

An Ethiopian Tent: Garveyism and the Roots of Caribbean Labor Radicalism

by

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Abstract

Building upon local studies and paying tribute to an earlier generation of pioneering scholarship, this work proposes a unified interpretation of Garveyist influence in the greater Caribbean, and it pays particular attention to the influence of Garveyism in the development of a regional mode of postwar labor politics, in which struggles for economic justice were viewed through a prism of racial solidarity and Pan-African mobilization. Thus, the paper argues that Garveyism was carried to the Caribbean archipelago and the Central American isthmus in the years between 1918 and 1920 as a inflammatory doctrine of racial mobilization that gave encouragement to-and provided a language of grievance for-a series of labor rebellions across the region after the First World War; and as the revolutionary period waned, Garveyists scaled back the stridency of their approach, joining their comrades in the United States in nurturing a cautious politics both sensitive to local exigencies and projected onto a canvas of diasporic solidarity and African redemption. The new wave of labor rebellion that erupted in the mid-1 930s eclipsed Garveyist organizing; however, it owes its emergence to the rhetorical and political foundations established by Garveyism

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At the break of dawn on June 19, 1937, smoke billowed from the wells of the Apex Company at Fyzabad, in the heart of Trinidad's southern oilfields. It was a signal to workers to stay home: The strike, which had been threatened since the beginning of the month, had begun. Worker defiance quickly engulfed the western half of the island, first spreading through the oilfields, then heading north to the sugar plantations and the towns, reaching Port of Spain, the capital, on June 22. Police and volunteer forces, overwhelmed by the extent of the resistance, opened fire time and again on the crowds, killing at least twelve, and wounding dozens. Only the arrival of two British warships, on June 22 and 23, allowed authorities to regain control.¹ Out of the carnage came the reluctant acknowledgement of the need for trade unions-until then, sharply circumscribed-and the institutionalization of the labor movement in Trinidad.² During a fleeting moment of sympathy for the workers, the Acting Colonial Secretary, Howard H. Nankivell, pledged "a new era in the history of Trinidad," an end to the "conditions of economic slavery" and the institution of fair wages and decent conditions of employment.³

The labor rebellion in Trinidad comprised an episode in a series of dramatic strikes and riots that shook the British West Indies in the second half of the 1930s, forever altering the landscape of the region and laying the foundation for the labor and decolonization struggles of the subsequent decades. The confrontations-pitting majority populations of poor, disenfranchised workers of color against the islands' powerful white oligarchies-were a product of the severe economic hardships set in motion by the Great Depression: collapsing sugar prices, spiking unemployment, reduced wages, escalating poverty. These class-based grievances were woven into longstanding racial tensions, which were ignited by the aggression of Italian fascists in Ethiopia, beginning in late 1934. Typical of interwar labor radicalism in the greater Caribbean, black workers viewed their struggle for economic justice through a prism of racial solidarity; labor, to borrow the felicitous phrase of the leader of the Trinidad demonstrations, Tubal Uriah "Buzz" Butler, mobilized under an "Ethiopian tent."⁴ It was a blend of labor politics and racial consciousness born from an earlier, galvanizing period of radicalism following the end of the First World War. It was a politics that owed both its articulation, and its persistence, to Garveyism.

Despite the tremendous importance of Garveyism in shaping the politics of the greater Caribbean, the study of Caribbean Garveyism remains an "emerging field."⁵ Recently, this has meant a minor proliferation of studies that examine the influence of Garveyism and the Universal Negro Improvement Association in a particular place, or at a particular moment in time. The results have been illuminating.

Ronald Harpelle, focusing on Garveyist contacts with West Indian migrants employed by the United Fruit Company (UFC) in Costa Rica, has demonstrated the extent to which the demands of UNIA fundraising aligned with UFC business interests, particularly after 1921. Marc McLeod and Frank Guridy have fruitfully explored the intersection of UNIA race consciousness with ethnic diversity, and with the competing discourse of "raceless nationality," in Cuba. Carla Burnett has established the deep relationship between Garveyist organizing and labor radicalism in the Panama Canal Zone in 1919 and 1920; while, conversely, Anne Macpherson has convincingly demonstrated the extent to which Garveyism evolved into a politics of conservative reform in British Honduras (now Belize). Like much of the recent work on American Garveyism, these studies have successfully and helpfully illustrated the extent to which the movement was shaped by local forces, molded by participants to suit their diverse and often contradictory sets of needs.⁶

What remains missing from recent work is a more comprehensive regional dialogue, a sustained discussion about the trajectory of Caribbean Garveyism against which to test the fissures of local variety. Most troubling, in the absence of such a conversation several local historians of the movement seem intent on reviving Judith Stein's sweeping and greatly misleading view that Garveyism was an essentially pro-business, petty-bourgeois, and anti-union philosophy. Stein's perspective on Caribbean Garveyism is based entirely on Marcus Garvey's fundraising trip to Cuba, Jamaica, and Central America in 1921, and it ignores much, in particular the radical period of Garveyist labor rebellion that followed the war, and the deep and sustained ties that the UNIA forged with labor activists over the next decade and a half. Nevertheless, Macpherson uses Stein's conclusions to make sense of her own discovery of conservative Garveyism in British Honduras. Elsewhere, a perplexing cognitive dissonance has set in. Frederick Douglass Opie, finding unmistakable evidence of Garveyite support for a labor strike in Puerto Barrios, Guatemala, in 1920, is left wondering if Garvey's "intended" message was "co-opted." Burnett, in her otherwise excellent monograph, wonders why the "anti-union" Garvey might have supported the strike of Panama Canal workers in 1920, and rests on the unsatisfying conclusion that the growth of Garveyism "happened almost spontaneously in different parts of the world"-implying, like Opie, that Garvey's essential vision was lost in its transmission abroad.⁷

In proposing a unified interpretation of Garveyist influence in the greater Caribbean, this chapter both emphasizes the influence of Garveyism on regional labor politics and suggests its limitations. It both embraces the local diversity implied by recent work while remaining mindful of the broader conceptual and strategic currents that underlay that diversity, gave the movement its coherence, and propelled its global project.

Garveyism, I argue, was carried to the Caribbean archipelago and the Central American isthmus between 1918-1920 as a strident doctrine of international mobilization, race consciousness, and assertiveness that both gave encouragement to-and provided a language of grievance for-a series of labor strikes, riots, and rebellions across the region. This period of revolutionary enthusiasm was not sustainable; workers gained some concessions, but administrators also redoubled their efforts to undermine meaningful labor reform, to police manifestations of race consciousness, and to generally restore the "order" of starkly exploitative capitalist relations. As in the United States, Garvey and his supporters responded by scaling back the stridency of their politics. In Cuba and Central America, shorn of the subversive immediacy that had propelled the early years of contact, local UNIA divisions supported the more mundane needs of its predominantly West Indian constituency, developing in many places into an "immigrant protection association" that legislators in the Hispanic Caribbean, save in Cuba, viewed with little concern.⁸ In the West Indies, Garveyites worked closely with labor activists to establish the foundation of a labor politics that emphasized-partly out of necessity- organization and constitutional reform rather than direct action and worker resistance. The work across the greater Caribbean was locally calibrated to the needs of its constituents, and fashioned with an eye to the opportunities and limitations offered poor, black, and colonized subjects. But it was also projected in global terms, viewed as the mundane spade work of diasporic solidarity and African redemption. By the mid 1930s, a new labor politics had emerged, one that both surpassed Garveyist labor organizing in its stridency and relied on Garveyist tropes of racial solidarity; one that distanced itself from Garveyist labor organizers while boasting a leadership that had been nurtured within the Garvey movement.⁹

Approaching Garveyism as a regional movement requires an appreciation of the ways in which the UNIA transitioned from an early period of strident immediacy towards an embrace of patient organizing and consciousness-raising that set the long term goal of African redemption in conversation with the demands of local needs and opportunities.

This in turn requires viewing Garveyism as an organic mass politics rather than a philosophical system devoted to either "radicalism" or "conservatism". Garveyites were connected by a series of broad and relatively fixed assumptions: a belief that African redemption and Negro redemption were coterminous and Biblically ordained; a view of the "Negro race" as a unified and ancient category of belonging; an understanding of history that suggested a declining white civilization and an ascendant Negro one. Such beliefs did not recommend an approach so much as demand that the work be done. And in practice, this work was malleable, strident or cautious depending on the circumstances, dedicated to the work of politics rather than the demands of ideological purity.

The success of Garveyism in the greater Caribbean in the 1920s and 1930s—as with the success of the UNIA in the United States in the 1920s—reflected the capacity of the movement to effectively speak to the needs and the aspirations of the moment within the realm of political possibility. And as in the United States, after its time had passed, after the movement lost the capacity to meet the demands of the new and strident politics of the mid 1930s, its legacy lived on in the work of the sons and daughters whose political consciousness had been forged by, and nurtured within, the protective embrace of the UNIA and the philosophy and opinions of Marcus Garvey.

The postemancipation Caribbean was shaped by the broad currents of world price fluctuations, economic reorganization, and labor migration, all of which amounted to new and refined methods of worker marginalization, coercion and exploitation. As the older British sugar islands entered into a period of decline, workers faced diminishing resources for peasant production, competition from waves of indentured workers from Asia, and evaporating opportunities for employment. They responded by migrating en masse to the burgeoning sugar plantations of Cuba, to the construction sites of the Panama Canal Zone, to the banana farms of the United Fruit Company stretching through Central America, and to the urban centers of the United States. Worker efforts to vote with their feet, their willingness to oscillate from labor center to labor center in search of better wages, had the paradoxical consequence of creating a massive regional pool of cheap, expendable labor that undercut wages and allowed employers the latitude to utilize draconian and coercive measures of discipline to sustain a pliant workforce. Efforts at worker organization were crushed. "Agitators" were quickly removed. In the fields and work sites of Central America, West Indian laborers were introduced to the insidious indignities of Jim Crow segregation carried south by American multinationals and administrators of the Canal Zone.¹⁰

At the outset of World War One, West Indians patriotically enlisted for duty.

