

RITUALS OF RACIAL PRIDE: THE RELIGIOSITY OF THE GARVEY MOVEMENT IN HARLEM

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Résumé

L'unité africaine politique actuelle n'est pas une question de l'actualité de ce matin. Il est plutôt le résultat de l'initiative de Marcus Garvey dans Universal negro improvement association (UNIA) après la Première Guerre Mondiale. Mais l'ambiguïté de ce mouvement réside dans sa dimension religieuse dominante et la particularité de ses dirigeants. Quelle est donc l'importance des rituels et des rassemblements religieux dans l'identification culturelle d'un groupe ethnique ? Cet article traite à la fois les efforts panafricains théoriques et pratiques intégrés dans Universal negro improvement association de Garvey. L'absence de ces efforts va toujours compromettre les possibilités de parvenir à l'unification de l'Afrique. Si nous observons attentivement où UNIA a échoué, nous devrions probablement éviter les pièges impériaux qui ont toujours empêché la diaspora africaine d'être culturellement focalisée. Ce qui est un atout mondial.

Mots clés: UNIA, religion, culture, panafricanisme, diaspora, subjectivité, rituels, commerce, mondialisation, séparatisme.

Abstract:

The current political African Unity is not an issue of this morning's topicality. It is rather the outcome of Marcus Garvey's initiative in the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) after the World War I (WWI). But the ambiguity of this movement lies in its dominant religious aspect and the peculiarity of its leaders. What then is the importance of rituals and religious gatherings in the cultural identification of an ethnic group? This article discusses both the theoretical and practical pan Africanist endeavors embedded in

Garvey's Universal negro improvement association. The lack of these endeavors would always jeopardize the possibilities to achieve African Unification. If we carefully observe where UNIA failed, we should probably avoid the imperial snares that always trap the African diaspora from being culture-focused, which is a global asset.

Keys words: UNIA, religion, culture, pan Africanism, diaspora, subjectivity, rituals, trade, globalization, separatism.

Introduction

The mass appeal to the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), both within the United States and throughout the Caribbean, Latin America, and much of Africa has a considerable scholarly interest. Attention has been given to the very time when the UNIA appeared. The social and political changes that the World War I brought into the United States echoed what was to be identified as "racial self-identification" in relation to almost every American minority or ethnic group. The UNIA, unlike the National association for the advancement of colored people (NAACP)¹ attracted black membership in the US. That was definitely, due to its religious aspect that influenced the social, cultural, and political aspirations of Marcus Garvey the founder. "The Garvey movement, like 'the world the slaves made,' cannot be fully understood unless its religious dimension is taken seriously" (Burkett 1978: 4). The primacy of race and pan-Africanism of the organization hinged on the official motto: "One God, One Aim, One Destiny" and Psalms 68: 31: "Princes shall come out of Egypt, Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God." The prescription of ritual that provided structure to every national or local gathering traced the conviction of the members that religion has an important role to play for the black man's social, economic and political freedom in the US, on the one hand, and for the salvation of mankind, on the other hand. Therefore, how possible

¹ NAACP is another African American Association which was made up of black intelligentsia. This organization hosted members like: W. E. B. DuBois, James Weldon Johnson Claude McKay and others. This group of intellectuals did not accept Garvey's religious ideologies and that of the repatriation of blacks from the United States back to Africa which incited Garvey to send delegations to Europe and Africa for negotiation.

is it to go from a religious gathering to a racial pride for the black ethnic group when self-racial identification became a norm in the US national culture building? Those highly spirited meetings in the Liberty Hall and the religious role that the UNIA's chaplains played indicate the extent to which Garvey, though, not standing for a religious leader of the Association, and by virtue of being an offspring of a Christian family, exhibited the talent and attitude of a theologian. Controversy among chaplains over the religious trend that the UNIA had to take was a serious concern to the leadership of the organization to the point that Garvey had to leave that issue to the theologian members who had either served in a federal or international church. To neglect the pan Africanist aspect of Garvey's initiative is to ignore the western ill will to see the sociopolitical unification of the black Diaspora. And according to Robert M. Kahn,

Garvey confidently forecasts the coming of black genocide-avoidable only if African nationalism is pursued-because of three interlocking principles of social survival which are operant in the world: (1) the world is increasingly subjected to population pressures; (2) human races are engaged in the Darwinian struggle for the survival of the fittest; (3) majority rule always places political power in the hands of a racially prejudiced majority. ("The Political Ideology of Marcus Garvey." *The Midwest Quarterly* 24.2 (Winter 1983 : 117-137).

