African Resource Guide
A Black Exodus to Africa: The Land of Opportunity?
Samantha DeSaulnier
Wanda Haney
Brian Knapp

Immigration and the American Identity, 1880-1950
Fitchburg State College
Summer 2009
Narrative Overview

"Tell the people to come home. Here their race originated and here it can be lifted to its highest plane of usefulness and honor. Assure them of the cordiality with which I invite them back to the homeland particularly those qualified to help solve our big problem."

(Message from His Highness Ras Tafari, 1922 Convention in Hill, 1985, p. 1006)

The American national identity is constructed by race and the American experience is shaped by the boundaries set, and reset, by Americans since the very first colonists arrived. Historically, for African Americans, the color-line was drawn legally, socially, and culturally, so that they would be excluded from the American experience that many others would enjoy. The race that was established for them helped define the normative whiteness that would dominate the American experience and race-making throughout American history. For them, though immigration was forced, their pan-ethnic group was designed in such a way that even assimilation was not an option for over 300 years. Race always came first in their experience—they were the “sable race”, the center of the “race problem”—thus they eventually had to emigrate to take back control over their race with pride and dignity.

Before Back to Africa was a Movement, it was a recurring theme in the lives, literature, and ideology of African Americans. In a color coded world, African Americans have been forced to reconnect with their ancestral homeland, both figuratively and literally, since the early 19th century. Taking history into their own hands, many brave men and women worked together to create new lives on a new land, where their race would not be a hindrance to their progress as a people. This resulted in the largest voluntary collective pan-ethnic migration out of America in American history. This is the story of the Back to Africa Movement, a fascinating history with several major players and waves of ideological change.

Roots of the Back to Africa Movement can be seen in the early idea of Colonization forwarded by many, one of the more famous groups was the American Colonization Society (ACS) founded in 1817. Many viewed colonization as a means to settle the debate and “problem” of emancipated blacks within the United States. Many involved in this debate found this to be the most palatable of all options, arguing blacks and whites would never be able to live in the same area in peace. In 1822 the society established a small colony on the west coast of Africa in 1822 that would later become the independent nation of Liberia. More than 13,000 Africans were sent there by the society by 1867.

Marcus Garvey’s Back to Africa Movement came on the heels of the disillusionment of those that migrated to the North. Garvey, as others before him, was convinced that blacks and whites would never be able to occupy the same nation peacefully. Garvey’s manner of dealing with issues and dissention often brought trouble for himself. After printing accusatory statements about New York Assistant District Attorney Edwin P. Kilroe in a paper he edited, The Negro World, he was imprisoned and tried for libel. He would be released after printing a retraction. Legal controversy eventually put more or less an end to Garvey’s organization after Garvey was found guilty of mail fraud, a charge for which Garvey would later be deported back to Jamaica for. Garvey’s Back to Africa Movement never fully recovered after that.
Timeline: Back to Africa Movement

1815  Paul Cuffee transports thirty-eight blacks to Freetown, Sierra Leone

1816  American Colonization Society (ACS) is started by Robert Finley

1820  The ship the *Elizabeth* sails from New York to West Africa with 88 emigrants and 3 white ACS agents

1820  Arkansas blacks return to Africa

1821  The *Nautilus* sail twice and established a settlement at Mesurado Bay on an island they named Perseverance.

1847  July 26th a Constitutional Republic is established in Liberia with an elected black government. Free land is offered to African American settlers

**Approximately, 13,000 repatriated American blacks settled in the Republic of Liberia before the start of the Civil War (1861-1865).**

1895  200 passengers depart on the *Horsa* for Liberia (½ are from Jefferson County, Arkansas)

1896  300 passengers depart on the *Laurada* for Africa (½ are from Arkansas)

1900’s  Pan-African Movement founded to secure equal rights, self-government, independence, and unity for African peoples

**April 6, 1917, the United States declares War against Germany**

1917  In May, Marcus Garvey organizes the first American branch of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)

   In July, race riots occur in East St. Louis

1918  UNIA/ACL publishes its *Constitution and Book of Laws Made for the Government of the UNIA/ACL.*

   August 17: The first issue of *The Negro World*, the official organ of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, is published.

**November 8, 1918, an armistice is signed, and the First World War ends**


   February - August: Copies of *The Negro World* are confiscated by authorities in various countries. It is banned by the governor of Belize, called seditious by the governor of Trinidad, and seized by the government of British Guiana. The acting governor of Jamaica orders the postmaster to open and detain copies of the newspaper.

   April 27: Garvey announces his plan to start the *Black Star Line*.

1920  January, Garvey launches the Negro Factories Corporation, Inc.
August, the UNIA Convention officially adopts a *Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World*. The Red, Black and Green flag becomes the official flag. Garvey is elected the Provisional President of Africa

October-November, the UNIA’s Liberian Reconstruction program began

1921 March, the official UNIA delegation arrives at Monrovia, Liberia, to discuss reconstruction program with Liberian Government


1922 July, Petition addressed by UNIA to the League of Nations in Geneva, Switzerland

1924 January, Another UNIA official delegation arrives in Monrovia to negotiate Liberian Government's agreement for proposed colonization plan

June, Republic of Liberia denounces UNIA colonization plan and subsequently deports UNIA’s team of engineers and special representative

August, the Fourth International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World opens.

