. Tolbert, *The UNIA and Black Los Angeles: Ideology and Community in the American Garvey Movement* (Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, 1980).

58. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Back to Africa," *Century Magazine*, Vol. 105, no. 4 (February 1923): 546.

59. The literature on the subject of African emigration and colonization ("Back to Africa") is immense. For some of the most useful works, see Stephen Ward Angell, *Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and African-American Religion in the South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992); Eric Bruin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005); Kenneth C. Barnes, *Journey of Hope: The Back-to-Africa Movement in Arkansas in the Late 1800s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); James T. Campbell, *Middle Passages: African American Journey to Africa, 1787–2005* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006); Floyd J. Miller, *The Search for a Black Nationality: Black Emigration and Colonization, 1787–1863* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975); Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Liberian Dreams: Back-to-Africa Narratives from the 1850s* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Emma J. Lapsansky-Werner et al., eds., *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in America, 1848–1880* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005); Edwin S. Redkey, *Black Exodus: Black Nationalism and Back-to-Africa Movements, 1890–1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969); and Lamont D. Thomas, *Paul Cuffee: Black Entrepreneur and Pan-Africanist* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988). For a critique of the tradition from an African perspective, see Tunde Adeleke, *UnAfrican Americans: Nineteenth-Century Black Nationalists and the Civilizing Mission* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998).

60. William. H. Ferris, "'After Marcus Garvey What?' A Critical Analysis of Kelly Miller's Brilliant Article on the Garvey Movement in the *British Contemporary Review*," *Spokesman*, Vol. 3, no. 1 (September 1927): 12–13. See also Kelly Miller, "After Marcus Garvey—What?," *Spokesman*, May 1927.

61. Ferris, "'After Marcus Garvey What?' A Critical Analysis of Kelly Miller's Brilliant Article on the Garvey Movement in the *British Contemporary Review*," *Spokesman*, Vol. 3, no. 1 (September 1927): 12–13.

62. For a recent attempt to theorize the possibility of two distinct Garvey movements, see Nicholas Patsides, "Allies, Constituents or Myopic Investors: Marcus Garvey and Black Americans," *Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 41, no. 2 (2007): 279–305. Patsides argues that "Though black Americans across different social groups endorsed his vision of African sovereignty as a means to inspire their 'American Dream,' their conception of his rhetoric often conflicted with his own vision of reform. Garvey and his Caribbean followers, on the other hand, shared a regional identity and cultural bond, as well as an unbreakable closeness in spirit and outlook, which made this group, in all but name, his true constituency" (pp. 279–280).

63. Cyril A. Crichlow, "What I Know About Liberia," *Crusader*, Vol. 5, no. 4 (December 1921): 20–23. Crichlow, who was Trinidadian by birth, had come to America in the early part of the century and was educated in the Midwest; he eventually teamed up with a Barbadian, Newton Brathwaite, in establishing a secretarial school in Harlem. Before leaving as a secretary of the mission to Liberia, Crichlow had held the position of official stenographer at Liberty Hall and would have been the person responsible for transcribing the bulk of Garvey's speeches published in the *Negro World*.

64. See M. B. Akpan, "Liberia and the Universal Negro Improvement Association: The Background to the Abortion of Garvey's Scheme for African Colonization," *Journal of African History*, Vol. 14, no. 1 (1973): 105–127; I. K. Sundiata, *Brothers and Strangers: Black Zion, Black Slavery, 1914–1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. 15–23. For Garvey's side of the Liberian imbroglio, see Amy Jacques Garvey, ed., *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, or Africa for the Africans* (New York: Universal Publishing House, 1926; reprinted New York: Atheneum, 1992), Part 3, "The Republic of Liberia and the Universal Negro Improvement Association," pp. 351–412.

65. For a charting of where divisions of the UNIA spread in the U.S. South in the 1920s, see Jarod Roll, "Garveyism and the Eschatology of African Redemption in the Rural South, 1920–1936," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, Vol. 20, no. 1 (2010): 27–56; Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), and *The Political Worlds of Slavery and Freedom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); Claudrena N. Harold, *The Rise and Fall of the Garvey Movement in the Urban South, 1918–1942* (New York: Routledge, 2007); and Mary Rolinson, *Grassroots Garveyism: The Universal Negro Improvement Association in the Rural South, 1920–1927* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007). In July 1922, a Bureau of Investigation undercover agent in New York reported that the UNIA's musical director, the Barbadian Arnold Josiah Ford, had discussed with him "the aims and objects of the Organization," and that "Ford seemed to have an idea that the U.N.I.A. was originally formed to organize the negroes, have them march an army south and seize the territory below the Mason-Dixon line. Ford is a militarist and made it very plain in my conversation with him that he believes in the use of force by the negroes to attain their rights. . . . Ford claims that most of the negroes do not know the real and secret objects of the U.N.I.A., which are as stated above, and that these objects can be explored to them only after they join the organization" (Andrew M. Battle, "RE: U.S. vs. Marcus Garvey. Alleged Violation Section 215 U.S.C.C. [Using the mails to defraud], New York, N.Y.," 17 July 1922, in Theodore Kornweibel, ed., *Federal Surveillance of Afro-Americans [1917–1925]: The First World War, the Red Scare, and the Garvey Movement* [microfilm] [Frederick, Md.: University Publications of America, 1985]).

