The Du Bois-Garvey controversy

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THE DU BOIS-GARVEY CONTROVERSY

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
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THE DEGREE MASTER OF ARTS

BY
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INTRODUCTION

The controversy between Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. Du Bois has often been interpreted as a clash between the integrationists vs. nationalist forces in Afro-American history. This interpretation has been based not on an analysis of an existing ideological dispute, but on the basis of over a decade of invectives hurled back and forth between the two leaders. While the existence of a bitter feud cannot be ignored there are other conclusions to be drawn from an analysis of each man's ideas and policies which are, in this writer's opinion, of more ultimate value to Afro-American history. Despite whatever were their personal antagonisms, Du Bois and Garvey are inevitably linked together within the broad context of Pan-Africanism.

The years 1919-1927 encompass the Du Bois inspired Pan-African Congresses and the most productive period of Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League. In 1919 Du Bois sought to establish an organizational framework in the Pan-African Congress for the survival of an historic idea. In that same year Garvey launched the Black Star Shipping Line and the Negro Factories Corporation for the practical implementation of that idea. In 1920 Garvey organized the first and most successful of five international conventions which adopted "The Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World" which set forth in principle the same demands made in Du Bois's Pan-African Manifesto.
To appreciate fully the historical meaning of Pan-Africanism and the
common heritage which Du Bois and Garvey shared, the first chapter
of this study is devoted to the 19th century Pan-African background.
The second and third chapters deal separately with the Pan-African
leadership provided by Du Bois and Garvey in the twentieth century and
the conflicts which obscured that leadership.
Pan-Africanism is more easily described than defined, as it is a developing concept with various stages and various interpretations. The term, "Pan-Africanism" was not coined until the first Pan-African Conferences of 1900, but the concept behind it is not a twentieth century phenomenon. Twentieth century Pan-Africanism in all its various forms, including those expounded by Garvey and Du Bois, had its roots in the nineteenth century. These roots developed from a common emotion felt by people of African descent "who felt themselves either physically through dispossession or slavery, or socially, economically, politically and mentally through colonialism to have lost their homeland."¹ Their common struggle became the regaining of independence, freedom, and most importantly, dignity. For our present purposes the nineteenth century developments may be more easily understood if we discuss them on three levels: (1) Back-to-Africa and Emigration Movements; (2) Early Pan-African Philosophers, and (3) Early Organizational Movements.

Back-to-Africa and Emigration Movements

An essential ingredient in the Pan-African philosophy is the

symbol of Africa as the natural homeland of the Black race. One of the earliest efforts of free blacks seeking to regain their dignity and independence was a return to Africa. Sierra Leone, established by the British in 1787 as an asylum for ex-slaves was the first place to attract attention as a possible Pan-African base. In 1811 Paul Cuffee, a free black merchant of Massachusetts and who may be classified as the first American born Pan-African figure, visited Freetown to investigate the possibility for colonization. In 1815 he returned to Sierra Leone with thirty-eight free blacks whom he transported to Freetown in his own ship and at his own expense. Cuffee died in 1818 before he could further his plans, but he was instrumental in getting other free blacks interested in emigration. The American Colonization Society, founded by whites in 1816 for the purpose of strengthening slavery in the South by removing free blacks to Africa, was taken advantage of by those free blacks interested in carrying out Cuffee's idea of an African homeland. Liberia, adjacent to Sierra Leone was founded under the auspices of the Society and in 1818 eighty-eight blacks left the United States to begin a permanent settlement there. These first emigrants saw themselves as pioneers in a venture which they hoped would transform the stature and future of African peoples everywhere.

Liberia, in spite of its beginnings under the questionable direction of the American Colonization Society became a symbol for New World

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3 Ibid.
blacks. Its political independence gained in 1847 was a source of encouragement for those who shared Pan-African sentiments. It represented a regaining of dignity and the possibility of unity for a scattered race. By 1850 five thousand emigrants had settled in the country.\(^4\) In 1878 blacks of South Carolina organized the Liberian Exodus, Joint Stock Company which purchased a ship, Azor, and transported 206 emigrants to the African state.\(^5\)

It is significant to note that the South Carolina Exodus movement had a substantial impact on the masses. Many of those interested in emigration could not afford to pay their passage. But at the consecration of the Azor in Charleston over five thousand gathered to hear the speeches of Reverend Henry McNeil Turner and Martin Delany, both advocates of emigration.\(^6\) The violent political campaign of 1876 had convinced many that there was no future for the black man in the South politically or economically. The impetus behind the organization of the Liberian Exodus Joint Stock Company also expresses itself in the wholesale migration of blacks from the South to the West, particularly Kansas.

Moreover, a number of companies and organizations emerged between 1880 and the first world war for purposes of promoting repatriation and commercial links with Africa.\(^7\) One such movement was initiated by Alfred

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\(^4\)Ibid.

\(^5\)George Tindall, "The Liberian Exodus of 1878," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, LII (July, 1952), 139.

\(^6\)Ibid.

\(^7\)Lynch, p. 5.
C. Sam, an Ashanti trader from Ghana, who held up the vision of a better life to thousands of discontented blacks from Kansas and Oklahoma. He reportedly raised $100,000, bought a ship called the Liberia and landed some 60 emigrants on the Gold Coast in 1915.\(^8\)

The early emigration movements point to the fact that Garvey's program was not new. The following which he would capture in the 1920's had its precedent in a century of sporadic emigration. The support given by the masses to emigration also illustrates the Pan-African sentiments were just as much rooted in the masses as with the more articulate intellectuals.

**Nineteenth Century Pan-African Philosophers**

Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. Du Bois were preceded in the nineteenth century by black leaders who provided in one way or the other a definite continuity of Pan-African ideas. These leaders include Martin Delany, Henry McNeil Turner, Edward Wilmot Blyden, and Alexander Crummell. In some instances it may be proved that both Garvey and Du Bois were familiar with the writings of these Pan-African thinkers, but in any case, the ideas and programs which they advocated may be reflected in the writings and programs of our twentieth century Pan-Africanists.

In 1852 Martin Delany expressed a clear-cut political philosophy which set the basis for a definite line of continuity of ideas. Delany, freeborn black from Virginia, migrated with his family to the North where he found an opportunity to study and later met and worked with *\(^8\)Ibid.*
Frederick Douglass. Delany, however, split ideologically with Douglass over the goal for black people in the United States. Delany felt that there was no future for blacks in the United States even if Abolition were achieved. He felt that his race was possibly headed for extinction if the concept of nationhood, separate and apart from America, were not taken seriously. People of African descent must retain their identity as an African people. The concept of nationhood should be built around the racial and cultural identity of a people.

Upon this solid foundation rest the fabric of every substantial political structure in the world, which cannot exist without it, and so soon as a people or nation lose their original identity, just so soon must a nation become extinct.

In the appendix of the book, The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Delany announced a project for an expedition to the coast of East Africa. Behind his projected plan for emigration he expressed the desirability for developing an African nationality:

We are a nation within a nation;—as the Poles in Russia, the Hungarians in Austria, the Welsh, Irish and Scotch in the British dominions.

But we have been, by our oppressors, despoiled of our purity, and corrupted in our native characteristics, so that we have inherited their vices, but few of their virtues, leaving us in character, really a broken people.

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In 1859, Delany with his colleague Robert Campbell, went to Africa as representatives of the National Emigration Convention. In December of that same year a treaty was concluded with the obas of Egbaland in western Nigeria for the settlement of American-born blacks in the region. It was then that Delany emphasized: "Our policy must be Africa for the African race and black men to rule them."\(^{12}\)

In terms of phraseology and concepts Delany greatly anticipates both Du Bois and Garvey. The phrase, "Africa for the Africans" was the slogan of Garvey's movement and was also a phrase used by Du Bois.\(^{13}\) The concept of Africans in the "diaspora" as a "broken race" and thus in need of unity of thought if not physical-geographical unity, was an essential element in the thinking of Garvey and Du Bois. Delany's emphasis on "original identity" or cultural nationalism is an essential ingredient in the Pan-African ideology.

Another essential element present in Delany's philosophy was an indictment of the imperialist powers for their exploitation of the darker races of the world. He wrote in 1859:

> The black and colored races are four-sixth of all the population of the world, and these people are fast tending to a common cause with each other. The whites are but one-third of the population of the globe... and it cannot much longer continue, that two-thirds will possibly submit to the universal domination of this one-third....And it is notorious that the only progress made in territorial domain in the last three centuries, by the whites, has been an usurpation and encroachment on the rights and native soil of some of the colored races.\(^{14}\)

\(^{12}\)Lynch, p. 5.


\(^{14}\)Delany, in *Black Nationalism in America*, p. 96.
Anticipating Du Bois's often quoted statement, "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line," Delany predicted in 1859 that "the great issue sooner or later upon which must be disputed the world's destiny, will be the question of black and white; and every individual will be called upon for his identity with one or the other." 

As a black nationalist it is more often acknowledged that Delany is a forerunner of Garvey, but not of Du Bois. In terms of methods Delany's Emigration Conventions involved a small intelligentsia, as he preferred not to involve the masses, at first. He advised discretion and as little fanfare as possible in the initial stages of his program. Moreover, in terms of ideas Du Bois repeated Delany's almost exact words in 1935 in an article entitled, "The Negro Nation within the Nation," written for Current History. Thus Delany is just as much a part of Du Bois's heritage as he is of Garvey's.

Following the Civil War Delany along with many other advocates of emigration became caught up in the politics of Radical Reconstruction. Reconstruction did not kill the Pan-African impulse, but Pan-African leaders felt compelled to take advantage of what to them appeared a liberal trend in civil rights and politics. Henry McNeil Turner, Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, after serving a term in the Georgia state legislature, was one of those discouraged by the outcome of Radical Reconstruction. After his experience in the American political system, he devoted his energies to the North based AME church. He

15 Ibid.
influenced AME officials to increase their missionary work wherever black people lived—especially in Africa. He recalled that sermons by the Liberian missionary Alexander Crummell convinced him that Africa was the true home of Afro-Americans. Thus a chief aspect of his program for the AME Church was to urge emigration to Africa, particularly Liberia. With Delany he was active in the Liberian Exodus project (1877). Like Delany he had a political dimension to his interest in Africa. The Continent was a political symbol for the entire race of black men dispersed throughout the world. "I do not believe any race will ever be respected, or ought to be respected who do not show themselves capable of founding and manning a government of their own."18

Turner visited Africa in 1891 and was immensely impressed with the land and people and the potential for building an African nation. But he was disturbed by the impact which European Imperialism had made. He wrote from West Africa in 1893:

Indeed I do not like to see such an array of white faces. It means the capture of the only spot on the globe that the black man can hope to be in power and demonstrate the ability of self-government.19

In 1898 Turner visited South Africa where his activities caused considerable alarm to the white South African government. Back home in 1900 Turner continued to berate the United States government until his death in 1915. Since 1893 he served as Liberian consul in the Southern states.

