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From “Companionate Wife” to Feminist Pioneer
Amy Jacques Garvey’s Feminist Prowess Liberates Women in Restructuring the UNIA
Kiana Cárdenas ’19

The Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), established by Marcus Garvey and Amy Ashwood Garvey in 1914, sought to remedy the desperate institutional situation of African descendants from all over the world. Although the political organization guaranteed support for all African descendants, men and women, rooted at the heart of the organization was a masculine ideology that generated constricting gender roles, to the disadvantage of a large number of women. The structure of the UNIA solidified black men as the essential instruments for the uplifting of the race while establishing the role of women as supporters of the race, particularly through motherhood. Amy Jacques Garvey, the second wife of Marcus Garvey and the second-most important person of the UNIA, would become a leading feminist figure within the male-dominated organization, promoting women to the forefront of the black nationalist struggle.

This research seeks to answer the question: How did the contradictions between Amy Jacques Garvey’s political and personal life transform her feminist platform? Amy Jacques Garvey’s augmenting endorsement of feminist projects challenged the masculine ideology permeating the UNIA in a concurrent course that followed her dwindling marriage to Marcus Garvey. As she grew more distant with Garvey, Jacques Garvey more readily criticized men and became more outspoken in challenging the UNIA and Marcus Garvey, in support of women’s progress. Although Jacques Garvey would deny herself the feminist label, her efforts within the UNIA guarantees her position as one of the most significant early contributors to black feminist and women’s movements that would emerge during the later years of, and even after, the waning UNIA movement.

Amy Jacques Garvey was born into an educated middle-class family in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1895. Her father, a white English farmer, was her mentor, instilling a masculine essence within her. Instructing her in her education, on Sundays, Jacques Garvey’s father would have her read foreign newspapers and study the words with a dictionary at hand to learn to pronounce the words correctly. Jacques Garvey’s middle-class status provided her with greater opportunities than most Jamaicans. As Karen S. Adler shares, “Amy attended high school during a time when less than 2% of Jamaican youths received a high school education.” Indeed, “[h]er middle-class status allowed her to develop the verbal and intellectual skills necessary for becoming an effective movement leader.” Jacques Garvey herself acknowledges the advantages of her education and her father’s instruction, declaring that it “made [her] learn to think independently on world affairs and to analyze situations.” Her father’s early training was undeniably influential in the development of her own personal political, racial, and social views, as were the gender-classified expectations for his daughter.

Although Jacques Garvey’s middle-class status granted her many opportunities that a lot of other women, and Jamaicans in general, were excluded from, her status as a woman nevertheless imposed certain expectations and limitations that challenged her individual growth. Growing up, her father, relying on a masculine framework, taught her all sorts of different things, such as how to use a gun. But, Jacques Garvey’s father still had certain expectations that he deemed appropriate for his daughter. During high school she was “taught to play the piano, because music and music appreciation were […] a cultural finishing to a girl’s education.” Her father expected her to become a nurse and train in a school in England after her completion of the Cambridge University School Certificate Examination.

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5 Adler, 350.
7 Amy Jacques Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism (Kingston, Jamaica: A. Jacques Garvey, 1963), 106.
goal was the solid reason why her father allowed her to take typewriting and shorthand courses instead of music. Upon graduating, however, Jacques Garvey received an offer to work in a legal firm to which her father refused because he did “not want any daughter of [his] to be exposed to the wiles of men in an office.”

Amy Jacques Garvey’s opportunities began to expand after the death of her father. Her family’s lawyer and her mother encouraged her to work as a clerk in the lawyer’s office to help manage her father’s estate. She spent four years there, managing all legal stages of the task. By this time she had decided to travel to England, but certain factors did not allow her to do so. She opted for the United States instead and, despite the many objections she faced, she traveled to the United States in 1918. These actions reveal Jacques Garvey’s strength of character, as well as “independence of mind, courage, and thirst for knowledge.” The experiences of her young life are critical, shedding light on the origins of her feminist ideology and furthering the understanding of her feminist evolution before, throughout, and after the UNIA.