Thus this paper is in three main parts: the overview of the organization of UNIA, its leaders and objectives; religion as the source of belief (ethos) in the equality of blacks and whites; and the rituals as a disciplinary entity and spiritual identification for the black community.

1. The Universal negro improvement association: leaders and objectives

The assessment of the racial and the political situation in the US by Marcus Garvey led him to the vision of bringing the blacks in America and all Africans in the Diaspora into the UNIA which was initially launched in 1914 in Kingston-Jamaica. The scope that the UNIA reached in a few years of existence made it an unprecedented race protesting movement against black social and political injustice

in the US. In fact, the movement could not have gathered momentum without its religious agenda and the single mindedness of its leaders on forming an African nation with one leader. In his introduction to *Black Redemption: Churchmen Speak for the Garvey Movement*, Randall K. Burkett argues that “No other twentieth-century protest movement in black America has achieved the wide currency enjoyed by the Universal Negro Improvement Association. It had, for example, many times the membership of the NAACP” (Ibid).

The economic nationalism which characterized Garvey’s program, his pan-African focus and his insistence upon the primacy of race have been the fundamental categories of his social and political organization. However, the atmosphere in which the meetings of the organization were held gave the impression of religious gatherings. In this vein, James Weldon Johnson is believed to have argued that.

The movement became more than a movement, it became a religion, its members became zealots. Meetings at Liberty Hall were conducted with an elaborate liturgy. The moment for the entry of the ‘Provisional President’ into the auditorium was solemn; a hush and expectant silence on the throng, the African Legion and Black Cross nurses flanking the long aisle and coming to attention, the band and audience joining in the hymn: ‘God Save our President,’ and Garvey, surrounded by his guard of honor from the Legion, marching majestically through the double line and mounting the rostrum; it was impressive if for no other reason than the way in which it impressed the throng (Burkett 17).

The religious symbols embedded in the meetings of the Association led to the assumption of a black church denomination which is not an overt foundation on which Garveyism was erected. But considering the manifestation of the participants and the magnetism that Garvey used in his addresses, it is not wrong to argue that the black preacher was well accepted by black men. Moreover, in this “church” the preacher tells his fellow believers to see God in his color and shape, not to see God as a white God. Moreover, it was not only the magnetism of Garvey’s personality that was capable of eliciting such total commitment to the movement. Burkett has quoted Richard Hilton Tobitt, an African Methodist Episcopal clergyman in

Bermuda who, after reading *The Negro World*¹, felt the call of the UNIA. The call was fully expressed in the clergyman's autobiography in the following terms:

It was while giving a public lecture in St. Paul's A. M. E. Church, Hamilton City, Bermuda on the subject, 'Is Education Necessary to the Negro?' that a copy of 'The Negro World' was placed in my hands for the first time... Having carefully analyzed the program of the UNIA as set forth by its founder Marcus Garvey, and believing in the integrity of the man and the righteousness of the course he espoused, I caught his vision and became a ready disciple of Garveyism, which I discovered was the 'Master key'... to the correct solution for the vexed race problem of the world and a sane and practical exposition of true religion. Without delay, I set to work to organize the Bermuda Division of the UNIA... and 'left the court of Pharaoh, choosing rather to suffer affliction with my people than to dwell in the land of Goshen' (Burkett 27).

Explicitly, religion is taking over any other organizational issue that could be the real objective of the UNIA. This does not mean that the leaders and the followers of the Association did not feel the racial motif in their daily movements in the UNIA. Rather, the leadership did not have any political or social background that could help the followers in different ways. Even if Garvey kept on telling his followers to work out their own salvation and that God should not be used as a crutch, nor should a promise of reward in heaven take precedence over concern for justice in the present world, he did not say it in a secular manner or environment. He used religious imagery to express the goals of the UNIA. Thus, in one of his lengthy editorials, Garvey argues that "It is an insult to God; indeed it is idolatry, to accept a view of oneself as inferior to any other man or any other race" (25).