Sixteen thousand black troops were raised in all, including five battalions recruited from Panama and Costa Rica. In Jamaica, the newly-formed Universal Negro Improvement Association organized a farewell meeting to honor members of the British West Indies Regiment (BWIR), at which Marcus Garvey "impressed on the men ... the duty of every true son of the Empire to rally to the cause of the Motherland [Britain]." ¹¹ Rather than plaudits, however, members of the BWIR were greeted overseas with a relentless stream of racist invective and personal humiliations. Disembarking at Alexandria, Egypt, in 1916, Corporal Samuel A. Haynes and his regiment arrived at their base camp YMCA "under the strains of Rule Britannia," only to be "immediately confronted by a number of British soldiers and asked, 'Who gave you niggers authority to sing that! Clear out of this building—only British soldiers admitted here.'" West Indian soldiers received separate and unequal living quarters, were provided with inadequate kitchen, transportation, and hospital facilities, and were asked to perform menial tasks around camp otherwise reserved for labor battalions.

As "aboriginal troops," they were kept from the European theater, and mostly held from combat duty; classified as "Natives" by the War Office, they were deemed ineligible for a six pence a day raise in 1918. In December of that year, as troops remained stationed in Taranto, Italy, members of the Ninth Battalion rose in revolt against their officers, resulting in the disarmament and demobilization of West Indian soldiers, mass imprisonments, and the execution of one West Indian soldier. Members of the BWIR returned from the war deeply disillusioned about their place in the Empire, and receptive to the doctrines of racial consciousness and solidarity that had begun to circulate around the greater Caribbean.¹²

The experiences of West Indian soldiers abroad fed into a larger narrative of anger and frustration at home. Wartime inflation more than doubled the prices of basic foodstuffs, antagonizing workers who accused white merchants of profiteering, and who blamed white employers for failing to raise wages to meet the rising cost of living.¹³ Mounting black resentment was further inflamed by shocking reports of cruelty inflicted on black men and women during race riots in both the United States and Britain. In July, days before riots erupted in Belize, British Honduras, the *Belize Independent* published a report from England describing race riots in Liverpool and Cardiff, Wales, during which "infuriated crowds hunted every negro from pillar to post, wrecked and fired their lodging houses," and stalked the streets armed with revolvers, razors, and knives. Similarly, massive labor resistance in Trinidad, which began in November, 1919, was preceded by reports of gangs of white soldiers and sailors "savagely attacking, beating and stabbing every negro they could find" in the streets of Liverpool, including a Trinidadian, Charles Wooten.¹⁴ "There are serious indications from many directions that Trinidad, and perhaps the British West Indies generally, are on a social volcano ... which is liable to burst into eruption at almost any time," reported Henry A. Baker, the American Consul at Port of Spain, to Washington. As returning black soldiers mixed with disgruntled black workers, sharing their sense of outrage, rumors traveled among frightened members of the oligarchy that the entire white population would be wiped out, massacred and swept out to sea.¹⁵

No vehicle was more influential in sustaining the narrative of mounting black frustrations, and of giving them structure and form, than Marcus Garvey's *Negro World*. Garveyism was carried to the greater Caribbean by black sailors, UNIA organizers, and local Garveyites, who had founded divisions of the UNIA in the region by late 1918 and early 1919.¹⁶ According to the British War Office, Garvey had also managed to establish correspondence with West Indian soldiers in the British army, who were engaged in spreading word of the UNIA overseas, and who brought Garveyism home with them.¹⁷ Across the region, government agents worked furiously, and ineffectively, to suppress the paper. After copies of the *Negro World* were discovered in Belize, in November, 1918, authorities banned the paper, only to watch in dismay as copies continued to filter into the colony through Guatemala and Mexico in greater numbers than before.¹⁸

A variety of methods--equally unsuccessful--were employed to curtail the paper in Trinidad, British Guiana, St. Vincent, Grenada, Jamaica, the Bahamas, and Costa Rica.¹⁹ These attempts to halt the spread of "racial hatred" and "sedition" not only failed, but had a galvanizing effect. The efforts of the Legislative Council of the Windward Islands to ban the *Negro World* in Grenada was resisted by an impassioned campaign led by T. Albert Marrayshow, managing editor of the journal, *West Indian*. The Governor of British Honduras, Sir Eyre Hutson, listed his predecessor's suppression of the *Negro World* as one of the contributing causes of the riots that erupted in Belize in July, 1919.²⁰ By May, 1920, Hutson had given up. "It is almost impossible, in this Colony, to search persons and their luggage, particularly every coloured person arriving in the Colony from [Mexico and Guatemala], or even from the United States," he conceded. Rather than pursue a "futile" ban, Hutson proposed informing the local UNIA that government officials were themselves subscribing to the *Negro World*; that they, like thousands of readers stretching throughout the region, were receiving copies of the paper, and studying its directives carefully.²¹

There was reason for white authorities to be alarmed. The message broadcast by Garveyist organs from 1918 until the end of 1920 was strident, audacious, and clearly intended to inflame the passions of members, readers, and sympathizers. Declaring an approaching "war of the races," Garvey called on Negroes scattered around the world to capitalize on the disarray produced by the war, to organize under a common banner, to prepare to "give [their] blood to make a free and independent African republic." In the United States and the Caribbean, this meant responding to race riots by "match[ing] fire with hell fire," by threatening to turn "the oppressed worm upon the oppressor" if the Negro continued to be denied "a fair chance in life economically and politically." It meant responding to "wage slave[ry]" with both racial and worker organization.²² While Garvey and the UNIA were to later condemn class-based tactics as ineffective instruments of Negro protest, the *Negro World*, which was edited by the socialist activist, W.A. Domingo, until July, 1919, routinely championed the labor movement, and encouraged Negro unionization and labor radicalism in the pursuit of racial goals.²³ For Garvey, there could be "no compromise until Africa is free." This was particularly true in the majority-black Caribbean islands, which Garvey described as British "powder houses," waiting to explode if whites were "to start anything." "Let the pale-faced British governors suppress the *Negro World*," taunted the treasurer of the Black Star Line, George Tobias, in the paper. "The time will come when they will have to run for their very lives with shoes in their hands to find refuge in the Caribbean sea."²⁴

On May 2, 1919, an estimated 1,200 to 1,500 longshoremen working for the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company, nearly all West Indians, went on strike at Cristobal Dock, demanding an increase in wages.

Prominent in the agitation were several important Garveyites, all founding members of Panama's first UNIA division, established in December, 1918: Eduardo V. Morales, who later served as the UNIA's High Commissioner-to Cuba; Samuel Percival Radway, who later organized for the UNIA in Cuba, before returning to his native Jamaica and leading a general strike in 1924; and F.S. Ricketts, Panama's delegate to the UNIA's First International Convention, in August 1920, and an official signatory of the organization's Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World.²⁵ Over the next year, a series of riots and labor disturbances, big and small, and all with connections to Garveyist propaganda and organizing, rocked the region. In Belize, massive, coordinated riots, led by returned members of the British West Indies Regiment, were linked to "noxious literature" published by the *Negro World*, and by the Garveyist *Belize Independent*.²⁶ In Trinidad, where a dockworkers strike in Port of Spain mushroomed into a general unrest that reached neighboring Tobago, Garveyist strike leaders distributed UNIA literature and spurred on workers with speeches that "almost read like extracts" of the *Negro World*, as one investigator put it.²⁷ In the Windward Islands of St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Grenada, months of agitation by local Garveyites erupted in a strike of laborers and policemen in St. Lucia that threatened to spread into a general strike before the situation was calmed by the arrival of a British warship.²⁸ That same month, a massive strike-including as many as 16,000 workers- was called in the Panama Canal Zone, this time led by Garveyites, and supported directly by Marcus Garvey, who cabled \$500 in solidarity.²⁹ At the First International Convention, Clifford Bourne, delegate from Guatemala, described how his division in Puerto Barrios had helped organize a local union, and then provided financial aid for a successful strike of UFC workers in May, 1920. At the same convention, Garvey, receiving news of a policemen's strike in Kingston, Jamaica, sent a cable of support to leading organizer A. Bain Alves, to rousing ovation from the assembled delegates.³⁰

One measure of the UNIA's influence in these confrontations was the extent to which workers, rioters, and ex-soldiers articulated their grievances in the language of racial solidarity. In Belize, the Riot Commission concluded that simmering tensions had been inflamed by the steady infusion of Garveyist propaganda, leading participants in the disturbance to the conclusion "that British Honduras is the black man's country and that white men are interlopers." During the demonstrations, protesters set upon white men they encountered in the streets, and were heard singing, "We are going to kill the white sons of bitches tonight This is the black man's night!" When the men proved unwilling to carry out this threat, and after a British warship had established an uneasy peace, a domestic servant named Annie Flowers was overheard loudly complaining, "The black men have no pluck. The women have to be behind them all the time or else they do nothing."