66. E. Franklin Frazier, "The Garvey Movement," *Opportunity*, Vol. 4, no. 47 (November 1926): 346.

67. Benjamin E. Mays, *Born to Rebel* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), pp. 305–306.

68. Ethelred Brown, "West Indian-American Relations: A Symposium," *Opportunity*, Vol. 4, no. 47 (November 1926): 354–355.

69. William Pickens, "Co-operation between West Indian and U.S. Negroes," *New York Amsterdam News*, 19 September 1928. For Pickens's career, see Sheldon Avery, *Up From Washington: William Pickens and the Negro Struggle for Equality, 1900–1954* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989).

70. A major exception to this enveloping consensus was Harold Cruse (see *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual: A Historical Analysis of the Failure of Black Leadership*, introduction by Stanley Crouch [New York: New York Review Books, 1967, 2005]); for an attempt to refute Cruse's position, see Winston James, *Holdings Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Verso, 1998), Postscript, "Harold Cruse and the West Indians: Critical Remarks on *The Crisis of The Negro Intellectual*," pp. 262–291.

71. For the very substantial impact in the West Indies arising from the migration to Panama as well as the impact of the Panama experience on the migrant community there, see Olive Senior, "The Colón People—Part I: Jamaica the Neglected Garden"; "Part II: The Colón Experience: The Panama Canal," *Jamaica Journal*, Vol. 11, nos. 3 and 4 (1977): 62–71, and Vol. 12, no. 42 (1978/79): 88–103; Bonham C. Richardson, *Panama Money in Barbados, 1900–1920* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985); Rhonda D. Frederick, "Colón man a come": *Mythographies of Panama Canal Migration* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2004); Trevor O'Reggio, *Between Alienation and Citizenship: The Evolution of Black West Indian Society in Panama, 1914–1964* (Lan-

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ham, Md.: University Press of America, 2006); and George W. Westerman, *The West Indian Worker on the Canal Zone* (n.p., 1951). For the story of the construction of the canal, see Julie Greene, *The Canal Builders: Making America's Empire at the Panama Canal* (New York: Penguin Press, 2009); David G. McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870-1914* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977); Alexander Missal, *Seaway to the Future: American Social Visions and the Construction of the Panama Canal* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); and Matthew Parker, *Panama Fever: The Epic Story of the Building of the Panama Canal* (New York: Doubleday, 2007).

72. For the numbers of emigrants from Barbados, Jamaica, and other West Indian territories, see Velma Newton, *The Silver Men: West Indian Labour Migration to Panama 1850-1914* (Mona, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1984), pp. 91-94.

73. Marcus Garvey to "Dear Friend and Brother," April 1916, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, University of Massachusetts, reprinted in *MGP*, 1:189-190.

74. Marcus Garvey, "The British West Indies in the Mirror of Civilization—History Making by Colonial Negroes," *African Times and Orient Review*, 2 (Mid-October 1913): 160, reprinted in *MGP*, 1:27-33.

75. Marcus Garvey, "The Evolution of Latter-Day Slaves—Jamaica, A Country of Black and White," *Tourist*, 19 (June 1914): 61-63, reprinted in *MGP*, 1:40-44.

76. Marcus Garvey, "Men of Vision—The Need of Races, Black or White, the World Over," *New York Tribune*, 11 July 1917.

77. Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), chap. 1, "Partners of Convenience: Washington and Roosevelt," 3-31; Robert J. Norrell, *Up from History: The Life of Booker T. Washington* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009).

78. Marcus Garvey to Theodore Roosevelt, New York, 12 March 1918, Library of Congress, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, reprinted in *MGP*, 1:240-241. For other solicitation letters to Roosevelt from Garvey, see *MGP*, 1:245, 287.

79. Marcus Garvey, Jr., "The West Indies in the Mirror of Truth," *Champion Magazine*, Vol. I (January 1917): 167-168, reprinted in *MGP*, 1:197-200.

80. *Ibid.*

81. Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*, ed. Alfreda M. Duster (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 380. For Wells's political career, see also Paula J. Giddings, *Ida: A Sword among Lions—Ida B. Wells and the Campaign against Lynching* (New York: Amistad, 2008).

82. "Reception Given Marcus Garvey," *Gleaner*, 24 March 1921, *MGP*, 3:275.

83. "Reception Given Marcus Garvey," *Gleaner*, 24 March 1921, *MGP*, 3:275.

84. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland, Record Group 165, Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs, Military Intelligence Division, file 10218/261-11; *MGP*, 1:315.