The type of meetings that the leaders of UNIA organized, the way they approached the racial or political issues inform us less about the real objective of Garvey's initiative than do the intellectual backgrounds of the leadership. John Edward Bruce testifies:

¹ *The Negro world* was the newspaper that was founded by the UNIA members in order to publish the daily events of the Association.

I have been studying Marcus Garvey [author of *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*] for the past four years, and I have studied some of his opponents for thirty or forty years, and find that my estimate of Marcus Garvey is much higher than it is of many of those whom I have personally known in all these years. To me, two of the tests of true leadership are the absence of the love of money and a desire to help the masses to get on and up. I haven't discovered such altruism in the ethics of many of these leaders whom Mr. Garvey is putting out of business by his straightforward methods and bull-dog tenacity. ("Marcus Garvey and the U.N.I.A." *Arno Press*, 1971) Garvey's middle name is Moses (Moziah). His mother-Sarah Garvey-gave him that name because she was told that her son would grow and become the leader of his people. As an active member of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in St. Ann's Bay, she saw to it that her son was brought up in that denomination¹. At the age of sixteen, Garvey did attend church on regular basis after moving to Kingston. But according to his wife Amy Jacques Garvey, the reason for attending church was not to listen to what the preacher said but how he said it. Thus, he acquired an elocution talent together with some private rhetoric lessons that he took from Reverend Dr. Joseph Robert Love. He was a Protestant Episcopal priest and the first black man to inspire leadership in Marcus Garvey, therefore was in a position to serve as Garvey's conductor to the rich tradition of black religious nationalism (21). Apart from his journalism apprenticeship when he was twelve, no record about Garvey bears that he attended a University or earned a high diploma in an intellectual field, not even in theology.

Unlike Garvey almost every associate or branch leader of the UNIA had at least one or two University degrees in theology. They were all clergymen. The most remarkable Garveyite leader who influenced the most the movement by his religious knowledge was George Alexander McGuire. He was preeminent among the Garveyite clergymen who began to rethink theology from the perspective of the

¹ St. Ann's Bay-Jamaica-is where Garvey was born on August 17, 1887 to Marcus Garvey, Sr., a stonemason by occupation. The senior Garvey was reputed to have learned a lot and was often consulted by local residents for advice on legal matters.

black man. After serving parishes in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Richmond, and Virginia, McGuire in 1901 became rector of the oldest black Episcopal Church in America. By August 1920, his name appeared regularly in *The Negro World* as an active delegate at the month-long UNIA International Convention. He took the convention audience by storm with his eloquent speeches and prayers. His popularity was assured by the boldness of his demands for militant actions, by his insistent call for a new style of leadership, and by his verbal blasts at whites. In *Black Redemption: Churchmen Speak for the Garvey Movement*, Randall K. Burkett quotes from *New York World* a sample of one of his speeches that vividly illustrate the effect his years of experience within the Protestant Episcopal Church and with white America had had upon him:

The white race is the most avaricious of races. Not content with Europe, they took part of Asia and Africa. They came over here and took America from the red man, and because they would not work for them, they brought members of our race from Africa. They call us the white man's burden, and I hope that the burden will keep him down until we get back to our homeland. We don't want anything from the white man except what is ours by divine right. The people say they want humility from the Negro, but what they really seek is servility. We must go as missionaries among the whites and teach them the everlasting brotherhood of man (161).

After being elected to the post of UNIA Chaplain-General, McGuire organized an African Episcopalian Church to include Negroes everywhere.

This survey of the UNIA's goals through weekly meetings and the atmosphere in which those meetings were held, on the one hand, and the intellectual background of the leadership of the Association, on the other hand, availed the information about the kind of human society Garvey created. Even if he detested the UNIA to be designated as a religious movement, the various components of the social daily activities brought about the leaders and the followers in Garvey's organization explicitly tell every observer that religion is the main foundation on which lies the mansion of UNIA. The following part will inform us why religion has taken precedence over all alternatives in Garvey's struggle for the uplift of the black race.