18 Ibid.
19 Ibid., p. 289.
and received numerous letters inquiring about possibilities for emigration.

Henry McNeil Turner is an important link between the pre-Civil War Pan-Africanists and the twentieth century movements. His presence at the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century African conferences (to be discussed later) helped to provide a line of continuity. He also gave some coherence as Liberian consul to the various emigration schemes in the late nineteenth century. His work among the southern masses and his understanding of their growing restlessness gave him, like Garvey, a rare opportunity for Pan-African leadership.

The black missionaries Edward Wilmot Blyden and Alexander Crummell hold a rather unique place among the nineteenth century Pan-African philosophers. Born in the West Indies and emigrants to Liberia, they provide a link between Africa, the West Indies and the United States.

Blyden, a native of St. Thomas, after finding it impossible to gain admission to college in the United States, was provided with the opportunity to study at Alexander High School, at Monrovia, the capital of Liberia. He made Liberia and Africa his home.

In 1862 he wrote:

My heart is in Liberia, and longs for the welfare of Africa....An African nationality is the great desire of my soul. I believe nationality to be an ordinance of nature, and no people can rise to an influential position among nations without a distinct and efficient nationality....Could my voice reach every descendent of Africa in America, I would say to him: 'come away from the land of caste and oppression to the freedom of our young Republic'. Come help us build a Nationality in Africa.\(^{20}\)

Blyden saw the need for an African power center where the physical, intellectual and financial strength of the race could be collected. He told blacks in the United States that whatever gains they had made here were at the expense of their manhood. In almost the same language as Marcus Garvey, Blyden wrote in 1862:

We must build up Negro states; we must establish and maintain the various institutions; we must make and administer laws, erect and preserve churches...we must build ships and navigate them; we must ply the trades, instruct the schools, control the press, and thus aid in shaping the opinions and guiding the destinies of mankind. Nationality is an ordinance of nature. The heart of every true negro [sic] years after distinct and separate nationality.

Organizational Developments

A series of conferences held on Africa between 1865 and 1911 indicate that Pan-African sentiments were more widespread among American blacks than is usually acknowledged. These conferences add to the rich heritage provided by exponents of Pan-Africanism.

The first significant conference on Africa and the one least acknowledged is the Congress on Africa held in Atlanta, Georgia 1895. The conference was held under the auspices of the Steward Foundation for Africa at Gammon Theological Seminary on December 13-15. Its published proceedings form a valuable source of Afro-American opinion on Africa. Presenting papers at the conference were such prominent spokesmen as Henry McNeil Turner, Alexander Crummell and T. Thomas Fortune. Blyden was on the program but was unable to attend because of illness. But his

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21Ibid., p. 68.
22Ibid., p. 76.
letter to W. P. Thirkield, the then white President of Gammon, provides a commentary on the significance of the conference:

The Congress on Africa, at this time is most opportune, when all the world is looking to that continent as a field for political, commercial and philanthropic effort. I hope that the results of the Congress upon the Negro population of your country will be such as to lead them to take greater practical interest in the land of their fathers.24

Although the influence of the Congress was not so widespread as Blyden would have like, it represented a significant coming together of native Africans, West Indians and American blacks to discuss issues of mutual interest. Although there was a great deal of emphasis on missions, the underlying tone of the Congress was an Africa for the Africans. Alexander Crummell, who had been a Liberian missionary for twenty years, spoke of the need of native African missionaries for native Africans.25

Henry McNeil Turner, reiterating his stand on African emigration had this to say:

I believe that the Negroid race has been free long enough now to begin to think for himself and plan for better conditions than he can lay claim to in this country or ever will. There is no manhood future in the United States for the Negro. He may eke out an existence for generations to come, but he can never be a man—free, symmetrical and undwarfed....26

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In 1900 the first African Congress, establishing Pan-Africanism as an intellectual movement of some coherence, was held in London. It was the first conference specifically termed "Pan-African". The idea of the Congress was conceived by Sylvester-Williams, a native of Trinidad, who practiced law in England in the late nineteenth century. He established close associations with West Africans in Great Britain and in 1897 traveled widely in Great Britain and Ireland. In that same year Williams helped to form the African Association. The avowed purpose of the Association was,

- to encourage a feeling of unity to facilitate friendly intercourse among Africans in general;
- to promote and protect the interest of all subjects claiming African descent, wholly or in part, in British Colonies and other places, especially in Africa, by circulating accurate information on all subjects affecting their rights and privileges as subjects of the British Empire and by direct appeals to the imperial and local government.27

In 1898 the Association issued a circular announcing the intention to hold a conference in London on the occasion of the Paris Exhibition of 1900. The circular stated as the aim of the proposed conference:

- to take steps to influence public opinion on existing proceedings and conditions affecting the welfare of the natives in the various parts of the world, viz. South Africa, West Africa, West Indies and the United States of America.28

There were encouraging responses to the circular and a series of preparatory meetings were held. Present at one of these meetings held

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28 Ibid.
on June 12, 1899 were notably Booker T. Washington and Henry McNeil Turner.29

The Pan-African Congress met from July 23-25, 1900 in Westminster Town Hall and was attended by twenty-four delegates from Africa, the West Indies and the United States. The African Association was transformed into the Pan-African Association with officers elected during the conference. The conference planned to meet every other year with the next meeting set for 1902 and the third in 1904 to be held in Haiti. In October of 1901 the Pan-African Association launched a journal, The Pan-African, edited by Sylvester Williams.30 The Pan-African, like the Pan-African Association, was destined to have an early death. The 1902 conference was never held as planned. The Pan-African Association was thus little more than a paper organization.

Despite the fact that it did not succeed as an organization, it is significant that the Pan-African Association brought together the various strands of the nineteenth century which included not only representatives from the United States but from all over the world. It demonstrated that Pan-African sentiments were not isolated and that some world-wide effort was being made for an exchange of ideas. The stated purpose of the conference was not revolutionary, but the conference itself was a definite step towards unity. Moreover, the presence of Booker T. Washington at the 1899 planning session should not be overlooked. His presence at this meeting and the conference on Africa held at Tuskegee in 1912 establish that Washington was not detached from the Pan-African

30Ibid., p. 727.
agitation. The presence of Henry McNeil Turner at the planning session with Washington and his presence again at the 1912 conference link Washington with one of the most outspoken Pan-African figures.

It is most significant for our present purposes that Du Bois played a prominent role in the Congress of 1900. As chairman of the Committee on Address he wrote the widely publicized appeal, "To the Nations of the World". In this address Du Bois called on the nations of the world to respect the independence of the free Black states of Abyssinia, Liberia and Haiti. He predicted that the black man of Africa, America and the Islands of the Sea in addition to the brown and yellow peoples elsewhere by reason of sheer numbers and physical contact were bound to have a great impact upon the world.

But if by reason of carelessness, prejudice, greed and injustice the black world is to be exploited and ravished and degraded, the result must be deplorable, if not fatal.

It was Du Bois who was responsible for reviving the organizational phase of the Pan-African movement in 1919.

Between 1900 and 1919 two other significant conferences were held. In 1911 the First Universal Races Congress was held in London and in 1912 the Conference on Africa was held in Tuskegee.

The First Universal Races Congress has been described as a sentimental and well-wishing attempt to make for a better understanding between

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the various races, including the white without challenging colonialism.\(^\text{33}\) The Congress was indeed idealistic for even as the delegates were meeting a German war vessel sailed into an African port, signifying its intentions to have a larger share in the African pie.\(^\text{34}\) However, the Congress did make possible contacts of black people of different backgrounds which would later be of significance for the Pan-African movement.\(^\text{35}\) And clearly the greatest significance of this Congress for Pan-Africanism was the presence of Du Bois. He read a paper at the Congress which gained him wide publicity among blacks around the world. In 1915 when Du Bois went to Jamaica, Marcus Garvey and his newly organized Universal Negro Improvement Association were among those who joined in the welcoming.\(^\text{36}\) This Du Bois-Garvey entente, arising out of the publication of the paper, suggests that there was nothing necessarily inevitable about the feud which would later develop between them to the detriment of the Pan-African movement.

Another significant result of the Universal Races Congress for the Pan-African movement was the emergence of Duse Mohammad Ali and his *African Times and Orient Review*. Duse, a combination actor, playwright and journalist of Egyptian and Sudanese origin, published a history of Egypt, *The Lands of Pharoah* in 1911. The publicity from the book gave him the opportunity to organize the entertainment for the Races Congress, which

\(^\text{33}\)Geis, p. 729.


\(^\text{35}\)Ibid.

\(^\text{36}\)Ibid., p. 277.
he did with great success. A West African trader was attracted to Duse and requested that he publish a journal to further his trading interest. The result was the African Times and Orient Review which, according to Immanuel Geis (Notes on the Development of Pan-Africanism), greatly resembled the format of Sylvester Williams' Pan-African. The journal was supported by a group of West Africans, among them Casely Hayford, the Gold Coast lawyer and future organizer of West African nationalist movements.

Duse's journal was a focal point for the expression of Pan-African and nationalists sentiments. It attacked German Colonialism in Togoland and unearthed abuses of British Colonial rule. When Marcus Garvey visited England in 1912 he found the journal a great inspiration. From Duse himself Garvey learned much of Africa's history, topography, mineral potential and labor conditions of semi-slavery and serfdom. Garvey and Duse also discussed and shared the admiration for the philosophy of Booker T. Washington. Duse reportedly wound up his activities with the African Times and Orient Review to work actively for the Garvey movement.

In 1912 Booker T. Washington sponsored a conference on Africa at Tuskegee. Du Bois has referred to the conference as "Pan-African" and suggested that it followed in line of descent from the first Pan-African

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37 Geis, p. 730.


40 Geis, p. 731.
Congress of 1900. Indeed the evidence would seem to place this conference prominently within the Pan-African context. According to Elliot Rudwick, T. Thomas Fortune (present at the 1895 conference in Atlanta) and Booker T. Washington had planned a Pan-African Conference for 1906. But Fortune felt his ideas had been stolen by Williams in 1900. Henry McNeil Turner who had been present at the planning session in 1899 with Washington and at the 1895 Atlanta conference played a prominent role in the Tuskegee conference. Edward Blyden and Casely Hayford sent their blessings. Mark Hayford, Casely's brother, presented an address. A second conference was planned for 1915, but was interrupted by the war and the death of Booker T. Washington.