Considered as “the largest pan-African movement history has ever seen,” the Universal Negro Improvement Association sought to alleviate the many “problems faced by people of African descent through the achievement of economic, social, political, and religious independence from Whites.” Founded by Marcus Garvey and his first wife Amy Ashwood Garvey in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1914, the UNIA, at its pinnacle stage during the early 1920s, had drawn millions of followers from over forty countries. During this time, the political organization recorded more than 800 chapters, almost a third of them situated in Central America. Garvey’s movement generated heavy support from West Indians and African Americans upon the relocation of the UNIA’s headquarters from Kingston to Harlem, New York. A “separatist organization,” the UNIA objectified “the development of black economic independence through enterprise and production; industrial education; social and moral uplift; and self-reliance.” Behind these efforts lay the ultimate goal of achieving full “repatriation of an African homeland for the descendants of members of the African diaspora,” a notion he so greatly expressed with the declaration: “AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS’, for those at home and those abroad.”

Marcus Garvey’s ideology, or Garveyism, was indeed based on such “espousing of a worldwide liberation of all descendants of Black Africa,” an extension of the concept of black nationalism, or the “expression of resistance to capitalist exploitation and oppression.” Furthermore, central to Garveyism was the notion of African redemption. In this context, African redemption signified the “complete liberation of Africans and peoples of African descent from racism, European colonization, and global imperialism.” But, Garveyism was much more complex and sophisticated, garnished, to a great extent, with a masculine essence. As a black nationalist, Garvey promoted black liberation through a masculinist conception, prioritizing black men’s roles as leaders in the liberation movement. Women, in his view, would contribute significantly in the black liberation struggle but only by dedicating themselves to raising children.

In light of such masculinist view, Beryl Satter classifies Garveyism under “race purity”, rather than “race pride”. As Satter helps elucidate, “race pride may unify African [descendants] politically,” in contrast, “race purity […] encourages protective attitudes toward women [restricting] women’s behavior.” Garvey called for the collective effort of African descendants to elevate the race, demonstrating and, at many times inspiring, a great sense of racial pride. But, in classifying many of the organizations’ positions by gender and imposing a specific role on women, the maternal role,

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8 Garvey, 106.
9 Garvey, 106.
10 Garvey, 106.
11 Adler, 351.
12 McCormick, 257.
13 Blain, 16.
14 Adler, 347; Blain, 27.
16 Bair, 154.
17 Bair, 155.
19 Adler, 348.
21 Blain, 23.
Garveyism, as Satter warned, falls into the trap of race purity. It is this ideology, Garvey’s masculinist and, therefore, sexist ideology that saturates and shapes the structure and overall organization of the UNIA.

Satter’s claim that “Garvey’s UNIA appears to have been a predominantly male organization” is substantiated by the political organization’s framework. As Keisha N. Blain contributes, “Garvey sought to maintain a patriarchal model of leadership in the UNIA.” It is important to clarify that there were some leadership opportunities for women; many women attained leadership positions both at the local and executive levels. For example, positions were reserved for “Lady President and Lady Vice-President” of local divisions who were in charge of supervising the local female auxiliary. In this light, although women were not offered as many “equal opportunities [as] men,” the UNIA “was, in some ways, one of the most progressive black political organizations of the period.” Still, not only were leadership positions mainly reserved for men, women fortunate enough to attain high positions found they had no full control, but were subject to the direction of male leaders; they “held restricted leadership positions and were always accountable to men in the organization.” These leadership opportunities were not enough. In the larger scheme of things, Blain is accurate in concluding that “opportunities for a handful of women to hold positions of prominence could not remedy the patriarchal leadership structure of the UNIA, in which women lacked full autonomy and equality.”

The UNIA’s “structure […] and […] philosophy that guided its purpose were laden with culturally constructed concepts of gender that in turn helped define highly gender-specific social roles.” The roles of men and women within the UNIA exemplify the dichotomous “model of gender relations” that establishes the “organizational pattern” not as “separate and equal but separate and hierarchical.” To elucidate, “the wife/woman sphere […] was deemed important but secondary to and supportive of that of the husband/man.” Indeed, the favoring of men over women was of a rather conspicuous nature: men being offered more positions meant they more readily garnered representation in the UNIA. Black male Garveyites, as supporters of Garveyism were referred to, were highly revered in the organization, particularly as soldiers, leaders, and rulers. In fact, the Universal African Legions (UAL), the male auxiliary, was so greatly admired for its militarism, the main value that represented the male side of the “dichotomous sets of genderized values.” Members of the UAL were critical in that “[t]hey represented the ideas of power and dominance and the military might necessary to achieve and maintain Negro nationhood.”