2. Religion as the Source of Belief (ethos) in the Equality of Blacks and Whites

The economic nationalism and the social justice for the black race in the United States and elsewhere in the world have in the long run motivated the *raison-d'être* of the UNIA. But why choose religious arenas to raise the awareness of a group of people on economic and social issues? Since no record attests that neither Garvey nor his associates have a high education in economy or sociology, at the outset, the conception of the UNIA was as a missionary religious association espousing the Brotherhood of Man, and the Fatherhood of God.

Not only is fund raising easier in religious gathering, but it is also easier to change someone's way of thought through religious teaching. The organization of an independent Church was to make it easier for the clergymen to explain the human religious history according to the new imposing circumstances. Thus, even if some did not go to Church just because the clergymen therein are white, obviously they would quickly run to a Church led by blacks. To maintain the population in this situation the clergymen have to tell the black church goers that God is black. This theological rethinking can be understood in one of McGuire's interventions in front of a black audience:

Why is God White?

If God be our Father and we bear his image and likeness, why should we not teach our children their Father in Heaven resemble them even as they do to Him? Why should we permit the Caucasians to constantly and indelibly impress upon their youthful minds that God is white? Why should not this race, which bore the cross of the Man of Sorrows up Mount Calvary and has borne it ever since, not claim Him as their own, since He carried in His veins the blood of Ham as well as the blood of them? It is on record that at least two of His ancestors were of Hamitic descent. One of these was Tamay, mother of Phares, the son of Judah, and the other Rahab, mother of Boaz, the great grandfather of David. Phares and Boaz both had Ham's children as ancestors and Jesus was a lineal descendent of both. If the Man of Sorrows lived today in Dixie with his pedigree known as it is, the color line would be drawn against Him. Why may we not

write the facts down in our theology? And what is true of our Lord is true also of His mother, for she also was descended from those two daughters of Ham. When, therefore, our Negro artists, with brush, chisel or otherwise, portray the Madonna for their race, let them be loyal to truth, and present us the Blessed Virgin Mother and Her Most Holy Child in such manner as to reveal both the Hamitic and Semitic blends. No longer must we permit white religious 'pastors and masters' to hold us in spiritual serfdom and tutelage. Their regime has remained unmolested far too long (176).

Besides, if the black Church is now independent from other white denominations, and is now led by black clergymen, black Christians now expect to hear any historical religious personality to be black. Therefore, the spiritual motivation of the society became strong enough to urge its members into acting the way their religion wanted them to.

Another religious aspect of the UNIA that sought to distinguish the African Episcopal Church from others was the issue of going back to Africa which was inherent in almost every speech by either Garvey or his associate leaders. It is worth noting that in the process of fixing this idea of 'Back to Africa' in the minds of black people, the clergymen had a very difficult task. However, Garvey was already standing for the prophet Moses, and coincidentally, his middle name is 'Moses.' In effect, the issue of exodus was tacitly established before any elaboration on that because there was already Moses, his people (in servitude in America), and Africa was the destination. All it would take was a good organization and Moses would lead his people from slavery to freedom in Africa; in a movement like that one can figure out the possibility of having Pharaoh and his soldiers to chase Moses and his people and automatically conclude on the triumph of Moses and his people.

The similarities and coincidences between Garveyism and the historical prophet Moses played important roles on the sides of the most frequently cited Biblical passage by far, and the one which most often served as a text for sermon topics in Liberty Halls around the country, that was the one from Psalms 68: 31, "Princes shall come forth from Egypt; Ethiopian shall soon stretch forth her hand to God." This Biblical prophecy was used by black clergymen to specify God's

special concern for men of African descent. Wilson J. Moses interprets:

Like most biblical quotations, the verse is subject to a number of interpretations limited only by the exegetical powers of the interpreter. Since the late eighteenth century, however, it has usually been interpreted to mean that Africa and her scattered peoples have a divine mission to fulfill in the course of history. Ethiopianism is essentially a view of history, then, and it consists of more than the mere reference to Ethiopia as a literary allusion. One of the best descriptions of Ethiopianism comes to us from the racist author Daniel Thwaite in his paranoid book, *The Seething African Pot* (1936). He attributes the rise of Ethiopianism to the sojourn of the African Methodist Episcopal Bishop Henry McNeal Turner in South Africa during 1898. Thwaite saw Turner as inaugurating Ethiopianism on the basis of his speeches throughout the land. ("Literary Garveyism: The Novels of Reverend Sutton E. Griggs." **PHYLON: The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture** 40.3 (Fall 1979 : 203-216.)