1925 February, Garvey’s conviction in 1923 for mail fraud is upheld by federal appeal court. He begins serving his sentence in U.S. penitentiary in Atlanta, Ga.

1927 December, Garvey is released into the custody of U.S. Immigration Service and deported from New Orleans to Jamaica aboard the S.S. Saramacca

Websites from which dates were acquired:


Garveyresearch/timeline.mht
Key Issues and Questions

1. What is freedom? Why, even after emancipation, were African Americans still in search of freedom?
2. What do you think of when you hear the phrase, “The grass is greener on the other side”? What does it mean to you?
3. Why would Africans seek to leave the United States after the Civil War? Distinguish your answer for the time periods of 1800-1860, 1877-1900, and 1920-1930.
4. What is Pan-Africanism in theory and how did it work in practice?
   • What were the push and pull factors that led to the emigration of Africans from America to Liberia?
   • Who were the major players in this Movement and what were the counter ideologies?
   • Who is Marcus Garvey? Why is he important?
   • Why would Garvey be a FBI “person of interest”?
   • How did the founding of Liberia impact the Back to Africa Movement of the 1920s?
     What did emigrants hope to achieve in Liberia? What type of society did they want to create?
   • What did immigrants hope the society of Liberia would be like?

Ideas for Learning Activities

• Using Roy L. Hill’s *Rhetoric of Racial Revolt and African American Political Thought, 1890-1930: Washington, Du Bois, Garvey, and Randolph* have students, in groups, research one leader –his speeches and his ideology—and hold a debate by assuming the character.
• Read “Back to Africa: Marcus Garvey” a play aloud in class.
• Have students create a graphic novel in four parts. Each group can design graphic text specific to one leader and use clips of speeches, statements, and propaganda to depict the setting and ideologies of the time period.
• In groups, have students research, compare and contrast, and present their findings on Garveyism, pre 1900 Colonization and current Pan Africanism.
• Students will create a chart that marks changes experienced by black Arkansans with the end of Reconstruction. Upon completion of the group created charts, students will complete an essay using the organized information. From: http://www.butlercenter.org/cdm-lessonplans/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/lessonplans&CISOPTR=24&CISOBOX=1&REC=15
Map of Liberia showing location in reference to the Atlantic Ocean as well as other notable areas of Africa. Liberia was founded as a colony for the American Colonization Society in 1821 as a place for former slaves to populate. The area would then declare independence from the United States on July 26, 1847. Marcus Garvey's “Back to Africa” campaign centered on the settlement of land in the country.

Black Star Line, Inc. Stock Certificate

![Black Star Line Stock Certificate](http://www.inmotionaame.org/gallery/detail.cfm?migration=4&topic=8&id=354120&type=image)

The Black Star Line was the shipping company incorporated by Marcus Garvey to aid in the migration from the United States to Africa (primarily Liberia) was modeled after the White Star Line, a famous (mainly for their ill-fated Titanic) and successful (until after the Titanic) shipping company because he...
felt he could duplicate it’s success. The company operated between 1919-1922 in one form or another (later it would be known as the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company)

These shares of stock were sold at United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) conventions for five dollars a share with a maximum sale of 100,000 shares. At the end of the company, it was estimated that the Black Star Line had lost between $630,000 and $1.25 million. These losses were mainly due to poor purchasing decisions, many of the ships purchased for not worth the money they were purchased for, and corrupt management.

S.S. Yarmouth being inspected by UNIA

http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/poets/a_f/dumas/garveyblackstar.htm

The S.S. Yarmouth was the first ship purchased by the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). It was purchased three months after the incorporation of the Black Star Liner. Originally used as a coal boat during World War I, it was purchased in poor condition. It was the first ship with an all-black crew and captain and spent most of its time sailing between the United States and the West Indies.
Report by Special Agent Mortimer J. Davis 12/22/1922

Report by Special Agent Mortimer J. Davis  
New York City 12/12/22  
On the 4th inst., in company with Bank Accountant Merrilees, Post Office Inspector Shea and Agent Amos, the writer started examining prospective witnesses in this case in the office of Asst. U.S. Attorney Mattuck and was so engaged during the entire week.  
1. It is probable that the case will go to trial shortly after January 1st, by which time it is expected that all details in the way of evidence and witnesses will have been concluded. The witnesses are being examined and selected by Mr. Mattuck personally, and the writer, in addition to assisting in the questioning of same, has been requested by Mr. Mattuck to make such investigations based on their testimony, as appear necessary. MORTIMER J. DAVIS DJ-FBI, file 61. TD.  
1. Agent Mortimer Davis and James E. Amos began their preparation for the case in late November, the trial date being initially set for 15 December, 1922. Inquiring about the subsequent delay in bringing the case to trial, Amos was informed by the U.S. attorney's office that the calendar of the federal courts of the Southern District of New York was crowded, but every effort was being made to bring the case to an early trail (27 November 1922 and 10 January 1923, DJ-FBI, file 61). Report by Special Agent Mortimer J. Davis New York City 1/4/23 IN RE: U.S. vs. MARCUS GARVEY ET AL., VIOLATION SEC. 215, U. S. C. C. USING THE MAILS TO DEFRAUD As advised in a previous report, Expert Bank Accountant Merrilees and writer have been in constant conference with Asst. U.S. Attorney Mattuck “e preparation for trial of this case.  
1. The case was on the court calendar for December 26th, but due to various circumstances, particularly the fact that Judge Knox would not sit long enough in this district to hear the case, and the further fact that O.M. Thompson, one of the defendants, was without counsel, it was postponed until January 2nd, although Mr. Mattuck at the time advised me it would probably be again postponed by him until January 8th. On January 2nd the case again came up and has been indefinitely postponed, Mr. Mattuck explaining that Judge Learned Hand,2 who is now sitting, will not be in this district long enough to hear the case. However, several new judges will probably be appointed in February and it will not be until that time, therefore, that a judge who will sit a sufficiently long time to hear this matter will be available. 
MORTIMER J. DAVIS DJ-FBI, file 61. TD.  