It may do well to inject at this point that Washington's interest in Africa has too often been overshadowed by his conflict with Du Bois and the labeling of him as an 'Uncle Tom' arch conservative of the accommodationist school. Actually he has a significant connection with the Pan-African movement. Louis Harlan, who has done research with the Washington papers has noted that Washington was substantially involved in African affairs. In 1900 he sent a Tuskegee delegation to Togoland, laden with plows, wagons, a steam cotton gin and cotton press. The delegation had the dual task of training Africans in cotton culture and experimentation with a local and imported variety of cotton. Although the project was financed by a German private firm anxious to hasten economic

\[^{41}\text{Du Bois, An ABC of Color, p. 119.}\]

exploitation of German Colonies, it had its practical advantages for Africans. 43

Significantly it was the practical side of the Tuskegee philosophy that attracted African nationalists and Pan-Africanists. Among those who corresponded with Washington, Harlan notes, was Edward Blyden. Blyden found Washington's separatist philosophy especially praiseworthy. After reading his autobiography, Casely Hayford wrote Washington in 1904 and sent him copies of his books. In 1912, Mark Hayford had plans of establishing a sort of Tuskegee on the Gold Coast. Washington, moreover, took an interest in the Pan-African efforts of Duse Mohammad Ali. 44 Placed in this perspective it is not surprising that Washington was Marcus Garvey's greatest Afro-American hero.

This chapter has sought to point out that Pan-Africanism in its practical, philosophical and organization phases had taken significant root by the time Garvey and Du Bois launched their movement in the twenties. Though they may have been destined for different leadership roles, they both gained sustenance from their common past. Kelly Miller, Howard University professor and contemporary of the two, succinctly said that Blyden, Turner, Alfred Sam, Du Bois and Garvey were "all playing diverse tones on the same African harp." 45

43 Harlan, p. 461.
44 Ibid., p. 464.
CHAPTER II

DU BOIS'S PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

MOVEMENT

Primarily because of his participation in the Niagara Movement, the overemphasis on his strained relationship with Booker T. Washington, and his association with the NAACP, Du Bois's Pan-African and national-ist ideas between 1900 and 1919 have not been given justice. In viewing his relationship with Marcus Garvey, however, it is essential that we avoid labels and deal with the crux of the man's ideas.

Du Bois's Background

Du Bois's biography is well known, but a review of some aspects of his development might shed some light on his role as a leader. His training prepared him well for his leadership in the world of ideas. He received his B.A. degree from Fisk University in 1888 at the age of twenty. He was graduated from Harvard with a B.A. in 1890, M.A. in 1891 and Ph.D. in 1895. He also studied at the University of Berlin from 1892-1894. Throughout his long life he studied, researched and wrote, never allowing his ideas to become static.

Since his childhood Du Bois had been aware of and concerned about the problem of race. His analysis of the problem and his approach to its solution came as an intellectual, not as a practitioner. Even so
this analysis was Pan-Colored from the beginning. While studying at the University of Berlin under the Pan-Germanists Von Treitschke, Weber and Schmoller he began to see "the race problem in America, the problems of the peoples of Africa and Asia and the political development of Europe as one." He began to see the connection between economics and politics. When he returned to the United States from Berlin at the age of 26, his outlook was already Third World.

In 1897, while Garvey was still a boy of ten at St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica, Du Bois was arguing persuasively for the need for blacks everywhere to come together as a race and preserve their identity—he called it Pan-Negroism. Du Bois believed that black people had not yet given to civilization the full spiritual message which they were capable of giving. In making the point of unity he wrote, "...only Negroes bounded and welded together, Negroes inspired by one vast ideal, can work out in its fullness the great message we have for humanity." And then making a case for black nationalism he wrote:

The Advance guard of the Negro People—8,000,000 people of Negro blood in the United States of America—must soon come to realize that if they are to take their just place in the van of Pan-Negroism, then their destiny is not absorption by the white Americans.

Essentially, Du Bois made the point that Africa is the race's historical fatherland and that blacks should be united in their attachment

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1Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 47.


3Ibid.
to it, that American black people are the vanguard of the race. In a rhetoric similar to Garvey's he continued:

Our one haven of refuge is ourselves, and but one means of advance, our own belief in our great destiny, our own implicit trust in our ability and worth. There is no power under God's high heaven that can stop the advance of eight honest, earnest, inspired people.  

An important part of Du Bois's thinking which would follow him throughout his career was the belief that an educated black elite should chart the way for the advancement of the race. He saw this as the goal of the American Negro Academy. His elitist theory would later be known as the theory of the "Talented Tenth."

It is worthy of note that Du Bois at this stage of his career was an advocate of Washington's philosophy of self-help. His emphasis was in accord with Washington's urging of the development of black business enterprises and the support of these businesses by blacks.

By the time of the first Pan-African Congress of 1900 Du Bois was certain of the nature of the problem facing the twentieth century—the color line. His role at the Congress has already been pointed out, but it should not be forgotten that it was Du Bois who carried this organizational movement of the intellectuals most successfully into the twentieth century with the formation of the Pan-African Congress of 1919. The Congress of 1900 along with the Races Congress of 1911 gave him the contacts and experience necessary for the formation of the Pan-African Congress of 1919.

During the period before 1919 Du Bois was observing closely the

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4Ibid., p. 258.
development of European imperialism and the effect it was having on the
darker races of the world. The publication of his book, The Negro, in
1915, and subsequent articles written for journals and magazines, point
to his growing interest in Africa. At a time when most of his contem-
poraries were embarrassed by the alleged "primitiveness" of their ances-
tors in Africa, Du Bois felt the necessity to describe the great king-
doms of Mali, Songhay and Ghana. He was among the first to regard the
non-literate peoples of the Sub-Saharan Africa as possessing complex and
sophisticated cultures and to point out the influence of these cultures
on New World Blacks.

In The Negro Du Bois spelled out the specific impact of imperialism
on the black race. He noted that the economic influence of the colonized
determined largely the politics of the western world. He pointed out
that modern white laborers of Europe and America have the key to the
serfdom of black folk in their support of militarism and colonial expan-
sion.

In analyzing the reaction of people of African descent to their
common world situation Du Bois wrote that there was no great unity of
opinion, but significant was the fact that they were thinking. The more
significant centers of opinion were in the United States and the West
Indies, in South Africa, West Africa, South America (more vaguely) with
faint beginnings in East Central Africa, Nigeria and the Sudan. 6 He


6 Ibid., p. 241.
There is slowly rising not only a curiously strong brotherhood of Negro blood throughout the world, but the common cause of the darker races against the intolerable assumptions and insults of Europeans has already found expression. Most men in this world are colored. A belief in humanity means a belief in colored men. The future world, will in all probability, be what colored men make it.\footnote{Ibid., p. 242.}

By 1917 Du Bois was observing with increasing concern the silence of European nations in regard to the future of Africa after the War. He called for the erection of a free central African state out of German East Africa and the Belgian Congo which had been lost to the Allies during the War. He saw the need for some kind of international organization composed of Africans to settle their own destiny. Further, Africans needed the emotional as well as political encouragement of a strong free African state.\footnote{Du Bois, "The Negro's Fatherland," \textit{Survey}, November, 1917, p. 141.}

\textbf{The Pan-African Congress Movement}

In December of 1918 Du Bois was given the chance to give some practical application of his ideas. Immediately following the Armistice the N.A.A.C.P. asked him as editor of the \textit{Crisis} to go to France to investigate the treatment of black soldiers in the war. He saw in this an opportunity to call a Pan-African Congress—to have the blacks of the world represented in some way before the Peace Conference. It seemed at first that his plans would not get off the ground, but a black delegate

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}
to the French Parliament, Blaise Diagne, was able to use his influence to secure permission to hold the Congress in Paris in February of 1919.

Fifty-seven delegates were present at this Congress—16 from the United States, 20 West Indians, 12 Africans. Thus began the Pan-African Congress Movement, a hastily conceived organization of a few black intellectuals in sharp contrast to Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association which had its base in the black masses.

In spite of its modest beginnings and the limited scope of its influence among the black people of the world the Pan-African Congress was met with suspicion by the white world and was seen as a significant threat to European Colonialism. The American secret service followed at the heels of Du Bois as he sought to organize the Congress and the State Department announced that there would be no Pan-African Congress, and refused passports. Great Britain followed suit and refused to allow the secretary of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society of the Gold Coast to even visit Paris, while South African natives were not allowed to sail. The Africans who attended the Congress just happened to be resident in Paris at the time.

The resolutions coming out of the first Pan-African Congress made no extraordinary demands on the Colonial governments. They were in fact very modest and the demands made were within the context of the colonial structure. The resolutions of the Congress may be summarized in part as

a. That the Allied and Associate Powers establish a code of law for the international protection of the natives of Africa, similar to an international code of labor.

b. That the League of Nations establish a permanent bureau charged with the duty of overseeing the application of these laws.
c. That Negroes of the world demand that hereafter the natives of Africa and the peoples of African descent be governed according to the following principles:

1. The land and natural resources shall be held in trust for the natives and at all times they shall have effective ownership of as much land as they can profitably develop. (emphasis mine)

2. The investment of capital and the granting of concessions shall be so regulated as to prevent the exploitation of the natives and exhaustion of the natural wealth of the county.

3. Slavery and corporal punishment shall be abolished and forced labor except in punishment for crime.

4. It shall be the right of every native child to learn to read and write his own language, and the language of the trustee nation, at public expense and to be given technical instruction in some branch of industry.

5. The natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the government as far as their development permits in conformity with the principle that the government exist for the natives, and not the natives for the government.

6. No particular religion shall be imposed and no particular form of human culture.\textsuperscript{10}

The Congress asked specifically that the German colonies of Togo and Cameroons be turned over to an international organization instead of to the various Allied Powers.

At this stage in his career Du Bois felt that organized public opinion was a most powerful weapon and that the spread of truth would be a sufficient panacea for the evils perpetrated against black folk in America, Africa and the islands of the sea. Such an attitude is reflected in the resolutions of the Pan-African Congress. It was believed that the League of Nations as a supernational power should curb the anti-Negro policy of the United States and South Africa. Other than that the demands of the

Congress amounted to little more than a mild protest. The right of the Europeans to possess colonies in Africa was not challenged. It was only requested that certain human and civil rights be granted to the natives.

In the interval between the first and second Pan-African Congress of 1921, Du Bois corresponded with blacks in all parts of Africa and other parts of the world maintaining at least, a spiritual fraternity of black intellectuals. It was arranged that the second Pan-African Congress meet in London, Paris and Brussels in August and September of 1921. This Congress was more widely attended than the first, with 113 delegates present. Of this number 41 were from Africa, 35 from the United States, 24 represented blacks living in Europe and seven were from the West Indies.

At least in the planning stages the second Congress showed a progression from intellectual fraternity to practical goals. The July, 1921 issue of the Crisis announced as a "practical" program five divisions for the second meeting.

1. The need for a greater knowledge of Africa—if hope to establish a better entente between black America and Africans more needs to be learned about climate, commercial conditions, as well as the attitude of the natives and European governments
2. A statement needs to be drawn up and presented with main social problems of the Negro world—this would be of great importance to Sociology
3. Leaders of different Negro groups must become acquainted
4. Know and get in touch with whites who sympathize with our problem
5. A permanent organization should be evolved.