Women Garveyites, on the other hand, symbolized motherhood. Referred to as “mothers of the race,” women were expected to contribute in the uplifting of the race by having children and becoming supportive wives. “Garveyite women were literally to produce a ‘better and stronger race’ through the quality of their childcare.” This dichotomy between the qualities of militarism and motherhood of the roles of men and women emphasize the supportive and secondary nature of women’s status in the UNIA. More extensively, the “hierarchical sexual division of labor” granted men the positions of businessmen, statesmen, and diplomats while women were positioned in “clerical, cultural and civic support services.” The most illustrative example is that of the Black Cross Nurses (BCN), the UNIA’s female auxiliary.

If the UAL equated to militarism, the Black Cross Nurses (BCN) were synonymous with motherhood. A woman presided over the BCN alongside a trained and well-experienced nurse. These nurses offered many social and organizational services such as taking care of the sick, providing clothing, managing food banks and supper kitchens. The BCN was not only important to the local communities; it played a significant role in the UNIA as it was the second-most successful fundraising enterprise. The Black Cross Nurses were also significant to the larger movement in that they “personified the benevolent, nurturing, and uplifting aspirations of the UNIA and the communitarian principle of

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23 Satter, 45.
24 Blain, 16.
26 Blain, 21.
27 Blain, 30.
28 Blain, 32.
29 Bair, 155.
30 Bair, 155.
31 Bair, 155.
32 Bair, 157.
33 Bair, 158.
34 Satter, 48, 50.
35 Satter, 50.
36 Satter, 49.
37 McCormick, 261.
black survival and mutual care.”

But, although the BCN was critical to the UNIA, its members were not treated with such high regards. In fact, for young women Garveyites, participation in the auxiliary was mandatory. More seriously, women had no control over their bodies as they were prohibited from using birth control and were, therefore, subject to reproducing and having Black children who would, consequently, produce a strong Black race. This condition is not unique to Garveyism but rather characteristic of “race purity” organizations for, as Satter points out, “ideologies of race purity have [...] led to male control of women’s bodies.”

Evidently, women played a significant role in the UNIA but had no autonomy. Their participation in the female auxiliary reveals that women’s overall participation in the UNIA was of a submissive nature, but not necessarily by consent. The sexist ideology that pervaded the organization’s structure maintained women in a secondary position where “they were to live in strong patriarchal families, have babies, and be supported by the earnings of men” without much self-determination.

This idea of women Garveyites as secondary members is furthered by the UNIA’s promotion of public roles for men and private roles for women. Because of the gendered roles, positions, and responsibilities, men came to be associated with “public roles and the constructions of independence, authority, and power” while women were associated with “private roles and the qualities of cooperation, nurturing, and uplift.” Women were expected to comply with the duties imposed on them and when they did not, they were looked down upon, as portrayed by a UNIA official who remarked that “if you find any woman—especially a black woman—who does not want to be a mother, you may rest assured she is not a true woman.” This denouncement stems from Garvey’s ideology in which, as mothers of the race, women were expected to have children so as to strengthen the black race. In fact, this was so central to Garveyism that “black women [were urged] to cede public roles to their men in order to devote themselves to their offspring and so strengthen the race.” Furthermore, “[t]he UNIA was thus committed not to promoting the dignity and power of black women” but rather to “regaining black women’s reverence and respect for the black man” for the realization of the cause. Indeed, as secondary members, women’s progress was hindered by Garvey and other male Garveyites in the UNIA.

However, despite their shortcomings, women were integral to the UNIA and found means of expressing themselves, in large part, by the efforts of female activists like Amy Ashwood Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey. As a co-founder of the organization, Amy Ashwood Garvey was essentially the first female activist of the UNIA. It was Ashwood Garvey’s efforts that opened up opportunities for women to become involved in the organization. For example, she organized a women’s division that later developed into the Black Cross Nurses. She is also accredited with promoting the positions of female president and vice president of local divisions. Even though, despite her efforts, the UNIA would develop into a sexually hierarchical organization, it is unquestionable that Amy Ashwood Garvey’s efforts in defending women at the outset of the UNIA provided invaluable opportunities for many black women to participate in the rapidly expanding Pan-Africanist organization.