During this time, the Bureau of Investigation also monitored Garvey’s official defense fund. A bureau agent noted: "Garvey’s Defense Fund has now reached the sum of $6,619.39 and it is particularly noticeable that practically no part of recent contributions to the fund have come from New York. The last list of contributions shows that they have come largely from coal mining districts, of Western Pennsylvania and also from Central America and the West Indies" (DJ-FBI, special report, 30 December 1922).  
2. Billing Learning Hand (1872-1961) was born in Albany, N. Y., and educated at Harvard Law School. He was appointed to the federal bench in New York in 1909. He served for fifteen years as a federal district judge before President Calvin Coolidge nominated him as a judge on the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in 1924. At the end of his career Hand was considered among the great jurists of his time (NYT, 19 August 1961).  

Marcus Garvey was placed on the FBI’s Person of Interest list in the 1920s. He was being reported on mainly because he was a foreign born individual he was involved in activities that could be seen as harmful to the United States. This report gives a quick summary of events leading up to trial as well as an annotation by the New York Times indicating the depth of which Garvey was being watched.

UNIA Parade in Harlem

http://www.nypl.org/research/sc/Harlem/text/unia.html

The United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) was an organization founded by Marcus Garvey in Jamaica on August 1, 1914. The organization still exists today known as the UNIA-ACL. The UNIA became the gathering and organizational base for Garvey and his Back to Africa campaign. It advocated the idea of improving the lives of the black race and encouraged self-reliance and nationhood with ideas such as the “New Negro”, throwing away the servitude of the past.
Marcus Garvey (in picture wearing large “feathered hat” was the founder of the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Born in Jamaica, Garvey became convinced that the only way to improve the lives of Blacks throughout the world was to unite them. He would carry this idea all the way into founded a shipping line in order to transport blacks to countries such as Liberia. He would fall victim to his own success (at least according to him) and was later tried and convicted of committing mail fraud in the operation of the Black Star Line.
Garvey Sails with Pledge to Fight on
Hundreds Plan to Join Him in Exile
Jamaicans Celebrate

Kingston, Jamaica, Dec. 9 [10]^1

What is said to have been the most wonderful demonstration ever held here was occasioned on the arrival of Marcus Garvey, who returned to Kingston as a deportee from the United States Wednesday [Saturday].

Bands greeted him at the harbor and he was escorted to Ward theater, where addresses were delivered in his honor by many prominent speakers, including an alderman of the local government.^2

“Good-by, America, farewell my people!” Speaking these words as he stood bareheaded in a driving rain, Marcus Garvey, promoter of the “Back to Africa” Movement and founder of the Black Star Line, bade adieu to the nation which had ordered him deported to his native Jamaica on his release from the federal prison at Atlanta, where he served a term for using the United States mails for fraudulent purposes.

Garvey left the United States at 12:15 noon Friday, Dec. 2. He sailed on the United States fruit steamship Sacramacca [Saramacca] bound for Cristobal, Canal Zone. There he will be transferred to another ship bound for Kingston, Jamaica.

Five hundred of his followers crowded the wharves to say good-by. Men, women and children marched in single file during a steady downpour of rain on one of the coldest days of the year to press the hand of their leader and hear what he had to say.

Given $10,000

A committee composed of officers of the Universal Negro Improvement [A]ssociation, of which Garvey is the head, came here from New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland and Pittsburgh to see him off.^3 One of the leaders announced that members of the association had given Garvey $10,000 to defray expenses of the trip to Jamaica and for settling there after he arrived. He is expected to open offices in Jamaica, it was said.

Half an hour before the ship sailed Garvey made an address from the upper deck of the Saramacca. He said:

I desire to convey to my supporters and friends and to the American public in general my heartfelt thanks for the great confidence they have shown in me at all times and especially during the periods of my trial and imprisonment, which I regard as a wonderful testimony of the knowledge they have of my innocence.

I leave America fully as happy as when I came, in that my relationship with my people was most pleasant and inspiring, and I shall work forever in their behalf. The program of nationalism is as important now as it ever was, and my entire life shall be devoted to the supreme cause. I sincerely believe that it is only by nationalizing the Negro and awakening him to the possibilities of himself that this universal problem can be solved.

Leaves Message

To my white friends I desire to say that I shall always consider their interest in me as a cause for respecting everywhere and always the rights of their Race.

The program I represent is not hostile to the white race or any other race. All that I want to do is to complete the freedom of the Negro economically and culturally and make him a full man. The intelligent white man has and will continue to indorse my program.
The report is current here that thousands of his followers throughout the country are preparing to follow Garvey into exile. According to the report, he is to be joined by an army of men and women—physicians, skilled mechanics and executives—who will be recruited from New York and other American cities.