11 Ibid., p. 17.
12 "The Second Pan-African Congress," Crisis, XXII (July, 1921), pp. 119-120.
According to Jessie Fauset, a black American writer, the London meeting exemplified an atmosphere of cooperativeness and brotherhood. "We felt our common blood with almost unbearable unanimity." Present at this phase of the Congress were delegates from the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Lagos, Grenada, United States, Martinique, Liberia, British Guiana, Jamaica and Africans resident in London. Out of the speeches and discussion the delegates came forth with two propositions: (1) the need for something concrete, i.e. aid in the development of Liberia; (2) the need for positive action. The resolutions of this meeting as read by Du Bois were bold and unambiguous.

It must have been apparent by the time the Congress reached Brussels that the delegates were more radical in their demeanor if not their demands. It was here that the Congress took a definite turn for the worst. The overlordship of the Belgian Colonial Power was very apparent. A tremendous amount of the Belgian economic interest centered in the Congo. The Belgian capitalists therefore viewed the Pan-African Congress as interference with their interest. A visit to the Congo Museum in Brussels convinced Miss Fauset of the desirability of the Belgians to keep the Congo under their control:

For the first time in my life I was able to envisage what Africa means to Europe, despite what she has become by war and famine and plague...all the wealth of the world—skins, and furs, gold and copper—would seem to center in the Congo.

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Belgian officials were well in attendance and kept a watchful eye on the proceedings.

Blaise Diagne, the presiding officer and high ranking Senegalese official in the French government, succeeded in further fouling up the purpose of the Congress. He undoubtedly felt obliged to assure the Belgian officials that no "radical" step would be taken by the Congress. "...for two days," wrote Du Bois, "the speeches went smoothly—too smoothly, I felt, because nothing was being said but platitudes."16 Diagne and Candace, the other black "French" delegate, asked the Congress to omit seven paragraphs which emphasized and particularized the arraignment of predatory capital in Africa. The resolutions sponsored by Diagne were mild, pertaining to education and a pledge of cooperation of the Pan-African Congress with international movements in Belgium.17

Jessie Fauset described the situation in Paris as less disruptive, but again Diagne, obviously convinced that he was "French", succeeded in sidetracking the main issues by dwelling upon the glories of France.18

Like the first Pan-African Congress the second Conference did not succeed in developing a concrete program. The resolutions restated, perhaps more forcefully and precisely, but nevertheless were a repetition of those of the first Congress.19 Du Bois was delegated to present a petition to the League of Nations asking for a black man in the Mandates

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17Fauset, p. 15.

18Fauset, p. 16.

19For resolutions of Second Pan-African Congress see Padmore, History of the Pan-African Congress.
Commission and that the League take a firm stand on the absolute equality of the races.

Following this Congress a secretariat was set up in Paris to insure the permanancy of the organization. Du Bois and Beton, the new young secretary, a black Paris public school teacher, did not see eye to eye. The new secretary was in agreement with Garvey's program of industrial co-operation and wanted to extend the Pan-African Congress idea to include industrial and commercial cooperation with Africa, with American Black capital as investment. Du Bois, of course, was not receptive to this idea. News of the Garvey movement had reached the colonial offices even before the more modest proposals of the first Pan-African Congress. But the Colonial officials tended to see the two movements as one and refused to grant concessions to either. In any event, Du Bois admitted that the difference in opinion between the Paris and American wing of the movement, meaning Beton and himself, nearly ruined the organization. The Paris secretary, apparently peeved with Du Bois, postponed the third Pan-African Congress called for 1923. It seems that he and Du Bois could not agree on where to hold the Congress. Beton announced that the Congress was to take place in Lisbon late in 1922 and Du Bois wanted to hold the meeting in the West Indies. The secretary was disgusted with the lack of cooperation from the Afro-Americans and insisted that the Congress be postponed. However, Du Bois succeeded in getting the majority vote of the Executive Committee and it was agreed to hold

conference in London and Lisbon in November, 1923.  

At this third Congress eleven countries were represented and Africans resident in Portugal were well in attendance. The resolutions of the Congress, probably written by Du Bois, placed European colonialism under heavier fire:

Africans should have:
1. A voice in their government
2. The right of access to the land and resources
3. Trial by juries of their peers under established forms of law
4. Free elementary education for all; broad training in modern industrial technique; higher training of selected talent.
5. The development of Africa for the benefit of Africans, and not merely for the profit of Europeans
6. The abolition of the slave trade and of the liquor traffic
7. World disarmament and the abolition of war; but failing this, as long as white folk bear arms against black folk the right of blacks to bear arms in their self-defence.
8. The organization of commerce and industry so as to make the main objects of capital and labour the welfare of the many rather than the enriching of the few....

Although Du Bois remained committed to the idea of a Pan-African Congress, the future of the movement was very shaky after the 1923 Conference. His plans for a 1925 Congress to be held in the West Indies failed to get off the ground. His idea was to charter a ship and sail down the Carribean, stopping for meetings in Jamaica, Haiti, Cuba and the French Islands. This obviously was a step to bring the Pan-African Congress to the people. Unfortunately he was unable to find a shipping line to accommodate the trip. The colonial governments, naturally, were...

unfavorable to such an idea. (It is interesting that Garvey was able to achieve just such a task in one of the ill-fated but black owned ships.)

The failure of Du Bois's movement to realize the necessity for black folk to own their own resources and to extend intellectual fraternity to include a program for the economic and political needs of the masses was a definite shortcoming. The Congress, gaining no wider support than among a few intellectuals, would not be able to support itself.

By 1925 the African participation was beginning to lag and Du Bois did not find his Afro-American colleagues overly enthusiastic. Even in the earlier stages he had not gotten any great support from the N.A.A.C.P. Following the first Congress the board of directors were not exactly jubilant about the whole idea of a Pan-African Congress. Du Bois noted that the older liberalism among the white people in the organization did not envisage Africa and the colored peoples of the world. Moreover, the blacks in the organization, as alleged by Garvey, had inherited a repugnance toward anything African. Even Du Bois admitted that these blacks feared and resented any cooperation with Africans. The N.A.A.C.P., after financing two Pan-African Congresses, withdrew after 1921.23

Thus, a good portion of Du Bois's energies in the Crisis was devoted to an effort to convince his readers and N.A.A.C.P. associates of the international character of the race problem:

That the problem, for instance, of the American Negro must be thought of and settled only with continual reference to the problems of the West Indian Negroes, the problems of the French Negroes and the English Negroes and above

all the problems of the African Negroes. This is the thought back of the Pan-African movement in all its various manifestations.24

In 1927 a fourth Pan-African Congress was called and got off the ground only with the initiative of an organization of black women.25 Thirteen countries were represented with delegates from the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Nigeria. The general resolutions reiterated almost verbatim those of the 1923 Congress.

It is difficult to assess the immediate impact of the Pan-African Congress Movement. Its central focus was upon the problems of colonized Africa. Africans attending the Congresses were made aware of the international context of their struggle and blacks elsewhere were made aware of the relationship of the racial problems in their countries to the problems of Africa. The Congress itself provided no concrete solution for these problems and the demands made on the Colonial governments were largely ignored. In terms of immediate impact on developing nationalist sentiment in Africa the implications of a world Pan-African Congress were not ignored, but the more practical economic features of Garveyism had a greater appeal.26

To the query, who does the Congress represent, Du Bois admitted that few of the masses had ever heard of it and that he and his colleagues were possibly "floating in the air of our dreams and ambitions". "We were


undoubtedly an intelligentsia," Du Bois wrote of the Second Pan-African Congress, "...a small group of intellectuals interpreting to some extent, but more certainly seeking to guide the public opinion of our group." But most importantly, Du Bois felt that the Pan-African Congress was part of a great world movement.

But certainly there is no gainsaying the grand swell in the Negro race—the great unresting might surge; it is reported by every colonial power, it is sensed by every intelligent Negro in every part of the world.

What part did the Pan-African Congress play in this world-wide feeling? It did not cause it as many accuse; it but partially and fitfully voiced it. But it did do these things:

1. It brought face to face and in personal contact a group of educated Negroes of the calibre that might lead black men to emancipation in the modern world.

2. It is discovered among these men more points of agreement than difference.

3. It expressed the need of further meetings and strengthened the permanent organization.27

The Pan-African Congress as an organization, however, was doomed to failure. In 1929 Du Bois made an abortive attempt to hold a Congress in Africa and selected Tunis because of its accessibility. The French government, by now thoroughly convinced of the implications of the Pan-African movement for colonialism, flatly refused to allow the Congress to take place there, stating that the Congress could be held in any French city, but in no French territories in Africa. The Depression precluded the possibility of reviving the already dwindling organization. The young African intelligentsia (Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta) who were

to revive the movement in 1945 were mere youngsters or studying at black colleges in the U.S.A.

Du Bois and Garveyism

In the period between 1919 and 1927 Du Bois wrote (in the Crisis and elsewhere) of the Garvey movement or issues closely related to it. His attitude fluctuated from severe criticism to a subtle suggestion of allegiance. The criticism is often less indicative of the Crisis editor's rate insight and characteristic diplomacy. Many of his remarks probably came as reactions to Garvey's verbose and indiscriminate castigation of the eminent doctor and his N.A.A.C.P. colleagues.

Du Bois wrote in Dusk of Dawn that his first effort was to explain away or ignore the Garvey Movement. "But," he noted, "it was a mass movement that could not be ignored." In the September issue of the Crisis, 1920, Du Bois observed the rising West Indian population in the United States and its implications for the 12 million blacks in this country in their fight for "black democracy". The American Negro he said, should remember that he forms but half of the black population of the New World. "To our own numbers we must add 6,000,000 in the West Indies, and 9,000,000 in Central and South America." Du Bois was not unaware of the emerging nationalist sentiments amongst these people: "In Haiti this feeling made a nation. In Jamaica, Guiana and elsewhere it is today arresting itself in a great surge of activity." Referring specifically to Jamaica he noted that the black peasants had no economic leadership or sympathy amongst the traditional mulatto leadership, but

28 Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 278.
are left to toil under low wages and bad working conditions:

It is this mass of peasants, uplifted by war and migration that is today beginning to assert itself at home and abroad, and their new cry of "Africa for the Africans" strikes with a startling surprise upon America's darker millions. The movement is yet inchoate and indefinite, but it is tremendously human, piteously sincere,...It is not beyond possibility that this new Ethiopia of the Isles may yet stretch out its hands of helpfulness to the 12 million black men in America.29

This article was written just following Garvey's first international convention in August of 1920. Du Bois is obviously suggesting the desirability of common allegiance between the Jamaican masses and the masses of the United States.

Again in December Du Bois wrote a fairly objective article on the history of the Garvey movement. He posed the question: "Was the Garvey movement sincere and honest?" Despite the charges of dishonesty and graft against the man, Du Bois believed him to be essentially honest and sincere, "With a tremendous vision, great dynamic force, stubborn determination an unselfish desire to serve." He gave Garvey credit for his extraordinary ability for leadership, his ability to stir and move the black masses. On the other hand, Du Bois pointed out what he felt were the personal shortcomings of the U.N.I.A. leader. "...He is dictatorial, domineering, inordinately vain and very suspicious."30 (Garvey had grounds to be suspicious considering the crooks, white and black, bent upon swindling the U.N.I.A. out of funds contributed by loyal members on


the one hand and the ridicule of the majority of the black leadership on
the other).