Still determined to demonstrate that "this country belongs to the blacks," Flowers promised that "[t]he next night there is a row my strong arms will shove hat pins in the eyes of the bloody white men, for they have to get out of this town now." As she passed by William H. Hoar, the prison keeper, she muttered the threat: "When the [H.M.S. *Constance*] goes we will know what to do with the white bastards."³¹

Similar tensions had been brewing in Trinidad since the beginning of the 1919. In February, authorities discovered that the *Negro World* was being sold in the colony, deemed it "calculated to incite the coloured races against the white race," but found themselves unable to contain the flow of smuggled copies. In July, returned soldiers of the BWIR were invited to participate in a victory parade through Port of Spain; some marched but several more attended the parade to boo and to heckle their comrades. Feelings were further aroused two days later, when a ship carrying forty West Indian military prisoners arrived in Port of Spain, eliciting calls for their release. "I regret to say that the feeling of the black man against the white ... has spread, not only to many of the returned soldiers from this Colony, but also to the black population of Port of Spain generally," reported the commanding officer, Lt. Col. Maxwell Smith. The Head of the Constabulary, G.H. May, reported that "wild and persistent rumors about the blacks rising in a body against the whites" had been flying around the island.³²

W.F. Elkins calls the strike of the black dock workers in Port of Spain, beginning in mid-November, "[o]ne of the earliest effusions of [mass-based] black nationalism." The strike, which "sparked a wave of uprisings throughout the island against the common oppressors-white racists, principally merchants, planters, and officials," was organized by the Trinidad Workingmen's Association (TWA), whose leadership boasted many of the island's leading Garveyites. Aaron Fitz Braithwaite and James Braithwaite served as local officers of the UNIA in the 1920s, and remained active in labor politics. John Sidney de Bourg, who was deported for his involvement in the strike, traveled to New York, where he attended the International Convention, became an official signatory of the UNIA's Declaration of Rights, and was elected Leader of the Negroes of the Western Provinces of the West Indies and South and Central America. Reverend E. Seiler Salmon, who was also deported, became involved in agitation in Costa Rica, before migrating to the United States and joining the Garveyist African Orthodox Church in New Orleans. During the strike, organizers circulated "verselets" that referenced Marcus Garvey and the Black Star Line. TWA meetings became de facto UNIA rallies. According to witnesses, at one meeting James Braithwaite, the TWA's Secretary, repeated nearly verbatim the argument that Garvey had been making in the pages of the *Negro World*. "You are a powerful race and our power was proved in the gigantic struggle for British liberty," Braithwaite thundered. "You don't think it is a shame for the intelligent negro to remain sleeping and waiting for amelioration? No, we must fight. If we can die for the white man against his German brother we can die better for ourselves."³³

Garveyist participation in labor agitation in the Panama Canal Zone provides a useful illustration of the ways in which UNIA activists situated class-based politics within what they viewed as the more useful framework of international race relations. Carla Burnett has effectively contrasted the language of non-Garveyite and Garveyite organizers during the labor agitation of 1919-1920, and noted the ways in which Garveyites refashioned the struggle as one between whites and blacks (rather than capital and labor), sold union activity as a demonstration of loyalty to the race, and emphasized the broader project of Pan-African organization and unity.³⁴ Ties between local labor organizers and the Parent Body of the UNIA in New York ran deep. In June, 1919, the *Negro World* published a long article on "Conditions in Panama," suggesting that black workers respond to the oppressive environment of the Canal Zone by practicing self-defense, by organizing a cooperative movement to mobilize their commercial power, and by taking advantage of their industrial power by unionizing. Perhaps prompted by the article, William Stoute, Vice President of the local United Brotherhood chapter and de facto leader of the union movement in Panama, wrote to Marcus Garvey, expressing appreciation for his "fearless manner in attacking the unspeakable oppression of our race by the whites," and enclosing articles from his own journal, the *Workman*, further detailing conditions in the Canal Zone. The *Workman*, which had for months carried articles written by the Canal Zone's leading Garveyite propagandist, Eduardo Morales, began to appear in the *Negro World*. For his part, Stoute began advocating for the creation of a "consumer's union, a Co-operative Society, which means an association of ourselves, for ourselves, and by ourselves."³⁵

The canal workers' strike of 1920 was viewed by several of its participants as part of the UNIA's international assault on the ramparts of white supremacy. This attitude was encouraged by the arrival in Panama, in December, 1919, of UNIA organizers Henrietta Vinton Davis and Cyril Henry, on the maiden voyage of the Black Star Line. Davis and Henry spent the months leading up to the strike addressing huge crowds, and touring Panama organizing local UNIA divisions. When the strike began, on the morning of February 24, they cast their lot with the strikers, and Henry urgently cabled Garvey for help, receiving \$500, along with a cable expressing solidarity from the Negroes of New York. If union leaders like Stoute viewed the strike through a prism of local grievances, it soon became clear that Morales and other Garveyites considered themselves to be engaged in the first stages of the "all out race war" that Garvey had been prophesying. When Stoute ordered his workers back to the job, after the logistics of the work stoppage had turned against the union, Morales begged the workers to "stay out and die" if they had to. "We are not fighting any government nor for any government, we are fighting for the uplift and the betterment of ourselves," Morales argued. "I say ... it is a racial cause and if we divide ourselves we are going to fall, so let us keep off the streets, keep in our homes, and show Gov. [Clarence] Harding we can stay our three months more."³⁶

The wave of radicalism that swept the greater Caribbean in 1919 and 1920 was like most such moments of dislocation and possibility-fleeting. In Panama, striking laborers were either fired from their jobs and replaced by less recalcitrant workers, or welcomed back to work at reduced rates of pay. In Trinidad, dock workers won an historic victory, earning a twenty-five percent increase in wages, and official recognition of the TWA, but laborers across the colony were hit with a wave of repression. The backlash included dozens of arrests, deportations for perceived antagonists in the disturbances, a series of official ordinances that sharply circumscribed mechanisms for worker activism, and a sweeping ban on "seditious" literature that curtailed the freedom of Trinidadian activists to articulate their dissent, and to freely spread and promote Garveyist literature. Across the region, with some adjustments, equilibrium was restored. For a brief moment, as Nigel Bolland has suggested, Marcus Garvey and his followers "succeeded in bridging the gaps between nationalists and internationalists, black workers, businessmen and professionals, and in articulating a powerful appeal to racial pride and self-sufficiency." Now, as the status quo returned, natural fault lines began to reemerge among West Indian subjects. Legislatures assisted this process by matching their crackdown on proletarian and radical activism with concessions to moderates, and to light-skinned and upwardly-mobile black elites. Except for brief periods of instability in British Guiana and Jamaica, in 1924, the region settled into a decade-and-a-half of relative calm.³⁷

As episodes of strident activism disappeared in the Caribbean, Garvey-facing similar reactionary forces in the United States-began his own "retreat from radicalism," as Robert A. Hill has termed it. For Garvey, even as he basked in the glory of his triumphant International Convention, mounting economic and political pressures were coalescing in a dangerous spiral. Determined to resuscitate the alarming financial decline of the Black Star Line, Garvey organized a fundraising tour of the West Indies and Central America, ignoring the warnings of advisers, who believed--correctly, it turned out--that federal officials would do everything in their power to ensure that Garvey be denied reentry to the United States once he had left.³⁸ Garvey was not blind to the risks; to the contrary, the dilemma posed by the tour abroad presented in stark terms the gathering political threat to the UNIA, not to mention to his own personal freedom. Faced with the likely destruction of his movement, Garvey chose survival. From the beginning convinced that the future of the Negro race depended on a free and liberated Africa, disdaining the engagement of organizations like the NAACP in the "white man's politics" as a "waste [of] time," Garvey now began to couch his program of African redemption in carefully crafted declarations of noninterference with constituted authority outside of the Motherland. "I have not come ... to stir up strife among the races, nor to preach revolution, because I am not an anarchist nor a socialist, even though they try to picture me as one of these," he told an audience in Chicago on February 1, 1921, three weeks before departing for the West Indies.

Blaming the "concocted lies" of reporters, noting the presence of special agents in crowd, and declaring that he had "no fear of jail," Garvey assured, "We are not going to worry Uncle Sam nor any other nation for that matter; we are going to build up in Africa a government of our own, big enough and strong enough to protect Africa and Negroes everywhere."³⁹

Garvey's tour through the Caribbean and Central America-with stops in Cuba, Jamaica, Panama, Costa Rica, British Honduras, and Guatemala-was framed in similarly nonconfrontational terms. In Kingston, Garvey told his audience, "I have not come to Jamaica to stir up any revolution or race strife," and encouraged them to pursue constitutional means to demand their rights. In Colon, Garvey observed that he was "not here to criticize Panama nor any Government whatsoever," In Costa Rica, Garvey met amicably with the President, Julio Acosta, and told United Fruit workers that "they should not fight the United Fruit Company, that the work given them by the United Fruit Company meant their bread and butter." An ecstatic G.P. Chittenden, Manager of the UFC's Costa Rica Division, reported after one meeting that "Garvey was the most conservative man" in attendance. If Garvey's meetings were "favorable" to the business of the UFC, they also contributed auspiciously towards the UNIA's fundraising needs.

At one meeting, Chittenden reported "two scrap baskets and one suit case full of United States gold notes"; at another, Garvey "stood beside a pile of gold notes which reached above his knees." The American Consul at San Jose estimated that Garvey raised \$30,000 from his trip to Costa Rica alone.⁴⁰

The degree to which the tone of Garvey's message had shifted was sharply revealed during his visit to British Honduras. During his four meetings, police reported that Garvey, consistent with his other stops "took care to impress on his audience that the movement ... was not by any means intended to overthrow any established Government." Garvey was "most diplomatic," stressing that while "he had great hopes of the future black nation, the black, wherever he must be, must be loyal to the flag to which he belongs and serve it with earnestness." Yet during a conference with administrators at Government House, in Belize, the Governor, Eyre Hutson, sprung a trap, reading from one of Garvey's transcribed speeches, which had been published in the *Negro World* the past December:

I am looking for the time to come when there will be another world's war. The time will come when the nations who are controlling Africa will look down in disgrace.... It is mentioned that England's doom is at hand.... And as the Czar lost his throne some years ago, so I fear George of England may have to run for his life, and that will be the chance for the Negro. I have prayed for it, and all the Negroes have done for the last few years, was to pray.... Because we are such great prayers, let us pray for the 'downfall of ... England.' Why do I want the downfall of England? Because I want the freedom of Africa.