While Mrs. Amy Jacques Garvey, his wife and head of the empire organization, remained silent on Garvey's plans, it was learned from a reliable source that the “president” intends to go to Africa, where, with this army at his command, he intends to build his empire on the west coast, it was said. He already has, it was announced, established dozens of outposts in the cities along the African coast and in the hinterland.

Garvey carried a silver-headed malacca cane and wore a snappy tailored light brown checked suit. His followers held an umbrella over him as he crossed the wharf and boarded the ship.

Printed in CD, 10 December 1927. Two reports printed as one article under one set of headlines.

http://www.international.ucla.edu/africa/mgpp/sample07.asp

This article was printed in the Chicago Defender on December 10, 1927. Garvey was being deported from America after serving his prison term for mail fraud (USA v. Marcus Garvey). In it the paper reports of speeches he makes expressing his feelings and references race as a construct of power.

POEMS AND SPEECHES

Marcus Garvey - A Black Man's Speech To A White Man In America

I'm not as educated, sir, as thee,
But God Almighty's sun I see,
And you may treat me very hard l'or this,
But I His Holy Hand shall kiss.
I have no nation, none as great as yours
That kills and grabs beyond the stores;
I have no selfish laws to keep men down
And then upon them ever frown.
You have the wealth of land and sea and sky,
You boast as if you'd never die:
How great you are, my mighty earthly king,
So great that I must tribute bring!
But, sir, one day you'll surely be in Hell,
And then a story I will tell;
As Dives asked for quenching water then,
So will you all from that hot pit.
Your gilded pride is much in this your day
It's time for you to gather bay
And so you feed upon my sorry life,
And rob me of my home and wife.
My lands you say are yours, and minerals too,
How sweet it is, dear sir, to you!
You kick me down and lash me on my back,
And when I cry there's one more whack.
But one good day will surely come for me,
When God of men will speak to thee,
And then the awful thunder clap will tell,
How far down you will be in Hell.
Marcus Garvey – A Rallying Song

1. Oh glorious race of mighty men,
The homeland calls to you;
Our fathers wrought with faith divine,
So let us march in line. (Refrain)

2. If foe we meet across the way,
Our courage hold on high,
For Victory is near at hand,
So march ye with the band.
Refrain: Oh glorious race, Etc.

3. Old Africa is calling you,
So wave the banner high;
No foe shall win the glorious day,
Shout ye, and march and pray.
Refrain: Oh glorious race, Etc.

4. Our God is leading us away,
And land and seas divide,
For hosts are here in royal form,
March on and fear no storm.
Refrain: Oh glorious race, Etc.

5. New Africa beholds the sight,
The world will tremble then,
Good men of might will worship God
And bless the heaving sod.
Refrain: Oh glorious race, Etc.

6. Tell the people everywhere you go,
"The day is here again,"
The Ethiopian’s God appears
To deal with all affairs.

Marcus Garvey - Africa for the Africans  
April 18, 1922  

Fellow men of the Negro Race, Greeting:  

For four and a half years the Universal Negro Improvement Association has been advocating the cause of Africa for the Africans -- that is, that the Negro peoples of the world should concentrate upon the object of building up for themselves a great nation in Africa.  

When we started our propaganda toward this end several of the so-called intellectual Negroes who have been bamboozling the race for over half a century said that we were crazy, that the Negro peoples of the western world were not interested in Africa and could not live in Africa. One editor and leader went so far as to say at his Pan-African Congress that American Negroes could not live in Africa, because the climate was too hot. All kinds of arguments have been adduced by these Negro intellectuals against the colonization of Africa by the black race. Some said that the black man would ultimately work out his existence alongside of the white man in countries founded and established by the latter. Therefore, it was not necessary for Negroes to seek an independent nationality of their own. The old time stories of "Africa fever," "African bad climate," "African mosquitoes," "African savages," have been repeated by these "brainless intellectuals" of ours as a scare against our people in America and the West Indies taking a kindly interest in the new program of building a racial empire of our own in our Motherland.  

A "Program" at Last?  

I trust that the Negro peoples of the world are now convinced that the work of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is not a visionary one, but very practical, and that it is not so far fetched, but can be realized in a short while if the entire race will only co-operate and work toward the desired end. Now that the work of our organization has started to bear fruit, we find that some of these 'doubting Thomases' of the three and four years ago are endeavoring to mix themselves up with the popular idea of rehabilitating Africa in the interest of the Negro. They are now advancing spurious "programs" and in a short while will endeavor to force themselves upon the public as advocates and leaders of the African idea.  

It is felt that those who have followed the career of the Universal Negro Improvement Association will not allow themselves to be deceived by these Negro opportunists who have always sought to live off the ideas of other people.  

The Dream of a Negro Empire  

It is only a question of a few more years when Africa will be completely colonized by Negroes, as Europe is by the white race. It is for us to welcome the proffered help of such men as Senators McCullum and France. Though their methods are a little different to that of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, yet it is felt that the same object will be achieved. What we want is an independent African nationality, and if America is to help the Negro peoples of the world establish such a nationality, then we welcome the assistance.  