Du Bois commenting on Garvey's "suspicious nature" noted the
attacks which were made upon him personally. At a 1919 mass meeting at
which the black leaders Chandler Owen and A. Phillip Randolph were
present, Du Bois alleged that Garvey publicly accused him of interfer-
ing with the work of the U.N.I.A. commissioner in France, of defeating
the article written by the commissioner in the French press, and 'repudi-
ating' Garvey's statements against injustice and lynching in America.
Du Bois, indignantly denying these accusations wrote in the third per-
son:

The truth was that Mr. Du Bois never saw or heard of his
'High Commissioner', never denied his or anyone's state-
ments of the wretched American conditions, did everything
possible to arouse rather than quiet the French press and would
have been delighted to welcome and cooperate with any colored
fellow-worker.31

In the following issue of the Crisis Du Bois continued his article
on Garvey--this time considering his industrial enterprises and the
feasibility of its general plans. The article illustrates how closely
Du Bois watched the Garvey industrial enterprises. He even wrote a
"courteous letter" asking for such financial statement, as Garvey was
"willing for the public to know." Garvey apparently insulted, ignored
the request. But Du Bois went on to support his suspicion of the
unsoundness of the Garvey enterprises in a detailed analysis of the stock
reports and the assets and liabilities of the Black Star Line. In this

31 Ibid., p. 60.
the Crisis editor was fairly accurate—Garvey was no businessman. But Du Bois was in agreement with the main features of the movement.

The main lines of the Garvey plans are perfectly feasible. What he is trying to say and do is this: American Negroes can, by accumulating and administering their own capital, organize industry, join the black centers of the South Atlantic by commercial enterprise and in this way ultimately redeem Africa as a fit and free home for black men. This is true. It is feasible.32

He noted further that the great accomplishment of Garvey was not in the originality of his plans but that he had gotten thousands to believe in its success.

Apparently Du Bois was offended by Garvey's single-minded handling of the plan for African redemption and his refusal to invite cooperation with anyone but those committed to his methods:

It is not a task for one man or one organization but for coordinate effort on the part of millions.

In addition the Crisis editor was obviously embarrassed by Garvey's open criticism of the problem of color caste which was not readily acknowledged by most black intellectuals in the United States. Of his plans to settle his African headquarters in Liberia, Du Bois accused Garvey of trying to usurp the authority of the already struggling Liberian government. Of Garvey's bold threats to the imperialist governments, the cool and calculating Du Bois cautioned a softer tone.33

In later issues of the Crisis Du Bois was less objective in his appraisal of the Garvey Movement. He obviously saw Garvey's gigantic

33Ibid.
movement as a threat to his more modest Pan-African Congress. After the public collapse of the U.N.I.A. enterprises and following Garvey's indictment for mail fraud the Crisis editor referred to the movement as a "tragedy and comedy."\textsuperscript{34} In 1923 and after the movement had been highly publicized and unduly criticized by the press, Du Bois in an article outlining a program of industry and commerce among black groups alluded to Garvey:

This does not mean yelling and lying and ranting about gigantic projects that never existed and squandering hard-earned wealth in crazy and ill-conceived schemes. It means small, efficient, honest enterprises quietly and carefully carried on for years, until in fifty years or a century we shall have knit the Negro world together in thrift.\textsuperscript{35}

Meanwhile in the Negro World, Garvey kept up his denunciation of Du Bois and the N.A.A.C.P. (whom he saw as one). Du Bois realized that there was some credence in Garvey's accusations, and admitted that there were those who were ashamed of their color and who have contempt for the black poor and urged the need for a group responsibility to the masses. Probably referring to Garvey, he labeled those who would "exaggerate" the cleft between the masses and the black upper class as "demagogues".\textsuperscript{36}

In December, 1922, Du Bois wrote a history of the bankrupt Black Star Line. He saw the plan to unite the black world by a line of steamships as a brilliant suggestion but, "Garvey's only original contribution to the race problem."\textsuperscript{37} Du Bois viewed Garvey's blame of the

\textsuperscript{34}Du Bois, "Opinion," Crisis, XXVII (November, 1923), 9.

\textsuperscript{35}Du Bois, "Again Africa," Crisis, XXIII (April, 1922), 251-252.

\textsuperscript{36}Du Bois, "The Demagog," Crisis, XXIII (April, 1922), 252.

failure of the Black Star Line on enemies of the U.N.I.A. in the N.A.A.
C.P. as ridiculous. However, N.A.A.C.P. officials were among a group of
black leaders who later wrote to the Attorney General of the United
States requesting that Garvey be indicted as an enemy of his people.
It is reasonable to surmise that those who would resort to such extreme
action to hasten the conviction of a fellow member of the race would
not have been hesitant to disrupt the activities of the Black Star Line.
By 1924, the relationship between Du Bois and Garvey was one of
extreme bitterness. Garvey had not changed his attitude towards the
N.A.A.C.P. and Du Bois, fed up with the personal vituperations directed
against him, called Garvey a monumental and persistent liar. "Marcus
Garvey is, without doubt, the most dangerous enemy of the Negro race in
American and in the world. He is either a lunatic or a traitor." In
this article Du Bois announced the end to any tolerable relationship
he may have had with Garvey. With a note of finality he concluded:

The American Negroes have endured this wretch all too
long with fine restraint and every effort at cooperation
and understanding. But the end has come. Every man who
apologizes for or defends Marcus Garvey from this date
forth writes himself down as unworthy of the countenance
of decent Americans.39

It is interesting that Du Bois is here expanding his frame of reference
to include "the countenance of decent Americans". He was obviously not
unmindful of his own public image and did not want to be associated with

38 Amy Jacques Garvey, ed. Philosophy and Opinions, p. 300. A
reprint from the Negro World includes a copy of the letter sent by
eight prominent black leaders to Attorney General.

39 Du Bois, "A Lunatic or a Traitor," Crisis, XXVIII (May, 1924),
Garvey's failures.

Probably Du Bois's least objective, and most often quoted treatment of Garvey was an article written by him for the Century Magazine in 1923. The article is filled throughout with derogatory generalizations about Garvey personally and about the history of the movement. To start, Du Bois described Garvey as, "a little fat black man, ugly, but with intelligent eyes and big head". Garvey would use this statement of Du Bois as further evidence that the erudite doctor "hated the black blood in his veins". Du Bois regarded Garvey as a "serio-comic, funny, yet swept with a great veil of tragedy, meaning in himself little more than a passing agitation....And yet means something to the world." He grudgingly granted Garvey a place within the context of future Pan-Africanism:

He is a type of mighty coming thing. He voices a vague, formless, but growing, integrating, human mind which will some day arrest the world.40

In his dealings with Garvey, Du Bois presented a blatant misrepresentation of the man's genius. The real tragedy lies in the fact that Du Bois demonstrated at the same time that he was not incapable of comprehending the implications of Garveyism for Pan-Africanism. He was in a greater position to establish some type of rapport between the Garveyites and the traditional leadership than any of his Afro-American colleagues. His refusal to do so lead Garvey, justifiably, to conclude that the doctor had none other than insidious intentions.

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40Du Bois, "Back to Africa," The Century Magazine, CV (February, 1923), 545. For Garvey's reaction to this article, see 'W. E. Burghardt Du Bois As A Hater of Dark People," in Philosophy and Opinions, 310-320.
CHAPTER III

THE PAN-AFRICANISM OF MARCUS GARVEY

It is not in order here to go into a full scale discussion of all the aspects of the voluminous Garvey movement. Attention shall be focused rather on Garvey's expansion and practical application of the concept of Pan-Africanism, especially as it contrasts with the Du Boisian approach.

Garvey's Background

Garvey's biography like Du Bois's is fairly well-known. However, some aspects of his background will be particularized in order to clarify his role as a leader. Marcus Garvey was born in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica in 1887. His father was said to be a descendant of the Maroons—Africans who fled to the Jamaican hills after the capture of the Island by the English in 1657. The Maroons lived a free life in the hills on their own land governed by their own chiefs and regarded themselves as superior to those Africans brought to the Island by the English to work as slaves. Garvey's father apparently inherited much of the aloofness from his ancestors, as he acted as if he did not belong among the villagers of St. Ann's Bay. He was described as strong, silent and stern and everyone called him, "Mr. Garvey," even his wife and children. Garvey described

\[1\]For a more detailed biographical sketch, see Amy Jacques Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism.

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his father as "severe, firm, determined, bold and strong, refusing to yield to superior forces if he believed he was right."\(^2\)

The elder Garvey, no doubt, instilled in the younger a strength of conviction and pride in his blackness. These two attributes were certainly a dominant part of Garvey's personality. He always viewed his pure racial stock as an advantage and made this point clear in his relationship with Du Bois and other leaders of mixed racial background. Furthermore, Garvey never had to deal with the dual personality of the Afro-American, which Du Bois described as two warring ideals—being black and American at the same time.\(^3\) While Du Bois, inevitably had to deal with this conflict in his own personality, Garvey's total commitment to race was just as much a part of his personality as his philosophy. He regarded the restrictiveness of the Afro-American leadership as non-leadership and had no patience with their frustrations.

From the start, Garvey's leadership was destined to have its appeal primarily among the masses. His involvement with their problems began at an early stage in his career. At the age of 20 he became involved with the labor problems of poor Jamaican laborers when he helped to organize in 1907 the Printers Union, the first union on the Island. He struck along with other members of the union for higher wages and better working conditions and was fired. He then went to work for the Government printing office and on Saturday nights discussed the problems of Jamaican workers. Out of these meetings the first political association

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in Jamaica, The National Club, was formed. It was with the club's newspaper, Our Own, that Garvey made his first journalistic debut. But as he was devoting a substantial amount of his time to political activity, he quit his job and began to work fulltime upon another publication, The Watchman. 4

Around 1910, Garvey began to travel around the Caribbean and South America and witnessed the deplorable conditions of the masses of black people there. In each place, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Spanish Honduras, Columbia, and Venezuela, he witnessed the atrocities against black laborers and the indifference of the British Government. 5

The years 1912-13 were spent in England where Garvey may be said to have had his formal historical connection with the Pan-African movement. It may be surmised, however, that he was destined to be a Pan-African leader in his own right before his trip to England. Many of his conceptions and views must have already been formed about the plight of the African world from his experience in Jamaica and his travels in the Caribbean. He had become familiar with the plight of blacks in Africa and Europe from Jamaican and Barbadian soldiers. He had been told of the British war in which black West Indians fought their brothers, the Ashanti, and how white traders took over the land of Africans and began to exploit African labor. 6 At this stage of his development the rudimentary features of his program had been established—his concern was with finding some practical solution to the problems of the masses of working class blacks.