85. Report of UNIA Meeting, Liberty Hall, New York, 11 July 1920, *Negro World*, 17 July 1920; *MGP*, 2:409-417.

86. Marcus Garvey, "The Negro's Greatest Enemy; A Chapter in Autobiography," *Current History*, Vol. 18, no. 6 (September 1923): 951-957; *MGP*, 1:3-12. For the impact of the First World War on the West Indies and upon West Indians generally, see W. F. Elkins, "A Source of Black Nationalism in the Caribbean: The Revolt of the British West Indies Regiment at Taranto, Italy," *Science and Society*, Vol. 34, no. 1 (Spring 1970): 99-103; Peter Fraser, "Some Effects of the First World War on the British West Indies," University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies Seminar Papers, *Caribbean Societies*, Vol. 1 (1982); C. L. Joseph, "The British West Indies Regiment 1914-1918," *Journal of Caribbean History*, Vol. 2 (May 1971): 94-124; Glenford D. Howe, *Race, War and Nationalism: A Social History of West Indians in the First World War* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002); and Richard Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers in the First World War: Race, Masculinity and the Development of National Consciousness* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

87. Jonathan Schneer, *The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (New York: Random House, 2010), p. 341.

88. Report of UNIA Meeting, Liberty Hall, New York, 11 July 1920, *Negro World*, 17 July 1920; *MGP*, 2:409-417.

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89. Rollin Lynde Hartt, "The Negro Moses and His Campaign to Lead the Black Millions into Their Promised Land," *Independent* (New York), 26 February 1921.
90. "Among the Negroes of Harlem," Harlem *Home News*, 2 December 1917; *MGP*, 1:228.
91. "Dear Friend and Brother," New York, April 1916, enclosure in Marcus Garvey to W. E. B. Du Bois, 25 April 1916, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, University of Massachusetts Library; *MGP*, 1:189.
92. Report of UNIA Meeting, Liberty Hall, New York, 11 July 1920, *Negro World*, 17 July 1920; *MGP*, 2:409-417.
93. Editorial letter, *Negro World*, 22 April 1922; *MGP*, 4:611.
94. Speech, Liberty Hall, New York, 14 December 1924, *Negro World*, 20 December 1924; *MGP*, 6:69. See also Garvey's statement: "It is not so much force of arms that will redeem Africa; it is not so much gunpowder that will redeem Africa; it is organization among Negroes that will redeem Africa . . . because Africa, certain parts of Africa, will be going a-begging one of these days, belonging to nobody. Anybody can occupy because everybody will be engaged. I have a vision, and you may call it that of a lunatic, but I have a vision that in another fifty years the West Indies and Africa, as far as colonial possessions are concerned, are not going to belong to anybody; it will be a scramble for anybody that wants it. And that is why we are getting ready for the scramble, because we are going to be in it. We don't want to kill anybody, to fight anybody. Get ready, keep ready, get organized, and you will pick up something one of these days" (Speech, Liberty Hall, New York, 15 June 1924, *Negro World*, 21 June 1924; *MGP*, 5:601-605).
95. For the history of friendly societies in the West Indies, see Marcia Burrowes, "The Cloaking of a Heritage: The Barbados Landship," in Gad Heuman and David V. Trotman, eds., *Contesting Freedom: Control and Resistance in the Post-Emancipation Caribbean* (Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean, 2005), 215-234; Aviston D. Downes, "Sailing from Colonial into National Waters: A History of the Barbados Landship," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, Vol. 46 (2000): 93-112; Leonard P. Fletcher, "The Friendly Societies in St. Lucia and St. Vincent," *Caribbean Studies*, Vol. 18, no. 3/4 (October 1978-January 1979): 89-114; Howard Johnson, "Friendly Societies in the Bahamas, 1834-1910," *Slavery and Abolition*, Vol. 12, no. 3 (December 1991): 183-199; Glen Richards, "Friendly Societies and Labour Organisation in the Leeward Islands, 1912-19," in Brian L. Moore and Swithin R. Wilmot, eds., *Before and After 1865: Education, Politics and Regionalism in the Caribbean* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 1998), pp. 136-149; A. F. and D. Wells, *Friendly Societies in the West Indies: Report of a Survey* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1953).
96. For the activities of the various benevolent societies, see Irma Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations: Caribbean Immigrants and the Harlem Community, 1900-1930* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), chap. 4, "Churches, Benevolent Associations, and Ethnicity," pp. 56-74; "Early Twentieth-Century Caribbean Women: Migration and Social Networks in New York City," in Nancy Foner, ed., *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 25-51.
97. Marcus Garvey, *The Destiny of the Negro*, pamphlet, Booker T. Washington Papers, Library of Congress, reprinted in *MGP*, 1:64-66.
98. The terms 'friendly society,' 'mutual society,' 'benevolent society,' 'benefit society,' and 'fraternal organization,' are frequently used interchangeably.
99. Certificate of Incorporation of The Universal Negro Improvement Association, Inc., New York City, filed and recorded July 2, 1918, reprinted in *MGP*, 1:245-246, (emphasis added).
100. *Constitution and Book of Laws . . . In Effect July, 1918*, reprinted in *MGP*, 1:256-281. In "History of the U.N.I.A.—How to Teach the U. N. I. A." (Lesson 20, School of African Philosophy), Garvey advised that "The preamble of the Constitution is vitally important to those who are to interpret its supreme object. Whenever the purpose of the organization is challenged by foes particularly, quote the preamble of the Constitution. This should be done particularly where its enemies assail it before a Court of Law or before Governmental Authorities. This preamble was written particularly for the purpose of winning the sympathy and support of alien races where the other objects of the association were being threatened through hostility" (reprinted in Robert A. Hill and Barbara Bair, eds., *Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987], pp. 319-339). The *Constitution and Book of Laws* was modeled explicitly on the rules governing friendly societies, and its legal incorporation was that of a fraternal association.
101. A. F. and D. Wells, *Friendly Societies in the West Indies: Report of a Survey* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1953).
102. "A death tax of 10 cents per month shall be levied on each member, which shall be separate and distinct from the regular monthly dues, and the death tax so levied by each local division or