It is hoped that when the time comes for American and West Indian Negroes to settle in Africa, they will realize their responsibility and their duty. It will not be to go to the natives, but it shall be the purpose of the Universal Negro Improvement Association to have established in Africa the brotherly co-operation which will make the interest of the African native and the American and West Indies Negro one and the same, that is to say, we shall enter into a common partnership to build up Africa in the interest of our race.
Marcus Garvey - African Fundamentalism
June 6, 1925

Fellow Men of the Negro Race, Greeting:

The time has come for the Negro to forget and cast behind him his hero worship and adoration of other races, and to start out immediately, to create and emulate heroes of his own.

We must canonize our own saints, create our own martyrs, and elevate to positions of fame and honor black men and women who have made their distinct contributions to our racial history. Sojourner Truth is worthy of the place of sainthood alongside of Joan of Arc; Crispus Attucks and George William Gordon are entitled to the halo of martyrdom with no less glory than that of the martyrs of any other race. Toussaint L'Ouverture's brilliancy as a soldier and statesman outshone that of a Cromwell, Napoleon and Washington; hence, he is entitled to the highest place as a hero among men. Africa has produced countless numbers of men and women, in war and in peace, whose lustre and bravery outshine that of any other people. Then why not see good and perfection in ourselves?

Ours the Right to Our Doctrine

We must inspire a literature and promulgate a doctrine of our own without any apologies to the powers that be. The right is ours and God's. Let contrary sentiment and cross opinions go to the winds. Opposition to race independence is the weapon of the enemy to defeat the hopes of an unfortunate people. We are entitled to our own opinions and not obligated to or bound by the opinions of others.

A Peep at the Past

If others laugh at you, return the laughter to them; if they mimic you, return the compliment with equal force. They have no more right to dishonor, disrespect and disregard your feeling and manhood than you have in dealing with them. Honor them when they honor you; disrespect and disregard them when they vilely treat you. Their arrogance is but skin deep and an assumption that has no foundation in morals or in law. They have sprung from the same family tree of obscenity as we have; their history is as rude in its primitiveness as ours; their ancestors ran wild and naked, lived in caves and in the branches of trees, like monkeys, as ours; they made human sacrifices, ate the flesh of their own dead and the raw meat of the wild beast for centuries even as they accuse us of doing; their cannibalism was more prolonged than ours; when we were embracing the arts and sciences on the banks of the Nile their ancestors were still drinking human blood and eating out of the skulls of their conquered dead; when our civilization had reached the noonday of progress they were still running naked and sleeping in holes and caves with rats, bats and other insects and animals. After we had already unfathomed the mysteries of the stars and reduced the heavenly constellations to minute and regular calculus they were still backwoodsmen, living in ignorance and blatant darkness.

Why Be Discouraged?

The world today is indebted to us for the benefits of civilization. They stole our arts and sciences from Africa. Then why should we be ashamed of ourselves? Their MODERN IMPROVEMENTS are but DUPLICATES of a grander civilization that we reflected thousands of years ago, without the advantage of what is buried and still hidden, to be resurrected and reintroduced by the intelligence of our generation and our prosperity. Why should we be discouraged because somebody laughs at us today? Who to tell what tomorrow will bring forth? Did they not laugh at Moses, Christ and Mohammed? Was there not a Carthage, Greece and Rome? We see and have changes every day, so pray, work, be steadfast and be not dismayed.

Nothing Must Kill the Empire Urge
As the Jew is held together by his RELIGION, the white races by the assumption and the unwritten law of SUPERIORITY, and the Mongolian by the precious tie of BLOOD, so likewise the Negro must be united in one GRAND RACIAL HIERARCHY. Our UNION MUST KNOW NO CLIME, BOUNDARY, or NATIONALITY. Like the great Church of Rome, Negroes the world over MUST PRACTICE ONE FAITH, that of Confidence in themselves, with One God! One Aim! One Destiny! Let no religious scruples, no political machination divide us, but let us hold together under all climes and in every country, making among ourselves a Racial Empire upon which "the sun shall never set."

Allegiance to Self First

Let no voice but your own speak to you from the depths. Let no influence but your own raise you in time of peace and time of war. Hear all, but attend only that which concerns you.

Your first allegiance shall be to your God, then to your family, race and country. Remember always that the Jew in his political and economic urge is always first a Jew; the white man is first a white man under all circumstances, and you can do no less than being first and always a Negro, and then all else will take care of itself. Let no one inoculate you for their own conveniences. There is no humanity before that which starts with yourself. "Charity begins at home." First to thyself be true, and "thou canst not then be false to any man."

We Are Arbiters of Our Own Destiny

God and Nature first made us what we are, and then out of our own creative genius we make ourselves what we want to be. Follow always that great law.

Let the sky and God be our limit, and Eternity our measurement. There is no height to which we cannot climb by using the active intelligence of our own minds. Mind creates, and as much as we desire in Nature we can have through the creation of our own minds. Being at present the scientifically weaker race, you shall treat others only as they treat you; but in your homes and everywhere possible you must teach the higher development of science to your children; and be sure to develop a race of scientists par excellence, for in science and religion lies our only hope to withstand the evil designs of modern materialism. Never forget your God. Remember, we live, work and pray for the establishing of a great and binding RACIAL HIERARCHY, the rounding of a RACIAL EMPIRE whose only natural, spiritual and political limits shall be God and "Africa, at home and abroad."