How could one respond? In a dramatic act of audacity, Garvey claimed that he had been misquoted by his own propaganda organ, and hoped the Governor would realize that "we are seldom reported correctly in the press." He reiterated, "It is no desire of mine to be disloyal to any man. I am a British subject, and a large number of us are British subjects, and it is foreign to our aims to be disloyal and to disrupt the Government, but to help the Government to bring about a better state throughout."⁴¹

The suspicion earned from his early years of stridency, compounded by his steadfast articulation of racial consciousness and pride, would stalk Garvey for the rest of his life. Yet the vast majority of legislators in the greater Caribbean had noticed the moderation in the UNIA's approach. After 1920, with the notable exception of Trinidad, government officials ceased their campaign against the distribution of the *Negro World*. "I consider that in its inception [the *Negro World*] was a gigantic folly and appealed to the worst sentiments of the negro race; but so far as I have seen copies of this publication I have found nothing that is likely to do any more harm in this Colony than other publications," observed the Governor of British Guiana, Sir Wilfred Collet, in 1922. He added: "the general tone of the [UNIA] is different from what it was three years ago." After Garvey's return to the United States—accomplished after several denials of visas, and possibly with the help of a bribe—American agents observed a similar change of tone. "For some unknown reason all the officials of the Black Star Line and Garvey's other organizations seem to have undergone a change of mind. They are very patriotic in their speeches and have eliminated all the anti-white talks and in its place [are] preaching loyalty to the USA," reported an undercover agent. Garvey "spoke of the kind treatment which the government had accorded him and praised Secretary Hughes for allowing him to reenter the USA pledging his organization's support to the USA always.... His recent experiences must have taught him to take another sane[r] course."⁴²

Robert A. Hill has argued that Garvey's "personal shift from radical propaganda toward conservative diplomacy" embodied the "political evaporation of Garveyism."⁴³ Yet the history of Garveyism in the greater Caribbean suggests precisely the opposite. As in the United States, the movement was sustained because of the willingness of both Garvey and his followers to adapt to changing opportunities, to effectively gauge local needs, to act with political sensitivity rather than ideological dogmatism. As in the United States, the Garveyist "retreat" offered a space for followers to continue their diasporic project of mobilization, preparation, and African redemption, a cautious platform upon which to pursue their ambitious global aspirations. Eager to sustain their long-term, unambiguously anti-colonial vision, Garveyites *prevented* their political evaporation by conceding the short-term advantages of white supremacy. As a result, Garveyism emerged from what increasingly seemed a brief and anomalous period of radicalism as the framing material for what emerged as the dominant strain of black politics during the interwar era.

"At a time when most Black people in the area were denied the right to vote," points out Tony Martin, "and in an age mostly predating mass political parties, the UNIA often performed the function of quasi-political party as well as mutual aid organization. It was a major, sometimes *the* major, organized group looking after the interests of the mass of Black people." For West Indians scattered throughout the greater Caribbean, the pan-African discourse projected by Garveyism, along with the organizational space carved by the Universal Negro Improvement Association, both reflected the outer limits of dissent and pushed them. Without understanding the cautious work of race-conscious activism during this period, it is impossible to understand the labor rebellions that followed.⁴⁴

The UNIA remained remarkably resilient in the migrant communities of the Hispanic Caribbean. By the mid 1920s, more than fifty divisions had been organized in Cuba, joined by nearly same number of divisions and chapters in Panama and the Canal Zone, twenty-three divisions in Costa Rica, and three dozen more stretched across Colombia (6), Brazil (1), Guatemala (5), the Dominican Republic (6), Mexico (4), Nicaragua (5), Honduras (7), Puerto Rico (1), Ecuador (1), and Venezuela (1).⁴⁵

Throughout the decade, Garveyites in the Hispanic Caribbean remained devoted and enthusiastic contributors to the *Negro World's* weekly "News and Views of UNIA Divisions" feature, and provided steady and generous support to the African Redemption Fund, and later-as Garvey faced prosecution-the Marcus Garvey Defense Fund.

Broadly speaking, divisions in the Hispanic Caribbean flourished as mutual aid organizations, social clubs, and relief networks for their largely West Indian constituencies. Projecting a moderate face of political noninterference, local Garveyites accepted the limited opportunities available for strident advocacy, and instead devoted their efforts to serving the needs of the community. In Cuba, constrained by a law banning racially-organized political parties, Garveyites "foregrounded the mutual aid dimensions of their activities," while pledging not to "meddle in the political affairs of the country." This type of caution, combined with the Garveyist emphasis on self-help and education, encouraged in some places the drift towards a middle-class politics of "respectability" and conservative reform. In British Honduras, where the local UNIA developed along lines similar to its Central American counterparts, Anne Macpherson has charted the uncomfortably cozy relationship established between colonial authorities and the local division of the Universal Black Cross Nurses, which thrived under the leadership of Vivian Seay until the 1950s.⁴⁶

Yet even as they adopted this conciliatory front, Garveyites joined their brethren in America in projecting their work forward and abroad, imagining local projects against the backdrop of global, anti-colonial mobilization. In August, 1925, officers of the UNIA division in Ancón, Panama City, addressed a letter to the British Envoy to Panama expressing confidence in both him and the King. Two months later, at a meeting of the same division, the headlining speaker pointed to mounting political pressures in India, in Morocco, and in China as proof of "the rising voice of LIBERTY throughout the world," and a signal that the redemption of Africa was "just beyond the hill." From this perspective, argued the leader of a local division, the UNIA need not "spill one drop of blood" in the short term, or be "as brutal to his white brothers as they are to him"; rather, they must organize, train themselves, "prepare for the next cataclysm" when Negroes might seize the day. At the unveiling of the charter for the Bluefields division, in Nicaragua, a speaker confidently explained that Europe had "reached the zenith and is now on the decline," and that out of the debris Africa would rise. Aiding this effort, both at home and abroad, was the UNIA. The head of a Panamanian division told an agent that the organization "had its agents all over Africa at the present time, including the enormous territories covered by East and West Africa"-an assertion repeatedly made by the *Negro World* and, as it has turned out, mostly true.⁴⁷

This expectation of a rising tide of anti-colonial activism, joined by an appeal to racial consciousness and organization, framed the work of Garveyite organizers in the West Indies as well. J.R. Ralph Casimir, the leading figure in the Dominica UNIA, celebrated the *Negro World* for providing an honest channel to world news and to news of Africa. Having "heard the cry of India for the Indians, Egypt for the Egyptians, China for the Chinese," Negroes must declare "Africa for the Africans." According to a Garveyite in the Virgin Islands, "[a] similarity of suffering among the darker races is creating a similarity of sentiment among their members in regard to the future relations with the white race." The UNIA was facilitating this effort by spreading news of white atrocities and anti-white resistance across the African diaspora, creating an expansive and united community of interest. In Jamaica, the American Consul noted that the idea of a "Negro Republic," and "an alliance with Hindus working for independence from British rule, with Japan and China and with the Russian Bolsheviki" was being discussed with a "certain amount of seriousness." In the early 1930s, Garvey's Kingston-based journal, the *Blackman*, had a regular feature entitled "The Truth About the Indian Situation."⁴⁸

Against this canvas of anti-colonial solidarity, Garveyites in the West Indies collaborated in the development of a distinct form of regional labor activism. In the wake of the 1919-1920 labor rebellions, organizers of Trinidad Workingmen's Association- joined by organizers of like-minded associations in Grenada, British Guiana, Barbados, and Jamaica-adopted a reformist stance that emphasized more moderate economic and political goals, sought alliances with the British Labour Party in the metropole, and pursued change through the vehicle of constitutional reform.

This move towards moderation was not unproblematic. Led by a group of middle-class activists dedicated to the tactics of bourgeois advocacy and suspicious of the more ill-tempered and unpredictable devices of working-class resistance, these organizations have been accused of leaving "the majority of working people unenfranchised and without an organisation that was really their own." At the same time, these concessions cannot be understood in a vacuum. Post-1920 labor organizations in the Caribbean joined the UNIA in scaling back their stridency and their demands as a matter of survival. In Trinidad, amidst the hail of repressive legislative measures following the disturbances of 1919, the TWA persevered as the lone body representing the Trinidad workforce during the 1920s. In this act of survival, it ensured a training ground for the more militant labor leaders that followed.

As interwar Caribbean labor politics swung from rebellious to cautious to rebellious once again, it is hard to disaggregate orientation from opportunity.⁴⁹

Crucial to the viability of the labor movements of the 1920s and early 1930s was their adoption of a Garveyist platform that encouraged broad and popular appeals to racial solidarity and dignity, and which contextualized cautious reformism in the language of African redemption. Unsurprisingly, the connections between labor organizing and the UNIA ran deep. Nearly every labor leader of the period had a relationship with the UNIA. Captain A.A. Cipriani, the white leader of the TWA in the 1920s and 1930s, shared with Garvey a relationship of mutual respect; Howard Bishop, Jr., the secretary of the organization and the editor of its journal, the *Labour Leader*, was a former member of the UNIA, and continued to speak at local meetings. Dr. Charles Duncan O'Neale, founder of the Barbados Workingmen's Association, collaborated with John Beckles and the Barbadian UNIA. T. Albert Marrayshow, leader of the Grenada Workingmen's Association, had reprinted incendiary speeches by Garvey in his journal, the *West Indian*. In 1919, he led the campaign to protect free speech as the legislature moved to ban the *Negro World*. Hubert Critchlow, leader of the British Guiana Labour Union (BGLU), encouraged his members to join the UNIA, and "expressed hearty approval of the objects of the association." During his return to Jamaica, from 1927 to 1935, Garvey himself participated in reformist labor politics, establishing his journal, *Blackman*, as an advocate for workers' rights, creating a bold and labor-friendly platform for his People's Political Party, and participating in the creation of the Jamaica Workers and Laborers Association, of which Garvey was elected chairman.⁵⁰ Labor organizers and UNIA divisions shared officers, membership, and meeting spaces. In August, 1924, for example, the *Negro World* boasted of a "Great Labor Mass Meeting" held at Liberty Hall in Port of Spain, organized to welcome Hubert Critchlow, delegated by the BGLU and TWA to present the grievances of West Indian labor to the House of Commons in London. Joining Critchlow on the platform were Cipriani and Bishop, along with officers of the UNIA, who addressed "hundreds of the horny-handed sons of toil." Cipriani expressed his desire to bring about a "confederation of labor in the West Indies" to better mobilize and articulate worker grievances.⁵¹