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society shall be forwarded to the Secretary General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities' League to be lodged to the credit of the Association's death fund; and on the death of a member who has paid up his or her last month's complete dues a sum of seventy-five dollars shall be granted from the death fund for his or her burial" (*Constitution and Book of Laws*, Sec. 28).

103. See Richards, "Friendly Societies and Labour Organisation in the Leeward Islands, 1912–19."

104. For examples, see Putnam, "Nothing Matters but Color: Transnational Circuits, the Inter-war Caribbean and the Black International"; Anne S. Macpherson, *From Colony to Nation: Women Activists and the Gendering of Politics in Belize, 1912–1982* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), p. 302, n.7; O'Reggio, *Between Alienation and Citizenship*, pp. 72–73.

105. The key text is J. D. Y. Peel, "The Cultural Work of Yoruba Ethnogenesis," in Elizabeth Tonkin et al., eds., *History and Ethnicity* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 198–215; reprinted in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds., *Nationalism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, 3 vols. (London: Routledge, 2002), 3: 964–982. According to Peel, "The further back we go, the more we find that Yoruba ethnicity was a cultural project before it was a political instrument," p. 201. Cf. Jonathan D. Hill, ed., *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492–1992* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996).

106. For applications of the creolization concept, see Roger D. Abrahams, "Questions of Criollian Contagion," *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 116, no. 459 (2003): 73–87, and *Everyday Life: A Poetics of Vernacular Practices* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), chap. 13, "Creolizations," pp. 217–237; David Buisseret and Steven G. Reinhardt, eds., *Creolization in the Americas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000); Charles Stewart, ed., *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Left Coast Press, 2007); Ralph Bauer and José Antonio Mazzotti, eds., *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas: Empires, Texts, Identities* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). For a critique of the use of the concept, see O. Nigel Bolland, "Creolization and Creole Societies: A Cultural Nationalist View of Caribbean Social History," in Alistair Hennessy, ed., *Intellectuals in the Twentieth-Century Caribbean*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan Education, 1992), Vol. 2, *Spectre of the New Class: The Commonwealth Caribbean*, pp. 50–79, and "Reconsidering Creolisation and Creole Societies," in Gad Heuman and David V. Trotman, eds., *Contesting Freedom: Control and Resistance in the Post-Emancipation Caribbean* (Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean, 2005), pp. 179–196.

107. Philip D. Morgan, "The Caribbean Islands in Atlantic Context, circa 1500–1800," in Felicity A. Nussbaum, ed., *The Global Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 64; see Sidney W. Mintz, "Enduring Substances, Trying Theories: The Caribbean Region as Ecumene," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 2, no. 2 (1996): 289–311, and "Creolization, Culture, and Social Institutions," in *Three Ancient Colonies: Caribbean Themes and Variations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 182–212.

108. For the celebrations surrounding Emancipation Day, see J. R. Kerr-Ritchie, *Rites of August First: Emancipation Day in the Black Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007).

109. Richard D. E. Burton, *Afro-Creole: Power, Opposition, and Play in the Caribbean* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 246. For ethnographic analyses of 'play' in Caribbean culture, see Frank E. Manning, *Black Clubs in Bermuda: Ethnography of a Play World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973); and Roger D. Abrahams, *The Man-of-Words in the West Indies: Performance and the Emergence of Creole Culture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).

110. N. G. G. T., "Gala Day at the Oval," *Negro World*, 27 August 1921.

111. Robert A. Hill, "Making Noise: Marcus Garvey *Dada*, August 1922," in Deborah Willis, ed., *Picturing Us: African American Identity in Photography* (New York: New Press, 1994), 181–205.

112. Burton, *Afro-Creole*, pp. 8–9.

113. Abrahams, "Questions of Criollian Contagion," p. 78.

114. Speech by Marcus Garvey, Liberty Hall, New York, 13 February 1921, *Negro World*, 19 February 1921, reprinted in *MGP*, 3:201.

115. Speech by Marcus Garvey, Variedades Theatre, Panama City, Panama, 2 May 1921, *Panama Star & Herald*, 4 May 1921, reprinted in *MGP*, 3:383.

116. For renewed focus on the Garvey movement in the Caribbean, see "Garveyism and the Universal Negro [Improvement] Association in the Hispanic Caribbean," *Caribbean Studies*, Special Issue, Vol. 31, no. 1 (January–June 2003).