Marcus Garvey - Race Problem Fallacy

Belief That Race Problem Will Adjust Itself A Fallacy

by Marcus Garvey

Some of our leaders in the Negro race flatter themselves into believing that the problem of black and white in America will work itself out, and that all the Negro has to do is to be humble, submissive and obedient, and everything will work out well in the "Sweet bye and bye." But the keen student will observe this, -- that a terrible mistake was made between forty and fifty years ago when black men were elected to legislative assemblies all over the country, especially in the southern states and even at the National Capitol when representatives of this race occupied seats in Congress. The mistake was made as far as the white people were concerned. There was a state of dis-organization in the Nation, and in that state certain things
happened by mere chance. In the chance, dozens of black men became Senators and Congressmen. This opened up to the eyes of the white nation the possibility of the black man governing the white man in these United States of America -- the possibility of the black man making laws to govern the white man? This possibility drove them almost to madness, in suddenly rejecting the spirit of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence of Lincoln that "all men are created equal," hence a determination was arrived at, that never again would it be possible for the race of slaves to govern the race of masters within these United States of America.

Some of us believe that this slave race of ours will live in the United States of America and in the future again become law makers for the white race (our slave masters of sixty years ago). Nothing of the kind has happened in all human history. There is not one instance where a slave race living in the same country (within the same bounds as the race of masters that enslaved them and being in numbers less than the race of masters) has ever yet ruled and governed the masters. It has never been so in history, and it will never be so in the future. The hidden spirit of America is determined that it shall never be, caring not what hopes and promises we get.

But history has recorded where a race of slaves through evolution, through progress, has risen to the heights where they ruled and dominated those who once enslaved them, but that race of slaves has always had to betake itself to other habitats (usually their own native land) and there, apart from those who once enslaved them, developed a power of their own, a strength of their own, and in the higher development of that strength, and of that power, they, like others, have made conquests, who once enslaved them. So for us to encourage the idea that one day Negroes will rise to the highest in the administration of this white government, is only encouraging a vain hope.

The only wise thing for us as ambitious Negroes to do, is to organize the world over, and build up for the race a mighty nation of our own in Africa. And this race of ours that cannot get recognition and respect in the country where we were slaves, by using our own ability, power and genius, would develop for ourselves in another country in our habitat a nation of our own, and be able to send back from that country,--from that native habitat -- to the country where we were once enslaved, representatives of our race, that would get as much respect as any other ambassadors from any other race or nation.


Written at different times throughout Garvey’s career, this sampling shows Garvey as a persuasive orator and imaginative artist. With his words he was able to mobilize millions of people. Through his use of language and the tone, he responds to his many adversaries. Throughout the works, Garvey’s views on various topics such as the white race, America, Africa, religion, politics are clear and easy to work with.
**Song Lyrics**

**black star liners**

Dis one, a Rastaman anthem,  
Me haffi lik it back again.  
Dis song, a Rastaman anthem,  
Go run along and tell your friend.

Seven miles of Black Star Liners coming in the harbour.  
Yeah, seven miles of Black Star Liners coming in the harbour.  
I can see them coming.  
I can see I dreams running.  
I can hear the Elders saying,  
These are the days for which we've been praying.

Seven miles of Black Star Liners coming in the harbour.  
Yeah, seven miles of Black Star Liners coming in the harbour.  
It's repatriation,  
A Black liberation.  
Yes, the time has come:  
Black Man, we're going home!

Seven miles of Black Star Liners coming in the harbour.  
Yeah, seven miles of Black Star Liners coming in the harbour.  

Dis song, a Rastaman anthem,  
We haffi lik it back again.  
Dis one, a Rastaman anthem,  
Go run along and tell your friend.

Coz seven miles of Black Star Liners coming in the harbour.  
Yeah, seven miles of Black Star Liners coming in the harbour.  

Marcus Garvey told us  
That freedom is a must.  
He told us that the Black Star Liners are coming one day for us.

Seven miles of Black Star Liners coming in the harbour.  
Seven miles of Black Star Liners coming in the harbour.  

..Seven miles of Black Star Liners,  
Seven miles of Black Star Liners,  
Seven miles of Black Star Liners  
Coming, coming, coming, coming  
For I n I, for I n I, for I n I n I.  
Yeah! For I n I n I.

For Natty Dreadlock, binghi Bongo Man  
ba ba ba ba ba ba ba standing  
???????  
I n I.  
Yes, I n I.  
Seven miles of Black Star Liners coming in the harbour.  
Yeah, seven miles of Black Star Liners coming in the harbour.  
Seven miles of Black Star Liners coming in the harbour.  
Yeah, seven miles of Black Star Liners coming in the harbour.  

I can see them coming.  
I can see I dreams running.  
I can hear the Elders saying,  
These are the days for which we've been praying.

Seven miles of Black Star Liners coming in the harbour.  
Yeah, seven miles of Black Star Liners coming in the harbour.  
Yeah, seven miles of Black Star Liners,  
Seven miles of Black Star Liners,  
Seven miles of Black Star Liners  
Coming, coming, coming, coming  
Seven miles of Black Star Liners.....