The duality of Garveyist labor organizing-its popular appeals to racial solidarity and African redemption combined with a situational commitment to limited mechanisms of reform-joined workers and their middle-class labor leaders in what was often an uneasy coalition. The subversive subtext of Garveyist organizing could not always be restrained within cautious parameters. This was clear in the strikes and riots that broke out across British Guiana in April, 1924. As Hubert Critchlow urged calm and denounced outbreaks of violence, the *Daily Argosy* reported that a "Prof. Osborne" was touring Georgetown, declaring "that the hour had come when they should demand their rights and see that they got them. They must no longer worship the 'white god,' but should know themselves.... They must no longer accept starvation wages for they had the right to live as other races lived." Police reported a rise in "seditious talk" at UNIA meetings, where speakers reported that God's plan for Africa's liberation was approaching, while warning that as soon as the essential infrastructural work of the colony was completed, the colony would "be taken by the white people and the black people pushed somewhere else." The American Consul at Georgetown reported that the mobilizing efforts of the BGLU had descended into an "orgy of lawlessness," that the "race question" had been injected into the movement, and that people were referring to the "agitators" as "American Garveyites."⁵²

These faultlines widened in the 1930s, as a new and more radical type of labor politics started to challenge, and then surpass, the politics of the 1920s. Amidst the mounting pressures of the Great Depression, the colonial edifice of the British West Indies once again began to shake. Collapsing world markets precipitated a rise in unemployment and poverty, a situation exacerbated by the mass return of migrant workers to the islands. The crisis fell upon a crumbling infrastructure marked by deplorable working facilities, inadequate housing, and appalling conditions of health and sanitation.⁵³ As circumstances worsened a rising generation of activists grew increasingly frustrated with labor reformism, and began experimenting with more strident methods of protest. As they developed their fresh and radical appeal to class-based insurgency, this generation reinvigorated the Garveyist tradition of race-based labor activism that had become an indelible part of the region's political culture. Yet older Garveyites, and particularly Marcus Garvey himself, found themselves unable to adapt to the changing circumstances, to the new moment of possibility. The labor rebellions of 1935-1939 bore the imprint of Garveyism even as organizational Garveyism was receding from the spotlight.⁵⁴

Worker insurgency was sparked by the pan-African enthusiasm and mobilization that grew out of the Italian-Ethiopian War, which formally commenced in October 1935 after a build-up of nearly a year. It is hard to overestimate the impact of the war on the popular consciousness of the West Indies.

Petitions, including several from local UNIA divisions, flooded the Colonial Office, demanding that Britain do more to protect Ethiopia from the widely expected Italian invasion, expressing frustration with European complacency, and requesting permission—in light of this complacency—to mobilize their own regiments of volunteers to help defend Ethiopian independence.⁵⁵

Officials noted with concern the escalating rhetoric at pro-Ethiopian meetings, and the large crowds gathering around cable stations waiting for news while "known local agitators" worked them up into a state of excitement. When strikes and riots began to break out across the archipelago, beginning in St. Kitts in January, 1935, it became clear that the passions inflamed by the conflict in Africa would have real consequences. After bloody riots erupted in St. Vincent, the Governor expressed frustration that his black subjects were determined to ignore "geography and ethnology" in viewing the war in Ethiopia as a nationalist cause. "To them the Emperor [Haile] Selassie ... is regarded as a national hero who is making a valiant stand against the unprovoked attack of a white race," he reported. It mattered little that Italy had declared war on the African nation, and not Britain. "What has stirred them profoundly," he noted, "is that a white race has gone to war with a black race."⁵⁶

The leaders of this insurgency, and several of its participants, had grown up in the Garvey movement.⁵⁷ As in 1919-1920, they framed worker grievances and trade union politics in the language pan-African solidarity. In Barbados, the labor leader Clement Payne joined the labor question with discourses on race relations, Garveyism, black cultural pride, and the international consequences of the Halo-Ethiopian conflict. At a protest outside Government House in Bridgetown, Payne's lieutenant, Ulric McDonald Grant, combined a critique of the island's "capitalist element" with a broader condemnation of the "white man" and his disdain for "poor negroes." He enlarged a call for worker organization to an appeal for the mass organization of black West Indians, urging the crowd to "remember your mother country which is Africa," and offering praise to Marcus Garvey.⁵⁸ As labor disturbances spread from St. Kitts and St. Vincent to British Guiana and St. Lucia, to Trinidad and Barbados, to Jamaica and the Bahamas, officials were faced with the uncomfortable reality of an "ever growing antagonism towards the white race." During a wave of strikes in British Guiana, a group of several hundred black men armed themselves with cutlasses and marched through the countryside, reportedly shouting "Bad Abyssinia [Ethiopia]-all you white bitches got no business here--our country-you go back where you come from." In Trinidad, the Governor reported rumors of Marcus Garvey's imminent arrival during the labor disturbances of 1937.⁵⁹

If workers challenged employers on the grounds of pressing economic grievances and want, they were galvanized by the lesson--crystallized in their minds by the Ethiopian crisis--that battles between capital and labor, between fascism and democracy, were legible in the context of the great conflict between whites and non-whites that continued to underlay the geopolitical order.⁶⁰ In this climate, observed the Secretary of State for the Colonies, William Ormsby-Gore, conditions of "unemployment, underpay [and] undernourishment" threatened "a colour clash spreading throughout the West Indies." Fearing this contagion, legislators privately discussed ways to "disguise" the racial outlines of the conflicts in public reports.⁶¹

A liminal figure in this new wave of labor rebellions was Tubal Uriah "Buzz" Butler, who emerged as the de facto leader of the strikes and disturbances that rocked Trinidad in 1937. Butler was a native of Grenada and a veteran of the war, who had migrated to Trinidad to work in the oilfields before an industrial accident, in 1929, left him permanently disabled. Joining the Trinidad Workingmen's Association in the early 1930s, Butler grew impatient with what he viewed as a disconnect between TWA reformism and the deteriorating situation for oil workers. In early 1935, having risen to a position in the local executive of the TWA--now reconstituted as the Trinidad Labor Party (TLP)--at Fyzabad, Butler organized a strike for workers in the Apex Oilfields, leading them on a hunger march north to Port of Spain. An enraged A.A. Cipriani, whose directives for patience Butler had ignored, cooperated with police to end the march, then had Butler expelled from the TLP. Unbowed, Butler organized the British Empire Workers and Citizens Home Rule Party (known as the Home Rule Party) and quickly mobilized a strong base of support among the workers in the island's southern oil fields. From his nerve center in Fyzabad, Butler established an informal alliance with the Negro Welfare Cultural and Social Association (NWCSA), led by similarly disaffected and radicalized activists in the north.⁶²

In the months leading up to the oil workers strike in June, 1937, Butler traveled between the oil fields and urban centers of southern Trinidad, electrifying black Trinidadians in a series of speeches and meetings that colorfully repackaged well-worn tropes of Garveyist mobilization in the context of growing labor unrest. Warning that "British Ethiopians and all coloured folks in Trinidad" were being "set aside for slow but sure extermination," Butler called on non-white workers and citizens to unite, to prepare to shed blood in defense of their homes, their livelihoods, and their liberty. Like earlier Garveyists, Butler declared himself a loyal subject of the Empire, but argued that a vast international conspiracy was afoot, represented by the emergence of a "Fascist-Imperialist-Capitalist" cabal that had led Britain into collaboration with Benito Mussolini and now conspired to return black workers to a state of slavery.

Pledging his organization to the pursuit of a "brighter British Day," couching his labor demands in the language of messianic prophecy, racial awakening, and Pan-African consciousness, Butler embraced the Janus-face of Garveyist reformism and recast it the language of "open rebellion" and "Industrial war."⁶³ As a tribute to Garveyism, Butler opened his meetings with a recitation of "From Greenland's Icy Mountains," a hymn popularized by its use at the opening of UNIA meetings. To close, Butler selected recognizable labor songs such as "Arise Ye Toilers of our Nation."⁶⁴ In the space between the two hymns, a torch was being passed.

From London, where he lived out his remaining years in increasingly miserable exile, Marcus Garvey cast a tragic shadow over the events. The zeitgeist had passed him by; he seemed unwilling, or unable, to acknowledge the magnitude of what was happening in the Caribbean. By the beginning of July, 1937, the worker rebellion had been violently suppressed in Trinidad, but tensions simmered, and workers, employers, and authorities nervously awaited the report of the Forster Commission, which would recommend a new framework for the island's industrial relations. The International African Service Bureau (IASB), led by a group of young black radicals in London, including Trinidadians C.L.R. James and George Padmore, had seized on the cause, demanding that labor conditions and worker rights in the West Indies be harmonized with British standards, and that the West Indies be granted representative government to ensure an end of the domination of workers by an "alien people." In August, 1937, as Garvey was holding court at Speaker's Corner in Hyde Park, he was confronted by James and Padmore, and challenged to speak on behalf of the Trinidadian workers.