THE MARCUS GARVEY AND UNIA PAPERS

117. Richard B. Moore, "Africa Conscious Harlem," in John Henrik Clarke, ed., *Harlem: A Community in Transition* (New York: Citadel, 1964), p. 83.

HISTORY OF THE EDITION

The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) Papers Project formally began in June 1976 at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, under the sponsorship of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. The edition was transferred the following year to the Center for Afro-American Studies, University of California, Los Angeles. Since 1981 it has been affiliated with the university's James S. Coleman African Studies Center under the sponsorship of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission and the National Endowment for the Humanities. The project has also received generous supporting grants from the Ahmanson, Ford, Rockefeller, and UCLA foundations.

THE PAPERS

The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers is a multivolume edition organized along primarily geographical lines into three distinct but related series. The Main Series, published in seven volumes, covers Garvey's life and the historical evolution of the UNIA in North America. The African Series comprises three volumes devoted to the expansion of the Garvey movement in sub-Saharan Africa and among Africans residing in the European colonial metropolises during the interwar years. These volumes also include the responses of European imperial and colonial governments to the challenge posed by the African Garvey movement. The Caribbean Series covers the movement in the territories of the Caribbean basin, including the Central American littoral and South American mainland.

This tripartite structure of the edition reveals important differences in the Garvey movement's development in the United States, Africa, and the Caribbean. Although there were areas of overlap among the three regions, particularly in terms of the diverse ethnic origin of the leaders and followers resulting from interregional migration within the Americas and Africa, each region exhibited sufficiently distinctive patterns of development to justify separate but interrelated presentations.

The first three volumes of the Caribbean Series comprise over 1,000 documents, spanning the years from 1910 to 1945. They chronicle the complex and varied responses to Garveyism on the part of Caribbean-based organizations as well as the actions taken by European colonial governments to

defend their authority in response to the perceived threat of the Garvey phenomenon. The number of actual selected documents relating to each area appears in the following table; however, it is necessary to emphasize that many documents overlap, since they pertain to more than one particular area of interest:

DOCUMENTS BY COUNTRY

The Bahamas	24	Guatemala	8
Barbados	60	Haiti	20
Bermuda	16	Honduras	6
Brazil	3	Leeward Islands	51
British Guiana	56	Panama and Canal Zone	167
British Honduras	71	Puerto Rico	14
Costa Rica	39	St. Lucia	22
Cuba	111	St. Vincent	35
Dominica	63	Trinidad and Tobago	67
Dominican Republic	78	U.S. Virgin Islands	19
Grenada	27	Other Countries	123

Following a general plan entitled “The Organization of a System of External Contributions to an Editing Project: A Summary of Research Findings,” which the project prepared in 1985 for the African Series, it was decided that the complexity and diversity of the Caribbean Series required the expertise of established scholars in the specialized fields covered by the documents. Although final responsibility for accuracy and editorial consistency resided with the project, many of the specialized annotations explicating Caribbean historical figures, events, and place-names were entrusted to scholars of Caribbean history in the Caribbean, United States, and Europe. The imperatives of establishing and maintaining clear editorial guidelines, achieving a steady flow of communication with contributors, and creating adequate editorial procedures for evaluating and vetting the resultant contributions were achieved with a great deal of effort on the part of both the project and its contributors.

The documents were divided primarily into regional or territorial groups and sent out to an initial group of scholars whom the project recruited to undertake the necessary annotation work. Consultants were also asked to prepare translations of the foreign-language documents that they were annotating as well as to write brief contextual essays, which appear in Volume XI under the caption “Historical Commentaries,” and which provide overviews of the historical impact of Garveyism within their respective areas. Most contributors worked from primary sources, some of which were provided by project research, resulting in a wealth of new historical findings that are here published for the first time.

HISTORY OF THE EDITION

In order to evaluate the quality of the annotations, external peer reviewers selected by the project were invited to read all contributing scholars' annotations and essays; to identify and correct errors and omissions; to supplement annotations and source notes when necessary; and to write reports assessing the quality and comprehensiveness of the submissions. The identity of peer reviewers was kept anonymous.

CONTRIBUTING SCHOLARS AND SUBJECTS

Rosanne Adderley	The Bahamas
Peter D. Ashdown	British Honduras
Patrick L. Baker	Dominica
O. Nigel Bolland	British Honduras
Bridget Brereton	Trinidad and Tobago
David Browne,	Barbados
Philippe Bourgois	Costa Rica and Panama
Marcelo Bucheli	United Fruit Co.
Carla Burnett	Panama and the Canal Zone
Marcia Burrowes	Barbados
Kim D. Butler	Brazil
Aviva Chomsky	Costa Rica and Cuba
Michael Conniff	Panama and the Canal Zone
Edward L. Cox	Grenada
Juanita De Barros	British Guiana
Dario A. Euraque	Honduras
Marion Bethel Francis	The Bahamas
Helen Francis-Seaman	Dominica
Humberto García-Muñiz	Dominican Republic
Jorge L. Giovannetti-Torres	Dominican Republic
Julia Greene	Panama and the Canal Zone
Frank Guridy	Cuba and Panama
Ronald N. Harpelle	Costa Rica, Guatemala, Panama, and the Canal Zone
Alana Johnson	Barbados
Simon Jones-Hendrickson	U.S. Virgin Islands
Gregory R. LaMotta	U.S. Virgin Islands
Michael Louis	St. Lucia
Susan Lowes	Antigua
Marc McLeod	Cuba