Amy Ashwood Garvey had founded the organization when she was seventeen years old in 1914; Marcus Garvey had convinced her with the words: “we can conquer the world [...] together we can help to awaken the Negro to his sense of racial insecurity!” Her strong personality, however, assured a rather short membership in the UNIA and

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38 McCormick, 261.
39 McCormick, 264.
40 McCormick, 261.
41 McCormick, 261.
42 Satter, 47.
43 McCormick, 262.
44 Bair, 155.
45 Satter, 48.
46 Satter, 52.
47 Satter, 52.
48 Ford-Smith, 77.
49 Blain, 21.
50 Blain, 21.
an even more brief marriage with Marcus Garvey. Ashwood Garvey married Marcus Garvey in 1920 and was separated months later, with an official divorce in 1922. She states that the divorce was due to the “the clash between Garvey’s dominating ways and her own forceful and extroverted personality.”\footnote{Bair, 165.} While Amy Ashwood Garvey was unwilling “to meet Garvey’s expectations of a wife who would sacrifice her own goals to devote herself to the career of her husband,” Amy Jacques Garvey, on the other hand, was more than capable of doing so.\footnote{Blain, 165.}

How Jacques Garvey became acquainted with Marcus Garvey is unclear. Adler argues that, after arriving in New York, Jacques Garvey attended a meeting in Liberty Hall in 1919 in which Garvey gave a speech. She supposedly approached “him afterward to congratulate him on his fine oratory and to ask him questions.”\footnote{Adler, 351.} Even more obscure is how they formed a formal relationship. It is uncertain whether they began their relationship while Garvey was still married to Ashwood Garvey, or after the divorce. What is certain, however, is that Garvey’s marriage to Jacques Garvey in 1922 had a profound and lasting effect on the relationship between Amy Jacques Garvey and Amy Ashwood Garvey. Blain suggests how close these ladies once were in implying that “Amy Ashwood […] may have […] played a significant role in Jacques Garvey’s decision to join the UNIA.”\footnote{Blain, 25.} Although the latter would come to deny it, Jacques Garvey and Ashwood Garvey had indeed been friends as teenagers in Jamaica, as is evidenced by the fact that Jacques Garvey had taken part in Garvey’s first wedding ceremony as Ashwood’s maid of honor.\footnote{Adler, 352; Blain, 25.} Garvey’s divorce to Amy Ashwood and marriage to Jacques Garvey surely tarnished the friendship between two of the most important women of the UNIA.

Jacques Garvey’s early relationship with Marcus Garvey was defined by mutual respect and admiration.\footnote{Adler, 352.} In its inception, their marriage was strong, especially since Jacques Garvey supported Garvey heavily, successfully becoming, as Bair interprets, “the ultimate example of the companionate wife.”\footnote{Bair, 163.} Adler echoes, “Amy was one of Marcus’s staunchest supporters and portrayed herself publicly as his companion and helpmate.”\footnote{Adler, 352.} In this regard, Jacques Garvey was different from Ashwood Garvey. Whereas the latter was unwilling to abandon herself and completely devote herself to her husband, the former was, in the beginning, readily inclined to do so. Jacques Garvey’s portrayal of the perfect wife and brief endorsement of Garvey’s views on women’s role in the liberation movement developed in tandem with their initially strong relationship. Jacques Garvey, in fact, had believed it was Black women’s responsibility to get behind their men and encourage them forward.\footnote{Adler, 364.} Ford-Smith contributes that “she did not question her role as wife or mother, combining these duties with her responsibility as a tireless supporter of Garvey.”\footnote{Ford-Smith, 78.} She coincided with Garvey so well that those who interacted with them believed she was perfect for him, to the extent that “she was almost always viewed as an extension of Garvey’s identity.”\footnote{Bair, 163.} Ultimately, Jacques Garvey embodied Garvey’s position on women exceptionally, being characterized “as a woman ‘doing her full share as a good wife and helping him to accomplish his task as a Negro leader’.”\footnote{Bair, 163.}

However, although Jacques Garvey exemplified Garvey’s outlook on women properly, she amply exercised independent leadership and independent thought throughout her membership in the UNIA. Jacques Garvey contributed to the organization significantly; there was no question that “her importance was second only to Marcus Garvey.”\footnote{Matthews, 4.} Although concealed, it was Jacques Garvey’s efforts that paved the way for Garvey to become acknowledged for his great speeches. In reality, “a significant portion of the speeches [and] writings […] was the result of her efforts.”\footnote{Adler, 353.} Jacques Garvey recounts that it was she who went through newspapers and magazines, formed her ideas and opinions, and then presented her findings to Marcus Garvey.\footnote{Jacques Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, 124.} Her ideas and materials would form “the basis for ‘his’ speeches...
Adler expands that Garvey “also incorporated information from Amy’s own articles in the *Negro World* into his speeches,” justly interpreting that “Amy […] had a profound impact on Marcus’s thought and was undoubtedly a co-creator, if not the creator, of aspects of Garveyite philosophy.”