The concern of Africa that was so central to the UNIA. Inferring from this was that God was working through the UNIA to create a nation, Africa and the movement to there was eminent. From the *Universal Negro Catechism* Burkett quotes into his *Garveyism as a Religious Movement* these often asked questions :

- Q. What prediction made in the 68th Psalm and the 31st verse is now being fulfilled?
- A. 'Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch her hands unto God.'
- Q. What does this verse prove?
- A. That Negroes will set up their own government in Africa, with rulers of their own race (34).

With this determination in mind the black churchmen and churchwomen implemented totally the religious injunctions that they received comprising moral guides that clergymen found necessary for the black community. The creation of catechism and rituals that specifically addressed the needs of blacks was the main concerns of the clergymen in the UNIA. It was in this way that the Association was able to raise funds and gathered what led to the purchase of a

ship. For, “Ships,” according to Chaplain-General of the UNIA McGuire, “are the pride of every nation. They are bulwark of Britain and the protector of America and Japan. No scheme of colonization planned by this organization can become effective without ships” (172). Many sources attest to the economic development of the organization and some of its members before Garvey, the founder, was caught in the net of those who found him to be in the position of doing away with the colonies of the powerful nations of the world.

Thus the religious gatherings through the UNIA served to sustain the social coherence and forward some important political and economic achievements. The black Church’s independence and the rewriting of some specific religious items that went into the black community’s interest stimulated the rigorous implementation of what the clergymen designed for their churchmen and women. It is noteworthy that the distinctiveness of the African Episcopal Church organized by McGuire played a political and economic role in the sense that despite the fact that the churchgoers received religious lessons from the Church, they were altogether enjoined to act in the racial interest and in their personal financial acquisition as well. The difference in the Church’s denomination would obviously lead to a different form of catechism and, tacitly, to different rituals. This is going to be the task of the following part of my essay.

3. The Ritual: A Disciplinary Entity and Religious Identification for the UNIA

The proper organizational form which religion could and should take within the UNIA became for a short while an object of divergence between Garvey and McGuire-the Chaplain-General of the organization. Being instrumental in effecting several changes in the UNIA constitution, McGuire made proposals that were pertinent to religious issues. These changes concerned the role of chaplains at the local chapter levels and the creation of juvenile branches in each UNIA division. Their net result was to strengthen the authority of local chaplains, who were directly responsible to McGuire as Chaplain-General. The most important objective in these reforms was to move religion ever closer to the center of UNIA activities and help it inculcate its members the true and specific spiritual, moral, and

racial values. This ability and position enabled McGuire to produce two documents: *Universal Negro Ritual* and the *Universal Negro Catechism*.

The cultural impact of ritual on society was well understood by McGuire when thinking of specific religious practice for the black Episcopal Church. He might have acted following Catherine Bell's argument on ritual effects in *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, where she says, "[R]itual's effect on social cohesion and equilibrium came to be interpreted in terms of other, seemingly more basic functions such as symbolization and social communication" (Bell 1992, 15). This is to say that ritual activities effectively sacralize things, people, or events; they also play an important role in social integration and consolidation. As a black cultural representation, the UNIA cannot be well understood without considering the ritual that characterizes that community. It is in this respect that d'Aquili et al remind us in *The Spectrum of Ritual: A Biogenetic Structural Analysis* that "To examine human ritual is to examine man in all his hues: his thought, language, society, physiology, individual and social development, and evolution" (2). And we look to ritual in order to describe religion.

The peculiarity of the UNIA religious practice lies in the work that McGuire produced for the identification of the black Episcopal Church. This ritual was approved by Garvey before it became part of the UNIA. The following ritual is almost integrally adapted from Burkett's *Garveyism as a Religious Movement* which was also adapted from the *Book of Common Prayer*. The most commonly used of the services would have been the Order for Sunday Mass Meetings. It began with the processional hymn, "Shine On, Eternal Light," one of the numerous tunes written by the Music Director of the UNIA, Rabbi Arnold J. Ford. The processional was followed by recitation of the most frequently intoned Biblical refrain heard in the halls of the UNIA: Psalms 68, the 31st verse: "Prices shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."