Antagonized by his rivals, Garvey replied that the workers had been "misled," that they should follow the lead of Captain Cipriani and not "agitators" from London-the IASB- who were unnecessarily trying to keep trouble going. Smelling blood, a reporter for the conservative *Trinidad Guardian* asked Garvey to follow up on his comments, which received front page coverage. "I am, of course, not hostile to the workers of Trinidad, but it grieves me to see them being misled," explained Garvey. "This organization called the [IASB] is nothing but a political body and a communist one at that, which is using the Trinidad workers for its own end, sending out inflammatory literature and in every way trying to keep the pot of trouble boiling." Why, asked Garvey, should the Trinidad workers "risk their employment for the sake of these agitators in London who have nothing to lose," and who were concerned more with "industrial strife" than "industrial peace." The article was an embarrassment for local Garveyites. An aghast E.M. Mitchell, President of the UNIA in Port of Spain, tried to minimize the damage by suggesting that Garvey's "unjustified [and] serious blunder" was a result of "misinformation and ignorance of local conditions."⁶⁵

In October, during a tour of the West Indies, Garvey was allowed to land in Trinidad after agreeing to the Governor's stipulations that he would refrain from speaking about the labor situation, and that "he would not make any political speech or make any utterance which was calculated ... to promote ill will between the different races and classes resident in the Colony." Garvey toured the southern industrial region, met with a number of "negro organizations" in Port of Spain, and delivered two addresses of a "non- political but inspirational" character. Among the more militant, unaware of the restrictions under which Garvey was burdened, fixed to view of the UNIA leader as a fierce and courageous race leader, there was deep disillusionment. The Garvey of that story had passed from the scene, even as his legacy continued to be woven into the fabric of Caribbean political culture. At the Globe Theatre, Captain Cipriani introduced Garvey by declaring him "one of the greatest leaders in present-day history." By this time, such accolades were a bit of a stretch. But Cipriani reached at a greater truth when he remarked, "it is not the man or the individual, it is the work and the word that will stand through the long ages that are yet to be." Applause rang out from the expectant audience.⁶⁶

Garveyism nurtured a platform for race-first, worker-oriented, anti-colonial politics that established the parameters of West Indian activism and dissent for nearly two decades following the First World War. It did so by effectively articulating the needs and grievances of West Indian blacks, and by remaining sensitive to the shifting currents of political possibility in which such needs and grievances might be approached. Marcus Garvey's legacy was established not only in the radical fires of postwar labor rebellion, but also in his ability to sustain a vibrant culture of organization and political engagement suited to the reactionary era that followed. By the mid 1930s, his mind had hardened.

Whereas new organizations like the IASB, and rising Caribbean radicals like Butler, understood the emerging possibilities of labor radicalism, Garvey found himself unable to so adapt. The legacy of Garveyism remained in the continued engagement of its sons and daughters in the struggle against world white supremacy. Philosophical renderings of "Africa for the Africans" and racial nationalism would continue to inspire black activists. Yet the politics of Garveyism-its vibrant connection to mass organization-had ended. The Age of Garvey had passed.

Notes

1 "Trinidad and Tobago Disturbances, 1937: Report of the Commission," National Archives of England (hereafter, PRO), CO 295/601/2; "Summary of Principal Events in the Trinidad Strike, 2 July 1937, PRO, CO 295/599/13;

2 Trade unions were legalized in Trinidad under the Trade Union Ordinance of 1932, but with circumscribed rights, and limited legal protections. Because of these restrictions, the leading workers' organization at the time, the Trinidad Workman's Association, chose not to register as a union, and instead rebranded itself a political organization, the Trinidad Labour Party. Once unionization was afforded a greater purview, after 1937, formal associations proliferated—thirteen in Trinidad and Tobago by the end of 1939. See O. Nigel Bolland, *The Politics of Labour in the British Caribbean: The Social Origins of Authoritarianism and Democracy in the Labour Movement* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2001), 250-251.

3 Debates in the Legislative Council of Trinidad and Tobago, 9 July 1937, PRO, CO 295/599/14. The acknowledgement, by both Nankivell and the Governor, Sir Murchison Fletcher, that the strikes had been caused by low wages and severe economic hardship, was treated as a scandal by both the Trinidad business community and the Colonial Office; both men were driven from their posts. PRO, CO 295/600/13; Bridget Brereton, *A History of Modern Trinidad, 1783-1962* (Kingston, Jamaica: Heinemann, 1981), 182-184.

4 Testimony of Tubal Uriah Butler, *Rex v Butler*, PRO, CO 295/608/5.

5 Robert A. Hill, "Boundaries of Belonging: Essay on Comparative Caribbean Garveyism," *Caribbean Studies* 31.1 (Jan-June, 2003), 11. By "greater Caribbean," I refer to the islands of the Caribbean Sea, along with the Atlantic coastal regions of Central and South America. As will be discussed below, Garveyism had its greatest impact in the British West Indies—comprising the islands, along with British Guiana (now Guyana) and British Honduras (now Belize)—and in the labor centers of Central America and Cuba that attracted large numbers of West Indian migrant workers.

6 Ronald Harpelle, "Cross Currents in the Western Caribbean: Marcus Garvey and the UNIA in Central America," *Caribbean Studies* 31.1 (Jan-June, 2003): 35-73; Marc C. McLeod, "Garveyism in Cuba, 1920-1940," *Journal of Caribbean History* 30.1/2 (1996): 132-168; Marc C. McLeod, "'Sm dejar de ser cubanos'. Cuban Blacks and the Challenges of Garveyism in Cuba," *Caribbean Studies* 31.1 (Jan-June, 2003): 75-105, Frank A. Guridy, "'Enemies of the White Race': The Machado State and the UNIA in Cuba," *Caribbean Studies* 31.1 (Jan-June, 2003): 107-137, Carla Burnett, "'Are We Slaves or Free Men?': Labor, Race, Garveyism and the 1920 Panama Canal Strike" (PhD diss, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2004); Anne Macpherson, "Colonial Matriarchs: Garveyism, Maternalism, and Belize's Black Cross Nurses, 1920-1952," *Gender & History* 15.3 (November, 2003): 507-527.

7 Judith Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey: Race and Class in Modern Society* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 142-143, Macpherson, "Colonial Matriarchs," 508, Frederick Douglass Opie, "Garveyism and the Labor Organization on the Caribbean Coast of Guatemala, 1920-1921," *The Journal of African American History* 94.2 (Spring, 2009), 167, Burnett, "Are We Slaves or Free Men?" 182, 190.

8 McLeod, "Garveyism in Cuba," 157-158.

9 In developing this argument, I owe a debt to a pioneering body of Garvey scholarship that deserves more credit than it has received. See W.F. Elkins, "Black Power in the British West Indies: The Trinidad Longshoremen's Strike in 1919," *Science and Society* 31.1 (Winter, 1969): 71-75; Tony Martin, "Marcus Garvey and the West Indies," and "Marcus Garvey and Trinidad, 1912-1947," in Martin, *The Pan-African Connection: From Slavery to Garvey and Beyond* (Dover, MA: The Majority Press, 1983); and, in particular, Rupert Lewis, *Marcus Garvey: Anti-Colonial Champion* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc., 1988).

10 Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832-1938* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 347-367; Walter Rodney, *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881-1905* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 32-34; Bridget Brereton and Kevin A. Yelvington, "Introduction: The Promise of Emancipation," in *The Colonial/Caribbean in Transatlantic Essays on Postemancipation Social and Cultural History*, eds Bridget Brereton and Kevin A. Yelvington (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999), 7-13; Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America* (London: Verso, 1998), 14-30; Irma Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations: Caribbean Immigration and the Harlem Community, 1900-1930* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 11-27, Harpelle, "Cross Currents in the Western Caribbean," 39-41.

11 James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia*, 52-54; "UNIA Farewell to the Jamaica War Contingent," 13 November 1915, in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers* (hereafter MGP), Volume/, ed. Robert A. Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 163.

12 Testimony of Corporal Samuel Alfred Haynes and Testimony of Captain Greville William Charles Hulse, Interviews Conducted by the Riot Commission, Belize, British Honduras, PRO, CO 123/296/65699; James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia*, 56-63, W.F. Elkins, "A Source of Black Nationalism in the Caribbean: The Revolt of the British West Indies Regiment at Taranto, Italy," *Science and Society* 34 1 (Spring, 1970), 99-102.

13 For example, between 1914 and 1918, the price of both flour and rice in Panama rose from 5 cents a pound to 12.5 cents. J.R. Murray, British Consulate, Colon, to Sir Claude C. Mallet, 3 February 1919, PRO, CO 318/350/19715. See also J.R. Chancellor, Governor of Trinidad and Tobago, to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 7 December 1919, PRO, CO 295/523/69892; CO/318/352/72908 Labour Unrest and Wages Question, 1919; "Report of the Riot Commission," Belize, British Honduras, 21 October 1919, co, 123/296/65699.

14 "Race Riots in the United Kingdom," *Belize Independent*, 16 July 1919, 11; Report by Hugh Burgess, Inspector, CID, c. November 1919," PRO, CO 318/352/66887. The Governor of British Honduras, Sir Eyre Hutson, believed that the riots of July were ignited by the *Independent* report, noting that "the cry arose that the whites generally should be treated as the negroes had been treated in Liverpool." Eyre Hutson, Governor of British Honduras, to Viscount Milner, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 31 July 1919, PRO, CO 123/295/48750.

15 Henry A. Baker, American Consul, Port of Spain, to Secretary of State, Washington, 9 December 1919, Department of National Archives, College Park, MD (hereafter DNA), RG 59, File 844G: Trinidad, Central Files, 1910-1929.

16 A division of the UNIA had been established in Panama, by December, 1918, and in Belize, British Honduras, and Kingston, Jamaica by April, 1919 See "Censored letter from Edgar McCarthy, Secretary, Colon Branch, UNIA, to Cecil Hope, Secretary General, UNIA, New York, 8 March 1919, DNA, RG 165, File 10218-161-UNIA; "Military Intelligence Report," 5 April 1919, MGP, 1 402, Burnett, "Are We Slaves or Free Men?" 67. For methods of *Negro World* distribution, see J.R. Chancellor, Governor of Trinidad and Tobago, to Viscount Milner, 1 November 1920, PRO, CO 318/356/63 718.

17 Memo from War Office, Whitehall, London, to Lt Col. H.A. Parkenham, MIB, Washington, DC, 5 November 1918, DNA, RG 165, File 10218-261: UNIA; W F Elkins, "Suppression of the *Negro World* in the British West Indies," *Science and Society* 35.3 (Fall, 1971), 346. According to Winston James, the *Negro World* had a "profound" influence in sparking the Taranaki uprising. See James, *Holdmg Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia*, 66.

18 Marcus Garvey to D.B. Lewis, Corozal, British Honduras, 1 November 1918, DNA, RG 165, File I0218- 261: UNIA; Testimony of Captain William Caile Price, Interviews conducted by the Riot Commission, Belize, British Honduras, PRO, CO 123/296/65699; Eyre Hutson, Governor, British Honduras, to Secretary of State for the Colonies, PRO, FO 371/4467/A5761.