Fred Locks released this song on the *Jahmikmusic* label in Jamaica in 1975. In it he references Garvey’s Black Star Liner company. It contains powerful imagery of the Black Star Liners and embodies the Back to Africa Movement itself. Through efforts such as Locks’, Garvey has become a larger than life character in Black culture and history.
Annotated Bibliography


Henry Louise Gates and Cornel West have compiled a list of African Americans who have shaped our country from 1900-1999, otherwise known as “The African-American Century.” They note how each individual contributed to the transformation of America and its “unprecedented expansion of democratic sensibilities” (xiii). The selective group of men and women chosen for this publication were unique for their virtue of black struggle for respect and liberty. With an interplay of quiet despair and active hope, from W.E.B Du Bois to Oprah Winfrey, the ultimate goal is to show the progression of how a people succeeded despite the institutionalized terrorism designed to make them fail.

This is a great starting place for students to find short pieces on a variety of influential African Americans. This could serve as a source of quick handouts on individual black figures or as a place for students to find out what they are interested in at the outset of a research project.


Hill has gathered a sophisticated collection of speeches so that we might get a first-hand look at the struggle that led to progression in the racial revolt. From the Civil War to the struggle for Civil Rights, these speeches provide a history of the Negro in America, bonded even after emancipation. It is a powerful way to experience, even if many years later, the hate that was pushing the Negro out of America and the ideology that kept pulling them back in with the hope of a better future. This gives context to the Back to Africa Movement.

The rhetoric within this compilation is a great way to expose young adults to the power of oratory while studying the historical context of the mass exodus of African Americans to Africa. Students could assume the character and read the speeches aloud, read along while listening to audio files of the speeches, or study the language of the orators.


This text asserts that “black separatism” is a protest Movement that is important, though under-studied. Viewed as a desperate alternative to the racial discrimination in a time when all hope was lost, it describes the Back to Africa Movement through the lens of Marcus Garvey. This text considers the historical context of Marcus Garvey and explores why he had immediate success upon his arrival to Harlem, where he was able to mobilize and unite millions of black Americans.

This is a collection that Marcus Garvey’s wife, Amy Jacques-Garvey, compiled while Garvey was in prison for mail fraud to pursue his dream of “Africa for Africans”. It is a remarkably extensive collection of speeches, illustrations, essays, letters sent from prison, press statements, and more.
This is a rich text full of primary source documents. Fitting for individual research or group work, this is a volume of documents in discourse with other unsuccessful leaders—according to Garvey—and that offered hope to a suffering race.


Martin’s text celebrates the largest Afro-American mass Movement. It provides a dynamic history surrounding the Movement; a biographical introduction of Marcus Garvey, and an examination of his ideology and the ways in which they manifested in theory and practice. Garvey’s story is set within the larger story of the NAACP and UNIA. Individual chapters on religion, propaganda, the Klu Klux Klan, and Africa, to name a few, allow for an in depth exploration of the Movement, its setting, its goals, and possible outcomes.

This is a comprehensive tool to use in the classroom. It is ideal for creating a sequential reading assignment schedule to have a rich and in depth discussion on many aspects of this mass Movement to Africa and what the opportunity its represents.


Judith Stein’s text is definitive in many ways as it provides a much more thorough history of the Pan-African Movement, which starts long before Marcus Garvey enters the picture. It takes an in depth look into the Black Star Line, politics, UNIA, Liberia, and many other aspects leading up to, and even after, Garveyism. She deals with the nature and measure of Garvey’s contribution to the Pan-African Movement and finds that even though Garvey imposed his views on the Movement and the UNIA, that he accommodated the Movement to create “a larger world history”. This is a critical era in American and world history, which she treats with a new and refreshing objectivity and distance than scholars in the past.


Putting race at the fore, this volume aims to create a deeper understanding of how political thought was shaped by African Americans in the early twentieth century. All primary source documents are organized by the four major figures in this history—Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, and A. Philip Randolph. Through the myriad of texts collected, these men offer different ways in which to respond to the race issue. This volume includes letters, speeches, interviews, statements of philosophies, protests, editorials, and much more. Some of these sources stand on their own while others are consciously in dialogue with one of the other three men.
The four perspectives serve as a wonderful way to explore one issue—the race issue—from multiple points of view. Students could use this text for the purpose of debate, and to gain a deeper understanding of how a complex issue must be explored in depth. Students can form an educated, yet individualized response to the differing perspectives, by weighing the options and discussing the historical context.


This text is a reevaluation of the early leaders in the Back to Africa Movement. Robert Finley, Charles Mercer, Paul Cuffe, and most significantly for this text, Benjamin Coates. It is an important volume because it includes over one hundred letters from Coates’ collection, which reveals his perspective on slavery and the creation of a black colony in Liberia. The primary source documents are organized chronologically and separated into three main groups; (1) antebellum America, (2) the Civil War, (3) and post war years. The main emphasis is on the evolution of the Back to Africa Movement and black separatist ideology. This volume goes into the interest in Liberia as the potential colony in much greater depth than do other texts. It is a unique exploration of the different levels of anti-slavery, separatism, and nationalism.


Kenneth C. Barnes, a professor at the University of Arkansas explores why the urge to move back to Africa was especially potent in Arkansas after the Reconstruction era. Using both primary and secondary sources, Barnes examines the push-pull factors that contribute to this urge. He takes his time in fleshing out the push factors, which include mob violence, institutionalized racism and segregation, and economic exploitation, and has a well researched bibliography to draw from. The latter half of the book deals with the pull factors. He answers: why Liberia? He examines the emigrants’ dreams and the challenges they faced in achieving them, and why so many of the emigrants decided to come back to Arkansas.