Next came the official opening hymn of the UNIA which was none other than the aggressive missionary hymn, "From Greenland's Icy Mountains." It is not without interest that this particular hymn-composed by the well-known English divine and hymn writer, Sir Reginald Heber-was so honored by the Garveyites, for it was a widely

used and popular hymn among white missionary churches of the time. According to Burkett, The larger significance of the official use of this hymn undoubtedly lies in the self-image of the Garvey movement which is thereby implied: namely, as avowedly Christian missionary group dedicated to bringing the truth of the Messiah to unredeemed Africa” (77). This has been the goals and objectives of Garvey; that is to promote a conscientious Christian worship among the native tribes of Africa. For many of the black churchmen who were associated with the UNIA this missionary aspect of the movement was one of their primary reasons for joining the Garvey ranks.

The hymn was followed by recitation of the official motto of the Association, “One God, One Aim, One Destiny,” and the Lord’s prayer. Then came a remarkable series of prayers by the Chaplain which reveal just how closely McGuire,s conception of the goals of the UNIA was intermeshed with his reading of God’s larger design for the redemption of the race. The first prayer sought divine guidance in all UNIA undertakings, dedicating whatever was done to the glory of God: Direct us, O Lord, in all our doings with thy most gracious favor, and further us with thy continued help; that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy Holy Name, and finally, by thy mercy obtain everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

There are eleven opening prayers; seven were said at Sunday Mass meetings. The remaining seven prayers included for use on the anniversary of a division, a prayer for the restoration of peace in a division, a prayer for the ships of the Black Star Line, and the prayer to be used at the opening of the annual International Convention. The latter is notable for invoking God’s guidance in all the deliberations of the Association and in acknowledging God as the one in whose Name and Presence the convention had been assembled.

The last two orders of service contained in the Universal Negro Ritual were the “Baptism and Dedication of Infants” and “The Order for the Burial Service.” The latter is without special interest as it is based directly on the burial service contained in the Book of Common Prayer. The former is significant, however, in that according to its usage, infants were not only baptized as Christians but also dedicated to the principles of the UNIA and formally inducted into membership

in the organization. This practice was in keeping with the spirit of the UNIA constitution.

In the baptismal service itself, the traditional Episcopal pattern was followed up to the point where the priest asked the godparents,

Dear beloved, ye have brought this child here to be baptized and to be dedicated to the aims and principles of the Universal Negro Improvement Association... Do you solemnly believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith, as contained in the Apostles' Creed and do ye acknowledge the obligation, as far as in your lies, to provide that this child be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, that he be diligently instructed in the Holy Scriptures, and that he be taught the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the *Catechism of the Universal Negro Improvement Association?* (82).

When an affirmative reply was received, the priest offered the appropriate prayers, after which the infant was baptized. Then the colors of the Association were laid upon the child, and the priest stated:

We receive this child into the general membership of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and lay upon him these colors, the red, the black, and the green, in token that hereafter he may fight manfully under this banner, for the freedom of his race, and the redemption of Africa unto his life's end. *Amen.* (82).

The service was closed by reminding the parents and godparents of their responsibility to instruct the child in all things that a Christian ought to know and believe as well as the importance of the principles of the Association.

Unlike the ritual, the Catechism of UNIA was not based on the catechism used by the Protestant Episcopal Church. Designed by McGuire, the catechism was divided into four sections devoted to religious knowledge, historical knowledge, Constitution and Laws of the UNIA, and the Declaration of Independence of the UNIA.

The first section, on religious knowledge, opened with an inquiry concerning the nature and the attitudes of God. Questions and answers like the following are provided among others:

- Q. Did God make any group or race of men superior to another?
- A. No, He created all races equal, and of one blood, to dwell on the face of the earth.

- Q. Is it true that the Ethiopian or black group of the human family is the lowest group of all?
- A. It is a base falsehood which is taught in books written by white men. All races were created equal.
- Q. What, then, is the chief reason for the differences observed among the various groups of men?
- A. Environment, that is, conditions connected with climate, opportunity, necessity, and association with others (83).