19 W.M. Gordon, Acting Governor, Trinidad and Tobago, to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 18 June 1919, PRO, CO 295/521/41273; "Ordinance No. 10-1920," Trinidad, CO 295/527/23008; J.R.

Chancellor, Governor of Trinidad and Tobago, to Viscount Milner, 1 November 1920, CO 318/356/63718; H.E.W. Grant, Administering the government, Bahamas, to Viscount Milner, London, 27 November 1920, CO 318/356/62362; Haddon-Smith, Governor, Windward Islands, to Viscount Milner, 11 May 1920, CO 321/308/26945; Charles Latham, American Consul, Kingston, Jamaica, to Secretary of State, Washington, 12 September 1920, DNA, RG 59, File 811.108G, 191: Marcus Garvey; EB Montgomery, American Vice Consul in Charge, Port Limon, Panama, to Secretary of State, Washington, 24 August 1919, DNA, RG 59, File 818.4016: Racial Problems; W.F. Elkins, "Marcus Garvey, the *Negro World*, and the British West Indies, 1919-1920," in *Garvey Africa, Europe, and the Americas*, eds. Rupert Lewis and Maureen Warner-Lewis (Kingston: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, Jamaica, 1986), 36-45. In Barbados, the prohibition of the *Negro World* was considered, but ultimately rejected on the grounds that a Sedition Bill would be impossible to pass, and because the Governor thought it might be helpful "for the Barbadian Coloured Man to see the disabilities of the Negro in America as he should be the better contented with his position here" Governor's Memo, 22 June 1920, PRO, CO 318/355/34648.

20 R. Walter, Acting Governor, British Honduras, to British Ambassador, Washington, DC, 13 February 1919, PRO, CO 123/295/48750; G.B Haddon-Smith, Governor, Windward Islands, to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 11 May 1920, CO 321/308/29007; Eyre Hutson, Governor, British Honduras, to Viscount Milner, 31 July 1919, CO 123/295/48750.

21 Eyre Hutson, Governor, British Honduras, to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 10 May 1920, PRO, FO 371/4467/A5761.

22 "Report of UNIA Mass Meeting at Madison Square Garden," 30 October 1919, MGP, 2:128-129; "Editorial Letter by Marcus Garvey," 1 October 1919, MGP, 2:41-42; "Blackmen All Over the World Should Prepare to Protect Themselves: Negroes Should Match Fire with Hell Fire," "The Riots Once More," and "Socialism and the Negro," *Negro World*, October 11, 1919, 1-2, in PRO, CO 23/285/68500;

23 See, for example, "The Victory at Atlantic City" and "The Negro and the Unions," *Negro World*, June 21, 1919; "Conditions in Panama," *Negro World*, June 28, 1919, in DNA, RG 165, File 10218-317/4 Negro World.

24 Report of Speech by Garvey at Liberty Hall, 7 January 1920, and transcription of remarks by George Tobias, in "Negro Agitation," M.I.I.C, New York, Report No. 232 (3), PRO, FO 371/4467/A443.

25 Dispatch from Panama to Earl Curzon of Kedleston, PC, IO May 1919, PRO, CO 318/350/37003; Burnett, "Are We Slaves or Free Men?" 67; "Marcus Garvey to William Ferris, Literary Editor, *Negro World*," 21 May 1921, MGP, 3:423-424, Charles A. Patterson, Detective, Confidential Report, 23 May 1924, PRO, CO 137/774/32280; "UNIA Declaration of Rights," MGP, 2: 571-578.

26 "Report of the Riot Commission," Belize, British Honduras, 21 October 1919, PRO, CO 123/296/65699 Herbert Hill Cain, editor of the *Belize Independent*, used his paper to inveigh against the banning of the *Negro World*, was involved in the founding of the Belize division of the UNIA, in April, 1920, and used his paper to support Garvey's causes through the decade, including the printing of "Garvey's Eye," a recurring column written by fellow Garveyite L.D. Kemp. See Peter Ashdown, *Garveyism in Belize* (Benque Viejo del Carmen, Belize: Published for SPEAR by Cubola Productions, 1990), 16; Bolland, *The Politics of Labour in the British Caribbean*, 197-198. Compelling evidence suggests that the riots were thoughtfully coordinated. Rioters demonstrated great discipline in confining their looting to white-owned stores. One witness observed men standing at several street corners, using whistles to direct small groups of rioters. Then, under suspicious circumstances, the street lights went out, at which point the crowd gathered densely in the street. Eyre Hutson, the Governor, believed that the outbreak had been plotted at Taranto, or as members of the British West Indies Regiment sailed home to British Honduras. See, especially, the testimonies of Captain Henry Melhado and Joseph Lewis, Interviews Conducted by the Riot Commission, Belize, British Honduras, PRO, CO 123/296/65699; Ron Johnstone, Acting Governor, Jamaica, "Memorandum of Certain Occurrences in the Period between 5 July and 14 August 1919," PRO, CO 137/733/50990.

27 J.R. Chancellor, Governor, to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 7 December 1919, PRO, CO 295/523/69892; Report by L.H. Elphinstone, Solicitor-General, 12 March 1920 and Report by Major H. de Pass, Inspector of Constabulary, 12 March 1920, CO 295/527/17716; Elkins, "Black Power in the British West Indies," 72; Martin, "Marcus Garvey and Trinidad," 55-58.

28 Elkins, "Marcus Garvey, the *Negro World*, and the British West Indies," 41-42. As early as February, 1919, T. Albert Marryshow, editor of the *West Indian*, published an address by Marcus Garvey in Brooklyn during which Garvey said, "The Negro is tired of being a subject. He is tired of being a citizen without rights, and the time is now ripe when we should guarantee freedom even at the cost of our lives. Our generation must die even in half to save the other generation whole. As for me the spirit of Patrick Henry still moves, it is the spirit of liberty or death." "Address by Marcus Garvey in Brooklyn," *West Indian*, 28 February 1919, in MGP, 1.375

29 Burnett, "Are We Slaves or Free Men?" 1-4, 117.

30 "Report from Convention, 3 August 1920," MGP, 2:514; Opie, "Garveyism and Labor Organization on the Caribbean Coast of Guatemala," 166-167; Charles L Latham, American Consul, Kingston, Jamaica, to Secretary of State, Washington, 12 September 1920, DNA, RG 59, File 81.1.108G, 191-Marcus Garvey; "Reports by Special Agent P-138," MGP, 2:607-608.

31 See the Report of the Riot Commission, 21 October 1919, especially Appendix B: "Threats Against White Men and Excitement of the Crowd," and the testimony of William Henry Hoar, PRO, CO 123/296/65699.

32 W.M. Gordon, Acting Governor, to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 18 June 1919, PRO, CO 295/521/41273; Report by G.H. May, Inspector General, 29 July 1919, and W.M. Gordon, Acting Governor, to Viscount Milner, 29 July 1919, CO 295/521/50043, G.H. May to Colonial Secretary, 5 August 1919, CO 295/522/50042.

33 Elkins, "Black Power in the British West Indies," 71; Martin, "Marcus Garvey and Trinidad," 54-69; James, *Holdmg Aloft the Banner of Ethlopa*, 51; Report by Major H. de Pass, Inspector of Constabulary, 12 March 1920, PRO, CO 295/527/17716. Here, for example, is Marcus Garvey, sounding an oft-repeated note at a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall, in August, 1919: "We shall not be satisfied [with this farcical democracy]."

Therefore we declare this: We, who have survived the war, that the same blood our brothers gave in France and Flanders to free the whites, the Belgians and the Serbians, the same blood we are prepared at any time to shed in the emancipation of the negro race." "UNIA Meeting at Carnegie Hall," August 25, 1919, MGP, 1:502.

34 Burnett, "Are We Slaves or Free Men?" especially 67-69.

35 "Conditions in Panama," *Negro World*, June 28, 1919, in DNA, RG 165, File 10218-317/4. *Negro World*; Burnett, "Are We Slaves or Free Men?" 90-94, 113.

36 Burnett, "Are We Slaves or Free Men?" 120-123, 148-151

37 Elkins, "Black Power in the British West Indies," 74, Burnett, "Are We Slaves or Free Men?" 5; Bolland, *The Politics of Labour in the British Caribbean*, 171, 203-204; Graeme Momson, Governor, British Guiana, to J.H. Thomas, 13 April 1924, PRO, CO 1 11/652/20598, H Bryan, Officer Administering the Government, to J.H. Thomas, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 19 June 1924, CO 137/774/32280.

38 "[I]t is my desire, should Garvey leave this country, that he be denied entry in the future, and It is suggested that some such arrangement be made with the Stated Department in this matter," Bureau of Investigations agent J. Edgar Hoover wrote to Washington Garvey's followers were also worried that he would be seized by the British, or that the UNIA would falter in his absence. See "J. Edgar Hoover to Lewis J. Baley," 11 February 1921, and "Report by Special Agent P-138," 11 February 1921, in MGP, 3:177-178. See also Colin Grant, *Negro with a Hat The Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 284-285. For Garvey's "retreat from radicalism," see Robert A. Hill, "General Introduction," in MGP, 1 lxxviii-lxxxiv; Hill, "Garvey's Gospel, Garvey's Game," in *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, ed. Amy Jacques Garvey (New York: Atheneum, 1992), xxv-xxvi.

39 "UNIA Meeting at Carnegie Hall," 25 August 1919, MGP, 1:506; "Speech by Marcus Garvey," Chicago, 1 February 1921, MGP, 3:150.

40 "Speech by Marcus Garvey," Liberty Hall, 20 July 1921, MGP, 3:532-539, "Garvey in Jamaica," *Tribune*, 15 May 1921, in PRO, CO 318/364/34269; "Speeches by Marcus Garvey at Colon, Panama," 27 April 1921, MGP, 3:368-370; G.P. Chittendon, Manager, United Fruit Company, Costa Rica Division, to V M. Cutter, Vice-President, UFC, Boston, United Fruit Company Records, Costa Rica, TLS, accessed April 2, 2011, <http://bolt.lakeheadu.ca/~sojourners/diaspora/doc/html>; Harpelle, "Cross Currents in the Western Caribbean," 55-60; Roy T. Davis, San Jose, Costa Rica, to Secretary of State, Washington, 5 March 1928, DNA, RG 59, File 811.108G, 191: Marcus Garvey.