One of Jacques Garvey’s most significant contributions to the UNIA was the establishment of the women’s page of the *Negro World*, the UNIA’s main newspaper. Jacques Garvey’s introduction of the page, “Our Women and What They Think,” “propelled UNIA women into greater political visibility and influence.” Although years later Jacques Garvey would proclaim that the page “wasn’t feminist at all,” the Women’s Page served as a platform for her and other women to express themselves, oftentimes about their dissatisfaction with women’s roles and men’s performance of their roles both within the UNIA and in a larger social context. It is imperative to understand that Jacques Garvey had already been forming her own ideas about women’s roles and about the black liberation movement, even before she became involved in the UNIA. Adler clarifies that “[h]er feminist consciousness was […] fueled by, and became more fully articulated through, her relationship with Marcus.”

Her experiences before joining the movement and during her membership certainly influenced her ideological formation. Satter supplies that “Garvey expected her to be the perfect wife, while also serving as his secretary, legal adviser, fund-raiser, editor, and fulltime propagandist.” And yet, despite her huge efforts in supporting Garvey, she, like many other women, was casted to a secondary position: Jacques Garvey “exercis[ed] great authority but never [held] an official office in the organization.” Her experience in the movement was different to other women who held official positions in the UNIA, but only to a small degree. Successful female leaders like Henrietta Vinton Davis and Maymie Leona Turpeau De Mena, like her, were seen “as Garvey’s representatives” and not as “real’ leaders in their own right.” Thus, Garvey hindered Jacques Garvey’s progress and that of many other female UNIA members. Adler analyzes that although “Marcus relied on Amy’s emotional support and tactical ingenuity for his well-being,” she, on the other hand, was not fully supported by Marcus Garvey. He intended to keep her stagnant for “selfish reasons [because] as far as he was concerned, Amy’s main role in life was to save him.”

The “Our Women and What They Think” page was introduced at a very significant time in the organization. In 1920, Jacques Garvey became business manager of the UNIA headquarters, but it was not until 1923 that she was truly able to flourish when Marcus Garvey was charged and convicted of mail fraud, leaving the organization without its admired leader. With Garvey in jail, it became easier for women, including Jacques Garvey, to express themselves. The “Our Women” page would serve as their preferred medium to voice their opinions. In fact, “Jacques Garvey used the pages of ‘Our Women’ to articulate her proto-feminist views, openly denouncing what she described as the ‘antiquated beliefs’ of men in the UNIA.” Furthermore, the challenging of Garvey’s ideology and, therefore, the ideology of the UNIA did not occur abruptly; for years she cultivated her own ideas and became increasingly outspoken, in support of women, as she became more and more critical of Garvey and Garveyite men.

As Mark D. Matthews contemplates, “Amy Jacques Garvey heralded the feminists’ struggles that were broadening the activities of women.” With its main themes of “social justice and nationalism,” the “Our Women” page discussed various topics including “third world” and national liberation struggles, feminist struggle, modernization and […] the contribution of black women to the black movement.” Indeed, Jacques Garvey was a strong advocate of women’s participation in the liberation movement. She strongly believed that women had many skills and should, therefore, not be restricted to private duties. She expressed “women’s responsibilities were ‘not limited’ to homemaking and childcare, but included ‘tackling the problems that confront the race’.” Her articles were very progressive, implying

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68 Adler, 353.
69 Adler, 354.
70 Blain, 36.
71 Lewis, 68.
72 Adler, 356.
73 Satter, 51.
74 Bair, 162.
75 Bair, 163.
76 Adler, 355.
77 Bair, 162; Blain, 33.
78 Blain, 33.
79 Matthews, 5.
80 Mathew, 4.
81 Satter, 49.
“a vision of motherhood that entailed community activism as well as private domesticity.” While Garvey confined women to private roles, Jacques Garvey liberated women, providing a great deal of support and encouragement, and working to promote women in the black liberation movement, as well as, in the UNIA.

Indeed, Jacques Garvey strongly believed that the “Negro woman [was] the backbone of the race,” that black women were the “primary movers of the race.” She proposed that women possessed many skills including the ability of paying attention to details which allowed them to “contribute greatly to big projects in the community, state, and nation.” Indeed, Jacques Garvey understood the ambition of women of taking a greater part in the liberation of the race: “Yet she [the black woman] has suffered all with fortitude, and stands ever ready to help in the onward march to freedom and power.”