THE MARCUS GARVEY AND UNIA PAPERS

Melanie Newton	Barbados
Ira P. Philip	Bermuda
Brenda Gayle Plummer	Haiti
Lara Elizabeth Putnam	Costa Rica
Glen Richards	Leeward Islands
Bonham C. Richardson	Windward Islands
Reinaldo L. Román	Puerto Rico
D. Gail Saunders	The Bahamas
Cleve McD. Scott	St. Vincent and the Grenadines
Peter A. Szok	Panama and the Canal Zone
Mimi Sheller	Haiti
Richard Smith	World War I
Melisse Thomas-Bailey	Trinidad and Tobago
Nigel Westmaas	British Guiana
Kevin Yelvington	Trinidad and Tobago

EDITORIAL SELECTION, TRANSCRIPTION, AND ANNOTATION

The Caribbean Series is comprised of letters, speeches, and writings of Caribbean Garveyites and their opponents, as well as official UNIA documents and speeches by Marcus Garvey that have a direct bearing on the Caribbean. It also includes minute papers of officials; official correspondence and memoranda; government investigative records; legal documents; newspaper articles; and facsimiles of original documents. In the case of Caribbean newspaper articles, several of which were reprinted in the UNIA's *Negro World*, every effort was made to search systematically for the original newspaper sources. In some cases copies of the Caribbean newspapers have not survived or are impossible to locate. In keeping with its overall editorial principles, the policy of the project was to take the original newspaper sources, rather than the *Negro World* reprints, as the copy text wherever possible.

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES

I. ARRANGEMENT OF DOCUMENTS

Documents are presented in chronological order according to the dates of authorship of the original texts. Enclosures and attachments to documents, however, appear with their original covering documents. For purposes of identification, enclosures are set in italic type in the table of contents. The publication dates of news reports, speeches, and periodical articles are given on the place and date lines within square brackets; dates of original composition or delivery, however, if available, chronologically supersede the dates of publication and are printed within double square brackets on the document's place and date lines.

Investigative or intelligence reports that give both the dates of composition and the periods covered by the reports are arranged according to the dates of composition.

Documents that lack dates and thus require editorial assignment of dates are placed in normal chronological sequence. When no day within a month appears on a document, the document is placed after the last document specifically dated within that month. Documents that carry only the date of a year are placed according to the same principle. Documents that cover substantial periods, such as diaries, journals, and accounts, appear according to the dates of their earliest entries.

When two or more documents possess the same date, they are arranged with regard to affinity with the subject of the document that immediately precedes them or that which immediately follows them.

II. FORM OF PRESENTATION

Each document is presented in the following manner:

- A. A caption introduces the document and is printed in a type size larger than the text. Letters between individuals are captioned with the names of the individuals and their titles, which are included only on first appearances. When the title but not the name of a document's author is known, the title alone is given. The original titles of published materials are retained with

the documents; however, the headlines of some news reports are abridged or omitted as indicated in the descriptive source notes.

- B. The text of a document follows the caption. The copy text of letters or reports is taken from recipients' copies whenever possible, but in the absence of a recipient's copy, a file copy of the letter or report is used. If the file copy is not available, however, and a retained draft copy of the letter is found, the retained draft copy is used as the basic text. File copies are referred to as copies or carbon copies in descriptive source notes.
- C. An unnumbered descriptive source note follows the body of each text. The descriptive source note describes the physical character of the document by means of appropriate abbreviations, such as TLS (typed letter signed). A complete list of these abbreviations may be found in the Descriptive Symbols section on page cxiv. A repository symbol indicates the provenance of the original manuscript or, if it is rare, printed work.

Printed sources are identified in the following manners:

1. A contemporary pamphlet is identified by its full title, place and date of publication, and the location of the copy used.
2. A contemporary article, essay, letter, or other kind of statement that appeared originally in a contemporary publication is preceded by the words "Printed in . . . ," followed by the title, date, and, in the case of essays in magazines and journals, inclusive page numbers of the source of publication.
3. A contemporary printed source reprinted at a later date, the original publication of which has not been found, is identified with the words "Reproduced from . . . ," followed by the identification of the work from which the text has been reproduced in the volumes. Articles originally printed in Caribbean newspapers and reprinted in the *Negro World*, the originals of which have not been found, are identified in captions as coming from the Caribbean paper, with the *Negro World* source given in the descriptive source note.

Information on the special character or provenance of a document is also explained in the descriptive source note, as is any editorial intervention or elision regarding a document, such as "text abridged" or "headlines omitted."