4Amy Jacques Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 7.
5Ibid., p. 8.
6Ibid., p. 9.
In England Garvey widened the scope of his contacts and got an idea for a program that would solve the problems of the race. He spent much of his time reading, especially economics and the rise and fall of empires. Among his readings was Booker T. Washington's *Up From Slavery*:

... and then my doom—if I may call it—of being a race leader dawned upon me in London after I had traveled through almost half of Europe.

I asked: 'Where is the black man's Government? Where is his King and his kingdom? Where is his President, his country and his ambassador, his army, his navy, his men of big affairs? I could not find them, and I then declared, 'I will help to make them.'

During his stay in England Garvey met and talked with African students and Africans resident in Europe whose ideas were similar to his own. A most significant personality among his contacts was Duse Muhammad Ali whom it is recalled was active at the Races Congress of 1911 where Du Bois made a most widely publicized statement for Pan-Africanism. Garvey wrote for Duse's *African Times and Orient Review*, which was popular among West Africans.

In October of 1913, Garvey wrote an article for the journal in which he made an important prophecy. An essential passage of the article is quoted in Amy Jacques Garvey's *Garvey and Garveyism*:

As one who know 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 ceaseless as it shines on the empire of the North today.

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7Ibid., p. 10.
By the summer of 1914 Garvey was restless for an opportunity to do something about this pronouncement:

I was determined that the black man would not continue to be kicked about by all the other races and nations of the world as I saw it in the West Indies, South and Central America and Europe, and as I read of it in America.¹⁰

In Southampton he boarded a ship for Jamaica and arrived there on July 15, 1914. Five days later the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League was organized.

The stated aim of the organization was to work for the "general uplift of the Negro people of the world; and the members pledged themselves to do all in their power to conserve the rights of their Noble Race, and to respect the rights of all mankind, believing always in the Brotherhood of Man, and the Fatherhood of God." The motto of the organization: "One God! One Aim! One Destiny!"

In Jamaica, one of Garvey's initial plans was to establish educational and industrial colleges on the order of Tuskegee Institute. He corresponded with Booker T. Washington about the idea and was invited by Washington to America to discuss the plans. Washington promised to speak with Garvey in the South and other states to help in his work.¹¹

But before Garvey was able to leave Jamaica, Washington died. Garvey, however, went ahead with his plans to visit the United States.

In 1916 he arrived in this country, visited Tuskegee and paid his respects to the deceased. He then traveled in thirty-eight states and

¹¹Ibid., p. 128.
visited some of the "so-called Negro Leaders." In his travels he discovered to his dismay that the problem of color caste was nearly as prevalent in the United States as in Jamaica. His organization had met with considerable opposition from those members of the race in Jamaica who wanted to preserve the social order, i.e. by marrying white or near-white one might improve his social and economic status. Naturally Garvey met with great opposition by his insistence on calling all members of the race, "black". Hence in the United States the existence of the problem of color became a chief source of contention between Garvey and Du Bois.

Garvey's first impression of Du Bois as a representative of the N.A.A.C.P. would further confound matters between himself and the doctor. He visited the office of the N.A.A.C.P. for an interview with Du Bois. Writing in the third person from the Toombs prison in 1923, Garvey described his first impression of the Crisis editor.

...he was dumbfounded on approach to the office to find that but for Mr. Dill, Du Bois himself and the office boy he could not tell whether he was in a white office or that of the National Association for the Advancement of "Colored" People. The whole staff was either white or very near white, and thus Garvey got his first shock of the advancement hypocrisy. There was no representation of race there that anyone could recognize. The advancement meant that you had to be as near white as possible...after a short talk with Du Bois, Garvey became so disgusted with the man and his principle that the thought he never contemplated entered his mind—that of remaining in America to teach Du Bois and his group what real race pride meant.12

After his initial observation Garvey suspected that the N.A.A.C.P.

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was working to build up a caste aristocracy that would divide the race into two groups—one the superior because they had light or near-white skin and the other inferior because they had dark or black skin.

His observations in business and professional life did not help to dispel this suspicion. He observed that in restaurants, drug stores and offices all over the nation the very "lightest" of the race were employed. In New York he discovered the activities of the "Blue Vein Society" (West Indian lights) and the "Colonial Club" (American lights). According to Garvey, the "Colonial Club" would give annual balls and no one less than a quadroon would be admitted, and those below that complexion would be admitted only if they were lawyers and doctors or very successful businessmen. In the churches also Garvey reported instances in which no person of black complexion could sit in the front pew. Garvey hearing of this and there being no doubt as to his complexion, tested its truthfulness by sitting in the front pew of one of the larger congregations and reported that his effort nearly spoiled the whole service. The U.N.I.A. organizer noted that the pastors of these churches held executive offices in the N.A.A.C.P. He saw Du Bois as the representative of a group "that hates the Negro blood in its veins" and the great bulk of his contempt was directed at the doctor.13

It is significant to point out that Garvey's critics, including Du Bois,14 accused him of misinterpreting the problem of color caste in the United States—of transferring his Jamaican color peeve to the United

13Ibid., p. 58.

States. But as Robert A. Brisbane realistically points out, the color standard prevailed in almost every walk of life in the United States and it was not until the advent of Garvey that the issue was brought into the open.

Negro leaders considered it impolitic to attack or even refer to this color-caste system. This omission, Brisbane points out, tended to undermine their leadership and widen the gap between them and the black masses. Thus Garvey's scorn of the N.A.A.C.P. and its apparent non-leadership among the black masses was one of the chief reasons, he reported, for his decision to remain and build the program of the U.N.I.A. in the United States.

Garvey's Leadership Appeal

Clearly a most remarkable achievement of Garvey's was the support which he gained among the masses. While Du Bois admitted that in the Pan-African Congresses, he was possibly floating in the air of his dreams, Garvey confidently claimed the support of 4,000,000 persons of African descent. In relating the problems of the black masses in America to those of Africa and elsewhere, and by actively involving them in a world movement, Garvey added a significant dimension to Pan-Africanism. He went beyond the intellectual theoreticians in his recognition of the masses as being at the foundation of any movement for African redemption and as being absolutely essential to its success. His ability to see their hopes and aspirations as being one with the historic vision of a free Africa and his ability to move them to action is perhaps the summation of his

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15Robert A. Brisbane, "His Excellency: The Provisional President of Africa," Phylon, X (Third Quarter, 1949), 261.
success.

By 1920 the solidarity achieved by Garvey was apparent when the first in a series of international conventions was held in August. Delegates from the West Indies, Central and South America, Africa and every state in the Union were present at the Harlem opening. The climax of the convention came on the second day of the conference when 25,000 delegates packed Madison Square Garden to hear Garvey speak. The regular sessions of the convention were held in U.N.I.A. headquarters in Liberty Hall. In much the same manner as Du Bois's Pan-African Congress of 1919 the delegates related the conditions of their respective areas. Committees were appointed to investigate, advise and plan for solutions. The culmination of their work was a "Declaration of Rights of the Negro People of the World" which listed twelve indictments against white governments and 54 demands for fair treatment covering injustices committed against the race throughout the world. The demands were not specifically stated as a petition to white governments but were meant to "encourage, unify, and stimulate the race to a higher and grander destiny."16 The Declaration read in part:

Be it known to all men that whereas, all men are created equal and entitled to the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and because of this we, the duly elected representatives of the Negro peoples of the world, invoking the aid of the just and Almighty God so declare all women, men, and children of our blood throughout the world free citizens, and do claim them as free citizens of Africa, the Motherland of Negroes.17

The other clauses specified the crimes and injustices committed against the race, including lynching, peonage in Africa and America,

16 Philosophy and Opinions, II, 136.
17 Ibid.
segregation, the practice of depriving Africans of lands, etc. Unlike the Pan-African Congress the U.N.I.A. delegates declared the League of Nations null and void as far as the people of African descent were concerned. Garvey reasoned that any appeal to the member nations was useless when they were intent upon maintaining political control of Africa. He summed up his attitude in 1922:

> If England wants peace, if France wants peace, I suggest to them to pack up their bag and baggage and clear out of Africa, because Africa in the future will be to them what Europe has been for the last three hundred years—a hot bed of wars, political intrigues and upheavals....

The annual international conventions were only one phase of Garvey's organization. Under the inspiration and financial support of his followers he established the weekly publication, The Negro World, the Negro Factories Corporation and the Black Star Shipping Line. The Factories Corporation succeeded in establishing a chain of grocery stores, a restaurant, a steam laundry, and tailoring establishments. In 1920 the African Orthodox Church was organized as an adjunct to the U.N.I.A. Hence Garvey was able to reach the masses through a well-organized communication media, through economics and through religion.

The Negro World, as a well-edited weekly, had a far reaching appeal. Its impact on the black masses throughout the world was reason for considerable alarm among colonial governments. In certain places in Africa the punishment for being seen with the publication was five years in jail. In French Dahomey the penalty was life imprisonment. The news-

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paper was suppressed in Trinidad, British Guiana, Barbadoes, the West Indies and in all French, Italian, Portuguese, Belgian and some British colonies. A survey of the reports from various branches of the U.N. I.A. from Natchez, Mississippi to Lagos, Nigeria is further indication of how widespread the organization was. Reprints of addresses, articles, etc. from African newspapers, describing local conditions and events is testimony of efforts made by the staff to keep its readers informed on all issues affecting the African world. Certain sections of the paper were printed in Spanish and French to accommodate West Indian and Central American blacks who did not read English. The Negro World continued publication from its base in the United States until 1933 when Garvey began editing a monthly magazine, The Black Man, from London.

As a part of his economic program Garvey launched the Black Star Steamship Corporation in 1919. The main purpose of the Corporation was to acquire ships to trade between the units of the race—in Africa, the United States, the West Indies and Central America, thereby building up an independent economy through business and industry. Transportation without the indignity of inferior accommodations would also be facilitated. Behind this project was a hard economic realism which had a special appeal for the black worker in the American cities. In 1920, Garvey pointed out that immediate prosperity of the race during the war years was purely accidental. This prosperity came primarily as a result of the production demands of World War I and restrictions on European

20 Negro World, 1926-1933.
emigration. Huge numbers of migrants from the South were filling jobs not because the industrial establishment was concerned about their economic future but because no one else was available at the time. Garvey realistically analyzed the situation:

Negroes are still filling places, and as time goes on, and the age grows older, our occupations will be gone from us; because those for whom we filled the places will soon appear, as they do we will gradually find our places among the permanently unemployed. Therefore the thing for the Negroes to do is to adjust his own economic present in readiness for the future.