However, the association of blacks with whites on the American soil has justifiably been a cultural and economic asset to both ethnic groups in general and to white in particular. This is the reason why whites should not refuse this claim of cultural separatism, which is now going to be the larger global trade and cultural counterpart to the western world. Jeremie Kroubo Dagnini justifies it:

In Garvey's estimation, the sympathetic assistance of whites is readily obtainable because the black community is putting forth a just claim. Garvey argues that whites who possess a sense of justice will honor the debt which has accrued to the black community during its generations of productive labor in the service of the American economy.

If, however, white Americans falter in their commitment to justice and lose their penchant for a sympathetic response, white assistance to black separatism will nevertheless flow from calculations of white community self-interest. Not only does Garvey hold out the prospect of a thriving trade between black-controlled Africa and white nations but he also reminds whites that a settlement of just claims through the racial partitioning of the world is a two-sided proposition. (“ Marcus Garvey: a controversial figure in the history of Pan-Africanism” *Journal of Pan African Studies*. 2.3 (Mar. 15, 2008 : 198.)

Conclusion

This article has addressed various aspects of Garvey's initiative in the Universal Negro Improvement Association. The most vivid contents of his ideology have included, among others, the pan Africanist giant steps that were noteworthy in the movement, which in **ethno philosophy** (Paulin Hountondji), is the incarnation of the knowledge of the current Unification of Africa. Though, Katherine Clay Bassard – as Will Harris has put it – “comes closest to explaining

Wheatley's landmark role within a diasporal context. Bassard, I believe accurately, suggests that Wheatley's writing represents an evolution in diasporal subjectivity," Garvey has been a man of action in this context. Thus, the first part of the article has dealt with the particularity of the leers of that movement.

In effect, the movement could not have gathered momentum without its religious agenda and the single mindedness of its leaders on forming an African nation with one leader. Among those leaders was Richard Hilton Tobitt, an African Methodist Episcopal clergyman in Bermuda. The most remarkable Garveyite leader who influenced the most the movement by his religious knowledge was George Alexander McGuire. He was preeminent among the Garveyite clergymen who began to rethink theology from the perspective of the black man.

The second part is about the organization of an independent Church was to make it easier for the clergymen to explain the human religious history according to the new imposing circumstances. Since the national culture building was about the contribution of individual minority groups, which paradoxically constituted in pulling one's self apart from the Mainstream in order to be able to be part of it, the religious peculiarity became unavoidable for the black community just for a cultural variance, which was incumbent on every ethnic group in the US as a result of World War I.

The third part has dealt with the Universal Negro Improvement Association initiated by Marcus Mozia Garvey stood firm in front of various opposing forces, namely the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the imperial forces of the world, thanks to its religious goals and objectives that the black church leaders had sustained by their theologian abilities. Not only did the ritual identify the cultural, religious, and social behavior of the UNIA members, it also armed them with facilities of resistance embedded in the belief and rites designed especially for them. Therefore, the main outcome of this endeavor has ever been the pioneering role that the UNIA has played in the realms of pan Africanism. Jeremie Kroubo Dagnini explains that, Garvey has been all the more associated with Pan-Africanism since a wide variety of famous Pan-Africanists and Black nationalists claimed to take their inspiration from him such as

Kwame Nkrumah--the first President of independent Ghana in 1957--, Leopold Sedar Senghor--the first President of independent Senegal in 1960 and father of the Negritude--, Patrice Lumumba--the first Prime Minister of independent Congo in 1960--, Julius Nyerere--the first President of independent Tanzania in 1962-, Jomo Kenyatta--the first President of independent Kenya in 1964--, Steve Biko and Nelson Mandela, Malcolm X, the Nigerian singer Fela Anikulapo Kuti and the Jamaican reggae stars Burning Spear and Bob Marley to name just a few. It also must be stressed that the Rasta movement, which is nothing more than a mixture of Judeo-Christian beliefs, African-centeredness and African religion, has been clearly influenced by Marcus Garvey's ideologies. ("Marcus Garvey: a controversial figure in the history of Pan-Africanism" 2008).

But uplifting Africa and its diaspora can only take place through African pride and through the preservation and promotion of African heritage. And in other words, African cultural heritage and African pride is the foundation of Pan-Africanism.

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