- D. Numbered textual annotations that elucidate the document follow the descriptive source note.
- E. The following principles of textual annotation apply:

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES

1. Individuals, organizations, and historical events are identified upon their first mention in the volumes, with additional information about them sometimes furnished upon their later appearance where such data provide maximum clarification. Pseudonyms are identified, wherever possible, by textual annotations.
2. Elided material has in general been annotated, except in instances, such as diaries and some speeches, where it is clearly extraneous.
3. Reasons for the assignment of dates to documents or the correction of document dates are explained in instances where important historical information is involved.
4. Obscure allusions and literary or biblical references in the text are annotated whenever such references can be clarified or their source identified. Common or frequently cited biblical references are not annotated.
5. Published and manuscript materials consulted during the preparation of textual annotations appear in parentheses at the end of each annotation, except when they are cited directly, in which case reference immediately follows the quotation. Research correspondence conducted by Garvey Papers project staff members is cited in annotations. Frequently used reference works are cited in abbreviated forms, a complete table of which may be found on pages cxv–cxvii.

III. TRANSCRIPTION OF TEXT

Manuscripts and printed material have been transcribed from original texts and printed as documents according to the following principles and procedures:

A. Manuscript Material

1. The place and date of composition are placed at the head of the document, regardless of their location in the original. If the place or date of a manuscript (or both) does not appear in the original text, the information is editorially supplied and printed within square brackets, in roman type if certain, in italics if uncertain or conjectural. Likewise, if either the place or date is incomplete, the necessary additional information is editorially supplied within square brackets. Original superscript letters are brought down to the line of type, and terminal punctuation is deleted.
2. In colonial government reports, investigative or intelligence reports, and other reports that were submitted on printed forms, the place and date are abstracted and placed at the head of each document, while the

name of the reporting agent or government official, when available, is placed at the end of the document on the signature line.

3. The signature, which is set in capitals and small capitals, is placed at the right-hand margin on the line beneath the text or complimentary close, with titles, where they appear, set in uppercase and lowercase on the line below. Terminal punctuation is deleted.
4. When a file copy of a document bearing no signature is used to establish the text but the signatory is known, the signature is printed in roman type within square brackets.
5. The inside address, or address printed on letterhead or other official stationery, is printed immediately below the text if historically significant and not repetitive.
6. Endorsements, docketts, and other markings appearing on official correspondence, when intelligible, are reproduced in small type following the address, with appropriate identification. In the case of other types of documents, such as private correspondence, endorsements and docketts are printed only when they are significant. Printed letterheads and other official stationery are not reproduced. They are sometimes briefly described in the descriptive source note or, if they contain lengthy or detailed information, in an annotation.
7. Minutes, enclosures, and attachments are printed immediately following their covering documents. Whenever they are not printed, this fact is recorded and explained. Whenever a transmission letter originally accompanying an enclosure or attachment is not printed, the omission is noted and the transmission document identified and recorded in the descriptive source note.
8. Proper names that are spelled erratically in the original text are regularized or corrected upon their first appearance in a document by printing the correct form in square brackets after the incorrect spelling. In words other than proper names, corrections of spelling irregularities are made within the word and printed within square brackets; however, typographical or spelling errors that contribute to the overall character of documents are retained. Accent marks missing in the original text have not been added.
9. Capitalization is retained as in the original. Words underlined once in a manuscript are printed in italics. Words that are underlined twice or spelled out in large letters or full capitals are printed in small capitals.
10. Punctuation, grammar, and syntax are retained as found in the original texts. Punctuation corrections that are essential to the accurate reading of the text are provided within square brackets. If, however, a

punctuation mark appears in a document as a result of typographical error, it is corrected in square brackets or silently deleted.

11. All contractions and abbreviations in the text are retained. Abbreviations of titles or organizations used in document heads are identified in a list that appears on pages cxvii–cxviii. Persons represented in the text by initials only have their full names spelled out in square brackets after each initial on their first appearance, if we have been able to identify them. If we have not, this fact is noted in a textual annotation.
12. Superscript letters in the text are lowered and aligned on the line of print.
13. Omissions, mutilations, and illegible words or letters are rendered through the use of the following textual devices:
 - a) Blank spaces in a manuscript are shown as []. If the blank space is of significance or of substantial length, this fact is elaborated upon in a textual annotation.
 - b) When a word or words in the original text must be omitted from the printed document because of mutilation, illegibility, or omission, the omission is shown by editorial comment, such as: [*torn*], [*illegible*], [*remainder missing*].
 - c) Missing items are restored in the printed document within square brackets. A question mark following the restoration indicates that it is uncertain or conjectural.
14. Additions and corrections made by the author in the original text are rendered as follows:
 - a) Additions between the lines, or autograph insertions in a typewritten document, are brought onto the line of type and incorporated into the body of the text within diagonal lines // //.
 - b) Marginal additions or corrections by the author are also incorporated into the printed document and identified by the words [*in the margin*] italicized in square brackets. Marginal notes made by someone other than the author are treated as endorsements and printed after the text of the document.
 - c) Text deleted or altered in the original, as in a draft, is restored and indicated by canceled type at the place where the deletion or alteration occurs in the original text. If a lengthy deletion is illegible, this is indicated by the words [*deletion illegible*].
15. When texts have been translated from other languages, capitalization and punctuation have generally been changed to reflect English usage.

Foreign-language titles of organizations have been kept in their original language. A concentrated effort has been made to render the spirit as well as the letter of the original, with particular attention paid to tone, style, and level of language proficiency, since such matters can convey a number of historically relevant meanings.