A race solely dependent upon another for its economic existence sooner or later dies. As we have in the past been living upon the mercies shown us by others the chances obtainable and have suffered therefrom, so will we in the future suffer if an effort is not made now to build our own economic structure. 21

Aside from the economic advantages resulting from black ownership of a huge commercial enterprise there was a spiritual gratification for the entire race to see black men own and navigate ships. Stock in the Black Star Line sold for $5,00 a share and by mid-1920 the Corporation claimed three ships and offered excursions from the United States to the West Indies. It was reported that at least $800,000 was collected during the company's operation. 22

Unfortunately the officers of the Black Star Line were not experienced businessmen and the company became the victim of mismanagement and fraud. By 1922 Garvey was forced to announce the suspension of the bankrupt company. In February, 1922 he and three of his associates were arrested on charges of using the mails to defraud in the sale of Black

21 Amy Jacques Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 87.
22 Ibid., p. 28.
Star stock. In this crisis Garvey wrote in the Negro World of the betrayal of his subordinates and the vast majority of the U.N.I.A. membership rallied to his support. In 1923 a determined Garvey announced the formation of another shipping line, The Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company, for the purpose of carrying through a Liberian emigration plan. A sum of $80,000 was collected for the purchase of a ship, renamed "The Booker T. Washington".

Garvey's economic program not only appealed to the masses in the United States but gained significant approval among emerging African nationalists. The National Congress of British West Africa, forming the basis for later movements for national independence, felt that the Black Star Line should be patronized by Africans, "it being a Negro undertaking and its object being the purpose of facilitating and giving us more and brighter prospects as Africans in our commercial transactions." The Times of Nigeria upholding the view of the N.C.B.W.A., editorialized:

The idea of establishing a line of steamers owned and controlled by Africans is a great and even sublime conception for which every body of African origin will bless the name of Marcus Garvey....

William Essuman Guia Seki, a Gold Coast philosopher, lawyer, nationalist and traditionalist, and an "example par excellence of the African intellectual in nationalist politics," advocated the industrial and

23 Ibid., p. 132.
24 Ibid., p. 142.
26 Ibid., 168.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid., p. 164.
economic aspects of the Garvey program, while rejecting its political solution for African redemption. (Seki felt that Garvey's concept of the state was basically European and thus artificial. He felt that African nationalists must look to the traditional African concepts of the state.)

On the organizational level the U.N.I.A. had a strong branch in Lagos, Nigeria which met weekly. A number of these U.N.I.A. members were known to have bought stock in the Black Star Line.

The Liberian Project

Garvey's development of the theme of repatriation deserves considerable attention. His plan involved the building of a strong African nation through the technical assistance of blacks in the diaspora. This idea was not new. It had been the dream of Blyden and Delany and Booker T. Washington had sought to lend technical assistance to Africans by using the finance capital of the German imperialists. But Garvey, using the financial resources of the U.N.I.A., initiated a project to build up the Republic of Liberia as a symbol of freedom and strength in the African world.

In 1920, Garvey's plan met with the support of the President and Secretary of State of the Liberian Republic, both of West Indian background. Under the terms of the original agreement, the U.N.I.A. guaranteed the repatriation of between twenty and thirty thousand

29Ibid., p. 167.
30Ibid., p. 162.
31George Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism?, p. 99.
families in the first two years. Each family was to possess at least $1,500, and each single person not connected with a family, at least $500. Each emigrant would be chosen on the basis of his experience in agriculture and industry. Every emigrant would subscribe to an oath that they would respect the established authority of the Liberian government. The cost of the project, to be financed by the U.N.I.A., was an estimated $2,000,000.

Liberia at this time was in dire need of development. There were no railroads and good roads were only in the principle towns. The only means of communication was on animal back between the hinterland and the towns, over mud roads, forest tracks and bridgeless rivers. The massive U.N.I.A. project included plans to erect public buildings, a hospital, townhall, courthouse, post office, police and fire stations, library, theater, community and cultural center, technical college, electric and power plant, water filtration plant, sewerage system, and road construction. Liberia would benefit also from the corporations outside of the country, backed by the entire U.N.I.A. membership. Garvey pledged to help the Liberian government liquidate its debts to foreign countries. He made it clear to the Liberian representatives that all these things would be done in the interest of Liberia and those who sought future citizenship under her flag.

The U.N.I.A. fund raising goal of $2,000,000 met with tremendous response from the membership. In June of 1924 the organization was in a

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33 Ibid., p. 382.
position to send a delegation of technical experts to Liberia. Goods, materials, and machinery valued at $50,000 was shipped in July and hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of other equipment lay ready to be shipped in October.  

Whether Garvey was aware of it or not, there existed an undercurrent of suspicion regarding the motives behind the Liberian Project. In spite of his own allegiance to the government of C. B. King, it seems that there were rumors that Garvey had intentions of uprooting the Liberian establishment headed by King. Garvey is said to have admitted that the first U.N.I.A. Liberian mission returned with two reports, one in praise to be read to his followers and the other painting an awful picture of the King regime, accusing it of corruption and slavery. One of Garvey’s many enemies is said to have gotten a copy of the report and sent it to King. Though his real motives may always be a matter of speculation, King cancelled the U.N.I.A. concession grant. When Garvey’s delegation of experts arrived in June, 1924, King ordered the seizure of all the goods and the deportation of the engineers. Adding insult to injury, the Liberian President sold the U.N.I.A. equipment and paid overdue salaries.

For our present purposes the whole Liberian episode takes on added significance because it was another source of antagonism between Garvey and Du Bois. From the beginning Du Bois, though recognizing its historical basis, did not give a receptive voice to the idea of repatriation, calling

\[34\] Ibid., pp. 381-82.

\[35\] George Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism?, p. 100.
it a "pretty thoroughly discredited dream." In June, 1921 Du Bois printed an open letter from C. B. King in his editorial section of the Crisis. The letter was a statement of clarification regarding Liberia's policy on emigration, probably solicited by Du Bois. King stated that the country had no intention of surrendering its sovereignty to "any nation or organization." On the other hand, he added that Liberia had always regarded itself as the national refuge and center for persons of Negro descent the world over. In pointing out that Liberia was in no position to receive large numbers of immigrants, King was obviously not unreceptive to the idea proposed by Garvey in 1920.

Our present need is especially for strong young men trained as artisans, engineers, and merchants who can bring with them some capital for investment. To such immigrants and their families we offer a vast and rich country waiting for the application of hard work and brains.

Du Bois noted that the Crisis received considerable correspondence about the subject of emigration. On at least two occasions he cautioned his readers that there was only limited opportunity for emigration. He pointed out that only certain kinds of people were needed—those with capital and technical skill. Taking a stab at any political motives that Garvey might have in Africa he wrote:

The editor distinctly believes that Africa should be administered for the Africans and, as soon as maybe by the Africans. He does not mean by this that Africa should be administered by West Indians or American Negroes. They have no more right

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37"An Open Letter from the President of Liberia," Crisis, XXII (June, 1921), 33.

38Du Bois, "Opinion," Crisis, XXIII (February, 1922), 24; XXVIII (June, 1924), 57-58.
to administer Africa for the native Africans than native Africans have to administer America.39

The appointment of Du Bois to King's January 1, 1924 inauguration brought him into direct line of fire with Garvey over the Liberian question. Immediately following the third Pan-African Congress in Lisbon, President Coolidge appointed Du Bois "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary", at the inauguration of King. (The appointment came after the United States had summarily withdrawn the promise of a loan to the near bankrupt, struggling Liberian Republic. The appointment of an American Negro was meant to be a special gesture of courtesy.) When King canceled the concession grant to the U.N.I.A. in June, Garvey accused Du Bois and representatives of the N.A.A.C.P. present in Liberia during the inauguration of prejudicing King against his project.40 According to Du Bois, his friends stirred by "Garvey's threats" felt compelled to have secret police protection for him when he landed on the docks from his trip to Africa.41

The antagonisms engendered between Du Bois and Garvey over Liberia seem of little relevance when the subsequent fate of the Republic is taken into account. In the first place, European Colonial officials were certainly not receptive to the idea of the presence in Liberia of an organization working for the overthrow of European supremacy in Africa. At a dinner given in King's honor, the governor of Sierra Leone applauded him


40Amy Jacques Garvey, ed. Philosophy and Opinions, II, 379.

41Du Bois, "A Lunatic or a Traitor," Crisis, XXVIII (May, 1924), 9.
for his "courage" and "statesmanship" in taking such prompt action in eliminating Garvey's Liberian Project. In slamming the door on spurious patriots who sought to make Liberia a focus for racial animosity in the continent, King "deservedly earned the gratitude not only of every West African Government, but all who have the true welfare of the African at heart." In the second place, the United States and Great Britain were arguing in the meanwhile over who would control the rubber monopoly in Liberia.

The United States government at a conference of rubber manufacturers agreed to actively cooperate with industrialists in producing a tropical sphere of interest in order that they might produce their own rubber supply. In 1925, the Firestone Rubber Company secured a concession of one million acres of land at six cents an acre. Firestone then demanded that the Liberian government accept a loan of $15,000,000 at a rate of 7% interest. Firestone further stipulated that 1/2 of the loan be used for public works and the other half for the payment of outstanding debts. A bankrupt Liberia had little choice other than to accept the proposed plan.

The Firestone takeover has significant implications for the Pan-African Movement. The people of African descent in Africa and abroad were facing another stage of imperialism—the exploitation of labor and

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natural resources through the investment of foreign capital. While the purse strings were controlled by foreign governments, African leaders had little authority as to the political destiny of their own countries. What happened in Liberia is indeed symbolic. The dream of Africans in the diaspora of rebuilding the Continent for the benefit of all black people, using Liberia as a base of operation, was now shattered. This was a political as well as a psychological blow to the entire race.

The Decline of the U.N.I.A.

Garvey's federal imprisonment and his deportation from the United States in 1927 ended the most productive period of his Pan-African endeavors. But in less than a decade he had organized over a million black Americans, established a newspaper with a style and appeal unprecedented in black journalism, bought and navigated ships, established a Black church, and initiated numerous other enterprises and projects affecting the destiny of the black race. After his deportation Garvey kept up communication with the U.N.I.A. membership in a weekly digest to the *Negro World* and through correspondence with individual members.44 The organizational framework of the U.N.I.A. remained intact long after Garvey's death in 1940.45

During the most productive phase of the movement the majority of the black leadership considered Garvey's presence a major menace. The black press made capital of his every utterance, focusing attention on

44 Letter, Marcus Garvey to Harold Parks, May 30, 1939 in Garvey Biographical File, Atlanta University, Trevor Arnett Library.

his weaknesses which might have otherwise gone unnoticed. It was only after his imprisonment that there was considerable comment in the black press as to the merit of his ideas. By 1927 the *Negro World* noted this change in attitude towards Garvey in a front page editorial, "Critics and Detractor's of Yesterday Join Loyal Millions in Proclaiming Rectitude of the Man and his Program." Other newspapers also noted the change in attitude, attributing the former pattern to the *Chicago Defender* which usually set the pattern for the remaining 212 newspapers. In August, 1927 the *Indianapolis Recorder* printed an article under the title, "The Garvey Movement in Tennessee," in which it concluded:

> The American people, in sound logic, can ill-afford to ridicule the fundamentals of Garveyism. The best minds even among Negroes have known this truth from the beginning...The fundamentals of Garveyism are greater than any program the American Negro has produced.