41 Report by H.J. Cavanaugh, Superintendent of Police, 3 July 1921, Report by H.J. Cavanaugh, 5 July 1921, and Memorandum of Interview with Mr. Marcus Garvey, 5 July 1921, PRO, CO 318/364/38532.

42 Elkins, "Suppression of the *Negro World* in the British West Indies," 346; Wilfred Collet to Winston Churchill, 6 July 1922, PRO, CO 318/371/37349; Grant, *Negro with a Hat*, 295-296; "Reports by Special Agent P-138," July 30, 1921, MGP, 3.558.

43 Hill, "Garvey's Gospel, Garvey's Game," !ix.

44 Martm, "Marcus Garvey and the West Indies," 61-62.

45 "Divisions of the UNIA, 1926-1927 (compiled from index cards)," Universal Negro Improvement Association Records of the Central Division (New York), 1918-59, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, New York- microfilm, Reel 1, Series A, Box 2, Section A1 6.

46 Harpelle, "Cross Currents in the Western Caribbean," 45-46; Aviva Chomsky, *West Indian Workers and the United Fruit Company in Costa Rica, 1870-1940* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 205-206; McLeod, "Garveyism in Cuba," 135, 157-158; Guridy, "Enemies of the Whites Race," 119-120; MacPherson, "Colonial Matriarchs," 513-516.

47 Charles H. Bryant, UNIA, Ancon, Canal Zone, to Major Charles Braithwaite Wallis, 24 August 1925; "Division No. 17 Holds Interesting Meeting on Sunday Night," *Panama Times*, 27 October 1925, and Charles Braithwaite Wallis, Panama, to Austm Chamberlain, 4 November 1925. All in PRO, CO 554/66.57659. "Unveiling of Charter in Nicaragua," *Negro World*, March 19, 1921, 5.

48 "Garvey is Making the White World Uneasy, Says West Indian Poet," *Negro World*, May 20, 1922, 3, "Letter from 'An African Abroad,'" Dominica, *Negro World*, March 11, 1922, 3; Casper Holstein, "The Awakening of a Soul and Striking Tribute to Power of 'Negro World,'" *Negro World*, July 28, 1923, 8, Charles Latham, American Consul, Kingston, to Secretary of State, Washington, 12 September 1920, DNA, RG 59, File 811.108G, 191: Garvey, Marcus; Lewis, *Marcus Garvey Anti-Coloma/ Champwn*, 93

49 Bolland, *The Politics of Labour in the British Caribbean*, 199-205; Brereton, *A History of Modern Trinidad*, 164-169; Martm, "Marcus Garvey and Trinidad," 70; Martin, *Race First*, 234-235.

⁵⁰For Cipriani and Bishop, see Lewis, *Marcus Garvey Anti-Coloma/ Champion*, 266-268; "UNIA in Tnnidad," *Negro World*, November 19, 1921; "Brilliant Unveiling Ceremony Staged by UNIA in Port-of- Spain, Tnnidad," *Negro World*, May 13, 1922, 3. For O'Neale, see Bolland, *The Politics of Labour m the British Caribbean*, 205. For Marryshow, see "Address by Marcus Garvey in Brooklyn," *West Indian*, 28 February 1919, m MGP, 1:374-376, and the senes of editorials penned by Marryshow m the *West Indian*, collected in PRO, CO 321/308/26945. For Critchlow, see "Report of Meeting of Georgetown, Demerara UNIA," *Negro World*, March 11, 1922, 11, "Leader of Eastern Division Visits the Colony of British Guiana," *Negro World*, July 9, 1921, 9 For Garvey, see Rupert Lewis, "Garvey's Perspective on Jamaica," m *Garvey His Work and Impact*, eds Rupert Lewis and Patnck Bryan (Kingston. Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1988), 236-237; Martm, *Race First*, 234-235, Lewis, *Marcus Garvey Anti-Coloma! Champion*, 209-212; Ken Post, *Arise Ye Starvelmgs The Jamaican Labour Rebellwn of 1938 and Its Aftermath* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1978), 206-207. Lewis notes that twelve of the twenty-six clauses of the PPP's manifesto were geared towards worker concerns.

51 "Great Labor Mass Meeting Held at Liberty Hall in Trinidad," *Negro World*, August 23, 1924, 14

52 Graeme Momson, Governor, to J.H. Thomas, 13 Aprnl 1924; "Strike Disorder in Georgetown, *Daily Argosy*, 2 April 1924, 1; Copy of Minutes, Colonial Secretary and Inspector General of Police, 13 April 1924. All in PRO, CO 111/652/205598. See also "Labor and Class Riots in Georgetown, Gmana (Consul Report), 2 April 1924, DNA, RG 59, Box 8890, File 840 1: Georgetown, British Guiana.

53 Bolland, *The Pohlcls of Labour m the Bntrsh Caribbean*, 212-213; Brereton, *A History of Modern Tnmdad*, 177-178.

54 "Garveyism was both more widespread and more deeply rooted m the political culture of the region [than Marxism]," writes Nigel Bolland. "Many labour leaders of the 1930s were followers or former followers of Garvey, some with experience in the UNIA branches m Cuba, Costa Rica or the United States. So it was not only the ideas of Garvey that were important but also the expenence of public speaking and organizing, and ofrecognizing the need for unity, self-reliance and sohdanty. After the Itahan invas10n of Ethiopia, in particular, the Pan-African and anticolomal aspects of Garvey's phliosophy became a major force in the labour rebellions." See Bolland, *The Politics of Labour m the Bnflsh Caribbean*, 360.

55 For petitions, correspondence, and reports of meetings pertaining to the Italo-Ethopian conflict, see PRO, CO 318/418/4 and CO/318/421/5.

56 Confidential Letter to H. Beckett, St. Lucia, 16 October 1935, PRO, CO 318/418/4; S M Gner, Governor, Windward Islands, to Malcolm Macdonald, 12 November 1935, CO 321/363/13

57 According to one veteran leader in the West Indian labor movement, "most of the major labour leaders who came to prominence in the British West Indies as late as the 1930s were profoundly influenced by Garvey." This was particularly true in Jamaica, where the labor rebellion of 1938 was led by Alexander Bustamante, who had been influenced by Garveyism as a younger man, and St. William Wellmington Grant, a leading Garveyite in New York in the early 1930s. Surrounding Bustamante and Grant were several other men with ties to Garveyism and the UNIA: A.G S. Coombs, Hugh Buchanan, J.A.G. Edwards, Stennet Kerr Coombs, and L.W.J. Rose. See Martm, "Marcus Garvey and Tnmdad," 53; Post, *Artse Ye Starvelmgs*, 275; Lewis, *Marcus Garvey Anti-Coloma/ Champion*, 265.

58 Bolland, *The Politics of Labour m the Brtflsh Cartbbean*, 281-282. Another of Payne's lieutenants, Israel Lovell, was a prominent and long-time Garveyite. See Report by Loe/Corp!. J. Jones, Barbados Detective Department, to Captam J R. Anderson, Inspector of Police, IO August 1920, PRO, CO 318/355/43627.

59 R.S. Johnson, Governor, Leeward Islands, to Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, 14 May 1935, PRO, CO 152/454/12; Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into and Report on the Labour Disputes m Demerara and Berbice, September and October, 1935, CO 111/732/2; Murchison Fletcher to Mark Young, 3 August 1937, cited in Martm, "Marcus Garvey and Tnmdad," 75.

60 See, for example, the address delivered by T. Albert Marryshow before the St. Kitts Workers League m 1935. "Honourable T Albert Marryshow at St. Kitts," *Union Messenger*, c. October 1935, in PRO, CO 318/418/4.

61 Meeting between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and Deputation of the West Indies Committee, 3 July 1936, PRO, CO 295/599/13; E.J. Waddmngton, Governor, Barbados, to Moore, 3 January 1939, CO 28/324/11; Chief Justice, Antigua, to Governor Johnston, 11 May 1935, CO 152/454/12.

62 Testimony of Tubal Uriah Butler, *Rex v Butler*, PRO, CO 295/608/5; Bolland, *The Politics of Labour m the Bntrsh Caribbean*, 254-256.

63 For testimony, reports of Butler meetings, and letters and materials written by Butler, see the documents collected in *Rex v Butler*, CO 295 295/608/5. In particular, see the "Mass Meeting Poster" printed by Butler; Report of Meeting, Pomt Fortin, 16 June 1937; T. Uriah B. Butler, General Secretary, BEWCHRP, to Acting Governor, Fyzabad, 27 July 1936; Butler to Lt. Col H.C.B. Hickling, Attorney, Fyzabad Junction, 2 June 1937; Butler to Acting Governor, 4 September 1936; Report of Meeting at Fyzabad, 16 May 1937.

64 Testimony of Tubal Unah Butler and Testimony of Charles John, *Rex v Butler*, PRO, CO 295/608/5.

65 George Padmore and LT.A. Wallace-Johnson, Memorandum of Evidence of the International African Service Bureau, 20 August 1937, PRO, CO 295/600/7; Beaufort Report: "Report on Investigation into Political Influences in connection with Trinidad labour Troubles, 1937," 22 March 1938, CO 295/606/4; Lewis, *Marcus Garvey Anti-Colonial Champion*, 270-272.

66 Murchison Fletcher to William Ormsby-Gore, 10 November 1937, quoted in Martin, "Marcus Garvey and Trmidad," 77; Lewis, *Marcus Garvey Antr-Colonial Champion*, 267-269; C.H Hall, Jr Amencan Consul, Trinidad, to Secretary of State, 27 October 1937, DNA, RG 59, File 844G.5045; *Port of Spam Gazette*, 21 October 1937, 13.