B. Printed Material

Contemporary printed material is treated in the same manner as original texts and is transcribed according to the same editorial principles as manuscript material. When the same article, or versions of the same article, appear in both a Caribbean and a non-Caribbean newspaper or magazine, the copy text is taken from the Caribbean source, when available, with the non-Caribbean source, as well as any differences between the two versions, described in the descriptive source note. However, if the non-Caribbean version was published before the Caribbean, the non-Caribbean version is the copy text used.

1. In the case of published letters, the place and date of composition are uniformly printed on the place and date line of the document, regardless of where they appear in the original, and placed within double square brackets. Elements that are editorially supplied are italicized.
2. Newspaper headlines and subheads are printed in capital and small capital letters. Headlines are punctuated as they are in the original, but terminal punctuation is deleted, and they are reproduced in the printed document in as few lines as possible. If they are editorially abridged, this is indicated in the descriptive source note.
3. Original small capitals are retained.
4. Signatures accompanying published letters are printed in capitals and small capitals.
5. Obvious typographical errors and errors of punctuation, such as the omission of a single parenthesis or quotation mark, are corrected and printed in roman type within square brackets. Typographical idiosyncrasies that reflect the page design of a magazine or newspaper article, such as the capitalization of the first word or words of an article, are silently regularized.
6. In the case of a printed form with spaces to be filled in, spaces are indicated as in the original with the use of hairline rules. Handwritten or typewritten insertions are printed within diagonal lines // //.

TEXTUAL DEVICES

- [roman] Editorial restoration of missing, mutilated, or illegible text. Correction of typographical errors in original manuscript or printed document. A question mark following a restoration or correction indicates that it is uncertain or conjectural.
- Also used to indicate known place and/or date of publication of a news report or periodical article, or known place and/or date of composition of a manuscript when the place and/or date is not given in the manuscript; or to identify unnamed individuals alluded to in text, or known signatory of a manuscript the text of which has been established on the basis of an unsigned file copy.
- When preceded by *in the margin* in italics, indicates marginalia brought into the line of type.
- [*italic*] Editorially assigned date and/or place of any document whose date and/or place of publication or composition is uncertain or conjectural. Editorial comment inserted in the text, such as [*endorsement*], [*illegible*], [*remainder missing*], [*torn*], [*enclosure*], [*attachment*], [*in the margin*].
- [[roman]] Known date and/or place of composition of a published letter, article, or news report, or delivery date of a speech, if publication date and/or place differs.
- [[*italic*]] Editorially assigned date and/or place of composition of a published letter, article, or news report, or delivery date of a speech, if publication date and/or place differs and date and/or place of composition or delivery is uncertain or conjectural.
- // // Incorporation into the text of an addition or correction made above or below the line by author, or of autograph insertions made in typewritten original.
- ~~canceled~~ Textual matter that is canceled in the original.
- [. . .] Text editorially abridged.
- [] Blank space in a document.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

REPOSITORY SYMBOLS

The original locations of documents that appear in the text are described by symbols. The guide used for American repositories has been *Symbols of American Libraries*, 11th ed. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1976). Foreign repositories and collections have been assigned symbols that conform to the institutions' own usage. In some cases, however, it has been necessary to formulate acronyms. Acronyms have been created for private manuscript collections as well.

REPOSITORIES

AFRC	Federal Archives and Records Center, East Point, Georgia
AGCA	Archivo General de Centro América, Guatemala City, Guatemala
AHPC	Archivo Histórico Provincial de Camagüey RA Fondo Registro de Asociaciones
AHPSC	Archivo Histórico Provincial de Santiago de Cuba GP Fondo Gobierno Provincial
AHPVC	Archivo Histórico Provincial de Villa Clara RA Registro de Asociaciones
ANC	Archivo Nacional de Cuba RA Fondo Registro de Asociaciones
ANCR	Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica
AP	Atlanta Federal Penitentiary Records, AFRC
ATT	Hollis Burke Frissell Library, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama
BA	Bermuda Archives
BAD	Belize Archives Department
BDA	Barbados Department of Archives GH Records of Government House
CZL-M	Canal Zone Library-Museum, Library of Congress

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DAB/PRO	Department of Archives, Nassau, Bahamas/Public Record Office
DJ-FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
DNA	National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.
	RG 28 Records of the Post Office Department [POD]
	RG 29 Records of the Bureau of the Census
	RG 36 Records of the U.S. Customs Service
	RG 38 Records of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations [OCNO]
	RG 54 Records of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering [BPISAE]
	RG 55 Records of the Government of the Virgin Islands
	RG 59 General Records of the Department of State
	RG 60 General Records of the Department of Justice [DOJ]
	RG 65 Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]
	RG 84 Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State
	RG 85 Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service 1891–1957
	RG 163 Records of the Selective Service System (World War I)
	RG 165 Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs [WDGS/WDSS]
	RG 185 Records of the Panama Canal
	RG 267 Records of the Supreme Court of the United States
IU	University of Ibadan Library, Ibadan, Nigeria