The *Birmingham Reporter* noted that the Black press was coming to an unanimous accord in its opinion as to the release of Garvey. It was the opinion of this paper that the injustice of the conviction was evident in that the conviction came on only one minor count out of an array of serious charges.

In September, 1927 Kelly Miller, the Howard University Professor called for the united action of the race in calling for Garvey's release. He felt that Garvey was innocent and a victim of the American white

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47 *Negro World*, June 18, 1927.


49 *Birmingham Reporter*, quoted in *ibid*.
courts. He attacked the black intelligentsia for having advocated the punishment of a man merely because of his ideas. He felt that Garvey's leadership had great merit, unparalleled by Douglass or Washington.

The deep seated reason for this is that Garvey appealed to certain internal springs of motive which had never been so effectively reached! In the first place he refused to bow down and worship whiteness....The Negro according to Garvey must assess the claims of his human nature in his own semblance and not as a carbon copy of the white race. He thus engendered a race consciousness and a sense of rate self-respect which is his chief contribution to the Negro branch of the human family.50

On Pan-Africanism, Miller pointed out that Garvey had done more than any other leader to arouse the latent feeling of nationalism among blacks in the diaspora. He expressed the hope that the first act of the upcoming Pan-African Congress should be to send a request to President Coolidge for the pardon of Garvey.

Miller's suggestion was quite timely. It would have been most appropriate for a Pan-African Congress meeting in Harlem, in Garvey territory, to have made a gesture of friendship and cooperation to Garvey's phase of the Pan-African movement. This Congress turned out to be the most well-attended of all with the total attendance aggregating five thousand persons. It was an opportunity for Du Bois to gain substantial mass support for his movement. Such an opportunity came when a delegate proposed a resolution asking for the clemency of Marcus Garvey. The proposed resolution reportedly gained great enthusiasm from the audience. But, Du Bois, having the chair, maneuvered the resolution into committee from which it never returned.51

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50"Kelly Miller States Case for Marcus Garvey," in ibid., p. 5.
51Amsterdam News quoted in ibid.
this incident with pointed sarcasm:

Prof. Du Bois is very largely the Pan-African Congress. Without him it would be like Shakespeare's "Hamlet" with the "melancholy Dame" left out. Dr. Du Bois has no love for Marcus Garvey, and naturally Mr. Garvey has no love for Dr. Du Bois. Love begets love and hate begets hate, you know.52

The leadership of the Pan-African Congress was too conservative in the view of the Negro World. The editorial noted that the audience favored driving the Europeans out of Africa, while most of the leadership favored the "old theory of the lion and the lamb lying down together without a row because the lamb was inside the lion." In commenting upon Du Bois's snubbing of Garvey, the editor expressed regret that the doctor had not shown greater sympathy and cooperation.

Support for Garvey's release in the black press continued and some of his former enemies, namely William Pickens, who had requested his prosecution in 1923, now felt that he was being unduly punished. From all indications Garvey was becoming a martyr even among his former enemies. In December, 1927, President Coolidge pardoned Garvey and ordered him immediately deported.

In February, 1928, Du Bois, for the sake of "historical accuracy," felt compelled to set the record straight regarding the relationship of Garvey and the N.A.A.C.P. He denied that the N.A.A.C.P. had any complicity in the conviction and deportation of Garvey or in the sabotage of any of his programs. Charges of Garvey to that effect had no basis in fact whatsoever, he added. Summing up with a note of congeniality he

52 "Mr. Garvey and the Pan-African Congress," in ibid.
stated:

We have no enmity against Marcus Garvey. He has a great and worthy Dream. We wish him well. He is free; he has a following; he still has a chance to carry on his work in his own home and among his own people and to accomplish some of his ideals.⁵³

Although Du Bois himself may not have had a direct hand in the deportation of Garvey he obviously welcomed his departure from the Pan-African base of operation in the United States. His notion of Pan-African fraternity did not extend itself to include the U.N.I.A. leader.

Garvey's opinion of Du Bois and the N.A.A.C.P. (whom he still saw as one) was little altered after his departure from the American scene.⁵⁴ While possessing a perpetual contempt for Du Bois, he intimated upon at least one occasion that it would not have been impossible to cooperate with the doctor, personal feelings notwithstanding. In 1930 he revealed that six months prior to the first international convention in 1920 he had issued invitations to most of the prominent blacks of the world. His purpose, stated Garvey, was the hope that in the free elections of officials, past dissension in the ranks of the race would be eliminated and "we would pull together as one big organization under world recognized leadership." Kelly Miller and Du Bois were two of the leaders invited. Miller declined on the basis that he was not prepared to give up his position at Howard University, and Du Bois in his reply "suggested


contempt more than anything else." "This in my mind," wrote Garvey, "eliminated the two gentlemen from serious race leadership in America." Though he would always hold the black intelligensia responsible for the failure of his program in America he was willing to forget the past in his future endeavors.

Let us forget...the incidents and accidents of the past except to remember them as guides towards a calculated future.56

Garvey wrote in the Black Man, published in London, from 1933 to 1939. The monthly publication is rather scattered and not all of the issues have been collected, but those that are available are a valuable source of Garvey's later writings. He kept up a commentary on international issues confronting the race and especially warned against black people getting sidetracked into the Communist movement.57

Garvey grew ill in 1939 and in June, 1940 he died at the relatively productive age of 53. The West African Pilot gave him a most appropriate eulogy:

If Europe, and America were made for the white races and Asia for the yellow races, then reasoned Marcus Garvey, Africa must have been made by God for the black races, hence he taught the religion of Pan-Africanism or the doctrine of "Africa for the Africans." Despite the fact that he was one of the few people in the world who suffered


56Garvey's Voice, July, 1956, p. 1. Reprint from the Black Man December, 1933; see Garvey Biographical file, Trevor Arnett Library.

57Black Man II, (July-August, 1936), In Garvey Biographical file, Trevor Arnett Library.
persecution from high and low, because of their opinion
and beliefs, yet it is with pride that we remember Marcus
Garvey because he was the fountain from which sprung other
more scientific and effective ideas of Pan-Africanism.
His memory should be revered by all who believe in the
future of Africans.58

58West African Pilot, May 24, 1940, p. 4. Garvey Biographical
file, Trevor Arnett Library. Article printed prior to death of Garvey
due to false rumors several weeks before his actual death.
CONCLUSION

The feud between Du Bois and Garvey served to the detriment of Pan-African unity during the 1920's. An analysis of Du Bois's ideas since 1897 reveals that he made a significant departure from the politics of integration carried on by Douglass in the 19th century and the N.A.A.C.P. in the twentieth century. His ideas very nearly approximated those of black nationalists Martin Delany, Henry McNeal Turner, Edward Blyden, etc. and thus he was prepared ideologically to cooperate with Marcus Garvey, a throughgoing nationalist. But in the decade of the most productive Pan-African endeavors the two wings of the movement led by Garvey and Du Bois never reconciled themselves. At times Du Bois's Pan-African Congress was more intensely anti-Garvey than anti-imperialism. (This is especially true of the "French" Senagalese elements¹ and black American elements.) Garvey's wing of the movement never stopped to acknowledge the efforts of Du Bois.

Du Bois, while demonstrating the ability to cope with Garvey's ideas, was, like most of the other black intellectuals, incapable of dealing with the man's personality and leadership style. Garvey was not restricted by the bonds which enslaved the thinking of most of the

traditional leadership. His style was open, flamboyant, uncompromising and undiplomatic. Du Bois, the incurable snob, the epitome of refinement, regarded Garvey's demonstrativeness as unworthy of the countenance of persons of his distinction. Consequently some move towards cooperation, possible at least in the earlier years of the Pan-African movement (1919 or 1920) was prevented. Du Bois is largely responsible for perpetuating a negative image of Garvey and has thus made a study of him as a serious historical figure long overdue.2

Following Garvey's departure from the American scene we find Du Bois changing his emphasis relative to the American race problem. A chief source of contention between Garvey and the N.A.A.C.P. leadership was the direction that the race should take to achieve freedom. In the years before 1930 Du Bois, while never really reconciling himself to the goal of integrating blacks into the mainstream of American economic, social and political life, never seriously challenged the direction of the N.A.A.C.P. But after 1930 he was clearly rejecting N.A.A.C.P. politics. If the black American is going to survive, he wrote in 1933, seven months before he gave up his connection with the Association, "...he must calmly face the fact that however much he is an American there are interests which draw him nearer to the dark people outside of America than to his white fellow citizens."3

2For an example of the stereotyped image of Garvey see E. David Cronon's Black Moses, considered the standard work on Garvey.

In assessing the achievements of the N.A.A.C.P. between 1910 and 1930 Du Bois felt that its main shortcoming had been its inability to adjust its program to the fundamental changes brought about by worldwide economic organization. He felt that the priority of the organization should be to "...guard and better the chances of Negroes, educated and ignorant to earn a living, safeguard their income and raise the level of their employment." Most of the N.A.A.C.P. officials viewed Du Bois's advocacy of self-segregation for economic survival as heresy that could not be tolerated in the columns of the *Crisis*. In May, 1934 Du Bois left the organization.

Du Bois's split with the N.A.A.C.P. becomes significant when we view his relationship with Garvey. By 1935 the doctor had devised an economic theory that was clearly reminiscent of Garveyism. In an article entitled, "The Negro Nation within the Nation," he wrote of the possibility of building a kind of black nation in the United States by means of the already existing black institutions. Black retail stores, schools and churches which served only the black community would increase economic cooperation, organized self-defense and necessary self-confidence.

There exist today a chance for Negroes to organize a cooperative state within their own group by letting Negro farmers feed Negro artisans and Negro technicians guide Negro home industries, and Negro thinkers plan this integration of cooperation, while Negro artists dramatize and beautify the struggle economic independence can be achieved. To doubt this is possible is to doubt the essential humanity and quality of brains of the American Negro.

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5Ibid., p. 296.
Garvey gave his estimation of Du Bois's shift in emphasis in the *Black Man*, in the article entitled, "A Fare-faced Coloured Leader." There was obviously no forgiveness in his heart for his old enemy.

Du Bois little thought when he edited the *Crisis* and when he was pampered by his white associates to be regarded as a leader that his pronouncements and writings in after years would stand out against him as the greatest indictment of his treachery to the American Negro.

Garvey never really understood the frustrations of the Afro-American leadership. He was himself ideologically mature when he came to America in 1916. Given the choice between the "American Dream" and Pan-African nationalism there was no question as to his acceptance of the latter. American blacks on the other hand, as Harold Cruse points out in his *Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, have historically faced the conflict between integration into American society and the alternative of nationalism. Du Bois was the embodiment of these two tendencies. Viewed from the perspective of Afro-American history his attempt to redirect the Afro-American leadership into a path of Pan-African solidarity and economic nationalism in the 1930's was a significant achievement. Viewed from the perspective of his dealings with Garvey in the 1920's it came too late.

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