Jacques Garvey’s views form part of a larger, historical understanding of women and their social positions. Adler elucidates that “[b]lack women have historically been forced to adopt the roles of wife, mother, and worker simultaneously in response to their experiences of racism, sexism, and classism.” This trio is what Deborah King refers to as “multiple jeopardy,” or the interaction between “racism, sexism, and classism […] three, interdependent control systems” that have long characterized the experiences of so many black women. Jacques Garvey defended “that poverty, poor health conditions, child welfare […] and racial segregation were women’s issues as much as women’s suffrage and women’s higher education were strategies for racial advancement.” Furthermore, she believed that “[b]lack women’s experiences of ‘multiple jeopardy’ compelled them to cultivate inner strengths that rendered them natural leaders in the fight for equality.” Black women’s experiences guaranteed their positions as leaders of the black liberation movement. Conclusively, “her feminism and Black nationalism were inextricably linked.”

Jacques Garvey’s growing support of women paralleled her growing criticism and resentment of Garvey and Garveyite men. Blain provides, “Jacques Garvey insisted that women in the UNIA were determined to have equal opportunities and were unwilling to allow male Garveyites to hinder their progress.” Actually, Jacques Garvey expressed the same disapproval many other Garveyite women felt. While women concurred with men in the cause of racial solidarity and uplift they questioned the gendered structure of the UNIA that limited their roles. Angered that women were relegated to an inferior position, she “strongly reprimanded Black men for their old-fashioned, tyrannical attitudes toward Black women.” More seriously, Jacques Garvey strongly believed that men retarded racial progress by being lazy and lethargic, “failing to provide for their women, children, their own future, and moreover, the posterity of the race.” These were some of the grievances expressed in the “Our Women” page, underlining the significance of it for women in the UNIA.

Garvey’s incarceration certainly provided Jacques Garvey with the opportunity to strengthen her voice. She increasingly expressed her pro-feminist views not only at a chaotic time for the UNIA, but, more significantly, as her marriage with Marcus Garvey began to collapse. In actuality, Jacques Garvey and Marcus Garvey’s relationship began to change considerably when they began to have children. As Ula Yvette Taylor depicts, “their home eventually became a repository for more tension than ease and more distance than familial warmth.” Jacques Garvey was no longer able to perform the many duties Garvey assigned her once she had children and, to complicate matters, “[t]heir births occurred during a period when Garvey was travelling frequently, desperately strapped for money, and entirely preoccupied with reviving the UNIA.” It seemed “Garvey had submerged ‘the roles of husband and father’ and sacrificed ‘his family on
the altar of African redemption.” In consequence, Jacques Garvey felt Garvey neglected his family. In fact, a lot of her discontent arose from the fact that Garvey concerned himself more with his work than with his family. He would make great and lavish arrangements for matters of the organizations while, at home, she and her children were suffering great deprivations. Financial issues were a consistent burden for Garvey and, conversely, Jacques Garvey: in Garvey and Garveyism, she recounts how Garvey had used some of their firstborn son Junior’s gift money for his own affairs. In the same book she details several instances where she had to resolve many financial matters on her own because he would not provide assistance, claiming that “there were more urgent matters there that had to be met.” Her experiences with Garvey did not initiate her feminist development, but rather contributed to it, as did her activities in the UNIA. Thus, her dwindling marriage signified the strengthening of her feminist voice.

Jacques Garvey’s feminist efforts in the UNIA certainly helped women strengthen their own feminist voices. Although the UNIA hindered women’s progress, it served as a catalyst for feminist and women’s movements after their involvement in the political organization. Honor Ford-Smith evaluates that the UNIA “offered black women a concrete experience in organization and leadership.” Garveyite ideas were embedded into the organization of women’s movements; it can be concluded that “the Garvey movement facilitated the struggles of women of different classes for political rights and on labour issues in the 1930s.” Indeed, “the UNIA was […] the training ground for black feminists of the 1930s.” Women’s experiences in the UNIA, although frustrating, proved beneficial since they were able to acquire and develop certain skills they were then able to harvest in later feminist movements. Ultimately, Jacques Garvey’s efforts in the UNIA validate her status as a very important figure of black feminism and women’s movements.

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97 Taylor, 138.
98 Taylor, 207.
100 Ford-Smith, 73-74.
101 Ford-Smith, 74.
102 Ford-Smith, 82.