This is a well researched text that students would not be able to access very easily, but that teachers should read so that they may ask students essential questions about the Movement and explain the reality of life in Liberia after emigration.


This article explores the black press as much as it examines the themes in the writings of Amy Jacques Garvey, a largely unrecognized black woman journalist who was an associate editor and editorial writer for the Negro World, and the official organ of Marcus Garvey's Back-to-Africa Movement. This is an analysis of thirty editorials that she wrote between 1924 and 1927. It establishes her as an important figure, worthy of being taken from out of the shadow of her husband, Marcus Garvey, for her work in
raising black consciousness by stressing the values of productivity, self-reliance, thriftiness, and hard work as means of gaining economic empowerment and independence. This offers insight into how Jacques Garvey, whose voice was not in the mainstream of the African-American press, “used one publication to advance the agenda of a Movement that had an impact on millions of black people.”

Annotated Websites

Marcus Garvey: The Official Site
http://www.marcusgarvey.com/

Website was created by an entrepreneur and social activist named Andrew A D Wilson living in Nassau, Bahamas as a tribute to the “greatest black man of the 20th century”. The website contains sections dedicated to news (information about Garvey and other information related to Black Civil Rights), philosophy and opinions and poems. The amount of information provided for Marcus Garvey, including transcripts of USA v. Marcus Garvey (Garvey was accused of mail fraud due to his involvement in the Black Star Line) is exhaustive.

Of particular interest on the website are sections detailing Garvey’s FBI reports, “The Liberia Project”, and of course the Negro World all providing primary sources detailing Garvey’s involvement in the “Back to Africa” Movement, including concerns and upcoming consequences of his actions, both in the United States as well as Liberia. Within the “archives” section is a collection of photographs including what appears to be Garvey’s photograph and information card prior to going to prison.

Marcus Mosiah Garvey: The Complete Online Resource
http://marcusmosiahgarvey.org/index.php

This website is funded by Marcus Garvey’s son, Dr. Julius Garvey and much of it is adapted from “Marcus Garvey: The Movement and the Philosophy,” produced by Liberty Hall, Jamaica (Marcus Mosiah Garvey Credits).Though some of the resources are still in construction (the media library primarily) it holds detailed biographical information broken into 6 sections from his early life through his legal troubles and legacy.

In Motion: The African-American Migration Experience
http://www.inmotionaame.org/migrations/topic.cfm;jsessionid=f8301307961247444497109?migration=4&topic=8&bhcp=1

This website is compiled and edited by Howard Dodson and Sylviane A. Diouf in cooperation with the New York Public Library Schaumberg Center for Research in Black Culture. It serves as a collection of primary sources and information of African migration and colonization throughout time including Marcus Garvey and his efforts with the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). It provides a great amount of information on African American migration, reasons and attempts throughout history beginning with the Transatlantic Slave Journeys in the 1450s.

Scattered throughout all sections of the site are primary sources. Each source is accompanied with background information detailing the source. There is also a section dedicated to educational materials for each section and is grouped by either migration or concentration area allowing the teacher to choose what and how to concentrate the student’s attention in the lesson.

Race and History

http://www.raceandhistory.com/Historians/marcus_garvey.htm

The website is a “100% non-profit website” operated by the Self Empowerment Learning Fraternity based out of Trinidad and Tobago. It provides a markedly non-Eurocentric view of history (obviously concentrated on a Trinidad and Tobago) but does provide a large collection links on topics spanning throughout history through the “European History Page”. Within the “A Few Great Historians” page, Marcus Garvey is treated. Within Garvey’s section, the website provides background information about his life and philosophy as well as analysis of his impact on areas such as Trinidad.

UCLA African Studies Center

http://www.international.ucla.edu/africa/mgpp/

Compiled as a research project of the James S. Coleman African Studies Center of UCLA, the website is broken down into various “series”, each with different authors and editors. It holds a collection of background information on Garvey’s life as well works written by Garvey and photographs and sound files of a small sampling of his speeches.

PBS: American Experience- Marcus Garvey: Look for Me in the Whirlwind


Accompanying website to the American Experience video series produced by PBS. It contains information, timelines, sources, and active learning activity ideas to either accompany the series for deeper understanding or could be used alone. The timeline includes both information and photographs spanning Garvey’s birth to his body’s return to Jamaica. The “Special Features” tab would be useful to
find Garvey’s writings as well as interview clips from the show and an analysis of the impact of Garvey providing a truly multi-media experience for the user.

University of Illinois English Department Modern American Poetry: About Marcus Garvey and the Black Star Line

http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/poets/a_f/dumas/garveyblackstar.htm

Website prepared and compiled by Cary Nelson centering on Henry Dumas’ Black American Literature Forum. It provides a brief biographical account of Marcus Garvey and then includes photographs of Black Star Line subjects including copies of headlines that appeared in The Negro World.

National Humanities Center: Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association

http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/twenty/tkeyinfo/garvey.htm

Written by David Van Leewen of the National Humanities Center, this website concentrates on Marcus Garvey’s involvement in the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). It provides a good amount of background information and provides links to other Marcus Garvey websites that could be used for further learning. For interest to teachers, it provides a small section on guiding student discussion. Though it is centered on undergraduates the guideline is sound and the questions presented would easily be modified for younger learners. The last part includes a brief historiography on the debate on Garvey’s influence and relevance.